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Cognitive Linguistics and Beyond: From Conceptual Mechanisms to Theoretical Aporias

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Cognitive Linguistics and Beyond: From Conceptual Mechanisms to Theoretical Aporias

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Introduction: Cognitive Linguistics and Beyond – from Conceptual Mechanisms to Theoretical Aporias

The third decade of the 21st century abounds in scholarly research into language. From philosophy (Stalmaszczyk, 2022), through evolution (Arbib, 2020), to brain science (de Zubicaray & Schiller, 2019), language, as a human phenomenon *par excellence*, has been consistently scrutinized in its multiple dimensions. Contemporary linguistics offers not only an abundance of perspectives on language but also a range of competing theoretical frameworks including structuralist, generative and functionalist approaches, to name a few. Often classified as a functionalist framework (see Łozowski, this volume), cognitive linguistics has been undoubtedly one of the most influential theoretical frameworks to date. With its experientialist epistemology (Lakoff, 1987), the emphasis on the interconnection between language and cognition (Evans, 2012), and the adherence to the view that different levels of language description form an interdependent continuum (Langacker, 1987), cognitive linguistics has not only introduced new research concepts but also brought novel insights. Despite its high influence and considerable ambitions, cognitive linguistics by no means monopolized the field of linguistic inquiry. On the contrary, it has rather fruitfully coexisted with other linguistic theories and approaches (see, for instance, Dąbrowska & Divjak, 2015 for a comprehensive presentation of different shades of cognitive linguistics) with a view to achieve the best of both worlds, i.e., a better understanding of human language.

The present volume attempts to contribute to this noble effort by presenting novel research that explicitly references cognitive paradigm as well as going beyond, i.e., by combining it with other perspectives and by investigating the

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issues of paramount interest to this framework. The volume comprises ten chapters spanning experimental, corpus, and theoretical approaches, which are divided into three subsections.

The first two focus on conceptual mechanisms that have been central to cognitive linguistics – metonymy and metaphor. The subsection “Metonymy: from drawing inferences to pointing” presents two intriguing perspectives on this phenomenon: while Antonio Barcelona Sánchez sees it as a pragmatic inferencing mechanism whose role is crucial for discourse understanding, Marco Bagli sees it through the lens of sensory linguistics and indexicality. The next subsection “Metaphor contextualized” includes four contributions. Judit Baranyiné Kóczy and Krisztina Zajdó offer a refreshing perspective on indexicality (deixis) and the metaphorical meanings of space in the context of healthcare discourse. The social nature of metaphor is also emphasized in the chapter by Justyna Wawrzyniuk, who points out its ideological, gender and subversive dimensions in stand-up comedy. The relationship between gender and metaphorical meaning is also explored by Anna Dąbrowska in her study of various meanings of the Polish derogatory nickname *flądra* [flounder]. This subsection comes to an end with the chapter authored by Mateusz-Milan Stanojević, Mirjana Tonković and Anita Peti-Stantić who demonstrate that metaphorical framing effects in discourse are far more context-dependent than previously suggested.

Four chapters that make up the last subsection “From lexical-grammatical phenomena to theoretical aporias” tackle some of the key topics in cognitive linguistics including phraseology, polysemy, linguistic creativity and the boundary between synchrony and diachrony, yet they do it by going beyond this paradigm. Olga Iakovleva and Mojca Kumin Horvat focus on the image of animals in phraseological units by collating them with findings from cognitive ethology. The interface between lexicon and grammatical structure is discussed by Anna Bondaruk who convincingly argues for the polysemic nature of the Polish verb *wystarczać/wystarczyć* [to suffice]. The interrelation between structure and meaning is also addressed in the next chapter where Anna Majewska-Wójcik combines structural and cognitive approaches to explore the linguistic creativity of the famous Polish writer Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz. The volume ends with the chapter by Przemysław Łozowski whose critical *tour de force* illuminates aporias haunting cognitive linguistics with regard to the concept of panchrony.

Metonymy: from drawing inferences to pointing

Antonio Barcelona Sánchez focuses on metonymy which has been at the heart of cognitive linguistics since its inception. Being a fundamental yet complex conceptual mechanism, metonymy has been approached from different angles (see, Barcelona, 2003; Bierwiaczonek, 2013; Kwiatkowska, 2007; Wachowski, 2019). In his study, the author follows the theoretical approach which sees it as

a reasoning mechanism that guides pragmatic inferencing and ascertains discourse coherence (see Panther & Thornburg, 2018). In this perspective, metonymy is by no means limited to grammatical constructions as it interacts with general pragmatic principles, e.g., relevance and encyclopaedic knowledge, to ensure discourse understanding including anaphora resolution, implicatures or euphemism. In order to demonstrate how metonymy guides pragmatic inferencing, Barcelona Sánchez devises a qualitative study in which native speakers of American English are requested to share their interpretations of different passages of the text and then asked to suggest their own inferences or to assess previously proposed inferences. The results show a high level of congruence between the independently-generated responses and the inferences claimed in previous research to be guided by major high-level metonymy patterns such as EFFECT FOR CAUSE, EVENT FOR CO-OCCURRING EVENT and CATEGORY FOR PROPERTY. These findings, which warrant further experimental exploration, seem to provide empirical evidence for the claim that metonymy regularly guides pragmatic inferencing and is thus more central to understanding discourse than previously conceived.

The chapter by Marco Bagli contributes to the research into the relationship between language and perception present in cognitive linguistics since its seminal publications (Lakoff, 1987; Langacker, 1987) and recently reinvigorated by a plethora of studies into so-called “sensory linguistics” (Winter, 2019; see also Trojszczak, 2019). The author investigates source-based language – a strategy used to describe sensory experiences by referring to a concrete source of similar sensation, which is a common phenomenon in Indo-European languages that, unlike non-Western languages (see Majid et al., 2018), have a limited vocabulary to describe sensory perception, in particular, chemical senses such as taste and smell. By studying various English expressions used to describe taste qualities collected from expert gin tasters (see also Caballero et al., 2019, for the research on wine tasting), the author identifies three source-based language strategies including analytic construction (Subject tastes/smells like Source), use of light nouns (e.g., an abundance of juniper), and morphological derivation (e.g., grassy, citrus-led). Besides a detailed characterisation of these strategies, he also argues that source-based language should be seen as both the linguistic counterpart of a pointing gesture and an instance of conceptual metonymy. In other words, source-based language is where indexicality meets cognition.

Metaphor contextualized

Deixis (indexicality) in its various forms has been one of the most intriguing research areas in linguistics (see Kijania-Placek, 2022; Levinson, 1983). Judit Baranyiné Kóczy and Krisztina Zajdó explore this topic from the perspective of cognitive linguistics which sees it as a matter of perspectival location from which a scene is viewed (see Evans & Green, 2006 for a comprehensive discussion).

The authors focus on the use of demonstrative pronouns treating them both as a spatial phenomenon grounded in the metaphorical meaning of space, particularly proximity, and as an emotional one. The latter indicates the use of demonstrative pronouns to express the speaker's affective stance toward something (so-called "emotional deixis", see Lakoff, 1974). This cognitive approach is employed here to analyse the interviews with Hungarian parents of children with a language disorder (for a similar real-life discourse approach see Wawrzyniuk, this volume). In contrast to previous research (e.g., Potts & Schwartz, 2010) which indicate the relationship between proximal deixis and positive emotions, the authors show that the interviewed parents use it to report intensive, negative emotions. It is argued that this can be explained by their emphatic attitude. Moreover, a detailed analysis of the use of demonstrative pronouns reveals some metaphorical meanings of proximity such as mental closeness, vivid experience, and emotional involvement.

The chapter by Justyna Wawrzyniuk studies metaphorical objectifications of women in stand-up comedy. In doing so, the author contributes to the growing body of research which aims to show the role and significance of metaphor in various social discourses and contexts such as politics (Perrez et al., 2019), mental healthcare (Tay, 2020), business (Li & Zhu, 2021) or education (Ahlgren et al., 2021). Her investigation of metaphorical expressions collected from 30 performances by female North American comedians sheds light on the most common target (body and person) and source frames (place and food) used to metaphorically conceptualize women. Besides an ideologically and negatively charged character of these metaphorical images, e.g., women as cars, garages, and pancakes, the author also discusses their relation to different aspects of gender identity including individual, relational, collective, and material. In line with socially-oriented research paradigm in metaphor studies, Wawrzyniuk does not see these metaphors as contextless. On the contrary, she interprets their use from the perspective of female stand-up comedians who, being aware of the male-dominated character of their industry and audience, employ these images to present their stories in a more "digestible" way. In result, ideologically-laden metaphors become subversively reclaimed (see a similar discussion about slurs in Hess, 2022) under the guise of humour for the benefit of female comedians and female audiences.

One of the fundamental questions in cognitive linguistics is: which conceptual mechanisms motivate the meanings of lexical items (see Evans, 2012)? Being one of the most prolific areas of cognitive inquiry, the research into conceptual underpinnings of linguistic expressions has undoubtedly helped us to see what is hidden behind some of the most basic words we use on a daily basis (see, for instance, Sweetser, 1990; Trojszczak & Gebbia, 2023). In this vein, the chapter by Anna Dąbrowska combines three related cognitive frameworks, i.e., Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), Critical Metaphor

Analysis (Charteris-Black, 2004) and Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Kövecses, 2020), in order to explicate conceptual mechanisms motivating the meanings of the Polish nickname *flądra*. This offensive term used to refer to women, which has been attested in Polish since 1860, is analysed based on the data from National Corpus of Polish. By scrutinizing various discourse instances of its use, the author identifies five metaphors underlying the meaning of this term: from the most general (image schematic) A HUMAN BEING IS AN ANIMAL to the most individual A WOMAN THE SPEAKER WANTS TO OFFEND DUE TO HER POSSIBLY BAD/ ANNOYING BEHAVIOUR IS FLĄDRA. The latter – a novel metaphorical meaning omitted by most Polish dictionaries – is situated on the level of mental spaces which are characterised by rich contextual details including unconventional cases and online representations.

In their chapter, Mateusz-Milan Stanojević, Mirjana Tonković and Anita Peti-Stantić focus on metaphorical framing, i.e., the fact that the use of particular metaphors in discourse imposes a frame of interpretation that highlights or hides different aspects of reality and therefore can influence its perception. The authors contribute to a booming area of research into the framing effects of different metaphors (see, for instance, Piata & Soriano, 2022; Semino et al., 2018; Thibodeau et al., 2017) by experimentally investigating the effects of reading the texts with the ego- vs. time-moving metaphor in relation to climate change. In contrast to Flusberg et al. (2017) who previously studied the effects of these metaphors, their research, which uses similar yet simplified design, shows no framing effects of the respective metaphors on the emotional reaction to the text, willingness to change one's behaviour, concern, urgency, solvability of the problem and inevitability of consequences. This result is attributed to the changing perception of climate change between this and a previous study as well as a range of other potential factors including political knowledge and participant opinions, metaphor novelty and aptness, and external context. Stanojević, Tonković and Peti-Stantić also suggest that framing effects can be affected by lexical and grammatical forms of metaphor – the factors oft overlooked in experimental research (see also Stanojević et al., 2014). Furthermore, based on their findings, the authors argue for a more contextualized view of metaphorical framing instead of seeing it as something that happens in all conditions.

From lexical-grammatical phenomena to theoretical aporias

The chapter by Olga Iakovleva and Mojca Kumin Horvat studies cultural meanings of phraseological units, i.e., semantically unfree word combinations, related to domestic animals. These ready-made, prefabricated linguistic expressions have been discussed in cognitive linguistics in the context of idiomatic constructions and metaphor (see Green, 2006). By emphasizing their stereotypical motivations, the authors approach these lexical-grammatical phenomena through the lens of

“linguistic worldview” (Głaz et. al., 2013) – a notion which shows close affinity with the cognitive notion of “conceptualisation” (Evans, 2012). Their semantic analysis of stereotypical meanings motivating selected Russian, Polish and Slovenian zoonyms related to cow, goat, and sheep provides not only insights into cultural stereotypes at play but also contributes to the discussion about animal metaphors and their evaluative character (see Reza Talebinejad & Vahid Dastjerdi, 2005). By analysing a wide range of dictionary data in three languages, the authors reveal shared cross-linguistic stereotypes of these domestic animals, all of which are characterised by a negative colouring. It is argued that these pejorative stereotypical perceptions are due to the purely utilitarian approach to these animals, which stands in stark contrast to empirical data showing their relatively advanced cognitive skills.

Polysemy and the lexicon-grammar continuum have been undoubtedly at the centre of theoretical considerations (Lakoff, 1987; Langacker, 1987; see also Dąbrowska, 2023) and empirical investigations (Fortescue, 2021) in cognitive linguistics. Although in her chapter Anna Bondaruk does not explicitly reference this paradigm, her analysis illuminates the interconnection between grammar and meaning which is so important to cognitive linguists. By examining the syntax and semantics of the Polish verb *wystarczać/wystarczyć* [to suffice], the author attempts to demonstrate how the grammatical behaviour of this verb – verified by various diagnostic tests – reflects its polysemous character. In contrast to previous research denying such a claim, through a detailed analysis, Anna Bondaruk distinguishes three different meanings of *wystarczać/wystarczyć* [to suffice]. These include its idiosyncratic lexical meaning “to suffice” as well as two other senses: “to be enough” (existential) and “to have enough” (possessive). It is argued that both of them arise as a result of semantic bleaching of the original lexical meaning, which by weakening its idiosyncratic aspects yields new meanings accompanied by concomitant syntactic changes such as the category change of the verb in the case of existential meaning and the introduction of the dative possessor in the case of possessive meaning.

Linguistic creativity is another topic investigated in cognitive linguistics, especially in the context of Conceptual Blending Theory (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002; Turner, 2014), Cognitive Poetics (Stockwell, 2002) and Cognitive Grammar (Langacker, 1987). In her chapter, Anna Majewska-Wójcik addresses this issue by focusing on the word-formation creativity of the Polish writer Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz. Despite a wide recognition of Witkiewicz’s linguistic creativity among literary scholars, linguistic analyses of his word-formation innovations have been relatively limited. Majewska-Wójcik fills this research gap by analysing neologisms used in the correspondence between Witkiewicz and his wife from the structural and cognitive perspectives. The author utilizes these approaches to discuss four broad categories of neologisms: onymic, appellative, composite, and foreign-based. The first group includes anthroponyms and toponyms such as “Malinower” from

“Malinowski” which are motivated by phonetic and semantic associations. The category of appellatives, in turn, comprises emotionally and axiologically motivated novel diminutives, e.g., “natchnieńko” [a small inspiration]. On the other hand, composites which, unlike diminutives, are often viewed as those that are “against the spirit” of the Polish language include original constructions such as “zęboból” [toothache]. The word-formation creativity of Witkiewicz is also evidenced in foreign-based neologisms, e.g., “żuadewiwr” [joie de vivre].

Since its very beginnings, cognitive linguistics with its high theoretical aspirations (see Lakoff, 1987; Langacker, 1987) had to position itself with regard to other influential linguistic theories such as generative grammar (Stalmaszczyk, 2012). The chapter by Przemysław Łozowski discusses the process of this on-going and still unresolved demarcation in relation to structuralism (de Saussure, 1916/2016) by focusing on the notion of panchrony and its relation to synchrony and diachrony. Admitting the fundamental tension between structurally and functionally-oriented paradigms, i.e., cognitive linguistics, the author presents an in-depth discussion of both the functionalist and Saussurean perspectives on this subject (Winters, 1992). By rejecting the opposition between synchrony and diachrony, functionalists see panchrony as a matter of language data proportions or as a question of camouflaging the boundaries between the two in order to introduce other factors such as cognition or culture. On the other hand, structuralism is clear about keeping the opposition alive both in terms of research methodology and language theory. Nevertheless, as discussed by Łozowski, it is de Saussure who first envisaged the possibility of panchrony leaving behind an abundant body of insights. Inspired by this discussion, the author argues that as long as cognitive linguistics holds onto the non-autonomy of language, its universals can be only cognitive and experiential and not of the Saussurean “always-and-everywhere” type.

In sum, this is a rich volume that addresses several major issues in present-day cognitive linguistics, contributing insightful original research from this perspective and a critical discussion of some aspects of the cognitive paradigm, including its contrast with structuralist and generativist approaches, while applying it to new data in various (especially Slavic) languages in addition to English. The articles in the volume also exhibit a variety of methodological approaches, including corpus analysis, experimental research, and qualitative research.

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Metonymy-Guided Discourse Inferencing. A Qualitative Study

ABSTRACT

Cognitive-linguistic research on metonymy has argued cogently that metonymy is a crucial factor guaranteeing discourse coherence. Barcelona (forthcoming) includes a detailed study of the metonymies guiding the pragmatic inferences claimed to be invited by the reading of a brief text. The analysis of the fragment, though internally consistent, is based on my own close reading of the text. In the paper I report on a qualitative study investigating whether native speakers of English derive the same inferences and whether they are guided by metonymy in this derivation. The results seem to confirm my claims in the earlier study.

Keywords: metonymy, pragmatic inferencing, qualitative research, reading comprehension

1. Preliminaries

The aim of the article is to describe and discuss a detailed qualitative study investigating the metonymic guidance of the discourse-pragmatic inferences derived by the participants. The results (described in sections 4 and 5 and discussed in section 6, seem to confirm my earlier claims about the role of metonymy in pragmatic inferencing.

In the rest of this section, I will first briefly present the concept of metonymy I will be assuming throughout the article (1.1). Then I will briefly discuss the important role of metonymy in discourse-pragmatic inferencing (1.2), with the corresponding review of previous relevant literature.

1.1. Notion of metonymy

The notion of metonymy I adhere to is a “consensus” cognitive-linguistic notion, which I have defined in the following terms:

Metonymy is an asymmetric mapping of a conceptual entity, the source, onto another conceptual entity, the target. Source and target are in the same frame and are linked by a pragmatic function, so that the target is mentally activated. (Barcelona 2011, p. 52)

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The term “frame” is preferred to the term “domain”, frequently employed in definitions of metonymy, like the one by Lakoff and Turner (1989, p. 103). Both domains and frames are cognitive models, but while a domain is a broad classificatory scheme of experience such as LIVING BEINGS, ANIMALS, PEOPLE, etc., a frame is a knowledge-rich model of a recurrent, well-delineated area of experience (Fillmore, 1985), equivalent to Lakoff’s (1987) “propositional ICMs”, or Kövecses and Radden’s (1998, p. 48) “metonymy-producing relationships” (see Radden & Dirven, 2007, pp. 9–12, for further details on this issue). By “pragmatic function” (Fauconnier, 1997) I mean the privileged connection holding between the roles of two entities in a frame, such as that between AUTHOR and WORK (within the frame of LITERARY PRODUCTION). With the claim that conceptual metonymy is an asymmetric mapping, I mean that it is not a symmetric mapping of structure, like conceptual metaphor, which consists in a set of sub-mappings of entities and knowledge items of the source onto relationally equivalent items in the target: In the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY, the beginning of the journey is mapped onto the beginning of life, the difficulties (e.g., obstacles) in the journey onto life’s difficulties, etc. See Barcelona, 2002a, 2003a, 2015, 2011, and Benczes et al. (2011) for details.

This and similar definitions, especially Kövecses and Radden’s (1998), though reflecting the basic agreement in cognitive linguistics on the nature of metonymy as a primarily conceptual phenomenon, are surrounded by some controversies, which cannot be discussed here for lack of space. These concern such issues as the distinction from metaphor (Barnden, 2010), “active-zone” metonymies (Langacker, 2009), the generic WHOLE FOR PART, PART FOR WHOLE, PART FOR PART typology of metonymy (Barcelona, 2019; Panther & Thornburg, 2018; Ruiz de Mendoza & Pérez Hernández, 2001).

1.2. Metonymy and discourse-pragmatic inferencing

Metonymy is a conceptual connecting device between elements in our experience, a “natural inference schema” (Panther & Thornburg, 1998, 2003a, 2018), not confined to the lexicon or to any grammatical level. Not even to oral language. Metonymy, therefore, guides discourse-pragmatic inferencing, interacting with general pragmatic principles, such as Grice’s maxims or Relevance, and is a crucial factor guaranteeing discourse coherence. Its role in discourse-pragmatic inferencing is generally recognized in cognitive linguistics. We find it at work in anaphora resolution (Langacker, 1999, p. 234–245; Ruiz de Mendoza & Díez Velasco, 2004), especially in indirect anaphora (Emmott, 1999); in indirect speech acts (Brdar-Szabó, 2009; Panther, 2022; Panther & Thornburg, 1998, 2003a; Thornburg & Panther, 1997); in the derivation of implicatures and other types of discourse inferences (Barcelona, 2002b, 2003b, 2005, 2007a, 2007b, 2009, forthcoming; Panther & Thornburg, 2003a, 2003b, 2018; Ruiz de Mendoza & Galera, 2014) and other meanings, such as attitudinal meanings (Barnden, 2018; Littlemore, 2015),

and in other discourse-related phenomena: conceptual tautology, euphemism, film and drama conventions, literary discourse, art and image, gesture, sign language (Barcelona, 2018; Dżereń-Głowacka, 2007; Gibbs, 1994; Kwiatkowska, 2007; Mittelberg, 2019; Rodríguez Redondo, 2018), and many others.

Let us now examine a few relatively simple examples. Gibbs (1994, pp. 329–330) gives this example:

(1)

John was hungry and went into a restaurant. He ordered lobster from the waiter. It took a long time to prepare. Because of this he only put down a small tip when he left.

An automatic inference from this text is “John paid for his food before leaving”. According to Gibbs, this inference is guided in part by a metonymy operating within the RESTAURANT frame, which I would call EVENT (LEAVING A TIP) FOR CO-OCCURRING EVENT (PAYING FOR ONE’S FOOD).

An instance of metonymy-guided anaphora resolution occurs in (2):

(2)

He speaks excellent French even though he’s never lived there.

The antecedent of *there* is inferred to be the metonymic target of *French* (LOCATED [LANGUAGE] FOR LOCATION [FRANCE]).

For more complex examples, see, among others, Barcelona (forthcoming), Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez Velasco (2004).

2. The qualitative study reported in this article: Justification.

The claim that metonymy routinely guides pragmatic inferencing by speakers is a reasonable hypothesis advanced by cognitive linguists like the author of this article, given the linguistic data we observe and our interpretation of those data, i.e., our own inferences based on those data. If we conclude that a metonymic operation connects the linguistic data and our own inferences, then we try and suggest the abstract metonymic pattern, of those proposed in the specialized literature, that connects the linguistic data to the inferences: EFFECT FOR CAUSE?, ACTION FOR PURPOSE?, CONDITION FOR RESULT?

The problem with this procedure is twofold: 1) Do other speakers, or at least some of them draw the same, or at least similar inferences from a particular text (written or spoken) as the ones drawn by a particular cognitive linguist analyzing that text? It is a well-known fact that speakers often vary in their interpretations of one and the same text. 2) Are other speakers, or at least some of them, guided by the same or at least by some of the same conceptual metonymies as the ones presumably guiding the analyst’s inferences in relation to the same text, by different metonymies, or by no metonymy at all?

The inferences drawn from examples like (1) and (2) are hardly problematic, since they are quite straightforward (but the inference from (1) might be challenged by some speakers based on their interpretation of the scope of *only* as excluding payment and including only the tip, as a protest for the slow preparation).

This is an empirical issue that can only be resolved by means of several types of empirical research. One of them is careful qualitative research. The rest of the article is devoted to presenting the results of a qualitative study aimed at finding some empirical support for the hypothesis that metonymy regularly guides pragmatic inferencing¹. In Barcelona (forthcoming) I include a detailed investigation of the conceptual metonymies claimed to guide the pragmatic inferences invited by a small fragment (19 lines) of the only scene in Act 1 of O'Neill's play *Long Day's Journey into Night*. The fragment is reproduced in the Appendix. My analysis of that conversational written text, though internally consistent, was based on my own close reading and was inevitably subjective and introspective, but not arbitrary (Gibbs, 2007). Therefore, I decided to carry out the qualitative study described in this paper.

3. The qualitative study reported in this article: Description

Qualitative research is a type of empirical research where the data are not necessarily in the form of numbers (Punch, 1998, p. 4). It is used to investigate phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. The participants were nine volunteer female American undergraduate college students, aged 20–21, all native speakers of American English, with no prior training in linguistics, who had never read or watched the play before². The questionnaire was answered anonymously. All participants were seated in one ample classroom with sufficient separation from each other to prevent watching other participants' answers. The questionnaire (see below and Appendix) was answered on May 16, 2018. The completion of the questionnaire lasted 30 minutes altogether, but one participant only took 15 minutes (m), another two needed 20 m, and the remaining six needed between 21 and 30 m.

The procedure used was this:

1. I gave the participants a few brief oral instructions (to seat them and to hand out the questionnaire copies).
2. The participants read the brief written instructions at the beginning of the questionnaire.

¹ The study was briefly presented orally in 2019 at the 15th International Cognitive Linguistics Conference (Kwansei Gakuin University, Japan) and in more detail at an invited plenary lecture in the same year at the conference Culture-Cognition-Communication (Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, Lublin, Poland).

² They were all students at the *Programa de Estudios Hispánicos en Córdoba*. I am grateful to them and to Dr Kim Griffin, Resident Program Director, for their help.

3. They read the above-mentioned fragment of the play.
4. They answered the questionnaire in writing.
5. I collected the nine completed questionnaires.

This is the *structure* of the questionnaire³:

The first section asks for information about the participants' age, mother tongue and prior familiarity with the play.

The second section includes eight open-answer (o-a) questions (Questions 2–9) on what a certain part of the text “suggests” to the participants on various topics (e.g., a given character's attitude). This type of question was chosen to avoid biasing the participants towards one particular answer. The answer to each o-a question is followed by: a) An additional question asking the participants to give their reasons for their previous reply. And b) a separate table (in a different page) with 3-5 possible interpretations of the relevant part of the text, asking participants to accept (YES) or reject (NO) those interpretations (this table was not presented after o-a 8 and 9). The purpose of these tables was to check the consistency of the participants' reactions with their answers to the o-a questions. This second section was aimed at investigating the degree of intersubjective validity of the inferences I advanced in my earlier analysis of the same text and to find out whether the respondents reasoned in terms of the conceptual metonymies I had proposed in that earlier analysis, in terms of other metonymies, or in terms of no metonymy at all.

The third section includes five possible *overall* inferences from the text, asking subjects to agree or disagree with them and to give their reasons for their answer. They replace the “further interpretations” tables with respect to Questions 8 and 9, since these questions are, in turn, overall questions on the two characters. These inferences had also been proposed in my previous detailed analysis of this text, which will be reported on in my forthcoming book (Barcelona, forthcoming), together with some of the results of this qualitative study. This section was designed with the same purpose as the second section, but I could not present it as a series of o-a questions, given the forty-minute limit the participants would be able to devote to the study.

4. Open-answer questions: Results and analysis

In this section, the answers of the participants to the o-a questions, their reasons for those answers and their reactions to the additional “interpretations” are analyzed, and the conceptual metonymies possibly guiding their reasoning are suggested. This information is summed up in a set of analytical tables. Given space limits, I will only present the detailed analysis of the answers to questions 2 and 4, will

³ The items and elements of the questionnaire mentioned in this section can be seen in the Appendix. For lack of space, it only includes a few representative parts.

make a passing comment on the answers to question 3, and will provide a short summary of my analysis of the answers to the other o-a questions.

4.1. Analysis of Question 2 (Q 2): *What does the first sentence in this paragraph ("Tyrone's arm is around his wife's waist as they appear from the back parlor") suggest to you about Tyrone's affective relationship with Mary?*

The paragraph referred to is the final paragraph in the stage direction at the beginning of the text. I found two main types of answers to Q 2 but only one main type of reasons for these answers. I view the answers to the question as the possible metonymic targets of the metonymic sources constituted by the reasons provided by the participants. In column A the most frequent types of answers are summed up, together with a literal example of those types of answers. In column B, the predominant reasons given for the answers are reproduced, together with a literal example of one of those reasons. In column C, I suggest the metonymy/ies possibly guiding the respondents' reasoning.

Table 1. Analysis of the first main type of answer (T = Tyrone / M = Mary)

A. Most frequent types of answers (n = total no. of subjects giving each type)	B. Most frequent types of reasons offered by these subjects	C. Metonymy/ies possibly guiding activation of A by B
<p>A.1. Mutual love (2). Of these: +comfort with each other (1) +expected in marriage (1)</p> <p>Example of an answer: "That they love each other and that they are comfortable with each other"</p>	<p>Physical contact (touching each other, T holding M's waist).</p> <p>Example of a reason: "They are physically touching"</p>	<p>(BEHAVIORAL) EFFECT (TOUCHING, X PUTTING X'S ARM AROUND Y'S WAIST) FOR EMOTIONAL CAUSE (LOVE)</p>

Table 2. Analysis of the second type of answer

A. Most frequent types of answers (n = total no. of subjects giving each type)	B. Most frequent types of reasons offered by these subjects	C. Metonymy/ies possibly guiding activation of A by B
<p>A.2. (Mutual) Affection (4). Of these: -Only affection of T for M (2)</p> <p>Example literal answer: "They are affectionate with each other"</p>	<p>Physical contact (touching each other, T holding M's waist, etc.)</p> <p>Example literal reason: "His arm around her waist implies casual, easy affection, they are happy together"</p>	<p>(BEHAVIORAL) EFFECT (TOUCHING, X PUTTING X'S ARM AROUND Y'S WAIST) FOR EMOTIONAL CAUSE (AFFECTION)</p>

Table 3. Less frequent answers (each offered only by one subject) and metonymies

A. Less frequent types of answers (n= total no. of subjects giving each)	B. Types of reasons offered by these subjects	C. Metonymy/ies possibly guiding activation of A by B
A.3. T's continued interest in M (+Mutual love) (1) Literal answer: "It suggests that Tyrone is still interested in his relationship with her"	Physical contact (surprising at old age) Literal reason: "At an old age you don't see as much physicality in relationships, and when it is shown it usually implies that the couple is still in love"	(BEHAVIORAL) EFFECT (X STAYING PHYSICALLY CLOSE TO Y AND TOUCHING Y) FOR EMOTIONAL CAUSE (X'S INTEREST IN Y) + PERSONAL CATEGORY (OLDER PEOPLE) FOR TYPICAL BEHAVIOR (LESS PHYSICAL CONTACT)
A.4. Good relationship (+T's jealousy) (1) Literal answer: "I feel their relationship is good. They are happy and maybe Tyrone is a bit jealous"	Physical closeness and touch to express possession Literal reason: "I think that because closeness and touch indicate comfort and trust in the relationship it can also mean Tyrone wants everyone to know his wife is his."	SYMPTOM (PHYSICAL CLOSENESS, TOUCHING) FOR STATE (BEING IN A GOOD RELATIONSHIP) + EFFECT ("POSSESSIVE" BEHAVIOR) FOR CAUSE (POSSESSIVE ATTITUDE)
A.5. T likes physical contact (1) Literal answer: "Tyrone likes physical contact"	Physical closeness Literal reason: "He is holding her close to him"	SYMPTOM (X HOLDING Y CLOSE TO X) FOR ATTITUDE (X LIKING PHYSICAL CONTACT)

In sum, the *main* inferences ("targets") drawn by the subjects from the behavior described are *mutual affection* and *mutual love*, as reflected in their answers (6 out of 9 answers). The main reason ("source") offered by the subjects are *affectionate physical contact*. And the main metonymy seemingly guiding this reasoning is (BEHAVIORAL) EFFECT (PHYSICAL CONTACT) FOR (EMOTIONAL) CAUSE (LOVE, AFFECTION...).

The less frequent answers are metonymically prompted by similar reasons / sources (physical contact or closeness with additional elements like possession or expected behavior at old age), but the answers / targets are somewhat different (continued interest plus mutual love, good relationship plus jealousy), and the main metonymy proposed is not only EFFECT FOR CAUSE.

Most additional interpretations (Table 4) are consistent with the main answers to Q 2 (except for those in bold).

The detailed analysis of the answers to *Question 3 (Q 3)* has been deleted for lack of space. This o-a question is very similar in its focus to Q 2, since it asks about the participants' interpretation of T's playful hug to M (see Appendix). Most answers / targets (5/9) mention mutual love, affection, and happiness, while the rest point out emotional closeness and T's greater involvement or T's purpose

Table 4. Additional interpretations

INTERPRETATIONS	YES	NO
	1-9 = subject code	1-9 = subject code
(a) Tyrone seems to control his wife.	4, 5, 8	1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9
(b) Tyrone seems to love his wife.	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8	9
(c) Tyrone seems to like his wife a lot.	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8,9	-----
(d) Tyrone seems to treat his wife as a stranger.	-----	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9

of marking M's weight gain by hugging her. Most reasons / sources mention the playful hug (7/9), but also youthful behavior (1/9). The main metonymy is again BEHAVIORAL EFFECT (HUGGING) FOR EMOTIONAL CAUSE (LOVE, AFFECTION). Most of the additional interpretations are consistent with these answers.

4.2. Analysis of Question 4 (Q 4): Why does Mary interpret Tyrone's words "You're a fine armful now, Mary, with those twenty pounds you've gained" as meaning that she has gotten fat?

The question directly asks the subjects about the possible reasons for *Mary's* inference. Therefore, this time the participants were not directly asked what T's words suggested to *them* as readers. The sources of the possible metonymic reasoning are the reasons suggested by the participants (A in Table 5) and the target is Mary's inference ("I've gotten fat, you mean, dear").

The two main types of answers to Q 4 (sources) for M's interpretation of T's words (target) that were identified are in Table 5.

Table 5. Analysis of the main types of answers (sources) to Q 4

A. Most frequent types of answers (n= total no. of subjects giving each type)	C. Metonymy/ies possibly guiding activation of A
<p>A.1. T's mention of M's increase in body width (5) Of these: + T's mention of M's remarkable weight gain (3) (see A.2 below)</p> <p><i>Example literal answer:</i> "Probably because he's been touching her (with the hug and his arm around her waist) so she's thinking about her physical body, and he mentions the weight she's gained. When people gain weight, they sometimes refer to themselves as fat or fatter."</p>	<p>- (MENTIONING) EFFECT (Y'S BODY FILLING UP X'S ARMS / Y'S BODY FITTING TIGHTLY IN X'S ARMS WHEN X HUGGING Y / WHEN X PUTTING X'S ARM AROUND Y'S WAIST) FOR (MENTIONING) CAUSE (Y HAVING GOTTEN FAT)</p>

<p>A.2. T's mention of M's remarkable weight gain (6) Of these: +weight increase in a short amount of time (1) + T's mentioning weight increase constitutes inadequate behavior (1) (connected to A.3)</p> <p><i>Example literal answer:</i> "Mary thinks he means she's gotten fat because he mentions her weight gain. Even though he brings it in a playful way he didn't have to mention how much she gained."</p>	<p>(SUGGESTING) CAUSE / EVENT (X'S REMARKABLE WEIGHT INCREASE) FOR (SUGGESTING) EFFECT / CO-OCCURRING EVENT (X'S HAVING GOTTEN FAT)</p>
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In type A.1, the dominant point for 5 respondents is T's mention of M's increase in body width / size, supplemented, for three of them, with T's mention of M's weight gain. In Type A.2, the dominant point for six respondents is T's mention of M's remarkable weight gain, combined for one of them with a negative judgment of T's behavior, and for another with the speed of this weight increase. We find a total of 11 answers between A.1 and A.2, the reason being that in several cases the same participant mentions several of these topics.

Table 6. Analysis of the less frequent types of answers (sources) to Q 4

A. Less frequent types of answers (n= total no. of subjects giving each type)	C. Metonymy/ies possibly guiding activation of A'
<p>A.3. Gaining weight: negative connotations for women + The fact that T points this out (1)</p> <p><i>Example literal answer:</i> "Gaining weight usually isn't seen as positive for women and he is acknowledging that he noticed".</p>	<p>- (SUGGESTING) CAUSE (WOMEN GAINING WEIGHT) FOR (SUGGESTING) EFFECT (WOMEN BEING NEGATIVELY AFFECTED).</p> <p>- EFFECT (X STATING THAT Y HAS GAINED WEIGHT) FOR CAUSE (X HAVING NOTICED THAT Y HAS GAINED WEIGHT).</p>

This answer highlights the negative connotations that weight gain has "for women" and T's (inadequate) mention of M's weight increase.

In sum, the main reasons (sources) suggested for M's interpretation (target) are T's mention of M's increase in body width, and T's mention of M's remarkable weight increase. And the main metonymies that the participants seem to have pointed out as guiding M's inference from T's words are (MENTIONING) EFFECT (X'S INCREASE IN BODY WIDTH) FOR (SUGGESTING) CAUSE (X'S HAVING GOTTEN FAT) and CAUSE / EVENT (X'S REMARKABLE WEIGHT INCREASE) FOR EFFECT / CO-OCCURRING EVENT (X'S HAVING GOTTEN FAT).

Table 7. Additional interpretations

INTERPRETATIONS	YES	NO
	Subject no.	Subject no.
(a) Because she ate very little breakfast.		1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9
(b) Because Tyrone says she has gained twenty pounds.	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9	
(c) Because she ought to reduce	4, 5,	1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9
(d) Because Tyrone says she can “fill” his arm with her waist.	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9	
(e) Because she eats too much	2	1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9

Most interpretations (except for those in bold) are consistent with the main answers (reasons / sources) to Q 4 given by the respondents.

4.3. Analysis of the answers (targets) to o-a Questions 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 (abbreviated as Q n).

Only the main answer and the main reason for each Q can be included in this subsection, to keep within space limits. The other answers and reasons, the examples of literal responses for Q 6-9, the specific comments on each answer, and the tables with “additional interpretations” had to be left out.

Table 8. Analysis of answers to Q 5-9

Open-answer question	A. Main type of answer	B. Main type of reason offered by subjects	C. Metonymy/ies possibly guiding activation of A by B
Q 5: <i>What does Tyrone mean by saying “I’ve the digestion of a young man of twenty, if I am sixty-five”?</i>	T means that he has fast metabolism / can eat a lot (8/9) <i>Example literal answer:</i> “He means that he can eat whatever or as many foods as he wants without gaining a lot of weight, like a young man, even though he is older, (...)”	Young people usually enjoy easy, fast metabolism, unlike old people Example literal reason: “It’s a common idea that young people have fast metabolisms while old people do not.”	EVENT / PROPERTY (HAVING A YOUNG MAN’S DIGESTION) FOR CO-OCCURRING EVENT / CONCOMITANT PROPERTY (HAVING A GOOD DIGESTION / EATING A LOT WITHOUT GAINING WEIGHT) + CATEGORY (OLD PEOPLE) FOR SALIENT PROPERTY (HAVING SLOW METABOLISM)
Q 6: <i>Why does Tyrone ask Mary “Is that why you ate so little breakfast?”</i>	T wants to know if M is eating little because she’s worried about her weight (7/9)	M says she ought to reduce	GOAL (REDUCING, LOSING WEIGHT) FOR MEANS (EATING LITTLE).

Q 7: <i>What does Mary mean by saying “No one could deny that”?</i>	M means that it is obvious T can eat a lot (5/9)	M shows her agreement with T (“You surely have...”)	No clear metonymic connection between “reasons expressed” and answer.
Q 8: <i>Could you please tell us what kind of a person Tyrone seems to be from what you have read?</i>	A kind older man who loves his wife (6/9)	Affectionate physical and verbal behavior	EFFECT (LOVING/ KIND BEHAVIOR) FOR CAUSE (LOVE / AFFECTION TOWARDS HIS WIFE)
Q 9: <i>Could you please tell us what kind of a person Mary seems to be from what you have read?</i>	Loving and kind-hearted, playful, but too self-conscious (5/9)	Affectionate behavior, playfully teasing, saying she should lose weight	-BEHAVIORAL EFFECT (VERBAL BEHAVIOR [PLAYFULLY RETURNING TEASING REMARKS TO SOMEONE]) FOR EMOTIONAL / ATTITUDINAL CAUSE (FRIENDLY ATTITUDE AND OR FEELING OF LOVE TO THAT PERSON). - BEHAVIORAL EFFECT / SYMPTOM (X STATING THAT X SHOULD LOSE WEIGHT) FOR CAUSAL STATE / ATTITUDE (X BEING CONSCIOUS OF X’S PHYSICAL APPEARANCE)

The responses to all the questions except Q 7 support the inferences and the metonymic reasoning leading to those inferences that I proposed in my own case study on this text (Barcelona forthcoming). The answers to Q 7 varied notably (some respondents said that M meant to highlight T’s good health, his youthful appearance or his need to be reassured that he was in good health). Those to Q 9 also varied notably. Four out of nine respondents pointed out M’s passivity (she “acts as a stereotypical wife”) as well as her insecurity. Most of the additional interpretations chosen by each participant were congruent with their answers to Q 5–9.

5. Reactions to proposed overall inferences: Results and brief analysis

Again, a lot of detail in this part of the qualitative study had to be left out, especially the less frequent answers and reasons (see Appendix, “Inferences”). The questionnaire now took this form:

Inferences

(a) *“Tyrone seems to be often unaware of the implications of his words.”*

YES / NO

Reasons

(The participants had some blank space immediately below to briefly give their reasons for their reaction.) The questionnaire had the same form as regards inferences (Inf) b–e. The analysis of the reactions is presented in Table 9.

Table 9. Analysis of the reactions to the overall inferences (Inf) proposed in the questionnaire.

Proposed overall inferences	A. Main type of reaction	B. Main type of reason offered by subjects	C. Metonymy/ies possibly guiding activation of A by B
Inf a: “T seems to be often unaware of the implications of his words.”	YES (8/9)	T’s reference to M’s weight gain	FACT /EFFECT (X NOT AVOIDING THE UNWANTED IMPLICATIONS OF X’S WORDS) FOR STANDARD EXPLANATION / CAUSE (X NOT BEING AWARE OF THOSE IMPLICATIONS).
Inf b: “T loves M very much, even with her extra weight, and he would keep loving her even if she gained still more weight.”	YES (8/9)	T reassures M and shows he loves her as she is	BEHAVIORAL EFFECT (LOVING VERBAL BEHAVIOR OF X TO Y (X SAYING THAT Y LOOKS FINE) FOR EMOTIONAL CAUSE (X LOVING Y VERY MUCH)
Inf c: “M implies that T eats too much and that he is a glutton.”	NO (8/9)	M is just teasing and does not mean that	No clear metonymy. Perhaps: FACT (VERBAL ACTION: X TEASING Y) FOR STANDARD IMPLICATION (X NOT SERIOUSLY CRITICIZING Y)
Inf d: “M shows an affectionate teasing attitude towards T.”	YES (6/9)	M responds with playful, harmless irony.	BEHAVIORAL EFFECT (X’S PLAYFUL, TEASING VERBAL BEHAVIOR TO Y) FOR CAUSE (X HAVING AN AFFECTIONATE, TEASING ATTITUDE TO Y).
Inf e: “T and M seem to have a good relationship.”	YES (6/9)	M and T: kind to e/o, physically affectionate, teasing e/o playfully.	BEHAVIORAL EFFECT / SYMPTOM (X SMILING AFFECTIONATELY AT Y, Y CARING ABOUT X...) FOR CAUSE / STATE / SITUATION (X AND Y HAVING A GOOD RELATIONSHIP)

Curiously, most participants rejected Inference c, although T makes that inference himself. But most of them accepted the other overall inferences (“targets”), thus confirming my own inferences in my previous analysis of the text. The reasons (“sources”) they gave seem to confirm to a large extent the metonymies that I argued in that analysis to guide the derivation of those inferences. Note that the latter are “overall” inferences, that is, second order, global inferences invited by the whole text, not local inferences derived from a part of the text. Admittedly, eliciting the reaction to these inferences directly rather than by asking the respondents first to draw their own inferences by means of o-a questions and then asking them to provide their reason may have minimally biased their answers.

6. Discussion

Throughout the questionnaire, the respondents derived several pragmatic inferences from certain parts or from the whole of the text. These inferences were revealed through their answers to the o-a questions, through their reactions to the additional interpretations proposed by the questionnaire after most o-a questions, and through their reactions to the five overall inferences tested in the third section of the questionnaire.

The inferences derived by each participant were congruent with those derived from most of the other participants. Most of these inferences were also congruent with those I had advanced in my earlier analysis and so confirmed it to a large extent.

But they were also widely different from each other in minute points of detail. This is an important fact that lack of space prevented me from commenting on in depth above. It reflects the well-known fact that different speakers do not process the same information uniformly and is a further reason for the use of qualitative studies.

The “reasons” given by each participant for their answers to the o-a questions (except for Q 4, whose answer was in fact a possible reason for one of M’s explicit inferences), and those they stated for their reactions to the inferences in the third section of the questionnaire, were in most cases congruent with each other and with my own earlier analysis, again within a wide variety in points of detail.

The results of the qualitative study reveal that the participants had used metonymic reasoning in their connection between their reasons for their answers (sources) and the answers themselves (targets) that seems to respond to major high-level metonymy patterns (EFFECT FOR CAUSE, CATEGORY FOR PROPERTY, EVENT FOR CO-OCCURRING EVENT, etc.). The *main result* of the study is that it suggests that readers are regularly guided by metonymy (together with general pragmatic principles and encyclopedic knowledge) when drawing pragmatic inferences from texts. This result has far-reaching implications for the theory and practice of discourse analysis, communication studies and linguistics in general.

As for the *limitations* of the study, it must be acknowledged that despite my careful attempt at ensuring objectivity, my subjective judgment was still involved in my categorization of the participants’ answers and reasons, and in the determination of the precise metonymic patterns involved. As regards the latter issue, I was helped by the metonymy database developed by our research group (Blanco Carrión et al., 2018).

The use of “indirect” (psycholinguistic) and other empirical methods (see González Márquez et al., 2006) would doubtless supplement this study. However, there has been too little experimental research on metonymy from a CL perspective to date (Toth, 2018, p. 174–175), and even less on metonymy and discourse inferencing.

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Appendix

Excerpts from the questionnaire in the qualitative study⁴

INSTRUCTIONS

This is just an experiment to test how people draw inferences when they read a text.

There are no good or bad answers.

The answers are anonymous.

Steps to be followed

Read this text and then answer a few questions in the remaining sheets.

Please answer *all* of them even if the answer seems obvious to you.

Text

A small fragment of the initial conversation in the only scene in Act 1 of Eugene O'Neill's play *Long Day's Journey into Night*

SCENE

(A part of the initial stage direction)

Living room of James Tyrone's summer house on a morning in August, 1912.

Mary Tyrone and her husband enter together from the back parlor, coming from the dining-room.

Mary is fifty-four, about medium height. James Tyrone is sixty-five but looks ten years younger.

Tyrone's arm is around his wife's waist as they appear from the back parlor. Entering the living room, he gives her a playful hug.

1. TYRONE. You're a fine armful now, Mary, with those twenty pounds you've gained.
2. MARY (*smiles affectionately*). I've gotten fat, you mean, dear. I really ought to reduce.
3. TYRONE. None of that, my lady! You're just right. We'll have no talk of reducing. Is that why you ate so little breakfast?
4. MARY. So little? I thought I ate a lot.

⁴ The punctuation mark (. . .) indicates the parts of the original questionnaire left out of the excerpt.

5. TYRONE. You didn't. Not as much as I'd like to see, anyway.
6. MARY (*teasingly*). Oh you! You expect everyone to eat the enormous breakfast you do. No one else in the world could without dying of indigestion. (*She comes forward to stand by the right of table.*)
7. TYRONE (*following her*). I hope I'm not as big a glutton as that sounds. (*With hearty satisfaction.*) But thank God, I've kept my appetite and I've the digestion of a young man of twenty, if I am sixty-five.
8. MARY. You surely have, James. No one could deny that.

(*She laughs and sits in the wicker armchair at right rear of table (. . .)*).

NOTE: THE LINES IN THAT DIALOGUE HAVE BEEN NUMBERED FOR EASY REFERENCE

QUESTIONNAIRE

Question 1

How old are you? _____

Are you a native speaker of English (please circle your answer)? YES / NO

Have you ever read or watched this play? YES/NO

Question 2

NOW LOOK AT THE FINAL PARAGRAPH IN THE STAGE DIRECTION (THE ONE BEGINNING WITH "*Tyrone's arm is around his wife's waist*")

What does the first sentence in this paragraph ("*Tyrone's arm is around his wife's waist as they appear from the back parlor*") suggest to you about Tyrone's affective relationship with Mary?

Please indicate your brief reply here:

Give your reasons for your answer here:

 PAGE BREAK HERE IN ORIGINAL QUESTIONNAIRE

Now please say whether you agree (put an X under "YES") or disagree (put an X under "NO") with the following interpretations of Tyrone's words.

NOTE: You can mark more than one interpretation with "YES".

(. . .)

Question 3

What does the second sentence in the last paragraph of the stage direction (“*Entering the living room he gives her a playful hug*”) suggest to you about the relationship between Tyrone and Mary and about Tyrone’s state of mind?

(. . .)

 PAGE BREAK HERE IN ORIGINAL QUESTIONNAIRE

NOW PLEASE INDICATE WHETHER OR NOT YOU AGREE THAT THE FOLLOWING INFERENCES OR STATEMENTS ABOUT TYRONE, MARY AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP ARE ALREADY SUGGESTED BY THE TEXT THAT YOU HAVE READ.

IF YOU AGREE, PLEASE BRIEFLY TELL US WHY IN THE SPACE PROVIDED

Inferences:

(a) “Tyrone seems to be often unaware of the implications of his words.”

YES / NO

Reasons

(b) “Tyrone loves Mary very much, even with her extra weight, and he would keep loving her even if she gained still more weight”

YES / NO

Reasons

(. . .)

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How to Point with Language: English Source-Based Language to Describe Taste Qualities

ABSTRACT

Western languages notoriously lack specific, abstract vocabulary to describe sensory perception. Despite the paucity of specific lexical items, descriptions of sensory characteristics of food abound in English. One of the most common strategies is source-based language (e.g., *creamy*), which allows speakers to evaluate and communicate a current sensory experience with respect to a prototypical source of the sensation. The aim of this paper is to review the different morpho-syntactic patterns used to convey source-based information to describe flavour, and to provide a taxonomy of the constructions involved. The three types of source-based language discussed are organised along a cline from more analytical (i.e., X tastes like Y), to more synthetic (i.e., adjectival suffixes), with a medial stage in which the source of the sensation is morphologically free, but syntactically embedded in constructions following the pattern N1 of N2 (e.g., *a splash of chilli*). Previous literature has accounted for this phenomenon either as motivated by conceptual metonymy, or as a case of “pointing structures”. I argue that the two different theoretical accounts need not be in stark opposition, rather they both contribute to our understanding of the figurative usage of concrete items in language. Data were retrieved online from a collection of gin Tasting Notes, created by expert tasters to evaluate the flavour profile of the liquor.

Keywords: source-based language, taste description, metonymy, indexicality, pointing

1. Introduction

Investigations into the language of the senses have been gaining momentum recently. Although Cognitive Linguistics has always been concerned with the complex relationship between bodily experiences, the mind and language (Sweetser, 1990), the most frequently represented sense in research has been colour vision (Berlin & Kay, 1969; Sandford, 2017, 2018). There have been notable exceptions, such as Ibarretxe-Antuñano (1996, 1997) who investigates the sense of smell in Basque; Evans and Wilkins (1998) concentrate on the sense of hearing in Australian aboriginal cultures. More recently, scholars have focused on the whole array of perceptual modalities: for instance, Trojszczak (2019) deals with the sense of touch, Julich (2019) examines the language of music, Speed and Majid (2019) explore the “neglected senses” of touch, smell, and taste. Bagli (2021) authored a monograph on the sense of taste in English, and Toratani (2022) edited a volume on the Language

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of Food in Japanese. Winter (2019), labels this renovated interest in the relationship between language and the senses as *Sensory linguistics* in the homonymous book, a line of investigation nestled within Cognitive Linguistics. Winter (2019) adopts usage-based methodologies, quantifiable psycholinguistic measures elicited through psychological experiments, aggregated ratings and sensory norms (Lynott & Connell, 2009) to offer an accurate representation of the human sensorium.

Sensory linguistic research has shown that Western languages tend to lack abstract, entrenched, lexicalised items to describe the chemical senses, i.e., *taste* and *smell* (Ankerstein & Pereira, 2013; Holz, 2007: p. 186), thus leading to some scholars suggesting that odours and tastes are inexpressible in language. Contrary to most Indo-European languages, non-Western languages exhibit a different behaviour, as epitomised by the lexicon of smell in the so called “smell cultures” (Burenhult & Majid, 2011; Classen, 1993). For instance, Jahai speakers in the Malay peninsula have twelve abstract basic smell terms at their disposal, often derived from a prototypical source, which however may be extended also to other sensations. Under experimental conditions, Jahai speakers depart from source-based language and provide abstract smell descriptions (Majid et al., 2018). The existence of different terms in other languages to describe the lowest sensory modalities suggests that odours and flavours indeed are expressible in Language, as long as the language spoken by a community contains these terms (Majid & Burenhult, 2014). Thus, the development of abstract concepts and categories to discuss perception is linked to cultural preoccupations, and the lack of lexicalised items in Western languages to discuss lower perceptual modalities does not imply that odours or tastes are inexpressible in language (Levinson & Majid, 2014).

Western societies have recently started to reconsider the role of the lower senses among their cultural preoccupations: informal social gatherings, TV shows, blogs, and official contests in which the sensory qualities of various food and drinks are appreciated and described abound. The food industry has a dedicated stage during the production process in which expert tasters assess and evaluate the sensory attributes of food, with specific terminologies and jargons (e.g., Drake & Civille, 2002; O’Mahony et al., 1990). In linguistics, wine is the product that has received most attention, and Olive Oil follows (López Arrojo & Sanz Valdivieso, 2019). Lehrer scientifically approached the study of the language of wine in *Talking about wine* (1975) and *Wine and conversation* (2009). Lehrer’s main interests lied in semantics and an exploration of the semantic field of the adjectives that describe the sensory qualities of wine. Recent research on winespeak and Tasting Notes (TNs)¹ has focused on textual and discourse aspects (e.g., Morrot et al., 2001) and

¹ Tasting Notes are the result of the professional activity of evaluating a product through taste. They are brief texts (20–100 words on average), see Caballero et al. (2019) for a full assessment.

on the figurative mechanisms involved (Caballero, 2007; Paradis, 2010; Paradis & Hommerberg, 2016).

The language used in these specific contexts is revealing of common strategies to overcome the dearth of specific lexical items. Besides frequent reliance on conceptual metaphors, the most common of these strategies is source-based language. The present paper aims at surveying the different morphological and syntactic configurations through which source-based language is deployed in English and shows how its realisations move along a cline from more analytical to more synthetic. Furthermore, it aims at identifying and unifying in a single theoretical model the various linguistic manifestations of source-based language, retrieved through a small corpus of tasting notes of gin.

2. Source-based language

Source-based language is a common strategy in the description of sensory experience. It involves the evaluation of a current sensation by referring to a concrete source of a similar (or indeed the same) sensation; for instance, *it tastes like lemon*. Although it is often discussed in relation to the lexicon of taste and smell, it is common also in the description of other sensory modalities. Plümacher (2007) discusses and identifies two main ways in which the source of a sensation motivates the name of specific colour hues, where a frequent strategy is “to name a shade by pointing to the prototypical colour of a well-known object” (p. 66), evident in colour names such as *olive*, *salmon*, or *peach*. Another common strategy identified is to name a colour by referring to the pigments or dyes that produce the colour (see also Gage, 2001; Schweppe, 1993). Examples of this strategy include colour names such as Eng. *purple* from Lat. *purpura*, a marine mollusc used to dye clothes; or Eng. *cochineal*, an insect which is used to produce bright carmine dyes. Not only are specific hues cases of source-based language, but even most English Basic Colour Terms ultimately derive from a prototypical source: the name *orange* developed from Sp. *naranja*, and the name *pink* derives from the prototypical colour of carnation flowers (Sandford, 2021, p. 223). Furthermore, despite not being evident in contemporary English, even the name *yellow* is connected to an Indo-European stem **ghel-* or **ghól* that developed in words such as *gall* or *gold* (Wyler, 2007, p. 118). This phenomenon is particularly evident in commercial names for hues, which often encapsulate real entities from the real world, such as landscape, trees, and minerals (p. 117).

In the discourse of food evaluation, the array of morphological and syntactic strategies deployed to encode sources of a sensation is variegated. A source of a given sensation may be encoded analytically by using a perception verb complemented by a PP headed by *like*, as in *It tastes/smells like lemon*, thus establishing an evaluative comparison between a current sensation and the memory of a similar one. In specific contexts of usage, such as Tasting Notes, the

predicate may even be omitted, and the source of the sensation is simply listed. Alternatively, the source may be encoded in NPs headed by a noun complemented by a PP specifying the source, following the binomial construction N1 *of* N2 e.g., *notes of lemon*. In this type of constructions, N1s typically function as syntactic heads, while N2s specify the semantic content of the binomial (Benigni & Latos, forthcoming). N1s may convey information about its quantity (e.g., *lots of lemon*), or specify whether the sensation is olfactory (e.g., *a whiff of lemon*). Finally, the third linguistic strategy to encode sources of a sensation in the lexicon is through morphological derivation. The most frequent case is through the suffix *-y* attached to the source, i.e., the morphological root: e.g., *It tastes/smells lemony*.

Source-based language is especially common in experts' speech (Crojijmans & Majid, 2016; Drake & Civile, 2002), as it allows for higher accuracy. There are however some drawbacks that may arise from its usage: while it is efficient among experts, it may be perceived as eccentric and obscure to non-experts who may not have had experience of the specific source. For instance, describing the taste of a gin as having "notes of bamboo sprouts" does not provide any information to a taster who has never tasted bamboo. Source-based language needs to be conventionalized among a community of speakers to be communicative.

3. Theoretical assessment

In Cognitive Semantics, Source-based language has been accounted for as cases of conceptual metonymy, in which a concrete object (the source) functions as the vehicle providing access to a specific aspect of the experience it produces (Bagli, 2021, p. 62–63; Cacciari, 2008, p. 426; Winter, 2019, p. 24). The expression of a specific object evokes an ICM (Idealised Cognitive Model) (Lakoff, 1987; see also Evans, 2007, p. 104), which contains perceptual information associated to the object. Thus, communication is successful only if the interpreter of source-based language can select the relevant information within the ICM. The metonymy may be formalised as PRODUCER STANDS FOR PRODUCT, or WHOLE (object) STANDS FOR PART (sensation). The relevant part of the ICM is selected contextually. In the case of analytical source-based descriptions, for instance, the sensation we are referring to is selected by the verb: e.g., *This looks/ tastes/ smells like lemon*. The choice of the verbal component restricts the interpretation of the utterance, and helps the interlocutor select the relevant PART of the experience ICM produced by the WHOLE lexical item "lemon".

Winter (2019, pp. 23–25) proposes a different account, discussing the phenomenon of source-based language as a case of indexicality, one of the fundamental semiotic strategies described by Pierce (1903). According to Pierce, signs may be classified in three major groups: *symbols*, *icons*, and *indices*. A symbol is an association between a sign and its meaning, which is shared and accepted among a community of speakers. For instance, most of the words of a language are symbols. Icons instead are signs that physically resemble their

meaning. For instance, the representation of a bin on the desktop of our computers *resembles* an actual bin, and it is used to dispose of unwanted material in the machine. Lastly, *indices* are signs that present a physical or causal connection with the entity they signify. For instance, dark heavy clouds in the sky are an index for a storm approaching. Clark (1996) elaborates on Pierce's division and concludes that symbols *describe* an object *as* a member of a given category; icons *depict*, and indices *identify*.

One of the most common and widespread cases of an indexical sign deployed in animal communication is pointing. It is one of the first forms of pre-verbal communications that infants develop. Around their first year of age, human babies start pointing at objects to convey different intentions, mainly as imperatives (children point at the object they want, or that is involved in an action they want to be performed by a caregiver), or as declaratives (children point to convey and direct attention towards something that has elicited an emotional state) (Tomasello, 2008, pp. 111–116). Considering that also chimpanzees have been observed producing pointing gestures, almost certainly not by imitation of humans, Tomasello (2008) argues that

the most plausible hypothesis at the moment is that infants do not acquire their pointing gesture by imitating others; rather it comes naturally to them in some way – perhaps as a non-social orienting action that becomes socialized in interaction with others. (p. 111)

Source-based language may be successfully analysed as the linguistic counterpart of a pointing gesture. The source of a sensation is *indicated* (identified, in Clark's terms) through its name, and it is encapsulated in a specific construction that directs the speakers' attention to that specific object. Therefore, source-based expressions are an instantiation of *indexicality*, in which a speaker uses a linguistic construction to *point at* the source of a sensation to describe a current perceptual sensation under evaluation.

The two different theoretical accounts are not in opposition. Metonymic relations may be related to indices (Littlemore, 2016, p. 120), to the extent that indexicality may be regarded as one of the central elements of metonymic relations. Although “not all types of metonymy appear to be based on indexical relations and not all indexical relations give rise to metonymy” (Radden, 2018, p. 173), the two mechanisms are closely related, and source-based language represents one of such areas in which the two cooperate.

4. Instances of source-based language in gustatory descriptions

Source-based language may be characterised as a conceptual metonymy based on an indexical relation. What are the syntactic and morphological structures that may be deployed in English to realise this type of relation?

To answer this question, I will analyse linguistic data emerging from an analysis of Tasting Notes of gin. This liquor was chosen because its distilling process requires the infusion of specific aromas, called *botanicals*, which impart specific flavour profiles to the final product. Expert tasters therefore heavily resort on source-based language to identify the different aspects of the sensory experience. The data I analysed were collected online from the International Wine and Spirit Competition (IWSC) website, a British association that organizes a yearly international competition for distillers and wine-makers world-wide. Each product is assessed by a group of professional tasters, and subsequently rated by assigning different points along a scale. The TNs of each product are available online on the website of the competition and may be downloaded². I compiled a corpus of TNs describing gins that entered the competition in 2021. I limited the search to spirits distilled in England and selected only those which were not mixed with tonic water. This yielded to a corpus of 5000 words, which was run on SketchEngine to find relevant patterns and to elicit wordlists. The different strategies are categorised according to their morpho-syntactic patterns.

4.1 Analytical construction

The most basic pointing strategy is the analytical construction, in which pointing is achieved through direct mentioning of the source, and the interpretation of the meaning relies on textual context. The prototypical construction in this category is “Subj tastes/ smells like source”, yet it is not retrieved in the corpus under investigation³. I argue that this is related to the type of texts that make up the corpus: in the context of a Tasting Note, it would be redundant to reiterate that the substance under evaluation “tastes like” or “smells like” something, as the purpose of the textual genre is that of describing a flavour profile. The sources instead are simply listed, as in (1):

(1)

Pink grapefruit, citrus and juniper combine with subtle **star anise** and **pepper** to finish.

In (1) the sources are identified without explicitly stating that the relevant aspect of experience evoked is their *flavour*. The metonymic selection of the relevant part of the ICM is either operated by the larger context of textual genre, or it is triggered by specific terminology of the tasting event, as in (2):

² Retrieved April 29, 2022, from <https://iwsc.net>.

³ A cursory search in *The Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA) (see Davies, 2008) for the collocation “tastes like” yields 1k results.

(2)

Ripening citrus zest to the **nose** and juniper and ginseng identifiable on the **palate**. A slightly dry, spiced finish.

In (2), the different stages of the development of taste are indexed with reference to the relevant part of the body involved in the process: the **nose** refers to the preliminary smelling phase, while the **palate** refers to the tasting stage (Caballero et al, 2019). In both (1) and (2), the sources of the sensation are expressed analytically, by simply stating what a current sensation is reminiscent of.

4.2 Light Nouns

The sources of specific perception are often encoded in Noun Phrases where Light Nouns appear. In previous literature, binomial constructions of the type N1 of N2 have been analysed as classifiers (Taylor, 2002; Xiao, 2008, as measure terms (Croft, 1994), as quantifiers (Aikhenvald, 2000) or measure nouns (Brems, 2003, 2010). Following Simone and Masini (2014, p. 52; see also Simone & Masini, 2009), I refer to this pattern as “Light Nouns construction”, i.e., a construction headed by nouns whose referentiality weakens under special syntactic conditions and which are semantically bleached to take on (some level of) grammatical meaning. While the class of Light Nouns contain different subclasses, such as taxonomic nouns (e.g., *type*) and aspectual operators (e.g., *stroke*, as in *stroke of luck*: Mastrofini, 2022; see also Pepper, 2022), the nouns retrieved in source-based language are mainly quantifiers and classifiers, which are considered by Simone and Masini (2014, pp. 58–59) as a unified class.

The list of Light Nouns retrieved in the corpus is illustrated in Table 1. The most common construction in which they appear is N1 of N2, in which N1 is the Light Noun and N2 encodes the source of the sensation (e.g., *a touch of sage*). Other nominal constructions include N2 N1 where the source of the sensation operates as modifier of the Light Noun (e.g., *juniper hints*). Lastly, the source may be encoded by an adjective in the pattern Adj N1 (e.g., *floral touch*, *woody tones*): this strategy is discussed more in depth in the following paragraph. However, these results are listed here to allow discussion of the nominal part of the NPs.

Table 1 reports the Light Nouns retrieved in the corpus; the first column lists the lexical item; the second column reports its relevant definition in the OED; and the third column provides examples of usage. The Light Nouns frequently describe a small quantity of the source of the sensation, as in, e.g., *a smidge of orange zest*. In other cases, they may refer to more considerable quantities, as in, e.g., *an abundance of juniper*. The usage of most nouns as Light Nouns may be accounted for through a metaphorical shift: e.g., *hit*, *drops*, *splash*, *pinch* (see Benigni & Latos, forthcoming, for a metaphorical analysis). Notably, some of these nouns derive from other perceptual modalities: e.g., *touch*, *tone*, *tingle*. There are also

Table 1. Light Nouns in source-based language

lexical item	definition	example
<i>abundance</i>	An overflowing quantity or amount (of something); a large quantity; plenty. (OED 1)	an <i>abundance</i> of juniper.
<i>drop</i>	Such a quantity as would fall in, or form, a single drop; the smallest appreciable quantity. (OED 5a)	orange and pear <i>drops</i> .
<i>hint</i>	A slight indication intended to be caught by the intelligent (OED 2a)	a <i>hint</i> of strawberry aroma; <i>hints</i> of citrus; <i>Hints</i> of soft liquorice; juniper <i>hints</i> .
<i>hit</i>	A blow given to something aimed at; a stroke (at cricket, billiards, etc.); the collision or impact of one body with another. (OED 1a)	big <i>hit</i> of cardamom.
<i>lot</i>	A number of things or animals of the same kind, or associated in some way; a quantity or amount of something; a set, a group; spec. a batch or consignment of goods, livestock, etc. Chiefly with of. (OED IV 15)	<i>lots</i> of fresh mint.
<i>note</i>	A component of the aroma or flavour of a food or drink, esp. of a wine. (OED 10c)	<i>notes</i> of coriander; creamy <i>notes</i> ; delicate citrus <i>notes</i>
<i>pinch</i>	An amount (chiefly of a powdered substance, esp. snuff) that may be taken up between a finger and thumb. Hence in extended use: a very small quantity. (OED III. 12)	a <i>pinch</i> of spice.
<i>smattering</i>	A small amount or number. (OED 1c)	<i>smatterings</i> of florality.
<i>smidge</i>	Chiefly with a and followed by of. A tiny amount of something; a little bit; a trace. (OED 1)	a <i>smidge</i> of orange zest.
<i>splash</i>	A quantity of some fluid or semi-liquid substance dashed or dropped upon a surface. (OED 1a)	a <i>splash</i> of chilli warmth.
<i>streak</i>	A thin irregular line of a different colour or substance from that of the material or surface of which it forms a part. (OED 2a)	a lovely <i>streak</i> of chamomile.
<i>tingle</i>	A tingling sensation in a part of the body, or the tingling action or effect of cold, etc.; frequently figurative or hyperbolic, with reference to mental or emotional pain, or (now esp.) excitement or stimulation. (OED B2)	a wood spice <i>tingle</i> .
<i>tone</i>	A musical or vocal sound considered with reference to its quality, as acute or grave, sweet or harsh, loud or soft, clear or dull. (OED 1)	woody <i>tones</i> on the palate.
<i>touch</i>	A mark made by touching; a small quantity of any substance deposited by, or as if by, a light or brief touch; a dab. (OED 10a)	a <i>touch</i> of sage and pine; Floral <i>touch</i>

<i>whack</i>	A vigorous stroke with a stick or the like; a heavy resounding blow; also the sound of this. (OED 1a)	Powerful <i>whack</i> of seaside juniper.
<i>whiff</i>	A slight puff or gust of wind, a breath. (OED 1a)	a <i>whiff</i> of juniper.
<i>whisp</i>	A slight blast or puff (of wind) or sprinkle (of rain). (OED 1a)	a <i>whisp</i> of lavender.

two Light Nouns that originate in odour vocabulary, i.e., *whiff* and *whisp*, thus referring to the aroma of the gin. The nominal constructions with Light Nouns often sponsor a complex figurative understanding, in which the syntactic head of the construction N1 specifies a quantity of a source expressed in N2, which requires a metonymical understanding to be decoded, following the metonymy WHOLE (of the source) FOR PART (of its physical properties).

The encoding of a perceptual source through Light Nouns is a “hybrid” construction on the scale from analytical to synthetic: although the source appears freely, it is syntactically embedded in a PP complementing the Light Noun. In this type of pointing construction, interpretation is achieved through the syntagmatic context in which the source appears.

4.3 Derivation

The last category of pointing strategies is represented by morphological derivation. The source of the sensation is expressed as the root of a denominal adjective. Pointing is achieved through morphological devices: the most common suffix is *-y*. The production of new lexical items through this process was already noted by Lehrer (2009, pp. 19–20), who finds it as the most productive mechanism of lexical expansion in the description of wine. Typically, this suffix is attached to concrete objects with the meaning of “having” or “resembling”, and it is often difficult to disentangle the two meanings in source-based language (Bagli, 2021, p. 64; Lehrer, 2009, p. 19).

This strategy paves the way to lexicalisation, as evidenced from English Basic Taste Terms *salty* and *savoury*, morphologically derived from a source (Bagli, 2021). Other terms, such as *fruity* and *juicy*, despite not qualifying as Basic Taste Terms, were produced by native speakers in a free-listing task (Bagli, 2021, pp. 51–67), thus suggesting that they are not ad-hoc constructions, rather they are stable and conventional adjectives in the description of taste.

Notably, the analysis of the corpus has evidenced other morphological devices that may be used to encode the source of a specific sensation in English. These are listed in Table 2:

Table 2. List of morphological patterns to encode sources

device	examples
-y	<i>herby, woody, piney, oaky, leafy, grassy, and peppery</i>
-al	<i>floral, herbal, vegetal</i>
-ic	<i>citric</i>
-(e)ous	<i>herbaceous</i>
-like	<i>cactus-like</i>
-led	<i>citrus-led</i>

The suffixes listed in Table 2 are morphological devices through which speakers of English may point at a specific source of a sensation, as specified by their definitions in the OED.

The suffix *-al* creates adjectives having the meaning “of or relating to that which is denoted by the first element” (OED, *-al*). The suffix *-ic* ultimately derives from Greek, where it had among other meanings that of “of the nature of”, “of” (OED, *-ic* suffix). Likewise, the suffix *-(e)ous* is used in English to form adjectives “with the sense ‘abounding in, full of, characterized by, of the nature of (what is denoted by the first element of the compound)’” (OED, *-ous*), thus instantiating again a case of source-based language. The suffix *-like* is also used in English to create adjectives (and adverbs) from nouns, having the meaning of “similar to or of the nature of –” (OED *-like* suffix). Finally, the suffix *-led* is used to create adjectives as in (3):

(3)

Citrus-led nose continuing across the palate with a firm juniper core.

The lexical item *citrus-led* in (3) may be paraphrased as *The nose of the gin is led by citrus*, thus instantiating a case of metaphorically driven word-formation, in which the aroma of the product is conceptualised as motion, and the source of the sensation is the propelling force throughout the event of sensory appreciation.

Morphological derivation is the most synthetic of the three constructions, as the source undergoes suffixation, therefore triggering the indexical interpretation. Despite being comparatively more straightforward, the correct interpretation still relies on context: describing something as e.g., *woody* may describe qualities experienced through touch (i.e., solidity), through vision (i.e., colour or visual texture), or through taste.

5. Discussion

The results reviewed in this paper illustrate three common strategies through which a specific source of a sensation may be encoded in English. These are the analytical construction, the Light Nouns construction, and the synthetic construction. The same source may be pointed at along the three, as in, e.g., *clear*

pine flavours; soft *pine* notes; *piney* juniper and *angelica* aromas, or it may be restricted to lexicalised forms, such as *floral* or *fruity*. In all cases, the lexical items expressing the concrete source of the sensation establish an indexical relationship with the experience they refer to. Language points at a specific source, which in turn evokes an Idealised Cognitive Model containing perceptual information associated to the source. In the case of *pine*, for instance, it could be the colour, the shape, the feeling on the skin, or its flavour. The linguistic and discursive context restricts the possibilities of interpretation and activates a conceptual metonymy that regulates the decoding of the message. This is particularly evident in the case of the analytical construction, in which the sources of the experience are simply listed in the description of the flavour profile. A certain degree of contextual selection is needed also in more synthetic constructions, as the specific aspect of experience that is pointed at through derivation may not be univocal. Therefore, it needs to be selected among a range of different characteristics that are present in the ICM. The medial structure instead seems to be more straightforward: the Light Nouns heading the NPs operate as a semantic specifier of the relevant aspect of the source encoded by the N2, thus evoking the correct construal for the interpretation of the evaluation.

The construction of the Idealised Cognitive Model relies on encyclopaedic knowledge: it is vital that the speakers share background information. Using an obscure source of the sensation equals pointing to something out of the immediate context of the speaker. To overcome this problem, professional tasters are trained to agree on specific perceptual qualities, therefore creating a shared background knowledge (O'Mahony, 1990). The same is not necessarily true for the naïve taster or liquor-enthusiast, who may feel puzzled when confronted with specific and exotic sources. The sources identified in this paper are nouns that mainly (but not necessarily) refer to edible items. Bagli (2021) also found that verbs (e.g., *crunchy* from *to crunch*) and interjections (e.g., *yummy* from *yum!*) may be used as potential sources.

Overall, the three strategies emerging from the corpus under-analysis may be organised in a uniform model by considering indexicality and metonymy as driving principles underlying these expressions. The most common example of indexicality in primate communication is the pointing gesture. This strategy arises in pre-verbal stages of language acquisition in *Homo sapiens*, and it has been observed also in close-related species, thus making it one of the most fundamental tools to direct joint attention and establish communication among individuals. Source-based language may therefore be seen as a case of linguistically pointing at a prototypical source of an experienced sensation. This is achieved through the linguistic enunciation of the source. Crucially, linguistically pointing alone is not sufficient in conveying the necessary information, as it does not provide enough clues on *which* aspect of the source the speaker is referring to. The selection of the relevant aspect of experience

is operated through metonymy, which is triggered by contextual clues available in the utterance under analysis. These clues may be syntactic, e.g., perceptual verbs or Light Nouns, or they may be retrieved from textual genre.

English does not display enough abstract lexical items to describe univocally each of the sensations arising from the sensorial profile of gin. In other words, the abstract terms in the lexicon of taste are not variegated enough to accommodate for a wide range of gustatory sensations. Indexicality and conceptual metonymy are cognitive strategies that enable our linguistic systems to be economical and avoid unnecessary proliferation of lexical items. Thus, reliance on the conceptual mechanism of metonymy to describe such specific aspects of experience further demonstrates that figurative language and thought are deeply engrained in our minds and in the linguistic system. They are so fundamental that they emerge even in structuring the lexicon of bodily perception, one of the most concrete areas of human experience.

6. Conclusion

Although English displays a limited range of abstract terms to describe gustatory perception (especially if compared to other non-western languages), speakers rely on concrete-based expressions to conceptualise a specific sensation. Cultural preoccupations foster the development of new social scenarios mediated by language, which adapts to fulfil new communicative needs, such as sensory evaluation of food. Source-based language is one of the most common strategies to describe a perceptual experience, and it rests on shared encyclopaedic knowledge among individuals. On one hand, the reference to a concrete source allows experts to be more accurate. On the other hand, it harbours referential opacity if perceptual information of the source is not shared among speakers.

The present paper has offered an overview of the different strategies deployed in English to point at a specific source of sensation through language. Although their morpho-syntactic structure differs, three main strategies have been identified and positioned on a scale from more analytical to more synthetic. These linguistic strategies may be successfully described by relying on a model that combines indexical relationships and metonymy, and it is analysed here in analogy with pointing gestures, one of the most basic examples of indexicality in human communication.

Despite specifically dealing with taste and smell, the phenomena described in this paper underlie the linguistic realisation of sensory descriptions also in different modalities. Source-based language is frequently retrieved in the description of colours and sounds as well, and it represents a common strategy on which speakers rely to convey specific information. Some of these items may reach a more stable and conventional status in the lexicon, and therefore become lexicalised. The synthetic strategy seems to be the one that most frequently favours lexicalisation

of adjectives in gustatory lexicon (e.g., *salty*, *spicy*). Future investigations should assess whether this is verified also in other sensory modalities. For instance, the lexicon of colour often uses the bare source of the sensation (e.g., *salmon* is a shade of pink, which is not frequently described as **salmony*), thus suggesting that colours prefer a different lexicalisation strategy.

Colour and visual perception have a large vocabulary at their disposal in Western languages, and this grants for higher levels of abstraction in their lexicon. In this perspective, source-based language is often accounted for as a suppletive strategy for lack of abstract terms, and it is most discussed in relation to sensory modalities that are particularly difficult to encode, such as taste and smell. Nonetheless, as other scholars have argued, source-based language is pervasive in any modality and in any evaluative description of perception. Further research should investigate if the strategies described in this paper are also common in other modalities, or if some of them are specific to certain perceptual dimensions. For instance, how are sources encoded in the description of sounds? What is the array of source-based strategies adopted in the description of colours? While the conceptual mechanisms underlying source-based language is not expected to vary, their morpho-syntactic realisation may be constrained by external factors. Moreover, future research should also assess the range of sources and their distribution across the senses. Unsurprisingly, most sources that emerge from this analysis are nouns that describe edible items (there are counterexamples: e.g., *pine* or *wood* are not typically consumed as food). Other modalities may not so heavily rely on nouns to be described: for instance, sounds may more heavily rely on verbs than nouns, considering that they are most frequently conveyed as verbs (Winter & Strik Lievers, 2018).

Another fruitful area of research should investigate whether the model of source-based language identified in this paper may also be applied to other areas of the lexicon, for example scientific terminology. The need to describe specific objects in minute details, such as the margins of a leaf, or their disposition on a branch, may lead to the deployment of the same conceptual strategies, but in different morpho-syntactic structures.

Overall, the research presented in this paper shows how language and communication overcome the dearth of abstract lexical items by relying on indexicality and metonymy to convey meaning and describe specific sensations. At the same time, it also shows the extent to which figurative mechanisms are engrained in our conceptualisation of reality. Bodily sensations rank among the most concrete experiences in life, and yet humans often rely on figurative mechanisms to communicate them. This is exemplified in the case of pointing with language, in which metonymy severs the relevant aspect of the source from the whole Gestalt of experience being pointed at, thus enabling communication and understanding.

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Spatial Metaphors in Reporting Emotions: The use of Emotional Deixis in Interviews with Parents of Children with a Language Disorder

ABSTRACT

The paper explores how Hungarian parents of children with a language disorder use emotional deixis to report their child's condition. Demonstrative pronouns and the metaphorical meaning of space, particularly proximity, are observed in a corpus of six interviews. The questions raised are: a) What entities and relations are typically referenced by emotional deixis? b) What kinds of metaphorical meanings are conveyed by spatial closeness in the use of demonstrative pronouns? Results show that the parents use proximal emotional deixis differently from the usual pattern; instead of expressing their internal direct and positive experience, they employ them to report fundamentally negative experiences of the child's condition, development, diagnosis or therapy, or other negative experiences. Such application of emotional deixis indicates an intense and vivid experience, namely mental and emotional proximity to negative experiences, which stems from the empathic parental role.

Keywords: demonstrative pronouns, emotional deixis, language disorder, metaphor, spatial metaphor

1. Introduction

The paper analyses the metaphorical interpretation of spatial deixis in interviews with parents of children with language disorders (Baranyiné Kóczy & Zajdó, 2022; for a comprehensive overview of deixis, see, e.g., Brisard, 2002; Levinson, 1983; Lyons, 1977). The study focuses on the proximal and distal types of emotional deixis (Lakoff, 1974; also known as *empathetic deixis*, Lyons, 1977) among interviewed parents. The research aims to explore linguistic patterns that reveal how parents feel about their children's state and how they report the difficulties they experience in childrearing, including the various situations they face concerning the child's educational progress and in building social relationships. Finally, the study seeks to answer the following questions: 1. What entities and relations are

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typically referenced by emotional deixis? 2. What kinds of metaphorical meanings are conveyed by spatial closeness in the use of demonstrative pronouns? The paper will primarily focus on the metaphorical interpretation of PROXIMITY in the corpus.

Earlier research has shown that the use of proximal demonstrative pronouns as deixis (“affective this”, Liberman, 2008; Potts & Schwartz, 2010, p. 2) is common in describing a speaker’s “internal direct experience” (Kamio, 1997, p. 18) when it is accompanied by positive emotions (Saeed, 2008). In contrast, distal deixis typically references negative phenomena that are emotionally distant from the speaker (Lakoff, 1974; Lyons, 1977; Potts & Schwarz, 2010; Saeed, 2008; Wolter, 2006; in the context of Hungarian folk songs, see Baranyiné Kóczy, 2018).

The results of the analysis, based on a corpus of six interviews (comprising almost 51 000 words), show (albeit to varying degrees in each interview) that parents of children with language disorders use deixis in a way that differs significantly from the usual dichotomy. Namely, they apply proximal deixis in situations where they report essentially negative experiences about their child’s condition and development, the process of diagnosis or therapy, or other uncomfortable situations the child has faced. In such cases, proximal deixis denotes a *reliving* of negative memories, which invoke intensive emotional experiences (emotional proximity). This can be explained by the empathic attitude that arises from the parenting role.

The paper is structured as follows: After a brief overview of the notions of *spatial deixis* and *emotional deixis*, the corpus and methodology are presented. The results are divided into three sections: a) the functions of demonstrative pronouns; b) the referents of demonstrative pronouns; c) the dynamics of space in deictic reference. The paper is wrapped up with a summary of observations.

2. Deixis in discourse

Languages provide various ways and means for categorizing situations, their participants and features, and the relations between them. A particular situation can be construed in alternate ways (Langacker, 1990; Verhagen, 2007), where perspective is one of the construal operations (Langacker, 1987), comprising linguistic manifestations of figure/ground alignment, viewpoint, deixis, and subjectivity/objectivity. The deictic function of language is related to the epistemic grounding of linguistic symbols (Brisard, 2002; Langacker, 2002), in which participants in a discourse interpret linguistic elements using the contextual information available to them. The deictic elements of language include personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, adverbs, and various lexical and morphological options, through which the speaker can draw the listener’s attention to the speech event, or the things and events connected with it, especially its spatial, temporal, and interpersonal relations (cf. Langacker 1987, p. 126).

Deixis is closely connected to the speaker's egocentric vantage point, the deictic center from which spatial and temporal elements are experienced and produced (Bühler, 1982). The listener is expected to take over the speaker's position mentally; however, the speaker may construe an event from a different vantage point than his own, utilizing deictic projection. Following Levinson's traditional tripartite classification (Levinson, 1983, p. 62), deixis is categorized into *personal*, *temporal*, and *spatial deixis*; this classification has also been maintained by recent cognitive linguistic approaches (cf. Marmaridou, 2000, pp. 74–96). A fourth type, *discourse deixis*, involves endophoric reference by reflecting on the discourse itself.

The present study focuses on spatial deixis and its prototypical linguistic representation demonstrative pronouns. Spatial deixis can be used to express relations primarily based on the processing of physical space or its metaphoric extension to temporal and discursive relations (Marmaridou, 2000, pp. 86–116), and also to mode, state, quality, and quantity, as well as to complex events (Laczkó, 2010).

Distance primarily depends on the speaker's knowledge of the actual spatial context of the speech event, the direction of attention, and the figure/ground alignment (cf. Wallace, 1982, p. 214). Attention can be associated with the intensity/energy level of cognitive processes, which is the degree of salience manifested in the figure/ground alignment (Langacker, 1987, p. 115). Proximal demonstrative pronouns thus perform the process of foregrounding some elements of the events, and they typically refer to those elements temporally close and known to both participants.

Demonstrative pronouns in Hungarian encompass a relatively large collection, because

along with nominal demonstratives, adjectival and adverbial forms of a similar procedural meaning have historically also arisen by the lexicalization of ancient pronominal stems with adjectival/adverbial suffixes. (Laczkó, 2010, p. 100)

As a result, demonstrative pronouns incorporate conceptual content referring to a spatial relationship and a schematic meaning component represented by the case marker they exhibit (p. 100). They may indicate either positional or directional deictic spatial reference involving proximal or distal relations, which is further marked in the vowel of the stem of the pronouns. Front-vowel forms invariably refer to proximal relations (*ez* [this], *itt* [here], *ilyen* [like this], *így* [in this way]), in contrast, back-vowel forms indicate the corresponding distal relations (*az* [that], *ott* [there], *olyan* [like that], *úgy* [in that way]) (p. 100, cf. Table 1). Adverbial demonstratives, which express quality, manner, purpose, cause, or time, also emerge from spatial deixis using a metaphoric extension.

Table 1. The system of Hungarian demonstrative pronouns (cf. Laczkó, 2010, p. 101)

	Proximal	Distal
Nominal	<i>ez</i> [this]	<i>az</i> [that]
Adjectival	<i>ekkora</i> [this size] <i>ilyen</i> [of this kind/sort, this kind of] <i>ennyi</i> [so much/many]	<i>akkora</i> [that size] <i>olyan</i> [of that kind/sort, that kind of] <i>annyi</i> [so much/many]
Adverbial	<i>itt</i> [here] <i>ide</i> [to this place] <i>ekkor</i> [at this time] <i>így</i> [in this way] etc.	<i>ott</i> [there] <i>oda</i> [to that place] <i>akkor</i> [at that time] <i>úgy</i> [in that way] etc.

In addition to its referential function, deixis can express the speaker's subjective attitude toward something, empathy, or emotional distance, called *emotional deixis* (Lakoff, 1974), or *empathetic deixis* (Lyons, 1977). Emotional deixis is grounded in the fact that different mental/emotional states result in different psychological distances, expressed in direct or less direct linguistic forms (e.g., Hashimoto, 2002). Regarding the speaker's mental state, the most vivid "internal direct experience" in the speaker's experience comes from internal feelings, such as pain, emotions, memories, or beliefs, which are directly perceptible to the experiencer (Kamio, 1997, p. 18). As Lakoff (1974, p. 347) puts it, emotional deixis indicates the speaker's emotional involvement, his evaluative attitude towards a given concept, and his intention to facilitate a sense of closeness and shared emotions between the participants. In (1), the distal demonstrative pronoun indicates a negative emotional attitude towards John (Lakoff, 1974, p. 347):

- (1)
John likes to kick puppies.
That¹ man's going to get his one of these days!

Lyons's (1977) term "empathetic deixis" (p. 677) demonstrates that deixis in affective use can also indicate the extent to which the speaker identifies with the listener's position. The choice of proximity-distance dichotomy depends on a number of physical and psychological factors and the internal factors of the referent. Saeed (2008) shows that, in general, English *this* represents emotional closeness, intimacy, vivid experience, and other positive attitudes. In contrast, *that* represents emotional distance, hostility, annoyance, resentment, and similar negative emotional attitudes (p. 405).

Examples that deviate from this schema are relatively rare; however, *this* may be associated with negative experiences when it indicates mental proximity to

¹ All emphasis (indicated by underlining) is that of the authors' throughout the article with the exception of examples cited from work by others.

a negative experience (Hashimoto, 2002). In examples (2) and (3), the proximal demonstrative pronoun *this* emphasizes the liveliness or intensity of the negative experience from the speaker's point of view:

(2)

What shall we do today?' said Mum, with this dreadful grin still plastered across her face. (Saeed, 2008, p. 404)

(3)

Ez teljesen hülye. [This /guy/² is totally stupid.]

3. Data and methodology

The analysis focused on six interviews³ (N1=9191, N2=7553, N3=10 997, N4=5029, N5=9628, N6=8529), in which the use of proximal emotional deixis was observed. The interviews were conducted with nine respondents, three with both parents and three with only the mother. The study uses a qualitative method to investigate the link between the application of deictic proximal demonstratives, particularly demonstrative pronouns, and the mental state of the speakers in the interviews. The semi-structured interview questions were developed by the Research Network members. Hungary was represented by the second author of this study, who translated the questions into Hungarian and collected the Hungarian data⁴. The interviews sought to find out how the parents of children with a language disorder comprehend the concept of language disorder, what experiences they have raising the child at home, at school, and in speech therapy services, and how they view the issues of integration of the child. The interviews lasted 1–1,5 hours, which were recorded and then transcribed. During the data processing, all identifying information was deleted or changed in the recorded material's description to ensure anonymity (for further details, see Baranyiné Kóczy & Zajdó, 2022).

During the analysis, difficulties sometimes arise in identifying deixis due to lack of precise knowledge of the discourse situation, especially its physical setting and the child's location during the interview. An additional problem is that the transcriptions give no clue about stress. For example, *így* 'like this, in this way', pronounced with emphasis can be understood as deixis, however, when pronounced unstressed, the same element functions as a discourse marker.

² In the translations, words and comments added in slashes are used to aid comprehension.

³ The interviews used for the research were conducted under the international research project COST Action IS1406 funded by the European Union (project leader: Prof. James Law, Newcastle University, UK) entitled *Enhancing children's oral language skills across Europe and beyond – a collaboration focusing on interventions for children with difficulties learning their first language*.

⁴ The human research ethics approval for the Hungarian data collection was issued by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the University of Győr (SZE-AK-2018/001).

4. Data analysis

4.1 Functions of proximal demonstrative pronouns

This section investigates the discursive functions expressed by proximal demonstrative pronouns in the interviews. In (4), *ez* [this] refers to a child's workbook:

(4)

Úgyhogy mindig hozza haza a füze(xxx), munkafüzeteket és akkor be van jelölve: *ez* is órai munka volt, *ez* is órai munka volt, *ez* házi feladat. És a Péter semmit nem csinál órán. Persze valahol ott van, mert tudja.

[So he always brings home his notebooks(xxx⁵) and workbooks, and then they are marked like: *this* /one/ was classwork, *this* /one/ was also classwork, and *this* /one/ is for homework. And Péter doesn't do anything in class. But, of course, he must be somewhere there because he knows it / the teaching material?/.]

This is a case of deictic projection when the parent recalls a schematic event of writing homework. In addition to the parent-workbook spatial closeness, proximity conveys the parent's negative emotions about the situation when she realizes that "Péter does nothing in class". By listing uncompleted tasks, the parent gives a sense of her mental burden due to the extra work she needs to do at home with the child.

It is worth comparing this with another part of the interview describing a similar situation where deictic projection is not applied. In this case the distal pronoun *ahhoz* [to that] indicates that it is not a vivid and problematic experience for the parent.

(5)

Avval, hogy hazajövünk, akkor mindjárt a matek, mert mindig a matekkal kö⁶ kezdeni. *Ahhoz* ragaszkodik.

[When we arrive home, it's maths because he always starts with maths. He insists on *that*.]

The proximal deixis is also used for people. In (6), the child's teacher is referenced by *ez* [this], who is positively evaluated by the speaker; however, the deictic *ez* [this] recalls a situation when the teacher reported about the child's learning difficulties.

(6)

I': ... a nyelv az nem megy annyira. Vajon miért nem?

⁵ X-es mean unintelligible speech. The number of x-es indicate the number of syllables judged as unintelligible.

⁶ The Hungarian language data contains dialectal phenomena.

⁷ I=interviewer, P=parent

P: Pedig annyira türelmes. Tényleg ez a... az Andi néni a magyartanárr, hogy egyszerűen azt mondja nem tudja.

[I: ... language doesn't go so well. Why not?]

P: But she is really patient. It's really this... Miss Andi is the Hungarian teacher.⁸ She simply says he (the child) doesn't know it.]

In (7) the parent partially shifts the deictic center to the child by deictic projection. Both *evvel* [with this] and *ez* [this] refer to the child's friend, which evoke the FRIENDSHIP IS PROXIMITY metaphor. Although it could imply the parent's happiness over the child's friendship, it is notable that the friend's name is unknown to her. The parent also communicates that the child has difficulty integrating into the class, and uses repetitive constructions, which implies anxiety.

(7)

Konkrét kimondott barátja nincsen neki. Beszélget mindenkivel, meg úgy próbálkozik. Mondjuk most evvel a... aki most a... padtársa most már jóideje. Ugye ide-oda rakosgatják ugye, hogy próbálgatják, hogy hol legyen. De most evvel a kis gyerekkel, most már két hónapja padtársak. Úgyhogy evvel úgy elvan. Főleg az, hogy az apukája rendőr neki, és ugye most öhm... a rendőr, meg a tűzoltó, meg ilyen. Ugye az érdekli. Úgyhogy azért (xxx). Úgyhogy most ez igen nagy barátja neki ez a gyerek.

[He has no specific friend in particular. He talks to everybody, and he is trying. Like now with this... who has been his... seatmate for a while now. You know, they've been moving him around, trying to find a place for him. But now, with this little child, they've been seatmates for two months. So he's okay with this. Especially that his /friend's/ daddy is a policeman, and now well... the policeman, fireman, and stuff. He's interested in that. So that's why (xxx). So now this is a good friend of his, this kid.]

In (8), the demonstrative *ilyen* [like this, such] summarizes Péter's learning behavior and his inferred personality trait (self-contained). This points not only to Péter's psychological traits but also to his behavioral problems at school, both stemming from his language impairment and affecting his social relationships. For example, Péter's behavior in class is construed by the parent from a distance, while she sums it up with a proximal deixis *ilyen* [like this, such]. Proximity here conveys the parent's despair and also addresses the listener to empathize with her.

(8)

Csak olyan makacs a Péter, hogy hát ha nincsen neki kedve, akkor nem veszi elő a könyvet. ... És akkor valamikor óra közbe, fél óra után előveszi a könyvet. Akkor... van amikor kinyitja és akkor csak nézegeti. Úgyhogy ilyen öntörvényű.

[It's just that Péter is so stubborn that he won't take out the book if he doesn't feel like it. ... Then he takes the book out sometime during the class, half an hour later. Then... sometimes, he opens it, and then he just looks at it. So he's so /=like this/ obstinate.]

⁸ The subject of Hungarian in the first years of the primary school includes reading, writing, and grammar.

From these examples, it can be concluded that the proximal demonstrative pronouns express the following functions in the parents' reports: close and vivid experience, emphasis, drawing the listener's attention to an empathic view of the referent or event, and negative evaluation. All of these represent some aspects of the parents' negative emotions when they describe their child's difficulties at school and at home, which directly impact parental and family life.

4.2 The types of referents of proximal demonstrative deixis

This section focuses on presenting the various types of referents denoted by proximal demonstratives, which also exhibit the parents' emotional attitude. The first category is the *disease/disability/learning disorder*⁹ (9–10).

(9)

Első évet én ki is hagytam, hogy tovább nem jártunk fejlesztésre. Azt hittem, hogy így behoztuk ezt a történetet. Aztán akkor megint látszódott a... a... ez akkor a középsős volt. Akkor megint látszódott ez a különbség és a (xxx).

[I skipped the first year, so we didn't go to therapy any further. So I thought that we made up for this story. And then we saw again the... the... this then (s)he was in the middle class [of kindergarten] again. Then again, you could see this difference and the (xxx).]

(10)

Már rendbe volt és elkezdett javulni. Úgyhogy ö... és ö... amik itt olvashatunk a szakvéleménybe, hogy erős szorongásos ö... tünetei vannak Timinek. Ezt én azt gondolom, hogy... hogy ide lehet visszavezetni, mer születésétől kezdve, olyan erős elszakadás félelme van a mai napig kilenc évesen.

[She was all right and started to improve. So, uh... and uh... what you can read here in the expert opinion is that Timi has severe anxiety uh... symptoms. This I think that... that it's here where it can be traced back to because, from birth, she has such an intense fear of separation to this day at the age of nine.]

In (9), *ezt* [this-ACC] refers to the language disorder in which the parent's expected improvement has not occurred. In (10), the mother reports about her child's severe condition in the hospital after birth due to an infection caused by hospital malpractice (use of a contaminated hypodermic needle). She is currently experiencing severe psychological distress as a result. The different proximal deixes highlighted in the data have various referents: the medical report, the child's current anxiety symptoms, and the child's critical condition after birth.

In (11), *ez* [this] refers to different aspects of the child's disorder.

(11)

⁹ The children may have had other disabilities, illnesses, or genetic syndromes in addition to language disorder.

Én azt gondolom, hogy őneki, mint ahogy a Down-szindrómásokra ez jellemző egyébként, hogy nagyon sokaknak hallásproblémájuk van. Illetve gyengébb ő... ez a halló ő..., tehát ami hallással összefüggő szervek. Ő... én azt gondolom, hogy őneki ez gyengébb lehetett és ez mivel ő... azért ez nem volt a topon, ez a..., hogy állandóan szívjuk az orrát, figyeljünk rá, énszerintem ez egyre rosszabb lett.

[I think that, as /this/ is usually the case with Down's syndrome, many have hearing problems. Or it is weaker um ... this hearing um ... so the organs related to hearing. Um ... I think that this was poorer for her, and since this... this wasn't done very well, this ... that we need to keep suctioning her nose and watching over her, I think this became worse and worse.]

Proximal deixis sometimes refers to a *situation* that illustrates the child's unusual behavior, as it was observed in (8) where *ilyen öntörvényű* [he's so /≠like this/ obstinate] referred to situations when the child behaved 'self-contained'. Similarly, in (12) *ez* [this] refers to situations when the child finds it difficult to fit in.

(12)

Volt olyan, hogy unokatesó hívott föl, hogy hát menjünk a Péterért. Nem is a papát hívta föl, hogy ő... menjenek a Péterért, mert a Péter sír. ... Úgyhogy mindig(xxx). Ez is(xxx). Úgy rosszul jön ki a dolgokbu.

[Once, my cousin called me to go get Péter. No, he called Dad that ... they should go get Péter because Péter was crying. /Here, the parent explains that the child was innocently involved in a conflict in the street and got scared./ So always(xxx). This too(xxx). He always gets the wrong end of the stick.]

A further referent group is *learning problems and difficulties*. In (13), deictic *ezeket* [these-ACC] refers to a list of Hungarian words containing the letter *ly*, often misspelled with *j*, because the pronunciation of the two letters is the same. Likewise, the ways tasks are described in (14) ("hasty," "gibberish") represent the child's perspective.

(13)

Úgyhogy most meg... meg a nyelvtannal, hogy tanulják ugye ezeket a... „ly”-os jé, meg a pontos jé. Hát semmi hallása nincsen neki hozzá.

[And now... with grammar, they're learning all these... the 'ly' and the 'j.' Well, he has no ear for it.]

(14)

Tehát ezt a hadaró mesét azt ott sem értette meg, illetve ezeket a halandzsa szövegeket (xxx).

[So this hasty story, he didn't understand it there either, or these gibberish texts (xxx).]

Learning situations are described continuously to be subject to conflict both at school and at home as well. In (15), the proximal deixis refers to the parent-child discourse that takes place daily, in which the parents encourage their child to perform better at school.

(15)

És hiába van leszidva minden nap, hogy Péter nem ezt ígérted, hogy mindig az van neki, amikor elengedjük iskolába, ... és oda van víve, Péter jó legyél, nehogy rossz legyél, az iskolába szót fogadjál, tanuljál, mert akkor itthon kevesebb időd marad.

[And it doesn't matter that he's scolded every day that Péter, this is not what you promised, and it is always that when he is off to school ... and we take him there, Péter, be good, don't be bad, be obedient at school, do study, or else you'll have less /free/ time at home.]

Further examples of the proximal demonstrative refer to the therapy, such as the process of diagnosis and therapy (16) and special education teachers.

(16)

És a gyógytornászunktól hallottunk először a nem tudom milyen terápiáról. Ezt viszonylag későn, egyévesen kezdtük el Kornéllal, ... Ö... körülbelül fél évig volt ez a Dévény-terápia, utána már a terapeuta nem tartotta szükségesnek, hogy tovább kezelje.

[And it was our physiotherapist who first told us about the I don't know what therapy. So we started this relatively late when Kornél was one year old, ... Uh... we had this Dévény therapy for about half a year, and then the therapist didn't think it was necessary to continue.]

4.3 The dynamics of spatial distance in discourse

The usage of deixis can be revealed by linguistic data that spans several sentences. In some cases, the shifts between proximity and distance have already been pointed out, which further demonstrate that spatial properties go hand in hand with emotional ones: a spatial shift often indicates a shift in the parent's attitude. Shifting from distant to close (17–18) demonstrate how the parents bring the situation close as soon as they start speaking about their painful experiences; (18) gives a solid sense of the parental trauma still experienced.

(17)

Én akkor el is vittem egyébként a (egy intézet)-be. ... Még egészen kicsiként, meg ilyen csoportos tornán vettünk részt az elején, de aztán az nem működött. Tehát a többi gyerekkel nem. Tehát ő nem tudta ezt így együtt csinálni.

[And then I took him to (the name of an institute). ... He was very young then, and at the beginning, we took part in group gymnastics, but then that didn't work. Not with the other children. So he couldn't do this like this /in this way/ together.]

(18)

De én azt gondolom, hogy egy... egy koraszülöttnak is megengedik a... a... azt, hogy oda betegyék a kezüket, hogy az illatát érezze. Asz(xxx). A megnyugtatás. És nekem nem engedték meg. Ö... úgyhogy öhm... én azt gondolom, hogy ez itt nagy hiba volt. Akkor ott a kórházban.

[But I do think that a... a premature baby is allowed to... to... that their hands can be put in there so she can smell it. The(xxx) The soothing. And they wouldn't let me. Um... so um... I think that this was a big mistake here. Then there in the hospital.]

In (19), a typical situation is described by a mother, grounded far away from her. When she speaks about the child's inappropriate behavior, she uses the proximal demonstratives to bring the situation close and indicate that directness of the problem to her. Switching back to distance in the last sentence indicates the situation is solved.

(19)

Csak ez a... amikor voltunk a vizsgálaton is, hogy ő mindig bele akar beszélni. Hogyha most is, hogyha éppen a... megyek érte és akkor a napközis tanárral az ember egy-két szót vált ugye szokott mindennap beszélni. És akkor is volt, hogy anya, izé. Mondom Péter beszélgetek. Úgyhogy ez a, hogy övele foglalkozzon az ember. De akkor jól van, akkor rájön most már arra, hogy akkor kimegy az udvarra és akkor én beszélgessek tovább.

[It's just this... when we went to the examination, he always wanted to cut into it. Even now, when the... I go to pick him up, and then you have a word or two with the daycare teacher, you know, you talk to her every day. And then it was also that, mom, uh. I said, I'm talking, Péter. So, this, that you have to deal only with him. But then it's okay, he would realize it, and he would go out into the yard, and I can keep talking.]

5. Conclusions

Based on the results of the analysis of the corpus under study, the paper argues that proximal demonstrative pronouns often function as emotional deixis when parents of children with language disorders report about their child's condition and development. The six interviews by parents from different socio-cultural backgrounds provide evidence for the linguistic pattern or strategy of using proximal demonstratives to represent affectivity. Although the transcripts of interviews do not always provide enough clues to properly identify the referents of deictic elements, in most cases they may be identified with sufficient certainty. We analyzed the metaphorical functions of proximal demonstrative pronouns and demonstrated that they have the following roles:

- a) mental closeness
- b) vivid, colorful experience in the speaker's mind/memory
- c) indication of the speaker's emotional involvement
- d) expression of the speaker's empathy with the child through deictic projection
- e) speaker's invitation to the listener to view the situation from his viewpoint
- f) negative evaluation
- g) negative experience

The last two roles, negative evaluation and emotion, differ significantly from the conventional use of deictic representations of proximity since 'proximity' is a spatial relation with an essentially positive connotation. Two additional analyses supported the association of proximal deixis with negative attitudes. One of the analyses pointed out the typical referents of deixis in the interviews

(illness/disability/learning disability, the child's behavior, situations, learning difficulties and problems, therapy, and parent-child discourses through which the parent illustrates learning difficulties). In the analyses, we have also presented cases where the parent construes a similar but not essentially negative situation by pointing away, thus indicating the parents' positive emotions grounded in their relief that the problem has been solved. The second study investigated the dynamic nature of spatial deixis to illustrate how the parents consistently switch from distant to proximal deixis when they turn to a topic they consider emotionally negative. The explanation for the use of proximal demonstrative pronouns as a *negative emotional deixis* is that it indicates an intense experience of the parents' negative perceptions, mental and emotional proximity that stems from the empathic perspective of parenting, overriding the conventional positive–negative dichotomous structure.

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Objectification of Women Through Metaphors in Stand-up Comedy. From Cars to Banana Bread

ABSTRACT

This paper examines metaphorical expressions labelled under the conceptual metaphor A WOMAN IS AN OBJECT originating from 30 performances by female North American stand-up comedians. By combining the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980/2003) and stand-up comedy research, this corpus- and the dictionary-assisted study examines how women and womanhood are conceptualized in terms of objects such as buildings, food, houseware, or vehicles. The multilevel analysis of the expressions shows that the interplay between the subversive character of stand-up comedy and gendered metaphors allows for reclaiming the power over stereotypical language under the guise of humour.

Keywords: metaphor, stand-up comedy, humour, gender, identity

1. Introduction

This paper investigates linguistic and conceptual metaphors and their role in gender identity negotiation among North American stand-up female comedians. By taking into consideration the formative effect of figurative language on reality (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980/2003), the conducted study examines how comedians shape their identities using objectifying metaphors when referring to female gender.

Regardless of geographical location, identity is a central part of stand-up comedy; autobiographical and observational stances are prevalent in the stories that comedians tell (Brodie, 2014). Even if the comedian creates a stage persona, its creation is based on the comedian's life experiences and observations, which are largely connected to interpersonal relations and often based on gender. With that being said, stand-up comedy narratives told on stage can introduce a change in the way the audience perceives their gendered selves and those of others.

Gender identity should be considered individually for each comedian, but also collectively, with regard to the industry as a whole. Due to the norms of stand-up comedy being influenced by male comedians, this form of entertainment has

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been a male-dominated industry for decades despite the increase of female comics' presence over the years (Horowitz, 1997; Krefting, 2014). Women, in order to "make it" as stand-up comedians, had to adapt and overcome. They did it mostly by copying their male colleagues' styles, which usually meant making self-deprecating jokes or avoiding female-gendered topics altogether (Gilbert, 2004). It should be noted that self-deprecation is not exclusive to female comedians: it is a humour strategy that can be used to regain the power of laughing at something before the audience will (Tomsett, 2018). Ultimately, by positioning themselves as the targets, comedians criticize existing norms which they might represent, willingly or not (Gilbert, 2004).

The long tradition of stand-up comedy and its constant popularity have resulted in a large number of performers who can reach and influence an even larger audience, therefore the power of stand-up comedy performances should not be overlooked or underestimated.

The first section of this paper outlines the theoretical aspects of the conducted research, with a focus on the multi-level nature of identity and conceptual metaphors. The second part describes the materials and methods used to conduct the study. The last part provides the results of the analysis with regard to the three most prominent metaphor frames and discusses the conclusions.

2. Identity

Even though social scientists have extensively studied the concept of identity, the consensus on the definition of identity remains unreached (Vignoles et al., 2011). The lack of general agreement shows the variety of approaches that should be seen as complementary rather than mutually exclusive.

This paper combines approaches by Sedikides and Brewer (2001), and Mittal (2006). Sedikides and Brewer (2001) differentiate between three levels of identity: individual, relational, and collective; Mittal (2006) provides an additional level, material.

Individual identity pertains to how one behaves, acts, and perceives themselves. Moreover, it is who we are not only in the present but also in the future (Markus & Nurius, 1986). Relational identity refers to oneself through others: it comprises one's societal roles (Vignoles et al., 2011, p. 3). Additionally, relational identity requires recognition of the role to be established (Marková, 1987). The third identity level is collective, and it is the widest one because it refers to one's identity as a member of a group that shares a common characteristic (Vignoles et al., 2011). Collective identity might include ethnicity (Taylor, 1997), nationality (Schildkraut, 2007), or gender (Bussey & Bandura, 1999), among others. Being a member of a social group entails sharing feelings, beliefs, and attitudes common within the group or attributed to it (de Fina, 2007). And finally, the fourth level of

identity is based on one's material possessions and belonging to a geographical space (Mittal, 2006).

When combining all of the above levels, Vignoles et al. (2011, p. 4) define identity as: one's self-perception which includes their beliefs, goals, personal characteristics, and commitments; their roles in society with regard to significant others; their belonging to a social group or category, which includes both their status in the group, as well as the status of the group as a whole; and finally, one's identification with their material possessions or geographical location.

This paper focuses on one aspect of identity: gender. At the same time, gender identity is analysed with regard to other social characteristics that comprise it, such as age, nationality, or sexual orientation. Therefore, the definition provided by Vignoles et al. (2011, p. 4) is narrowed to gender in this paper.

Moreover, we follow Butler's (1990/2006) approach, namely that gender is performed in specific contexts based on social intra- and intergroup interactions. When the context of stand-up comedy is taken into account, "performing" is understood in terms of a rehearsed humorous narrative, as well as the fluid and emergent social identity of gender.

2.2 Conceptualizing identity: metaphor

The sociolinguistic approach to languages states that identity, including gender, is expressed through language which is full of ideologies (Evans, 2015, p. 16). Language becomes a tool to shape and express our reality and, at the same time, our conception of ourselves.

This study's methodology is informed by the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, which states that through conceptual metaphors and their realization in language, one can project certain elements of one concept onto another (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980/2003). Moreover, metaphors are ideologically and attitudinally charged (Fernando, 1996; Hart, 2020), and the mappings are semantically motivated (Baider & Gesuato, 2003), which makes metaphorical expressions a useful tool to shape one's identity, as well as structure the perception of others (Hines, 1999b). However, the cultural foundation of metaphors may reflect certain attitudes and beliefs and ultimately lead to further reinforcement of stereotypes (Deignan, 2003; MacArthur, 2005).

As Altman (1990, p. 495) notes in her influential article *How Not to Do Things with Metaphors We Live By*, "feminist criticism, and feminism more generally, have both feared and loved metaphor". Altman criticizes Lakoff and Johnson's (1980/2003) way of explaining CMT by pointing out the unconscious gender bias in the choice of subject pronouns. The male pronoun "he" is used most of the time, while "she" is used when talking about "sexuality, domesticity, or neurosis" (Altman, 1990, p. 500).

Current trends in gendered metaphor research revolve around business (Koller, 2002, 2004), and political contexts (Ahrens, 2009; Zeng et al., 2020). Moreover, a distinctive group of researchers examined gendered metaphors that pertain to animals (Hines, 1999a; Kövecses, 2010; López Rodriguez, 2014; Nilsen, 1996; Talebinejad & Dastjerdi, 2005) as well as food (Achugar, 2022; Hines, 1999b). Both animal and food metaphors are prevalent in language due to their ubiquitous presence in people's everyday lives. The use of animal metaphors reduces humans to beings deemed lower on the great chain of being (Lakoff & Turner, 1989). In turn, food metaphors draw on the conceptual metaphors desire as appetite and lust as hunger (Goatly, 2007; Lakoff, 1987).

Baider and Gesuato (2003, p. 22) note that

the more frequently and easily the target domain is implied through the source domain, the more the intended referent is assimilated to the source domain; thus, the more obvious and natural the connection to the language users, the more firmly established it becomes ideologically.

Given language's formative power on perceptions of reality, metaphors can be used to both maintain and reject gender ideologies.

Semino and Koller (2009) distinguish gendered metaphors that either highlight gender differences, are used by either gender, or refer to men or women. In this paper, the attention is given to the last type, focusing on objectifying metaphors that can be used subversively in order to break social norms and taboos regarding gender identity.

3. Material and methods

The analysis builds on 118 metaphorical expressions used by 30 stand-up female comics in their comedy specials on the streaming platform Netflix.

The first step in the methodology included choosing specials for the analysis. The decision was made to include comedy shows released over the span of six years, from 2015 to 2020. A comedy special that was meant to be incorporated into the study material had to meet several requirements.

The first requirement was the origin of the comedian: for this particular study, the authors were concerned only with the North American variety of English, therefore comedians speaking any other variation of English (or another language) were not considered for inclusion. Secondly, the comedian had to identify with the female gender: this study aims to examine the ways female comedians conceptualize themselves. It should be noted that throughout this study female gender refers to the social construct of women rather than the biological sex of the comedians; in other words, all comedians, both cis and transgender who identify as female were considered for the study.

The remaining requirements concerned the comedy special. Only comedy shows longer than 30 minutes were considered to ensure a larger sample range. Additionally, these programs had to be performed by a single comedian; programs which featured more artists were excluded due to the performances being shorter than 30 minutes, which affects the way the comedians present their material. Moreover, shows based on characterization were considered to be outside the scope of stand-up comedy. Due to the disproportion between the number of male and female comedians both on Netflix and in the industry as a whole, the original timeframe of the releases which included a span of five years (2016–2020) was extended to six years (2015–2020). The year 2020 saw a shortage of releases due to the sanitary restrictions resulting from the COVID-19 pandemic, making the underrepresentation of female comics even more apparent. Out of over 40 comedy specials released in 2020, only nine of them were performed by female comics, and only four of them met the requirements posed in the study: Michelle Buteau, Fortune Feimster, Leslie Jones, and Taylor Tomlinson.

A total of 30 shows were chosen for this study, which is almost twice as many when compared to other stand-up comedy studies (e.g., Kon, 1988 used 16 and Linares Bernabéu, 2019 used 15 sources for their data). It is of course connected with the scope of the research; studies examining a particular comedian usually oscillate around 2–4 comedy specials. In this case, having an extensive source of data contributed to a greater variety of the collected samples.

3.1 Metaphor identification

Data collection began with the manual extraction of utterances which referred – directly or indirectly – to any aspect of the female gender. The collected utterances were then subjected to a metaphor identification procedure to assess their figurativeness.

This study utilizes Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit (henceforth: MIPVU) by Steen et al. (2010) as opposed to its predecessor MIP (Pragglejaz Group, 2007) due to the metaphor classification offered by the former method: while both methods are meant to identify metaphors based on the difference (or lack thereof) between the contextual and basic meaning of the word, there is a separate distinction for implicit metaphors. Implicit metaphors include personal pronouns that substitute the name to avoid repetitions, among others (Steen et al., 2010).

MIPVU is a dictionary- and corpus-based procedure that allows metaphor researchers to make informed decisions as to which utterances are potentially figurative expressions. However, while it allows for objectivity, it is ultimately the researcher's decision to classify a word or phrase as metaphorical. For space constraints, a superficial description is included in this paper; for a detailed explanation of the procedure, consult Steen et al. (2010).

The first stage of MIPVU requires familiarizing oneself with the context of the analysed phrases, which was completed at the time of collecting the utterances. The subsequent step includes the division of the text into lexical units. Steen et al. (2010) give precise guidelines as to what and in what cases constitutes a lexical unit; these guidelines are extremely helpful in unclear cases such as collocations or multi-words.

Once the text is divided, the researcher can begin the dictionary-based analysis. For this study, the main dictionary was *Macmillan Dictionary Online* (henceforth: *MDO*). A secondary choice was the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (henceforth: *LDOCE*). In the case of slang, *Urban Dictionary* was consulted. The aforementioned dictionaries are corpus-based, meaning the senses provided in these dictionaries are rooted in real-life language use.

The dictionary-aided analysis requires determining two senses for each lexical unit: basic and contextual. The basic meaning of the word refers to the dictionary sense that is “concrete, specific, and human-oriented” (Steen et al., 2010, p. 35). In other words, it is a dictionary meaning that refers to one’s senses.

On the other hand, the contextual meaning, as its name suggests, is derived from the context of the utterance. It can be different from the basic meaning (an indirect metaphor), or the same (a direct metaphor) (Steen et al., 2010). Direct metaphors can entail metaphor flags (MFlag) that signal the metaphorical character of the utterance: *such as, like*, etc., which suggest cross-domain mappings.

Each lexical unit is analysed in terms of its the basic and contextual meanings and a potential cross-domain mapping. The word “potential” plays an important role in this analysis: by using dictionaries, the analyst assumes that language users are ideal English speakers who possess the dictionary and encyclopaedic knowledge to encode and decode the metaphors. Therefore, it should be noted that all instances examined later in this paper are potentially metaphorical.

All utterances which are (possibly) figurative were collected and annotated with regard to their source and target domains. To do so, we followed Kövecses’s (2017) levels of metaphor approach: sample realizations were first categorized into frames before determining the source or target domains. It allowed for some level of specificity and a better overview of the metaphors. When a frame could be categorized into two domains at the same time, the decision was made based on the most salient feature that was being evoked through the metaphorical expression.

The final part of the metaphor annotation concerned the level of identity negotiated in the utterance. It was necessary to be familiar with the context to determine whether it is an individual, collective, relational, or material identity. However, it should be noted that one level of identity did not exclude other levels, but they rather complemented each other, as is also the case with the analysed

metaphorical expressions; in the annotation the most salient level of identity was distinguished, but they were all taken into consideration during the qualitative analysis.

4. Results and discussion

This paper looks at a specific type of metaphor found in the collected data: A WOMAN IS AN OBJECT. Therefore, the remainder of this paper discusses only instances which were categorized as such, with a particular focus on food, place, and vehicle metaphors.

4.1 Gender identity in metaphor

As noted in Section 3.1, metaphorical expressions were annotated according to the most salient level of identity being expressed: individual, relational, collective, or material. If an expression referred to the comedian or a specific person, the metaphor was generally annotated as individual identity, as in (1):

(1)

I was *rotten*. I need to be made into *banana bread*. That's how *rotten* I was. (Wong, 2016)

When any societal role, whether connected to a relationship or an occupation, was brought up in the utterance, it was most likely to be annotated as a relational identity. See (2) as an example:

(2)

My dream, my goal for the longest time, was to be a *trophy* wife, but then I found out that in order to be a *trophy* wife, you have to be a trophy. I am more of a *commemorative plaque*. (Wong, 2018)

The collective identity included generalizing utterances which often occurred via personal pronouns 'we' and 'you', or by naming the group, as in (3) below. In such cases, the plural nouns were also taken into account:

(3)

Women are the ones with the socially predetermined *shelf life*. (Shlesinger, 2018)

And finally, material identity was evoked mostly through references to the objects which are associated with the female gender, as in (4):

(4)

Women's fashions are a beautiful *prison*. (Ryan, 2019)

Due to identity not being an easy concept to define (as mentioned in Section 1), there were some unclear cases in the collected data. Many of them were unclear because of the fluidity of identity and the multiple ways of viewing particular aspects of womanhood. When possible, the contextual information was the ultimate confirmation of the level of identity, but in cases where the context did not provide clarity, the utterances were annotated with two or more levels of identity. Let us consult (5), which quotes a metaphorical expression related to the postpartum body:

- (5)
Maternity leave is for new moms to hide and heal their *demolished-ass* bodies! (Wong, 2018)

This metaphorical expression, which makes a cross-domain mapping between a building that is demolished and a woman's body after giving birth, was determined to refer to both collective and relational identities. The collective aspect is conveyed in the generalization used through the plural "moms", suggesting not only the comedian (who was a new mom herself at that time) but also other women who recently had given birth. At the same time, Wong evokes the relational identity by referring to the societal role of mothers, namely women who have children.

The larger context of the metaphorical expression in (5) points to the collective identity as the salient one: the narrative focuses on the woman's body rather than the role of being a mother. However, only mothers can experience symptoms connected with a postpartum body; therefore the line between the two levels of identity is not clear-cut.

4.2 WOMAN IS AN OBJECT metaphor

A total of 118 instances of A WOMAN IS AN OBJECT metaphor were found in the data. As stated in Section 3, the annotation of metaphors regarded source and target domains, which were later divided into the source and target frames. Therefore, A WOMAN IS AN OBJECT metaphor encompassed metaphors which included more specifically A WOMAN'S BODY IS A VEHICLE, OR A BABYSITTER IS A GRENADE, among others.

It should be noted that both the source and target frames are slightly less detailed than the actual sample realization of the metaphor and are meant to systematize (to an extent) the expressions for an easier overview. For example, a WOMAN IS A VEHICLE was further divided into A WOMAN'S BODY IS A GARAGE as in (6), A WOMAN IS A TRAIN (7), OR A PROSTITUTE IS A RENTAL CAR (8):

- (6)
You want to back the *garage* up to the car. (Schumer, 2019)

(7)

You can call me a choo-choo *train*. (Notaro, 2018)

(8)

What kind of *rental* are we talking about? Like, a *mid-sized Japanese*?. (Wolf, 2019)

When it comes to the target frames, 68 out of 118 collected instances referred to the female body through a collective identity, which points to a general use of objectifying language used toward women. 23 out of 118 expressions referred to women generally, without specifying any particular aspect of womanhood. The remaining frames included activities performed by women, age, appearance, family, health, occupation, personality, and family or relationship. They did not exceed 7 instances each. For a comparison, consult table 1:

Table 1. Target frames of the A WOMAN IS AN OBJECT metaphor

target frames	No. of instances
activity	3
age	4
appearance	6
body	68
family	1
health	3
female-associated object	5
occupation	1
person	23
personality	1
relationship	3
total	118

When the source frames are taken into account, there is a great variety in their choices. It is mostly connected to the fact that stand-up comedy is superficially spontaneous and the narratives that comedians tell are scripted (Brodie, 2014). In other words, the creativity behind the expression is caused by the nature of the performance: a comedian prepares their narratives, allowing for more innovative use of metaphors.

Source frames were categorized according to their salient features, which means that, just as with the identity levels, some frames could be assigned to two or more categories at the same time, but the most noticeable feature was the key for the annotation.

Two source frames were the most prominent in the data: place and food, with 31 and 29 instances, respectively. Moreover, food metaphors, especially dessert metaphors, are consistent with previous research on metaphorical expressions referring to women as sex objects (Hines, 1999b). Moreover, even the comedians are aware of it: “Let’s just all stop calling women desserts for a while. If you must call a woman a dessert, at least pick a cool dessert, you know. Like bear claw” (Cummings, 2019).

The remainder of the source frames did not exceed 10 instances each. See Table 2 for comparison:

Table 2. Source frames of the A WOMAN IS AN OBJECT conceptual metaphor

source frames	No. of instances
Activity	1
Clothes	6
Container	4
Film	1
Food	29
Furniture	5
Garbage	4
Garden	2
Law	1
Military	3
Object	6
Place	32
Possession	4
Product	2
Sports	2
Travel	3
Vehicle	9
total	118

As seen in Table 2., there were three prominent source frames found in the data: food, place, and vehicles. We will now proceed to discuss them.

The metaphors’ creativity produces a broad array of sample realizations, making individual expressions incredibly challenging to overlap across the identified shows. The themes conveyed through frames and conceptual metaphors seek to standardize some repeating concepts, but due to the low frequency of each sample realization, one should be cautious of making generalizations from the presented data. The metaphors discussed here are, for the most part, unconventional, creative, and deliberate. Nevertheless,

since all metaphors are ideologically loaded, they deserve examination despite their unrepeatability. After all, the shows that prompted these metaphors are commonly accessible; if a metaphorical expression is repeated numerous times, it has the possibility of reaching a wider audience. Additionally, the language used here is intentional: stand-up comedy seems spontaneous only on the surface but is actually staged. As a result, the authors of these metaphors had to first generate an idea that was later transformed into a narrative, which takes us back to the ideological viewpoint behind conceptual metaphors and their manifestation in language.

4.3 Discussion: conventionalized subversion

The main aim of this study was to analyse the ways female comedians conceptualize themselves and others using objectifying metaphors. The sociolinguistic approach to language states that identity, including gender, is expressed through language which is full of ideologies (Evans, 2015 p. 16). In turn, all elements of our identity, regardless of their level, influence our way of perceiving reality. In other words, language becomes a tool to express and, at the same time, shape our conception of ourselves. When it comes to language, studying metaphorical expressions from a myriad of perspectives can unveil functional differences dictated by ideological backgrounds based on cultural associations (Gibbs, 2011, p. 11). The study of the attitudinal aspects of metaphors opens up a potential space for discussion about conceptualizations and allows for the reinvention of language.

Stand-up comedy creates another dimension for the ideological character of metaphors: it is in itself countercultural and counterhegemonic (Brodie, 2014). The narratives, especially those coming from the comics “from the margins”, question traditional social norms and behaviours (Gilbert, 2017, p. 57). Female comedians, in order not to appear threatening, adapt their comedic styles to match their male colleagues, or downplay their experience by using self-deprecating humour (Gilbert, 2004).

Metaphors analysed in this paper use inanimate objects as their source domain: food, places, and vehicles, among others. The goal was to examine the attitude of these metaphors on the level of metaphor, but also on the level of inherently subversive stand-up comedy. And given the centrality of the comedian’s identity, the way the comedians conceptualize themselves and others has a direct influence on how they negotiate gender identity and what message they want to convey under the guise of humour.

Metaphors collected for this study were largely negative on the level of the utterance. The reason for this lies within the very nature of these expressions: figurative language that uses inanimate objects as its source is essentially dehumanizing. Regardless of the subversive power of stand-up comedy, the countercultural attitude of the comedian or contextual information surrounding

the narrative, humans compared to objects are always shown in a negative light. This was also true for the collected metaphors.

While the attitude of the metaphors is established, it is beneficial to consider the choice of source domains. Stand-up comedy is only seemingly a spontaneous form of performance; the narratives are scripted and practised in front of the audience many times before the recording and digital dissemination of the material (Brodie, 2014). Therefore, comedians can afford to be creative in the language they use, which potentially makes metaphors creative as well. Due to space constraints, we would like to focus on the most prominent types of metaphors found in the data: expressions referring to places, food, and vehicles.

The most common source domain revolves around places: a woman's body becomes a place that one can go to or leave; women's clothes are compared to a prison; and a woman's attractiveness is likened to a city's infrastructure. Metaphors of place are creative and deliberate, mostly referring to female genitalia. Some of them pertain to intercourse, but there are also a considerable number of expressions referring to the postpartum body. The comedians compare them to disaster areas, demolished buildings, and food factories producing breast milk for new-borns.

Reducing women to places like houses creates the impression that marriage is synonymous with home ownership, and women's attractiveness becomes a property value. The aforementioned birth "demolishes" a woman's body, causing a decrease in a woman's worth until she recovers. Moreover, a woman with many sexual partners is likened to a nightclub, a public park, or a "crack house", which can further perpetuate the stereotype that chastises women but glorifies men in the same context.

(9)

"All right, Ali, you gotta make this dude believe that your body is *a secret garden*. When, really, it's *a public park*... that has *hosted* many reggae fests... and has even accidentally let... two homeless people inside". (Wong, 2016)

(10)

That's what we have to do after birth. Get a reporter in there, put 'em in one of those weird raincoats. Like, "I'm here in Martha's vagina, and things are bleak. Roads and bridges are out. Man cannot survive. Debris is everywhere. I have Martha's husband here, let's see what he has to say." "I mean, you try to prepare, and, uh..." "Well, it's just... my home is gone". (Wolf, 2019)

When the female gender is talked about in terms of food, it is similar to everyday language use where women are desserts (Hines, 1999b). However, stand-up comedians take these metaphors to the next level and extend their creativity to make the audience laugh.

The woman's body is once again brought to the foreground with food expressions. The freshness of the produce refers to a woman's age; a young woman is a yellow banana that becomes ripe or even rotten with time. Such women become dispensable, and the best way to do that is by baking banana bread. While Hines (1999b) examined the connection between desserts and women-as-sex-objects, our data extends that view and points to women as desserts to highlight undesirable characteristics. Similar to how banana bread is associated with mature women, a common flavour of ice cream points to a woman who is "bland and boring". Another example shows pancakes that are used in the context of something predictable, like the idea of waking up next to one's wife every morning. Sample expressions:

(11)

Your 30s, you start off as a beautiful, *bright yellow banana*. Till you're 39, you a *black-ass banana*. Only thing to do with you is to throw you out or make *banana bread*. (Jones, 2020)

(12)

I gotta start my day with her. I am gonna call her *pancake*. (Koplitiz, 2017)

(13)

My whole body is shaped like a *drumstick*¹ emoji. (Buteau, 2020)

Moreover, food metaphors highlight the aspects of metaphors – just as it was the case with a postpartum body being likened to demolished buildings, ground meat becomes the metaphor for a woman's body after giving birth. Creating "unappetizing" associations of the physical changes a female body undergoes can potentially do more harm than good, especially if the subject is considered a social taboo:

(14)

To make sure that... *the carne asada* wouldn't fall out of *the taco*, and become *nachos* on the floor. (Wong, 2018)

The final group of gendered metaphors we would like to focus on revolves around the domain vehicle, as was already brought up in (6), (7), and (8). It is a relatively small group of expressions (9 instances) compared to food or space metaphors (29 and 31 instances, respectively), but the variety of target domains makes the group discussion worthy. Let us consider these examples:

(15)

That little red *Corvette* is gonna get stuffed. (Jones, 2020)

¹ „Drumstick“ here refers to a chicken leg instead of the part of the musical instrument.

(16)

[after giving birth] I know underneath that sheet is a *car accident*. Like, if an insurance guy came by, he'd be like, "No, it's totaled." "The best we can do here is a *rental*". (Wolf, 2019)

(17)

I look like a goddamn *road flare* and we're in public. (Shlesinger, 2016)

As it can be observed, the source frames range from cars (including specific cars such as Corvettes or a type of car such as rentals) to garages or traffic elements. The comparisons once again create negative associations: for instance, traffic jams will be effective especially with commuters spending long hours travelling. Wearing too much makeup on a date become a warning similar to a road flare warning drivers of a vehicle accident ahead. Moreover, a woman's genitalia becomes both a garage and a car that can be *stuffed* or *totalled*. A totalled car cannot be used, therefore, a driver needs a *rental to get around*. In other words, women become a commodity that can be sold, bought, or rented. These metaphors are far from the feminist stance on gender, and it is even more surprising to hear that they were created by women.

5. Conclusion: context matters

Section 4.3 offered interpretations that could be evoked when encountering the analysed metaphors. When these expressions are examined collectively (but still taken out of their context), the gender identity that they evoke creates negative associations that perpetuate already existing stereotypes and social norms. On the level of metaphors, there is nothing subversive about objectifying expressions. However, if we take into consideration the nature of stand-up comedy, there is another layer of meaning associated with the collected metaphors: as mentioned in the introduction, one of the ways female comedians can "make it" in the male-dominated industry is to adapt their male colleagues' styles, and that includes what they include in and how they convey their narratives. In order to make gender-specific content "digestible" to the male-dominated industry and audience (to continue with food metaphors), female comedians need to present their stories and experiences in a way that is not threatening: the most effective way to do that is through self-deprecating humour.

To break or change social norms and stereotypes with humor, they must first be identified (Kant & Norman, 2019; McGraw & Warren, 2010). In other words, comedians use their own experiences and observations to make fun of themselves while bringing forward what is considered taboo material and addressing audience members who might find their narratives relatable. Ironically, by creating negative associations about the postpartum body through the metaphors of unappetizing food, demolished places, and totalled vehicles, female comedians attempt to break the taboo of unspoken negative aspects of childbearing. In sum, the subversive

power of stand-up comedy is a perfect example of how the ideological and attitudinal character of metaphors can be used to change the very ideologies and attitudes they represent. The very thing that can stop identity negotiation can become a tool to do exactly that, all under the guise of humour.

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Appendix

No.	Comedian	Title	Year	Duration
1	Ali Wong	Baby Cobra	2016	1h
2	Ali Wong	Hard Knock Wife	2018	1h 4m
3	Amy Schumer	The Leather Special	2017	57m
4	Amy Schumer	Growing	2019	1h
5	Anjelah Johnson	Not fancy	2015	1h 30m
6	Christina Patsitzky	Mother Inferior	2017	59m
7	Cristela Alonzo	Lower Classy	2017	1h 6m
8	Ellen Degeneres	Relatable	2019	1h 8m
9	Iliza Shlesinger	Freezing Hot	2015	1h 11m

No.	Comedian	Title	Year	Duration
10	Iliza Shlesinger	Confirmed Kills	2016	1h 17m
11	Iliza Shlesinger	Elder Millennial	2018	1h 12m
12	Iliza Shlesinger	Unveiled	2019	1h 18m
13	Jen Kirkman	I'm gonna die alone (and I feel fine)	2015	1h 18m
14	Jen Kirkman	Just Keep Livin'	2018	1h 9m
15	Katherine Ryan	In trouble	2017	1h 3m
16	Katherine Ryan	Glitter Room	2019	1h 5m
17	Kathleen Madigan	Bothering Jesus	2016	1h 12m
18	Leslie Jones	Time Machine	2020	1h 6m
19	Lynne Koplitz	Hormonal Beast	2017	51m
20	Maria Bamford	Old Baby	2017	1h 4m
21	Michelle Buteau	Welcome to Buteaupia	2020	58m
22	Michelle Wolf	Joke Show	2019	59m
23	Nikki Glaser	Bangin'	2019	1h 3m
24	Sarah Silverman	A speck of dust	2017	1h 11m
25	Taylor Tomlinson	Quarter-life crisis	2020	1h 1m
26	Tiffany Haddish	She ready	2017	1h 7m
27	Tiffany Haddish	Black Mitzvah	2019	55m
28	Tig Notaro	Happy to be here	2018	58m
29	Wanda Sykes	Not Normal	2019	1h
30	Whitney Cummings	Can I touch it?	2020	59m

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The Role of Mental Spaces in Building Metaphors: The Case Study of the *flądra* Nickname in Polish

ABSTRACT

The aim of the research is to recognize the role of mental spaces in meaning construction of the nickname *flądra* in Polish [English: slut; literally: a flounder], received on the ground of the real discourse extracts retrieved from the Polish Corpus. The meaning of the nickname is obtained by examining the metaphors underlying it, which are motivated by various contextual factors, e.g. the speaker's gender and discourse registers. The results obtained in the study reveal that the meaning of the *flądra* nickname is based on five metaphorical dynamic structures organised hierarchically, from which the mental-spaces level provides for the novel meaning of *flądra*.

Keywords: animal, metaphor, mental spaces, discourse, corpus study

1. Introduction

One of the fundamental theses which delineate the Cognitive Linguistics paradigm sounds that *meaning is conceptualisation* (Evans, 2012, p. 131). This thesis refers to the interactions which occur, by means of various conceptual mechanisms, between the conceptual and semantic structures to build up a given meaning (p. 134). To clarify, from the cognitive point of view, the meaning of a given word is not only the result of the inherent properties of the word, but rather, or even mostly, the result of a certain construal of the word. It derives from the fact that language is treated not as an objective mirror of the world, but as “an integral part of human cognition” (Langacker, 1987, p. 12), which reflects the way we construe the world. We tend to conceptualise objects, entities, events as well as people, not according to the objectivist truth-conditional “disembodied, independent of human understanding” rules (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 196), but in a way driven by the nature of our thoughts and bodies (p. 19). Importantly, taken from the cognitive linguistic perspective, it is *metaphor* that is recognized as one of the essential construal operations, through which we can learn about one's cognitive abilities, thoughts, beliefs, views and emotions that are first born in human minds (as conceptual metaphors) and pronounced, e.g. in the discourse (as linguistic

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metaphors) (Kövecses, 2015, 2017a, 2017b, 2020; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Metaphors, especially the ones generated on the highly contextual and individual level of *mental spaces*, are seen as the essential mechanism for creating a new meaning of the multidimensional realities in our lives (cf. Kövecses, 2017b, p. 343).

In this light, our study concerns the contemporary meaning of a Polish animal-related nickname *flądra* [literally *flounder*], in its figurative reading, which can be translated into English as *slut*, *slattern*. The material data comprises discourse extracts (i.e. oral and written language production forms), retrieved from *Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego* [The National Corpus of Polish Language; henceforth: *NKJP Corpus*, prepared by Piotr Pęzik and referred to as Pęzik, 2012], in which the investigated nickname is placed. We choose metaphor as the methodological tool to obtain the meaning of the nickname under scrutiny. We assume that the meaning construction is the result of numerous factors that have to be taken into consideration. Hence, we claim, in line with Zoltán Kövecses (2015, 2020), that the metaphors underlying the nickname *flądra* are motivated by various contextual factors, e.g. speakers' gender and discourse registers in which the nickname is used.

In view of that, the aim of the paper is threefold: first, to specify different types of discourse retrieved from the *NKJP Corpus* of the Polish language in which the Polish nickname *flądra* is used by contemporary Polish adult (aged over 18–19) language users.¹ Second, to analyse the structure of the metaphorical mappings that occur between the domain of [A HUMAN BEING] and [AN ANIMAL], i.e. to determine the schematicity levels of these mappings, and the role of mental spaces in the construction of the meaning of *flądra*. Third, to discuss the so-received contemporary meaning of the nickname under scrutiny against the existing dictionary definitions of *flądra*. As it is assumed, the study will prove significant both for cognitive semantics and lexicography since a proposal of considering the meaning extension of the examined nickname is to be made.

The structure of the paper is as follows: having introduced the main concern and the detailed aims of the research paper, in section 2 we outline the hybrid theoretical framework, on the basis of which we intend to prepare the working theoretical model for our study. To clarify, we mean to combine the extended version of the Contemporary Metaphor Theory with Critical Metaphor Analysis, based on which we nominate metaphor as the working tool for meaning construction. Section 3 presents the preliminary results of our corpus search with

¹ Due to the fact that the corpus data includes the resource material up to 2012, we assume that at the very moment, in 2022, the lowest estimated age of the language users whose discourse is being investigated must be 18–19 now. By following the generally adopted age 20 as the beginning of adulthood, we treat our examined discourse speakers as *adults* now.

all the possible metaphorical entries of the nicknames *flądra* in Polish. Section 4 comprises a cognitive analysis of the context-dependent meanings of the nickname, constructed on the ground of the underlying metaphors, and compared against the existing dictionary definitions of the word. The discussion pertains to the levels of schematicity in meaning construction, as recently proposed by Kövecses (2017b, 2020). The closing section of the paper offers the conclusions that can be drawn from the results obtained in the study.

2. Hybrid theoretical working model

The theoretical and methodological framework of our study, set in the cognitive linguistic perspective, needs to be integrative and interdisciplinary in order to reach the already-specified goals. It combines a corpus study of animal (*flądra*) metaphors with a metaphor analysis. The foundation of the analysis is laid on Conceptual Metaphor Theory (henceforth: CMT), initiated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), and developed by their followers. The theory defines conceptual metaphor as “a set of correspondences between a more physical source domain and a more abstract target domain” (e.g., Kövecses, 2010, 2014, p. 16; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). By means of metaphor, we may mentally represent, structure and delineate many concepts that are abstract or the ones we are less familiar with. In other words, metaphor here is treated not only as “a figure of speech, but [a]s a specific mental mapping that influences a good deal of how people think, reason, and imagine in everyday life” (Gibbs, 1996, p. 309; also Johnson, 1987, 1993; Kövecses, 2015, 2020; Lakoff, 1987; Lakoff & Turner, 1989).

Nonetheless, the Lakoffian CMT is frequently criticised for the lack of real discourse material used in the study of metaphor. As a response to this demerit, we have decided to enrich the initial version of CMT with a combination of two metaphor-oriented approaches, namely, Jonathan Charteris-Black’s (2004) Critical Metaphor Analysis (henceforth: CMA) and Zoltán Kövecses’s (2015, 2017a, 2017b, 2020) context-dependent version of CMT. The so-received hybrid theoretical framework is assumed to provide for our study an improved metaphor-oriented working model for meaning construction. To justify our proposal of the hybrid model, let us point out, first, that it is CMA that offers a “discourse model of metaphor” (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 243) by drawing on “the insights of CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis), pragmatics, and the Contemporary Theory of Metaphor” (Maalej, 2007, p. 132). Accordingly, instead of theorising within CMT and providing any invented examples of metaphor, CMA exploits metaphor in its real manifestations in *discourse*, i.e. various forms of language production. In fact, the pragmatic use of metaphor in discourse has been practised by some critical discourse analysts, to mention but a few, e.g. Charteris-Black (2004), Maalej (2007), Musolff et al. (2014), and Pawłowska (2019). A well-recognized discourse analyst, Teun van Dijk (2015, p. 474), notices that the real use of metaphor in

discourse is motivated by three mutually dependent elements which constitute a *communicative event*, where the process of construing reality happens. These components include: (i) social structure (the authorities and structures in power), (ii) our personal cognition, and (iii) immediate context in which a discourse is used.

Our second proposal to supplement the Lakoffian CMT is consistent with the first one and concerns Kövecses's (2015, 2017a, 2017b, 2020) context-dependent view on metaphor. Metaphor here is required to be studied within a given context, due to the reason that contextual factors usually prime a particular metaphor both in its contents and form (Kövecses, 2017a, p. 20). By investigating *linguistic metaphors*, which are the visible manifestations of conceptual metaphors which underlie them, we may learn about the characterization of the participants in terms of their roles and their evaluative stance on a given concept (cf. Deignan, 2017; Musolff, 2006, p. 27, 2016). Eventually, we can obtain a detailed meaning of the concept by investigating particular metaphors underlying it.

In this perspective, our working CMT-CMA hybrid model that we choose for the purpose of the study is based both on the discursive and critical view of metaphor after CMA and on the extended context-primed view of CMT. To clarify, in our research on the female nickname *flądra*, we plan to work on the real discourse, retrieved from the *NKJP Corpus*, in order to elicit any *flądra* metaphors that will contribute to the nickname's meaning. Since a nickname, as confirmed by Neil Larry Shumsky (2016), can be determined "by first understanding the social conditions within which the term emerged" (p. 133), we will also search for some etymological background of the word and contextual priming factors which motivate the meaning of the nickname in particular discourse extracts.

Finally, the analysis of the so-received contextually-primed metaphors is to be extended with Kövecses's (2017a, 2017b, 2020) recent observation, i.e. that metaphor does not involve only certain conceptual domains but rather entails a whole hierarchical system of conceptual structures built on the degree of schematicity, from *image schemas* – seen as the most schematic and conventional structures, through *domains* and *frames*, until *mental spaces* – defined as the least schematic and the most individual conceptual structures. As believed, such an analysis of metaphor, realised on different levels of schematicity, may help us understand the numerous meanings that the nickname *flądra* has been given by adult Polish language speakers so far.

3. Preliminary results of the corpus search

This section starts with explaining in detail the methodology of the study (in section 3.1) and proceeds to reveal the preliminary results of the corpus search for all possible metaphorical entries of the nickname *flądra* in Polish (section 3.2).

3.1. Methodology and data of the study

Having chosen the Polish nickname *flądra* in its metaphorical reading for our study, let us first explain the definition of *nickname*. Mieczysław Szymczak (1999) defines a *nickname* as “an additional, usually humorous name given to someone specific; a pseudonym” (p. 977). In addition to acting as a substitute for the proper name, some nicknames are a kind of derogatory name calling (the so-called *sobriquet*, *epithet*, or *moniker*) and may be used to express defamation of one’s character (the so-called *libel*, *slander*) (*Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, n.d.; Doroszewski, 1969/1997). In short, the offensive feature of a nickname is what we refer to most in our working definition of the *flądra* nickname.

The reason behind choosing *flądra* for our research is that it derives from the intriguing world of nature and can be used colloquially as a derogatory nickname by human beings. Notably, this nickname is one of the best candidates for our study due to its long history. To be precise, the nickname *flądra* emerged as long ago as in 1860, when the very first list of the most common Polish nicknames appeared (cf. Stupnicki, 1890). At the present time, the nickname is registered on the list of bad words that are chiefly used in contemporary slang and colloquial speech, as given in *Miejski słownik slangu i mowy potocznej* [Municipal Dictionary of Slang and Colloquial Speech] (2022).

Importantly, we assume that the contemporary meaning of *flądra* has been recently extended, in comparison to its primary dictionary readings (due to be discussed in section 4.1), as a result of either the language speakers’ ignorance of its true meaning, or their conscious elaboration or blending to use the word purposely. Therefore, in our study we are to scrutinise the possible versions of the current figurative meaning of the *flądra* nickname by means of metaphors. Hence, metaphors underlying the examined word are taken as the tools to structure the word meaning.

Our study of the metaphorical nickname *flądra* in Polish comprises three main stages, i.e. (i) a corpus search, (ii) elucidating the dictionary definition of the word, and (iii) a cognitive discussion on the extracted *flądra* metaphors.

In the first stage of the research, presented in section 3.2, the nickname under scrutiny is checked in the *NKJP Corpus*² to find out its metaphorical use in real discourse. The main reason behind choosing this type of the Polish language corpus is its numerous collections of texts, including classic literature, daily newspapers, specialist periodicals and journals, transcripts of conversations, and a variety of short-lived and Internet texts. This diversity of texts complies with the variety of subject and genre of the discourse, as well as with a wide range of conversations that represent both male and female speakers, who are in various age groups and

² The corpus search is done via the PELCRA search engine, prepared by Piotr Peżik (2012) and available at <http://www.nkjp.uni.lodz.pl/collocations.jsp>, retrieved May 22, 2022.

come from many districts of Poland. Unquestionably then, the *NKJP Corpus* has been preferred by linguists as a reliable source and an essential tool for corpus research. By checking some further details in the corpus search, we are able to name some contextual factors in which the nickname is used in the discourse, and which may prime the specific use of the *flądra* metaphors. These contextual elements include: the number of occurrences of the nicknames, the register types in which the nickname *flądra* mostly appears as well as certain characteristics concerning the speakers who use the nickname.

In stage two of the study, elaborated in section 4.1, we will elucidate the existing dictionary definitions of *flądra*. Stage three, elaborated in section 4.2, aims at structuring the current meanings of the nickname under scrutiny, as received on the ground of the metaphors which underlie the nickname *flądra* in its metaphorical reading. As assumed, the metaphorical mappings behind the meaning occur between the domain of [A HUMAN BEING] and [AN ANIMAL], and can be realised on four different levels of schematicity, beginning with the most schematic *image schema*, through *domains* and *frames*, until the least schematic and most individual structures of *mental spaces* (Kövecses, 2017b, p. 323; Kövecses, 2020, p. 52). Then, some conclusions can be drawn as for possibly novel meanings of the investigated nickname.

In brief, all these three stages are interrelated and indispensable to obtain the results in the study. Indeed, our corpus linguistics approach can considerably enhance our understanding of *flądra* metaphors (cf. Deignan, 2010), which, in turn, will help us reproduce the contemporary readings of the nickname *flądra*.

3.2. The corpus study of the nickname *flądra*

The results obtained in the corpus search yield quantitative data for the entry word *flądra*. The received text extracts include the key word *flądra* in singular or plural forms, located either in the subject, object or adverbial position in a sentence. The text passages range from three words to several lines. The detailed results for the nickname *flądra* are displayed in (1) – (3).

Based on the results received from the *NKJP Corpus* and listed in (1), we can conclude that the noun *flądra* frequently appears in the contemporary discourse, with its total occurrence of 1250 times in 908 different texts. Half of the entries concerns the human surname *Flądra*; in 37 per cent the word is used literally to define a flatfish called *a flounder*; in 2 per cent it refers to art festivals (e.g. *Festiwal Fląder* [The Flounder Festival]), and in 11 per cent the word *flądra* is generated figuratively.

(1)

Total occurrence and metaphorical use of *flądra*:

Total occurrence: 1250 in 908 different texts

which this meaning of *flądra* is evoked. Then, in 46 per cent of the cases, the metaphorical character reference is made in literature books, and in 6 per cent it is encountered in journals.

In short, the corpus results concerning the metaphorical usage of *flądra* are significant and worth some further investigation. Unquestionably, it is the male speakers who in most cases prefer using this animal-related nickname, in order to call another woman. What is more, our results concerning the type of discourse in which the nickname under scrutiny occurs generally seem to confirm Maria Wojtyła-Świerzowska's (2014) thesis that "nicknames belong to the living, everyday sphere of the language in its lower register – they rarely enter the artistic language" (p. 107)³. Finally, despite the fact that the *flądra* nickname has its regular occurrence in the discourse of the so-called lower register (such as Internet chats/blogs and journals), some instances of *flądra*, particularly its reference to women's bad/annoying character traits, are seen quite repeatedly in literature books (in 46 per cent).

4. Meaning construction of *flądra* nickname

The aim of section 4 is to structure the metaphorical meaning of *flądra*. First, in section 4.1, the dictionary meaning of *flądra* is outlined. Then, in section 4.2, we will try to provide the whole range of the meanings of *flądra* that the contemporary adult Polish language speakers use. We will do so by drawing on linguistic evidence and examining the conceptual complexes taken from the *NKJP Corpus*. Our term *conceptual complexes* refers to the metaphoric complexes in Kövecses's (2017b, p. 323, 2020, p. 52) sense, which are realised on various levels of schematicity, from the most schematic *image schema*, through *domains* and *frames*, until the least schematic and most individual *mental spaces*.

4.1. Dictionary meaning of *flądra*

The word *flądra*, as provided by the Polish-English dictionary called *Wielki multimedialny słownik angielsko-polski i polsko-angielski PWN-Oxford* [The Great PWN-Oxford Multimedia English-Polish and Polish-English Dictionary] (2016/2018) (henceforth: *PWN-Oxford*), literally means a flatfish, called *a flounder*. In its figurative use, the word *flądra* is colloquial and offensive, pertaining to (i) a sloppy and / or (ii) misbehaving woman, with its English equivalent 'a slattern' and/or 'a slut' (*PWN-Oxford*). These readings of *flądra* are also available at one of the greatest online dictionaries, namely *Słownik Języka Polskiego PWN* [The PWN Dictionary of the Polish Language], which derives from numerous dictionaries in Polish, such as: *Słownik języka polskiego* [Dictionary of the Polish

³ The translation of the Polish citation into English is prepared by the author of this research paper.

Language] (edited by Bralczyk, 2005), *Wielki słownik ortograficzny on-line*, *Wielki słownik ortograficzny PWN* [The Great PWN Orthographic Dictionary] (edited by Polański, 2017), *Słownik języka polskiego* [Dictionary of the Polish Language] (edited by Doroszewski, 1969/1997) and its online version. Unfortunately, not all dictionaries of the Polish language include these two figurative cases of *flądra*, focusing either on a female sloppy character or on a woman's sexual misbehaviour.

The etymological background of the Polish *flądra* traces back to the Lower German word *Flunder*, the name given to the flatfish ('pleuronectes'). Figuratively, the German word *Flunder flądra* has been transferred to people, and has become a scornful nickname of a "sloppy and harlot woman" (Brückner, 1927, p. 123).

Interestingly, the *Online Etymological Dictionary* (Harper, 2001-2022) elucidates that the English word *flounder* dates back to the 14th century, and derives either from the Anglo-French word *floundre*, or Old North French *flondre*, or from Old Norse *flydhra*, or Proto-Germanic *flunthrjo*, or Middle Low German *vlundere*, Danish *flyndemr*, or from Old Swedish *flundra* – all of which pertain to a flatfish. Importantly, the English verb *flounder* traces back to the late 14th century, meaning "to flop around; to struggle awkwardly and impotently; to struggle to maintain a position" (Harper, 2001-2022), which provides some clarification for the figurative reading of the word. Most likely, a misbehaving woman nicknamed *flądra* seems to struggle, as the flatfish does, in order to maintain her position.

4.2. Contemporary meaning of *flądra* retrieved from metaphors

The results obtained in the corpus search reveal that there are six main conceptual metaphors underlying the nickname *flądra* that can be elicited, as given in (4).

(4)

Six metaphors underlying the nickname *flądra*:

- A. A HUMAN BEING IS AN ANIMAL
- B. HUMAN CHARACTERISTICS ARE ANIMAL CHARACTERISTICS
- C. WOMAN WHO IS / LOOKS SLOPPY IS FLĄDRA [English: A FLOUNDER]
- D. A WOMAN'S OBJECTIONABLE BEHAVIOUR IS FLĄDRA'S [English: A FLOUNDER'S] BEHAVIOUR.
- E. X (FEMALE INDIVIDUAL) WHO IS / LOOKS / IS DRESSED INAPPROPRIATELY (E.G. STUFFS HER BREASTS WITH COTTON WOOL) IS FLĄDRA [English: A FLOUNDER],
- F. X (FEMALE INDIVIDUAL) WHO BEHAVES IN AN INAPPROPRIATE WAY (E.G. PROVOKES SEXUALLY / IS LAZY AND STUPID) IS FLĄDRA [English: A FLOUNDER].

While the first metaphor represents the primary and most simplistic metaphor, based on the links in the Chain of Beings and occurring between a human being and an animal, the metaphors in b. – d. result from the metonymic relation +PART FOR

WHOLE+, i.e. when concept A that represents PART stands for B that is THE WHOLE. The metonymies from our study include: THE PHYSICAL APPEARANCE (CHARACTERISTICS) (ONE'S LOOK OR WAY OF ACTING) OF A HUMAN BEING STANDS FOR THE HUMAN BEING, and THE ACTING OF A FLĄDRA [FLOUNDER] STANDS FOR FLĄDRA [FLOUNDER]. All the cases of *flądra* metaphors have numerous linguistic realisations, as given in the *NKJP Corpus* and exemplified in (5a) – (5f).

(5)

Linguistic realisations of the main four metaphors which underlie **the present corpus entry of *flądra***:

- a) Co? Józek z tobą na randce? Nie bądź śmieszna [...]. A myślisz, że on nie wie, że biust sobie watą wypychasz jak jaka *flądra*? [What? Józek with you on a date? Don't be funny [...]. And you think he doesn't know that you stuff your breasts with cotton wool like some kind of *slut* (literally *flounder*)?] ⁴
- b) Rozpustnik! Wiesz, gdzie on teraz jest?! W łóżku u tej *flądry*! Masz go zaraz wyrzucić z mieszkania, oszusta! [Libertine! Do you know where he is now?! In bed with that *slut* (literally *flounder*)! You are about to get him out of the apartment, the trickster!]
- c) Nie mogę patrzeć, jak ta *flądra* cię podrywa, a ty jej jeszcze na to pozwalasz! [I can't watch this *slut* (literally *flounder*) is courting you and you still let her!]
- d) Wieki upływają, zanim *flądra* w recepcji podniesie słuchawkę. [It takes ages for the *slut* (literally *flounder*) at the desk to pick up the phone.]
- e) Czy poinformowałaś swą narzeczoną i przyszłą teściową, że aż tak je nienawidzisz, że posuwasz się do nazywania ich [...] głupimi *flądrami*? [Have you informed your fiancée and future mother-in-law that you hate them so much that you go so far as to call them [...] stupid *fluff* / *slut* (literally *flounder*)?]
- f) Poczekajcie, moje damy, pomyślałem zgryźliwie, zimna *flądro* i ruda wydro, jeszcze do mnie przybiegniecie z prośbą o pomoc.
- g) [Wait, ladies, I thought harshly, you cold *slut* (literally *flounder*) and red otter, you will come running to me asking for help.] (*NKJP Corpus*)

As seen on (5a) – (5c), the metaphorical reference to *flądra* in Polish is offensive and concerns the cases when a speaker recognizes a woman as sexually

⁴ The translation of the Polish citation into English is prepared by the author of this paper.

misbehaving or /and being sloppy. These instances confirm the already-existing dictionary meaning of *flądra*, discussed in section 4.1.

Significantly, our more detailed analysis of the discourse extracts from the contemporary corpus lets us claim that, in addition to the common dictionary meaning of *flądra*, there is some novel meaning of the term, namely a reference to a woman in order to offend her, as illustrated in (5d) – (5f). We may only assume that the behaviour of the woman is either bad or annoying, which provides some logical reason to insult her. Still the reasons may be numerous, e.g. a woman's laziness (5d) stupidity, annoying character or ugliness (5e), and lack of compassion and love (5f).

In fact, after a deeper search, we have found out one dictionary project which refers to this uncommon meaning of *flądra* and which defines it as: “a woman to whom the speaker has a negative attitude and wants to express it” (*Wielki słownik języka polskiego* [Great Dictionary of the Polish Language], 2018). Importantly, even though this novel definition attributed to the *flądra* nickname is not placed in most dictionaries of the Polish language, it is represented quite numerous in the corpus, by occurring in 59 extracts out of 130 (which is 45 per cent), as summarised in (3).

Furthermore, all the six *flądra* metaphors generated on the ground of the figurative cases and listed in (4a) – (4f), as retrieved from the contemporary discourse available in the *NKJP Corpus*, are presented in Figure 1, which classifies the metaphors according to the levels of metaphorical schematicity.

As illustrated in Figure 1, the nickname *flądra* in its contemporary usage is motivated by the six main metaphors, which involve conceptual structures (complexities) on various levels of schematicity. Following Kövecses (2017b, p. 323), we distinguish four such levels, namely, the level of image schemas, the level of domains, the level of frames, and the level of mental spaces.

The metaphor A HUMAN BEING IS AN ANIMAL, as the most basic and schematic one, is realised on the level of image schema. *Image schemas* are generally defined as the prevalent structures organised in human cognition, which arise from our bodily and social interaction with the environment at a preconceptual level (Johnson, 1987, p. 65; Lakoff, 1987, p. 106), and which “imbue experience with meaning” (Kövecses, 2017b, p. 324). In the same vein, on the ground of the LINK image schema, our most schematic metaphor is generated. To clarify, we usually, by some analogue pattern, may compare human beings with animals due to their misbehaving. In image schema, we rely on our first rough associations that occur between a person whose behaviour or activity is primitive, bad or detrimental, and an animal, e.g. a flounder, which flops around to maintain its position, often hidden in the silt lying on the seabed.

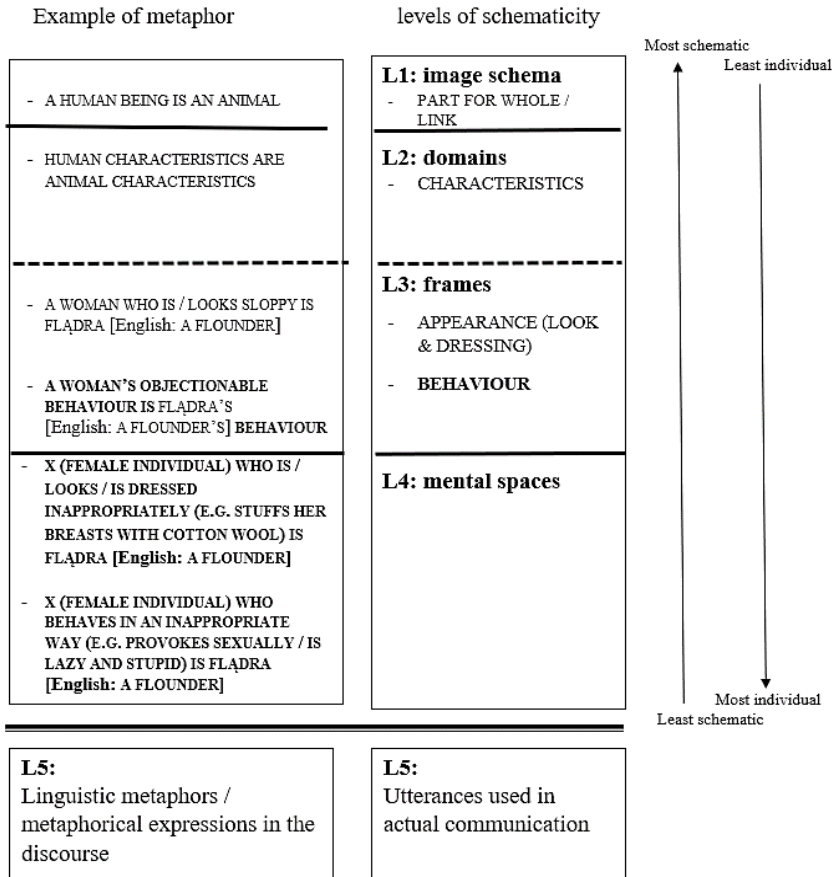


Figure 1: Levels of metaphoricity for six metaphors with the source domain of *flądra* (a flounder) (own source, based on Kövecses, 2017b, p. 323)

Domains and *frames*, placed at the lower levels of schematicity, as seen in Figure 1, are treated by Langacker (1987) likewise, as “a coherent area of conceptualization relative to which semantic units may be characterised” (p. 488). In contradistinction to image schemas, domains and frames are less schematic, and represent a level immediately below image schemas. In our scheme in Figure 1, the lower-level conceptualizations on the domain and frame levels are generated by adding details to the image schema. Hence, under the image schema of PART FOR WHOLE/LINK, the domain of CHARACTERISTICS OF LIVING ORGANISMS can be recognised. This domain refers both to ANIMALS and HUMAN BEINGS. At the level of the given domain, the following metaphors can be triggered: HUMAN CHARACTERISTICS ARE ANIMAL CHARACTERISTICS.

Furthermore, having adopted the claim of Kövecses (2017b, p. 325) that frames “involve more conceptually specific information than domains” and

“elaborate particular aspects of a domain matrix,” we assume that in the case of our metaphors concerning the nickname *flądra*, under the said domain of CHARACTERISTICS, more specific structures of frames can be distinguished, namely the APPEARANCE (LOOK and DRESSING) frame as well as the frame of BEHAVIOUR. While the former frame is already conventionalized in the dictionary, the latter is a novel frame associated with the nickname *flądra*. The domain of HUMAN BEINGS is represented by WOMEN, while the domain of ANIMALS is at this level elaborated into the frame of FLĄDRA [flounder]. The level of these frames seems to generate the following metaphors: A WOMAN WHO IS / LOOKS SLOPPY IS FLĄDRA [English: A FLOUNDER] and A WOMAN’S OBJECTIONABLE BEHAVIOUR IS FLĄDRA’S [English: A FLOUNDER’S] BEHAVIOUR.

Finally, on the level of *mental spaces*, the domain and /or frame structures are enriched with more specific details, which follows from one’s personal experience and a given context. Mental spaces, defined as partial assemblies constructed by frames and cognitive models, “as we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding and action” (Fauconnier, 2007, p. 351), fill the roles with particular values in actual discourse in specific communicative situations (Kövecses, 2017b, p. 326). In this view, both Langacker’s (2008) term *current discourse space* and van Dijk’s (2015, p. 474) *communicative event* seem to comply with the level of mental spaces. Seen from this perspective, it seems that the level of mental spaces in the case of the investigated metaphors that underlie the nickname *flądra* is represented by numerous instances of metaphor which provide further specifications of any of the already discussed frames (cf. Kövecses, 2017b, p. 341 and his example of mental space for the frame BUILDING). For example, an elaboration of the APPEARANCE frame would be the mental space related with the sentences given in (5a), which refer to the physical look and way of dressing of the women described in the following sentences: “Co? Józek z tobą na randce? Nie bądź śmieszna [...]. A myślisz, że on nie wie, że biust sobie watą wypychasz jak jaka *flądra*? [What? Józek with you on a date? Don’t be funny [...]. And you think he doesn’t know that you stuff your breasts with cotton wool like some kind of *slut* (literally *flounder*)?].

Another elaboration at the level of mental space concerns the BEHAVIOUR frame, which, as we have already noticed, is some kind of an extension of the conventionalized meaning of the nickname *flądra*. This may be illustrated by the examples given in (5b) and (5c), which refer to some offensive and sexually intriguing behaviour of a woman. The novelty in the meaning of *flądra* seems to start at the frame level and continues at the level of mental spaces, as exemplified by the sentences given in (5d)–(5f), which pertain to a woman’s laziness as in (5d); stupidity, annoying character or ugliness as in (5e); and lack of compassion and love as in (5f).

What is common in all the listed examples at the level of mental spaces is that they point to a specific female individual who either looks or behaves in an inappropriate

way. These details are not included in the more schematic APPEARANCE or BEHAVIOUR frames. Thus, in fact, we can extract several metaphors underlying the sentences at the level of mental spaces. However, there seem to be two main patterns of the metaphor at this level: (i) X (FEMALE INDIVIDUAL) WHO IS / LOOKS / IS DRESSED INAPPROPRIATELY (E.G. STUFFS HER BREASTS WITH COTTON WOOL) IS FLĄDRA [English: A FLOUNDER], and (ii) X (FEMALE INDIVIDUAL) WHO BEHAVES IN AN INAPPROPRIATE WAY (E.G. PROVOKES SEXUALLY / IS LAZY AND STUPID) IS FLĄDRA [English: A FLOUNDER].

In our novel metaphor, A FEMALE INDIVIDUAL WHO BEHAVES IN AN INAPPROPRIATE WAY (E.G. IS LAZY AND STUPID) IS FLĄDRA [English: A FLOUNDER], which has not been instantiated in most dictionaries yet, but rather functions ‘unconventionally’ in the contemporary discourse, needs to be analysed on the level of mental spaces. It is this level which deals with unconventional cases, seen as online representations of our understanding of experience in working memory. Frames and domains, in turn, are treated more as conventionalized knowledge structures in long-term memory (Kövecses, 2017b, p. 326).

Remarkably, as explained by Kövecses (2020), apart from these four levels, which pertain to conceptual structures of image schema, domain, frame and mental spaces, and are realised in different schematic hierarchies, “there is of course the level of communication, Level 5, where speaker and hearer use some symbols [linguistic or otherwise] that make manifest, or elaborate, the content of particular mental spaces” (p. 55). Hence, in the case of our nickname *flądra*, particular extracts retrieved from the corpus constitute Level 5, at which communication, not conceptualisation, happens.

5. Conclusions

To sum up, metaphor is a successful construal which helps us to capture the depth and intensity of the phenomenological experience (cf. Gibbs, 1994, p. 125). It seems clear that the chosen hybrid theoretical model, based on CMA and Kövecses’s (2017b, 2020) view of the contextual dependence of metaphor, has enabled us to understand the role both discourse and context play in reconstructing the meaning of the *flądra* nickname.

The results obtained in the study reveal that all the three most schematic structures (image schemas, domains and frames) do provide us with all the offline knowledge about the meaning of the *flądra* nickname and are still well acknowledged both in dictionaries and in the discourse. Nevertheless, these conceptual structures do not expose the whole range of the meaning of the *flądra* nickname that is present in today’s discourse. Making use of Kövecses’s (2017b, 2020) claim that, in order to gain the complexity of metaphorical meaning, natural social discourse is required, we have exploited the discourse extracts available in the *NKJP Corpus*. This has enabled us to receive the online understanding of the nickname, realised on the level of mental spaces. Indeed, it is on the level

of mental spaces, during the actual communicative situations, where online two-domain mapping happens. Supposedly, the mapping on the level of mental spaces may also include conceptual integration since integration networks, as claimed by Fauconnier and Turner (2008), are “far richer than the bundles of pairwise bindings considered in recent theories of metaphor” (p. 53). This claim seems to account for our novel *flądra* metaphor, A FEMALE INDIVIDUAL WHO BEHAVES IN AN INAPPROPRIATE WAY (E.G. IS LAZY AND STUPID) IS FLĄDRA [English: A FLOUNDER], not only in the HUMAN BEING-ANIMAL pairing, but also for the emotional element which is blended with the pairing. The emotional labelling that is integrated here involves the speaker’s personal desire to offend some woman, inform her about the speaker’s negative approach and let her feel disrespected. This observation is consistent with the very definition of nicknames, in which the emotional category is an indispensable element (cf. Grochowski, 1996, p. 12).

Finally, the aim of our study of the *flądra* nickname was not only to highlight the role of mental spaces in meaning construction, but also reveal the contemporary ways of thinking about reality, systems of ordering and evaluating the world (cf. Pajdzińska, 2001, p. 34). We hope that the novel meaning of *flądra*, which has not been instantiated in most dictionaries yet, but seems to be significantly present in the awareness of adult users of the Polish language, will be added to the meanings of the nickname. This way, as we believe, our research will contribute to both cognitive semantics and lexicography.

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When do Metaphorical Frames Exhibit Psycholinguistic Effects? The Case of the Ego-Moving and Time-Moving Metaphor in Climate Change

ABSTRACT

In this paper we discuss the framing effects of the ego- vs. time-moving metaphor in relation to climate change. Previous studies have found that time-moving metaphors (e.g., *climate disaster is approaching us*) led participants to assess the urgency and perceived risk of climate change as higher than ego-moving metaphors (e.g., *we are approaching climate disaster*). Our results did not show the framing effect of metaphor, but observed individual differences in participants' political orientation. We discuss factors that may influence framing and argue for a non-reductionist perspective of discourse or experimental studies.

Keywords: framing effects, metaphor, ego-moving, time-moving, climate change

1. Introduction

Metaphor is a way to understand and conceptualize one domain in terms of another (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). Metaphors in discourse are used as framing devices (Semino et al., 2018; Thibodeau, 2017). This refers to imposing a frame of interpretation, whereby some aspects of reality are hidden, whereas others are highlighted (Goffman, 1986, p. 21). For instance, *fight against climate change* vs. *race against climate change* frame climate change as a fight/war or a race, respectively. The latter expression highlights the need to act quickly (to win the race), but hides the potentially dangerous consequences that the fight/war metaphor draws attention to.

Alternative metaphorical frames may lead to different evaluations of and affective reactions to reality (Stanojević & Šarić, 2019), perpetuating varied ideologies. A range of qualitative discourse studies have made such claims, with

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the dehumanization of refugees, asylum seekers, and immigrants garnering special attention (Musolff, 2015; Tsakiris et al., 2019). Framing effects of metaphor have also been observed in psycholinguistic studies, for instance in advertising (Burgers et al., 2015), crime (Vasquez et al., 2014) or health (Landau et al., 2019). Recently, a number of meta-analyses, both more general (Thibodeau et al., 2017; van Stee, 2018) and more specific ones (dealing with a single topic such as politics, e.g., Boeynaems et al., 2017a; Brugman et al., 2019) have shown that metaphor framing effects may be influenced by factors relating to the source domain, the target domain and individual factors.

In this paper we discuss another oft-studied metaphor, that of the moving ego vs. moving time (Gentner et al., 2002), and its relation to climate change. It has been found that time-moving metaphors (e.g., *climate disaster is approaching us*) lead participants to assess the urgency and perceived risk of climate change as higher than ego-moving metaphors (e.g., *we are approaching climate disaster*) (Flusberg et al., 2017b). This is in line with psycholinguistic studies which have observed that ego-moving metaphors (vs. time-moving metaphors) cause participants to be more optimistic (Lee & Ji, 2014; Margolies & Crawford, 2008; Richmond et al., 2012), probably because they feel more in control (Mikša & Tonković, 2018). The research has turned full circle back to discourse studies, which have found that ego-moving metaphors in discourse are preferred with a positively anticipated event and time-moving metaphors with a negatively anticipated one (Piata & Soriano, 2022).

Still, not everything is entirely clear. For instance, in addition to the role of metaphor, Flusberg et al. (2017b) found that participants' belief in the reality of climate change was particularly important for their assessment of urgency. Moreover, they varied other factors alongside metaphor, and the speed of climate change (rather than the ego- vs. time-moving metaphor) had the greatest influence on the perceived urgency. Furthermore, with faster moving changes, participants were more optimistic when the time-moving metaphor was used, which is contrary to other studies. Therefore, it is worthwhile to simplify the design, and vary only the metaphor without the additional elements. Such an approach may be helpful in specifying the factors that may lead to metaphorical framing effects in discourse.

Given all this, in this paper we present a study of the effect of the ego- vs. time-moving metaphor (e.g., *we are approaching climate catastrophe* vs. *climate catastrophe is approaching*) on the feeling of urgency and willingness to act concerning climate change. In contrast to Flusberg et al. (2017b), we use a simpler design, testing only metaphorical framing. Based on our results and previous literature, we discuss several factors contributing to the potential impact of metaphorical framing. We then look into the relationship between psycholinguistic experiments vs. discourse studies in this area.

This paper is organized as follows. The next section presents the aims and hypotheses, section 3 presents the methods, section 4 the results, followed by a discussion and a conclusion.

2. Aims and hypotheses

In this study we investigate whether ego- vs. time-moving metaphors frame how participants see climate change. In line with the literature, we hypothesize that the time-moving metaphor will result in climate change being seen as more serious, urgent, concerning, and behavior change inducing in relation to the ego-moving metaphor.

3. Method

Participants. To test our hypothesis, we recruited 458 native speakers of English (56.1% women) from the USA via the Prolific platform. Their average age was 36.4 ($SD = 12.1$; range 18 to 81). Most participants (50.1%) identified as Democrat, 13.9% participants identified as Republican and 28.8% identified as independent. Most participants completed high school (29.2%) or college (42%).

Materials and procedure. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions: reading a text on climate change with ego-moving metaphors ($N = 215$) or the same text with time-moving metaphors ($N = 246$). The text (see Appendix) is based on Flusberg et al. (2017b) and Flusberg, Matlock, and Thibodeau (2017a)¹.

After reading the text, the participants assessed:

- a) the inevitability of climate change – by rating their agreement with the statement “The disastrous effects of climate change are inevitable and there is nothing we can do to prevent them” on a scale from 1 (“strongly disagree”) to 5 (“strongly agree”);
- b) the solvability of the problem – by rating their agreement with the statement “Humans will overcome climate change and its impacts” on a scale from 1 (“strongly disagree”) to 5 (“strongly agree”);
- c) urgency – by answering the question “How urgent is it for the world to take action to stop climate change?” on a scale from 1 (“not at all urgent”) to 5 (“very urgent”);
- d) their concern – by answering three questions about their concern that life on Earth, their life and lives of people in the future will change because of climate change on a scale from 1 (“not concerned”) to 5 (“very concerned”). These ratings were highly correlated (all $r > .73$ or higher) and we combined them to form an average rating of perceived concern about climate change (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .92$);

¹ The study obtained the ethics approval from the Department of Psychology Ethics Committee, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb.

e) their willingness to change – by answering five questions about their willingness: to pay a carbon offset cost on future purchases of items derived from fossil fuels, to contribute money toward education initiatives designed to teach people about risks associated with climate change, to decrease the use of air conditioning and heating in order to reduce their carbon footprint, to decrease the use of goods and services that contribute to greenhouse gas emissions and pollution and to decrease the intake of agricultural products that derive from farming techniques known to contribute to climate change on a scale from 1 (“definitely no”) to 5 (“definitely yes”). These ratings were also correlated (all $r > .53$ or higher) and we combined them to form an average willingness to change rating (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .91$).

As a manipulation check, we asked participants to rate their emotional reaction to the text (“How did you feel while reading this text?”) on a scale from 1 (“not at all distressed”) to 5 (“very distressed”).

At the end, in addition to demographic questions about age, gender, education and political party orientation, participants indicated their political orientation on a continuous scale from 0 (“very liberal”) to 10 (“very conservative”) and rated their belief in climate change (“How convinced are you that climate change is happening?”) on a scale from 1 (“not at all convinced”) to 5 (“completely convinced”).

4. Results

The results show no effect of the ego- vs. time-moving metaphor on inevitability, solvability, urgency, concern, willingness to change their behavior or emotional distress because of reading the text. The results are very similar between the two metaphors, and none of the differences are significant, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics of the ratings in two experimental conditions and results of t-tests

	Ego-moving metaphor		Time-moving metaphor		<i>t-test</i>
	M	SD	M	SD	
inevitability	2.18	1.08	2.30	1.05	$t(458) = 1.22; p > .05$
solvability	2.87	1.02	2.94	1.00	$t(459) = 0.74; p > .05$
urgency	4.35	1.03	4.46	0.97	$t(459) = 1.10; p > .05$
concern	4.04	1.05	4.04	1.06	$t(453) = 0.08; p > .05$
willingness to change behavior	3.46	1.07	3.41	1.08	$t(459) = 0.48; p > .05$
emotional distress	3.30	1.11	3.27	1.21	$t(459) = 0.31; p > .05$

Overall, participants were mostly convinced that climate change was happening ($M = 4.42$; $SD = 0.98$; $C = 5$). This correlated with political orientation assessed on a scale, with more liberal participants being more convinced that climate change was happening ($r = -.62$; $p < .01$). Moreover, participants who were more convinced that climate change was happening gave higher assessments of urgency, concern and willingness to change (respectively: $r = .78$, $p < .01$; $r = .75$, $p < .01$; $r = .61$, $p < .01$). Similarly, political orientation correlated with the assessment of urgency, concern and willingness to change (respectively: $r = -.58$, $p < .01$; $r = -.55$, $p < .01$; $r = -.52$, $p < .01$), with more liberal participants giving higher ratings.

Participants who were more convinced that climate change was happening also gave lower ratings of its solvability ($r = -.28$; $p < .01$) and of the inevitability of its disastrous effects with there being nothing that could be done to stop the change ($r = -.14$; $p < .01$), although these correlations were fairly low.

5. Discussion

Our results show that the ego-moving vs. time-moving metaphor had no framing effect on the assessment of the inevitability of consequences, solvability of the problem, urgency, concern, willingness to change one's behavior or the emotional distress upon reading the text. Instead, political orientation was correlated with the belief that climate change was happening, and both correlated positively with the feeling of urgency, concern and willingness to change. Non-skeptics were also less prone to believing that climate change was inevitable or that there was nothing people could do to change it, but were, at the same time, less optimistic about being able to deal with it. This may mean that non-skeptics believe that not enough is being done to stop climate change.

In contrast to our findings, Flusberg et al. (2017b) found framing effects of the two metaphors. The main difference between their study and ours was that, alongside metaphor, they manipulated the time when the changes were going to happen, and how fast. Therefore, they found complex effects between these factors and the ego- vs. time-moving metaphor. Still, they found (non-)skepticism towards climate change to be the strongest predictor of seriousness and tractability of climate change (Flusberg et al., 2017b, pp. 364–365). This makes our finding that participants' (non-)skepticism towards climate change influences their attitudes unsurprising. In Flusberg et al's study, however, skeptics were more susceptible to the framing effects of metaphor, which they ascribe to ceiling effects for non-skeptics (Flusberg et al., 2017b, p. 366).

In our sample the ceiling effect for metaphor may have been reached for all participants, given that the overall belief that climate change was happening in our study was very high. Flusberg et al. (2017b) do not report the average rating for this question. However, another study by the same research group conducted in 2016 (Flusberg et al., 2017a, p. 5) reports values ranging from 3.94 to 3.98,

which is lower than the result we obtained. Of course, the reason for this may be a difference in the sample (with our participants perhaps being more liberal). However, what may have also played a role are the general opinions at the two time points (data from 2016/2017 vs. 2022). Gallup poll data shows a significant increase in the concern about climate change in 2017 (Saad, 2017) in relation to previous periods, with little change since (Saad, 2021). This suggests that general views towards climate change shifted, with everyone being less skeptical. Flusberg et al.'s (2017a) data indirectly corroborates the assertion that external events and political situation at different points in time may influence framing effects. They found differences in urgency and risk perception between data collected at three different time points (Flusberg et al., 2017a, pp. 9–10), which they ascribe to external factors such as hot weather and the elections.

Overall, this is in line with the findings that metaphors do not influence people directly or in the same way, but that figurative framing effects can be moderated by participant opinions (Boeynaems, 2019), political knowledge (Vandeleene et al., 2022) or indeed other external factors such as the elections. Other factors – such as how extended or familiar a metaphor is – may also influence its framing effect (van Stee, 2018). This is another possible reason why Flusberg et al.'s (2017a, 2017b) manipulation of speed and time may have been successful. What may also play a role in framing effects is the topic. For instance, in her meta-analysis of metaphor framing effects (vs. literal expressions), van Stee (2018) found that studies of advertising and crime had a significant positive effect, whereas studies of other topics did not (p. 557). Unfortunately, climate change did not appear in van Stee's study.

Framing effects may also be influenced by the characteristics of the metaphor at issue, e.g., metaphor novelty (van Stee, 2018) or perceived novelty and aptness (Boeynaems et al., 2017b). In our study, the lexical expression of metaphor may be such a factor. The ego- vs. time-moving metaphors used in our study are lexically largely the same, and primarily exhibit a difference in the order of elements rather than (potentially) rich imagery. For instance, our participants read sentences such as *we're heading towards disaster* (ego-moving) vs. *disaster heading our way* (time-moving; see Appendix). In fact, it is difficult to think of a single word that would unequivocally show the difference in framing for these two metaphors. This is in stark contrast to the metaphors for war and race in climate change in Flusberg et al. (2017a), which used the two terms referring to the two source domains: *the war/race against climate change*.

To these factors we would like to add another, often overlooked in metaphor studies (both discursive and psycholinguistic): the grammatical form of metaphor. There is evidence that certain grammatical forms are more likely to be metaphorical than others (Stanojević et al., 2014; Sullivan, 2007). Thus, Sullivan (2007, pp. 134–136) found that metaphors seldom appear in the copulative construction

in running text (only 3.7% of all metaphors were copulative), as opposed to the predicate argument construction featuring the highest overall percentage (47.3% among all metaphors in her material). Note that ours and Flusberg et al.'s (2017a, 2017b) studies primarily used predicate argument constructions. Some studies in different domains which found consistent results, such as Thibodeau and Boroditsky's (2015) study on crime being portrayed as a virus vs. a beast, used the less frequent copulative construction (*Crime is a beast/virus ravaging the city*). Despite its comparative rarity in naturally occurring material, the copulative construction *X is Y* is often considered a typical exemplar of metaphor (the mere fact that we think of conceptual metaphors as TARGET IS SOURCE is an indicator of this). Whether this is a separate factor, or simply increases the perceived aptness of metaphor, is yet to be untangled.

Overall, then, several factors influence the appearance of framing effects. Given the varying evidence between metaphor sources, metaphor targets, different time points, different individual characteristics, etc. we should think of metaphor as a local rather than a global phenomenon (as argued about discursive metaphor by Stanojević, 2019). This means that rather than taking framing effects wholesale, as something that necessarily happens globally, we can think of them more locally: as effects that may happen if particular conditions are satisfied, as has recently been argued Panzeri et al., (2021).

Relating this back to the relationship between psycholinguistic and discourse-based studies, this is precisely where the correspondences between the two research paradigms may be useful. As noted by Thibodeau et al., (2019), the differences in the results (the fact that critical discourse analysis nearly always finds framing effects, whereas psycholinguistic experiments do not) come from their divergent methodologies and aims. Discourse-based studies select their natural material deliberately (p. 190), because metaphors in it were found to be of interest. Thus, they analyze the contextual factors in detail, but idealize the effects on all individuals. In contrast, experimental studies idealize the context (to control the confounding variables) but can report effects. Thus, although the two methods are in a way complementary, we should keep in mind that neither should be reduced to the other. Finding effects using discourse analysis does not mean that these effects are any less real if they are not corroborated by experimentation. By the same token, finding effects through experimentation does not mean that they will be valid for every naturalistic situation, but that does not make the effect any less real. We simply need to strike the right balance between psycholinguistic and discourse-based studies.

6. Conclusion

In this paper we studied the framing effect of the ego- vs. time-moving metaphor (*we are approaching climate catastrophe* vs. *climate catastrophe is approaching*)

on the feeling of urgency and willingness to act with regard to climate change. In line with the literature, we hypothesized that the time-moving metaphor would lead to climate change being seen as more serious, urgent, concerning and lead to greater willingness to change in contrast to the ego-moving metaphor.

In contrast to a previous study (Flusberg et al., 2017b), our results did not show a framing effect of metaphor on the assessment of the inevitability of consequences, solvability of the problem, urgency, concern, willingness to change one's behavior or the emotional reaction to the text. Rather, it was political orientation that correlated with the belief that climate change was happening. We attribute the results to an overall change in how climate change was perceived in earlier research and in our study. In addition to the factors identified in the literature as influencing framing effects, we discuss yet another possible individual factor, that of lexical and grammatical differences between metaphors. Along with other studies, we argue that framing effects should be thought of as effects that may happen in certain conditions rather than across-the-board. On a more general level, this means that neither experimental studies nor critical discourse analyses should be seen as primary or reduced to each other.

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Appendix

EGO MOVING

WE'RE HEADING TOWARDS DISASTER

More devastating fires in California. Persistent drought in the Southwest. Record flooding in Europe and Africa. A heat wave, of all things, in Greenland. Because of climate change, *we may also be drawing closer to another pandemic*. All this means that *we're approaching the day* when it will be too late to prevent the devastating effects of climate change. *We are getting dangerously close to a point* when ice loss and other effects of climate change will become irreversible. *Our advance toward this dark future can be stopped*, however, if we transform all facets of our economies. This may sound daunting, but scientists say that *we are coming within reach of this goal*. Still, *we must come to a solution before it is too late*. *We must avoid heading towards climate disaster*.

TIME MOVING**DISASTER HEADING OUR WAY**

More devastating fires in California. Persistent drought in the Southwest. Record flooding in Europe and Africa. A heat wave, of all things, in Greenland. Because of climate change, *another pandemic may also be drawing closer*. All this means *that the day is approaching* when it will be too late to prevent the devastating effects of climate change. *The point when ice loss and other effects of climate change will become irreversible is getting dangerously close*. *The advance of this dark future towards us can be stopped*, however, if we transform all facets of our economies. This may sound daunting, but scientists say that *this goal has come within our reach*. Still, *the solution must come before it is too late*. *We must avoid the climate disaster heading our way*.

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Phraseological Units with a Zoonym Component Motivated by Stereotypes

ABSTRACT

The article discusses Russian, Polish and Slovenian phraseological units containing the names of animals (zonyms). The aim of the study is to determine to what extent the stereotyped image of animals, fixed in phraseological units, corresponds to contemporary knowledge about the behaviour of animals. An analysis of phraseological units concerning a cow, bull, calf, ox, goat, sheep and ram is conducted. A comparison of these phraseologies with contemporary data on animal behaviour reveals a certain discrepancy between the actual intellectual and psychological capacities of animals and their image fixed in phraseological units.

Keywords: phraseological units, zoonym, animals, lexicography, semantics, stereotypes

1. Introduction: defining phraseological units and specifying the aim of the study

Words denoting animals belong to one of the most ancient layers of vocabulary in many languages of the world. The animalistic vocabulary and phraseology reflect centuries of human observation of animals, their external features, and behaviour. Through comparison with animals, people comprehend themselves. A manifestation of anthropomorphism as a form of mastering reality is the transfer of human properties to inanimate objects and the nature, including animals. Indeed, certain distinctive features of animals and characteristics of their behaviour man has transferred to his notion of self. Animals, in turn, have been endowed with human qualities.

It is animalistic phraseological units which reflect human observations of the behaviour, habits, and external features of animals. They are the perception of the animal world that has been formed over a long period of time. Phraseological units with a zoonym component are traditionally the focus of the scientific interest of many researchers. Especially relevant are the studies of the relationship

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between language and culture, national and cultural specificity on the material of phraseological nominations (Babaeva, 2020; Dashieva, 2018; Filimonova, 2003; Koletnik, 2022; Lavrishheva et al., 2019; Nowakowska, 1991; Piasecka, 2018; Shustova et al., 2020; Skitina, 2007; Spajić, 2015; Vovk, 2007; Wtorkowska, 2014; Yakovleva, 2017), and the determination of universal and specific features in the linguistic picture of the world. It is worth noting that zoomorphic phraseonominations constitute a significant part of the phraseological composition of the Russian, Polish and Slovenian languages. For the purpose of our study, we adhere to a broad understanding of phraseological unit which was defined by Teliya in the encyclopedia *Russian Language*, edited by Karaulov:

Phraseological unit is a common name for semantically unfree word combinations that are not produced in speech (as syntactic structures similar in form – word combinations or sentences), but are reproduced in it in a usually fixed steady relation of semantic content and certain lexicogrammatical composition. (Karaulov, 1997, p. 605)

In this paper, we attempt to consider some chosen phraseological units with the zoonym component in the aspect of cognitive ethology. The aim of the article is twofold: (i) to analyse a few carefully selected examples of Russian, Polish and Slovenian phraseological units containing the names of animals in terms of their lexical composition, and (ii) to determine how the ideas about animals recorded in phraseological units correspond to the empirical data about the behaviour as well as mental and cognitive abilities of these animals. Our purpose is to focus, primarily, on the intellectual abilities of animals, by which we mean such cognitive properties as memory, thinking, attention, perception, imagination and the ability to solve various kinds of problems.

The paper consists of four main parts. Having specified the aim of the research as well as the definition of phraseological units (Section 1), we proceed to introduce the details concerning the database and methodology of the research (Section 2). In the following part of the article (Sections 3), the results of the study are revealed and discussed. The paper closes with concluding remarks and a brief summary (Section 4).

2. Database and methodology of the study

The database of the research chosen for our investigation comprises of the phraseological units and expressions connected with the zoonym component of a cow, a bull, calf, ox, a goat, a sheep and a ram. The reason behind selecting the lexical units denoting these particular animals is that they are among the most popular types of livestock. Sheep and cattle are among the oldest domestic animals, having been kept since the early Stone Age (Keber, 1996, p. 265). The choice of these animals is also motivated by the fact that they have been part of the human world for millennia, thanks to which a lot of experience in observing their features, behaviour and habits has been gained.

The phraseological units have been extracted from numerous monolingual dictionaries. First, *Большой фразеологический словарь русского языка* [Bol'shoj frazeologicheskij slovar' russkogo yazy'ka] edited by Teliya (henceforth: *BFSRY*), which contains over 1500 thousand fixed expressions and phraseological units, presented in figurative and semantic networks and provided with stylistic labels. Second, *Словарь русской фразеологии* [Slovar' russkoj frazeologii] by Birikh, Mokiyeenko and Stepanova (henceforth: *SRF*), which includes over 2500 thousand fixed expressions, each with their historical and etymological interpretation accompanied by a bibliographical reference. In addition, the modern meaning of phraseology is explained in here and its stylistic colouring is described. Third, *Большой словарь русских поговорок* [Bol'shoj slovar' russkix pogovorok] by Mokiyeenko and Nikitina (henceforth: *BSRP*), comprising over 40,000 Russian proverbs, reflecting the literary and folk speech of the 19th-21st centuries. The material is collected from various sources, in particular, Russian folklore, works of classical and modern literature, mass media, records of modern speech. Fourth, Kuznetsov's *Большой толковый словарь русского языка* [Bol'shoj tolkovy'j slovar' russkogo yazy'ka] (henceforth: *BTSRY*) was also used in this work. A total of 169 phraseological units were analysed.

Fifth, the Polish dictionary in four volumes, edited by Stanisław Dubisz (2006), is entitled *Uniwersalny słownik języka polskiego* [Dictionary of Polish language] (henceforth: *USJP*). Sixth, the Polish *Słownik frazeologiczny języka polskiego* [Phraseological Dictionary of the Polish Language], in two volumes, is edited by Stanisław Skorupka (2002) (henceforth: *SFJP*). Seventh, the Polish *Wielki słownik frazeologiczny języka polskiego* [The Great Phraseological Dictionary of the Polish Language] is edited by Piotr Müldner-Nieckowski (2003) (henceforth: *WSFJP*). A total of 207 phraseological units were analysed.

Eight, the Slovenian Dictionary *Slovar slovenskih frazemov* (Keber, 2011) (henceforth: *SSF*), is edited by Janez Keber. Ninth, Slovenian book *Živali v prisposodbah 1* (henceforth: *ŽP1*), is edited by Janez Keber (1996). Tenth, the dictionary *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika 2* [Dictionary of the Slovenian standard language 2 in two volumes] (henceforth: *SSKJ2/1* and *SSKJ2/2*), published in 1994, second updated edition in 2014 (retrieved www.fran.si), is a general monolingual dictionary of the Slovenian language. A total of 182 phraseological units were analysed.

Our study consists of three main stages, namely (i) selection of the material; (ii) lexical analysis of the phraseological units; and (iii) semantic analysis of the phrasemes under scrutiny. The selection of the material has been carried out by the method of continuous sampling of phraseological units, which include a zoonym component. Besides, the descriptive method, the method of component analysis, and the method of semantic analysis of the given dictionary definitions is used in the work, in order to investigate to what extent the ideas about animals encoded in

the phraseological units reflect the empirical data about the behaviour as well as mental and cognitive abilities of these animals.

3. Results and discussion

The semantics of animalistic phraseological expressions is mostly revealed in the stereotypical ideas about animals, which are often based on a subjective assessment of their qualities and properties. A stereotype is a simplified judgment about some fragment of the surrounding reality. Stereotyping the image of animals, and attributing certain properties and qualities to them is associated with the human desire to generalize, and simplify the process of cognition of the surrounding reality (Piętkowa, 2007, p. 104)). In this connection, zoo-phraseological phrases are reflected not only in the objective judgments based on human experience in joint living and communicating with animals, but also in features, and characteristics that are subjectively attributed to animals.

At the same time, the image of animals in phraseological expressions is often endowed with negative features, which has been pointed out by many researchers (De'ngi, 2002; Piasecka, 2018; Rak, 2007; Zimnowoda, 2003; among many others). The formation of a predominantly negative image of animals could be influenced by the idea of human superiority over animals, as well as a purely objective attitude to domesticated animals used by man in economic activity. In the phraseology, we find numerous examples confirming the cruel treatment of animals, e.g. the example from Russian *нагруженный (навьюченный) как осел* [about a very heavily loaded person] (*BSRP*, p. 469), *драть (лупить, бить, пороть) как сидорову козу* [to flog, trash something cruelly, unmercifully] (*SRF*, p. 270), as well as the examples from the Polish language: *kto chce psa uderzyć, (ten) zawsze kij się znajdzie* [if you want to hit a dog, a stick will be found] (*WSFJP*, p. 527) or *spiąć konia (ostrogą)* [pin the horse down (with a spur)] (p. 319), and the Slovenian language: *delati (garati) kot vol/ črna živina* [work very hard] (*SSKJ2/2*, p. 1141; *SSF*, p. 1143, *ŽP1*, p. 59) or *neumen kakor konj* [stupid as a horse] (*SSF*, p. 362) and *tepsti koga kot vola* [to treat heavily on someone] (*SSKJ2/2*, p. 917). Such an attitude toward animals, as a rule, is accompanied by attributing negative qualities to them, denying their ability to think and feel.

What is more, human perception of the psyche and intelligence of animals has evolved along with their knowledge of the surrounding reality. For a long time, it was believed that the behaviour of animals was limited to instincts and reaction to external stimuli, and true thinking was purely a human attribute. This perspective has its roots in the philosophy of Aristotle. (Vičar, 2013) Scientific views on the intellectual capacities of animals have, however, undergone significant changes over the centuries. In the last century, there was a transition from the absolute denial of the rudiments of reason in animals, to the recognition of the existence of the elements of thinking, manifested in different forms. The animal-oriented

studies involve various ethical aspects related to determining the dependence of empathy for animals or their consciousness, their level of intelligence, the use of animals for various research purposes, the treatment and conditions of farming, the need to revise the methods of studying animals in laboratories, etc. (Bekoff, 2010; Gómez-Leal et al., 2021; Sandøe et al., 2015; Singer, 2018; Young et al., 2018). Along with these impressive studies, the number of applied research aimed at studying the cognitive and behavioural features of animals in the context of their impact on the productivity of the livestock industry is constantly increasing (Blokhuis et al., 1998; De la Lama et al., 2019; Foster et al., 1997; Nawroth, 2017; Nowicki et al., 2015; Rørvang et al., 2018). At the same time, researchers are increasingly talking about the need to study the cognitive abilities of animals without regard to humans as the main reference point, with whose higher mental functions the properties of animals are historically compared. For example, the famous biologist and ethologist Marc Bekoff (2010) speaks of the necessity to change the scientific paradigm by revising the stereotypes related to the perception of the emotional lives of animals. A change in approach, according to Bekoff (2010), can remove such oppositions as ‘us – them’, ‘laboratory – home’, ‘higher beings – lower beings’. In fact, over the last decades, the fields of ethology, zoo-psychology and comparative psychology have gathered a wealth of information about the cognitive abilities, learning, cognition, emotions and social complexity of animals; while new approaches are being developed, experimental studies of animal behaviour are actively conducted, and new data are constantly being accumulated. Nevertheless, in the field of animal cognitive abilities research, the main attention of scientists is still focused on the species characterized by relatively large brains (Reader et al., 2002; Tomasello & Call, 1997). The cognitive abilities of domestic farm animals are studied to a lesser extent and require further research.

As far as our first investigated animal study case is concerned, *cows*, often referred to as cattle or bullocks, are the most common species of domestic, cloven-hoofed ruminants of the *Bos taurus* species. Humans have been using cattle for centuries in various economic activities as draft labour, for milk, meat and hides. Under its appearance, the bull traditionally symbolizes strength, power and health, which is reflected in the following phraseological units: in Russian *здоров, как бык* (BTSRY, p. 107), in Polish *mocny, tęgi, wielki jak byk* (SFJP1, p. 125; USJP1, p. 360) and in Slovenian *močan kot bik* (SSF, p. 73), *močen ko bik* (SSKJ2/1, p. 129), *bosti se z bikom* (SSF, p. 73) – all refer to a person, usually a man, being in very good health, completely (healthy); hence, as healthy as a horse, bull (an ox), a man of sound health. The bull also symbolizes hard physical labour, as illustrated in the Russian phrase: *работать как вол* [to work excessively, indefatigably, to work very hard, with zeal and obedience, to work like an ox (a horse, a mule, a dog)] (SRF, p. 94). The equivalent (already

mentioned) Polish expression is: *pracować (harować, tyrać, orać) jak wół*, or *wół roboczy* [to work very hard, especially physically] (*SFJP2*, pp. 606–607; *USJP4*, p. 497), and the equivalent Slovenian phraseme is: *delati (garati) kot vol* (*SSKJ2/2*, p. 917) or *zgrabiti bika za roge* [to take on difficult, demanding work] (*SSKJ2/1*, p. 129). At the same time, the cognitive and emotional capacity of the cow was denied; whereas low intellectual capacities were attributed to the animal. Later on, such negative characteristics were transferred to mankind. In the Russian language, there are phraseological units with the zoonym component, which mean a stupid, limited person: *комольный бык* [komol – bull], to describe a stubborn person or a stupid, unintelligent person (*BSRP*, p. 68). It should be noted that both in Polish and Slovenian an ox can be used to describe a slow, stupid, dull, unintelligent man who is hard to figure something out (*ti si vol; s takim volom se ne da pogovarjati* (*SSKJ2/2*, p. 917); *zabit kot vol* (*SSF*, p. 1049); *kot tele se je rodil, kot vol umrl* (*ŽP1*, p. 99). This is also evidenced by phraseological units occurring in both languages: *gapić się (patrzyć) (na kogoś, na coś) jak wół na malowane wrota* (*SFJP2*, p. 607; *USJP4*, pp. 510–511), and *gledati kot / kakor zaboden vol / bik* (*SSKJ2/2*, p. 917) or *zljati kot bik v nova vrata* (*SSF*, p. 74) which mean ‘to look like a slaughtered ox / bull, and look at someone or something thoughtlessly, dully, stupidly or with surprise’. The component *теленоч, телячий* [calf], *телячьи нежности, телячий восторг* [calf tenderness, calf delight] in Russian phraseological units symbolize naivety and childishness, and sloppy (mushy) sentimentality.

Furthermore, the misconception about the behavioural characteristics of the bull is reflected in the well-known, frequently used speech phraseology, which in Russian sounds: *действовать / подействовать на кого как на быка красная тряпка* (*SRF*, p. 63), in Polish *działać (podziałać) na kogoś jak (niczym) (czerwona) płachta na byka* (*SFJP1*, p. 125; *USJP3*, p. 177), and in Slovenian *to ga draži kot rdeča ruta bika* (*SSKJ2/2*, p. 129), all of which may be translated as ‘acting like a red rag to a bull’ to refer to something annoying, and bringing someone out of temper. In fact, the meaning of this phrases does not correspond to reality, as the eyes of bulls do not perceive red colour per se. Bulls react, first of all, to sharp movements, and the colour of the object does not play a determining role (Adamczyk et al., 2015). Also, as noticed, the collective noun *быдло* [ox] or Slovenian *govedo*, originally denoting ‘cattle’, in all the investigated languages, has negative connotations and is used to pertain to people, spiritually undeveloped, stupid, submissive to the will of others and spending their lives in hard, exhausting work for someone (*BTSRY*, p. 107; *SSKJ2/1*, p. 408). The zoonym *bully* is a component part of Polish phraseological units used to refer to stupid, spiritually undeveloped people: (*bezmyślne, głupie, nierozumne, skończone*) *bydłę* (*WSFJP*, p. 99) [fool, scoundrel], *żyć jak bydłę* (p. 99) [immoral, debauched].

In contradistinction to the meaning denoted in the already mentioned phraseological units, the results of studies concerning cattle ethology show that cows, in particular, have a good memory, including long-term memory (Kovalčik & Kovalčik, 1986) and spatial memory (Hirata et al., 2016). In addition, they can learn and remember, perform complex analyses and synthesize environmental stimuli and form higher-order reflexes, and hold the ability to perceive spatial sensations and apply previous experience in a new situation (Skopichev, 2016). In addition, cows can distinguish between individual individuals in the herd, real objects and pictures that show only cattle heads (Coulon et al., 2009, 2011; Hagen & Broom, 2011). Moreover, they need intercommunication, display emotions, empathy and an individual character (Young, 2003). Cattle (bulls) are capable and aware of much more than has long been assumed.

The second animal under scrutiny, namely, a goat (*Capra hircus*) is a domestic ruminant of the semipedal family. The animal produces milk, meat, wool, fur and skin. As in the previous case, among the phraseological phrases with the zoonym goat, we find the evidence of how a person, being in a close contact with animals for a long time, has recognised the primarily useful, valuable qualities of the animal. In turn, lack of such qualities has been evaluated by a person negatively. For example, the phraseme in Russian such as *как от козла молока (ни шерсти ни молока)* [from goat's milk] [neither wool nor milk] means that someone or something is of absolutely no use, or help etc. This phraseme reflects the ancient assessment of the goat, which in popular opinion, is useless, in comparison with other animals. Subsequently, this negative assessment of a goat has been transferred to humankind, as reflected in the phraseme *как от козла молока* which refers to someone, something useless, not bringing the slightest benefit in some respect (*SRF*, p. 275) or similar Slovenian *s konja se je usedel na kozo* [to perish, to become poor] (*ŽPI*, p. 175). Generally speaking, phraseological units with the zoonym goat component have a pejorative connotative colouring. The lexeme *козел* and *kozel* [goat] is also used in Russian and Slovenian as a metaphorical characteristic of a man who is irritating by his persistent stupidity (*BTSRY*, p. 437; *SSKJ2/1*, p. 655). Indeed, the goat serves as a symbol of stupidity and stubbornness, as evidenced by such phraseological units as *упрямый козел* [as obstinate as a goat], which is used to talk about a stubborn, intractable person (*BSRP*, p. 296). Likewise, the Polish phraseme *uparty jak kozioł* underlies one's obstinate character. Yet, it is worth adding that one's stubbornness is much more frequently associated with a donkey or an ox; hence, the Polish phrase *uparty jak osioł / wół / muł*, with its Slovenian equivalent *trmast kot / kakor (istrski) osel / mula*, (*SSF*, pp. 564, 648), describes a very stubborn, persistent, and tenacious person who sticks to his/her opinion and plans (though he/she is not necessarily right) and does not give up, in Slovenian also describes a person or a thing, which has a very unpleasant smell – *smrdi kot kozel* (*SSKJ2/1*, p. 655).

Furthermore, the image of a goat in Russian, Polish and Slovenian phraseological units is motivated not only by long experience in observing the animal's behaviour, but also by the ancient stereotype of a goat as an unclean animal having some demonic power. In addition, mention of the goat can be found as early as in biblical texts, particularly in connection with the devil and as an offering in the Old Testament. So, for example, the Hebrew rite of laying the sins of all the people on a live goat is reflected in the phraseology *козел отпущения* (BFSRY, p. 331) a person or group blamed for the faults or misdeeds of others, which refers to a scapegoat, and a whipping boy, or a responder for another's guilt, for the mistakes of others. In Polish the expression *koziol ofiarny* (WSFJP, p. 325), with its Slovenian equivalent phraseme *grešni / žrtveni kozel* (SSF, p. 386), is used with the same meaning.

Interestingly, the Slovenian language associates a goat also with blundering, as in the phraseme *ustreliti kozla, streljati kozle* (SSF, p. 387; SSKJ2/1, p. 655). The Slovenian expression may be occasionally used in Polish as *ustrzelić kozła* or *strzelać kozły*. Nonetheless, in Polish, the more frequent phrase reflecting this sense sounds *palnąć (strzelić) byka* (SFJPI, p. 125; USJP3, p. 20), rooted in original variety *bąka ustrzelić*, which pertains to one's foolishness, blunder, saying or writing something preposterous or acting imprudently, imprudently, and recklessly.

Having compared the meaning and concept of goat retrieved on the ground of the so-discussed phraseological units with the studies in the field of goat ethology and cognitive abilities, we can conclude that, in contrast to the image of being stubborn and unclean (as fixed in the expressions), goats have good long-term memory (Langbein et al., 2004, 2008). These animals have developed spatial orientation, can recognise people and establish complex social groups and dominance hierarchies (Aldezabal & Garin, 2000; O'Brien, 1988; Zobel & Nawroth, 2020). They can use basic forms of social learning (Briefer et al., 2014), distinguish colours and shapes of objects, have high taste, tactile and temperature sensitivity (Skopichev, 2016).

The last of the examined animals, i.e. sheep, (*Ovis ammon aries*) belongs to domesticated ruminants of the ram family of the semipedal family. Like goats, sheep (rams) are bred for meat, milk and wool. The phraseology of the Russian, Slovenian and Polish languages reflects the popular idea of sheep as animals with low intellectual abilities. The zoonym *баран* in Russian, *baran* in Polish [ram] is a standard for stupidity and a stupid, stubborn man (BTSRY, p. 59), but in Slovenian is a female form *ovca* (SSKJ2/1, p. 1122). The phraseological unit *глуп как баран* in Russian, with its equivalents in Polish *głupi jak baran* and in Slovenian, *neumen kot ovca*, is literally translated as 'as stupid as a ram / sheep and is commonly used to characterise a stupid, limited person (SRF, p. 42, ŽPI, p. 269).

Interestingly, in the Russian phrase *как баран на новые ворота (смотреть)* [to look, stare in utter confusion, understanding nothing] (BFSRY, p. 289), the

zoonym ram is used. However, the same meaning is generated in Slovenian while referring to a bull, as in the expression *gledati kakor bik v nova vrata* (SSKJ2/1, p. 129), i.e. to look like a slaughtered bull, to look like a bull at a new door, with the meaning 'to look stupidly or with surprise'. In the same sense, we will use in Polish the connection with the component calf, as in the phrase *patrzyć jak cielę* lub *patrzyć jak cielę na malowane wrota* [to look like a calf] or [to look like a calf at a painted door] (USJP4, pp. 510–511), which also occurs in Slovenian *gledati kot tele v nova vrata* (SSF, p. 74; SSKJ2/2, p. 727), and, as Janez Keber (2011, p. 74) claims, it is even more popular.

Moreover, a sheep (ram) is also associated with 'unquestioning obedience'. It is known that sheep succumb to the influence of the leader in the flock, they are attentive to imitate other individuals. This feature of sheep is reflected in the phrase *стадо баранов* in Russian, *stado baranów* in Polish, and *čreda ovac* in Slovenian, which means a 'herd of rams / sheep' and describes a disorderly crowd, and people who madly and blindly follow someone's deeds and actions; in Slovenian also in phraseme *iti za kom kot ovca za ovnom* (BTSRY, p. 59; SSKJ2/1, p. 1122).

Remarkably, if a sheep is separated from the flock for some reason, it will try to return to it as quickly as possible (Kluczek, 1994). In this respect, the well-known sheep-related phrase, i.e. *заблудшая овца (овечка)* in Russian, *zagubiona owca (owieczka)* in Polish, and *izgubljena / zablodela ovca* in Slovenian (SSF, p. 654), refers to a person who has strayed from a righteous way of life, is 'a lost sheep' and designates a person who has separated from his/her circle and family. The image of the lost sheep is found in the Gospel parable, which tells of Jesus Christ as The Good Shepherd who lost one sheep from His flock. The Shepherd found the lost and carried it back on His shoulders (SRF, p. 414). Originally, this expression had only a religious meaning of a lost sheep, pertaining to someone who had strayed from God, strayed from the flock, whose Shepherd is Jesus Christ. Such a person can get back if they come to the true faith again (BFSRY, p. 214).

These already elaborated phrases with the sheep zoonym seem not to correlate with the results of the studies of the cognitive abilities of sheep. To be precise, the results obtained reveal that sheep can distinguish the colour and shape of objects, use specific facial signals to distinguish species and breeds, as well as males and females (Kendrick et al., 1995). These animals have a developed ability to learn (Marino & Merskin, 2019), display self-identification and reveal orientation memory, and, as a species, are distinguished by the average development of mental abilities (Skopichev, 2016). Sheep have a highly socialized herd instinct, and group life is the most important innate characteristic of these animals (Bazewicz et al., 2018).

4. Conclusions

To sum up, the purely utilitarian approach of man to domesticated farm animals has contributed to his distancing from them. In the process of exploiting animals,

the man paid attention first of all to those qualities that he considered important, and valuable (for example, physical strength, endurance, fecundity, etc.). Of great importance is the goal that man pursued in the process of domestication of animals. In our opinion, the possible influence of domestication on the cognitive abilities of farm animals (in comparison with their wild relatives) deserves a detailed study.

The names of animals in phraseological units serve as symbols, etalons of certain human qualities, creating a figurative, emotionally expressive characteristic of man. The phraseological units reflect both the experience of observing the behaviour and habits of animals, which reveals objective reality, and the subjective perceptions of the collective linguistic consciousness. Among the analysed phraseological units with the zoonym components of a cow, a goat and a sheep, phraseological units with negative connotations prevail. While farm animals are presented as creatures with low intellectual abilities. Scientific research data on these species of domesticated animals, in contrast, indicate that they have developed advanced cognitive, emotional and social abilities.

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The Polysemy of the Verb *wystarczać/wystarczyć* [to suffice] in Polish

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the syntax and semantics of the unaccusative verb *wystarczać/wystarczyć* [to suffice] in Polish. We argue that this verb is polysemous. Besides its idiosyncratic meaning 'to suffice', it may also mean 'to be enough' or 'to have enough'. The three above-mentioned meanings of the verb *wystarczać/wystarczyć* are associated with three different syntactic structures. The idiosyncratic meaning of this verb is found with the nominative argument. The second meaning of the verb surfaces in existential clauses with the genitive nominal argument and an optional locative PP. The third – possessive meaning – arises when the verb appears with the dative possessor and the genitive theme.

Keywords: polysemy, unaccusative verbs, existential structures, possessive constructions, the Polish language

1. Introduction

In Polish, the imperfective verb *wystarczać* [to suffice] and its perfective counterpart *wystarczyć* may co-occur with a nominal argument marked either for nominative or genitive, as in (1) and (2), respectively, taken from *Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego* (henceforth: *NKJP*) [The National Corpus of Polish]:

(1)

Wystarczyły	bowiem	niewielkie
sufficed.IMP.3PL.NON-VIR	because	small
ilości	drewna [...]	
quantities.3PL.NOM.NON-VIR	wood.GEN ¹	
[Because small quantities of wood sufficed ...]		

(2)

Wystarczyło	pieniędzy.
sufficed.PFV.3SG.NEU	money.3PL.GEN.NON-VIR
[There was enough money.]	

¹ The following abbreviations have been used: ACC – accusative, DAT – dative, F – feminine, GEN – genitive, IMP – imperfective, LOC – locative, M – masculine, NEU – neuter, NOM – nominative, NON-VIR – non-virile, PFV – perfective, PL – plural, SG – singular.

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In (1), the past form of the imperfective verb *wystarczać* [to suffice] agrees in person, number and gender with the nominative plural non-virile Determiner Phrase (DP) *niewielkie ilości drewna* ‘small quantities of wood’². In (2), which contains the genitive plural non-virile DP *pieniędzy* [money], the perfective form *wystarczyć* [to suffice] surfaces in the default 3rd singular neuter form. In the two above-mentioned patterns, *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV ‘to suffice’ may appear with an additional dative argument, as shown in (3) and (4):

- (3)
- | | | |
|------------------------------------|---------|---------|
| Wystarczyły | mu | pisemne |
| sufficed.PFV.3PL.NON-VIR | him.DAT | written |
| oświadczenia. | | |
| statements.3PL.NOM.NON-VIR | | |
| [Written statements sufficed him.] | | |
- (4)
- | | | |
|---------------------------|---------|--------------------------|
| Wystarczało | mu | sił. |
| sufficed.IMP.3SG.NEU | him.DAT | strength.3PL.GEN.NON-VIR |
| [He had enough strength.] | | |

The sentences such as (3) and (4) with the verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV [to suffice] have been treated by Saloni & Świdziński (1998, p. 127) as distinct at the structural level, but identical in meaning³. In contradistinction to Saloni & Świdziński (1998), Linsztet (2016) treats sentences like (3) and (4) (as well as (1) and (2)) as variants of the same syntactic pattern. Linsztet (2016) argues that the verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV [to suffice] does not represent a lexical item, but is just an element forming a few multi-segmental structures in which its meaning remains the same. In other words, neither Saloni & Świdziński (1998)

² We remain agnostic as to whether Polish has a Determiner Phrase or just a Noun Phrase. We use the label ‘DP’ to refer to any nominal expression for the sake of convenience, without committing ourselves to the exact category of the nominal phrase.

³ Saloni & Świdziński (1998, p. 127) analyse just two examples, depicted in (i) and (ii) below with the verb *starczać* [to suffice]:

- (i) Pensja starcza mi do dwudziestego.
 salary.3SG.NOM suffices me.DAT till twentieth.
 [The salary suffices me till the twentieth.]
- (ii) Pensji starcza mi do dwudziestego.
 salary.3SG.GEN suffices me.DAT till twentieth
 [I have enough salary till the twentieth.] (Saloni & Świdziński, 1998, p. 127)

The verb *starczać/starczyć* [to suffice] behaves like *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV [to suffice] (cf. Linsztet, 2016, p. 177). Actually sentence (i) corresponds to example (3) above, while sentence (ii) patterns like (4). The dative DP in both (i) and (ii) is optional, in a way similar to (1) and (2).

nor Linsztet (2016) consider *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV [to suffice] to be polysemous in sentences like (1) – (4) above.

In turn, in dictionaries of the Polish language, including *Słownik języka polskiego* [The dictionary of the Polish language] by Doroszewski (1958-1969) and *Słownik syntaktyczno-generatywny czasowników polskich* [The syntactic-generative dictionary of Polish verbs] by Polański (1992), the verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV [to suffice] is taken to be polysemous. Its meanings cover the following: (i) to suffice, (ii) to be a sufficient reason for, (iii) to replace somebody, to have somebody's function, and (iv) to satisfy somebody's needs. The first of these four meanings may be associated with the data in (1) and (3) above, whereas examples (2) and (4) do not fall under any of the four meanings mentioned above.

The aim of this paper is to analyse the syntax and semantics of the verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV [to suffice]. We intend to show that the verb under scrutiny in the two patterns illustrated in (1) – (3) and (2) – (4) above is associated with different meanings, and thus it is polysemous. In the pattern with the nominative DP, the verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV has the meaning 'to suffice/to be sufficient', and an additional dative argument may be interpreted as a beneficiary (cf. (3)) or an experiencer (cf. (15) below). In the pattern with the genitive DP, the verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV is semantically bleached (Borschev et al., 2010). Its meaning corresponds to 'to be enough' in (2) or 'to have enough' in (4), and an additional dative is then interpreted as a possessor. In other words, we will argue that the verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV in Polish lexicalises the following three meanings: (i) to suffice, (ii) to be enough, and (iii) to have enough. In Lithuanian, these three meanings are expressed by three different lexical items, viz. *pakakti* [to suffice], *ganėti* [to be enough], and *užtekti* [to have enough] (Šereikaitė, 2020, p. 272). We will demonstrate that in a way typical of unaccusative verbs (Moro, 1997), the semantically bleached verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV may appear in existential structures like (2), and in closely related possessive sentences like (4).

The paper consists of five sections. In Section 2, we provide evidence that *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV [to suffice] is an unaccusative verb. In Section 3, we focus on *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV, followed by the nominative DP, with or without the dative DP. In Section 4, we analyse *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV, accompanied by the genitive DP, with or without the dative DP. We address the question whether the genitive in this case is structural or lexical. We also examine the syntactic and semantic properties of the dative argument. Finally, Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. *Wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV [to suffice] as an unaccusative verb

Cross-linguistically, verbs corresponding to the English verb *to suffice*, have been classed as unaccusatives (cf., Anagnostopoulou & Sevdali, 2020 for Greek;

Fernández-Soriano, 1999 for Spanish, and Wood & Livitz, 2012 for Icelandic). In order to check whether the Polish verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV [to suffice] represents an unaccusative predicate, we will subject it to a number of unaccusativity diagnostics.

The first unaccusativity test is based on *-no/-to* impersonals, which cannot be formed of unaccusatives in perfective aspect, in contradistinction to unergatives⁴. However, *-no/-to* impersonals can be formed of unaccusatives in imperfective aspect, and then they have a habitual/iterative interpretation (Cetnarowska, 2002)⁵. The verb *wystarczać* [to suffice], which is imperfective, can appear in *-no/-to* impersonals, as in (5), and so can its perfective variant *wystarczyć* [to suffice], as exemplified in (6):

(5)
 Wystarczano nam.
 sufficed-*no*.IMP US.DAT
 [They have sufficed us.]

(6)
 Wystarczono nam.
 sufficed-*no*.PFV US.DAT
 [They sufficed us.]

However, as noted by one of the reviewers, the acceptability of the two impersonal forms in (5) and (6) is highly questionable, and neither of these forms can be found in the National Corpus of Polish. Consequently, we consider the data in (5) and (6) as irrelevant for determining the unaccusative status of the verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV [to suffice].

The second unaccusativity diagnostic relates to distributive *po*-phrases. These phrases are licit with objects of transitive verbs, as in (7):

⁴ The contrast can be seen in (i) and (ii) below, which contain an unergative and an unaccusative verb, respectively, reproduced after Cetnarowska (2002, p. 64):

- (i) Zadzwoniono po lekarza.
 phoned-*no*.PFV for doctor.ACC
 [They phoned for a doctor]
- (ii) *Wyrośnięto w atmosferze terroru.
 grew-up-*no*.PFV in atmosphere terror.GEN
 [They grew up in an atmosphere of terror.]

⁵ The sentence in (i) below from Cetnarowska (2002, p. 64, fn. 19) contains an unaccusative verb in imperfective aspect, which clearly contrasts in grammaticality with example (ii) from footnote 4 above, which contains the same verb in perfective aspect:

- (i) Wyrastano w atmosferze terroru.
 grew-up-*no*.IMP in atmosphere.LOC terror.GEN
 [They were growing up in an atmosphere of terror.]

(7)
 Przeczytaliśmy po książce.
 read.1PL po book.LOC
 [We have read a book each.]

Distributive *po*-PPs are also felicitous with unaccusative verbs, as in (8):

(8)
 Z każdej klasy przyszło po rodzicu.
 from each class came po parent.LOC
 [There came a parent from each class/grade.] (Cetnarowska, 2000, p. 41)

With unergative verbs, in turn, distributive *po*-phrases are much less acceptable, as shown in (9):

(9)
 ?*Z każdej klasy zadzwoniło do szkoły po rodzicu
 from each class phoned to school po parent.LOC
 [A parent from each class/grade phoned the school.] (Cetnarowska, 2000, p. 41)

The verb *wystarczać.IMP/wystarczyć.PFV* [to suffice] behaves on a par with unaccusatives (cf. (8)) since it can appear with distributive *po*-PPs, as demonstrated in (10):

(10)
 Każdemu z nas wystarczyło/wystarczało po 100 złotych
 each.DAT of us sufficed.PFV/sufficed.IMP po 100 zlotys.LOC
 [Hundred zlotys was sufficient for each of us.]

The final unaccusativity test concerns verb agreement. Babyonyshev (1996, p. 158) notes that unaccusative verbs in Russian show singular or plural agreement when the plural subject occurs VP-internally at Spell-out. This is also true of Polish unaccusatives, as shown in (11):

(11)
 Na stole stał/ stały kubek i szklanka.
 on table stood.3SG.M stood.3PL.NON-VIR mug.3SG.M and glass.3SG.F
 [On the table there stood a mug and a glass.]

The variable verb agreement typical of unaccusatives may also occur with the verb *wystarczać.IMP/wystarczyć.PFV* [to suffice], as illustrated in (12):

(12)
 Sądzę, że wystarczyła wystarczyły
 I.think that suffice.3SG.F/ sufficed.3PL.NON-VIR

opieka	i	hart	ducha	pani Małgorzaty.
care.3SG.NOM.F	and	strength.3SG.NOM.M	spirit.gen	miss Margaret.GEN
[The care and fortitude of Miss Margaret sufficed.] (modelled on the example from the <i>NKJP</i>)				

In (12), the perfective form *wystarczyć* [to suffice] appears in the singular or plural form in the presence of the nominative case marked plural subject in the VP-internal position. This way the verb under scrutiny resembles unaccusative predicates like the one in (11)⁶.

Summarising, the verb *wystarczać.IMP/wystarczyć.PFV* behaves like unaccusatives with respect to two out of the three diagnostics discussed in this section. Firstly, *wystarczać.IMP/wystarczyć.PFV* [to suffice] may occur with distributive *po*-PPs. Secondly, this verb may surface in the singular or plural form when the nominative plural subject remains in the VP-internal position. However, the ability of this verb to form *-no/-to* impersonals does not yield conclusive results due to the dubious acceptability status of its impersonal forms.

3. *Wystarczać.IMP/wystarczyć.PFV* [to suffice] with nominative DPs

As noted in Section 2, the verb *wystarczać.IMP/wystarczyć.PFV* is unaccusative, and therefore it has just an internal argument, but it lacks an external argument altogether (Burzio, 1986; Perlmutter, 1978). Consequently, the nominative DP found in *wystarczać.IMP/wystarczyć.PFV* [to suffice]-clauses, such as (13) below, functions as a derived subject:

⁶ One of the reviewers notes that unergative verbs also allow the singular or plural agreement with the VP-internal subject, and gives the following data in support of this claim:

- (i) Reakcja była natychmiastowa, do Temkinów zadzwonił
 reaction.NOM was instantaneous, to the Temkins called.3SG.M
 wiceminister i szef MSWiA Ludwik Dorn
 Vice-Prime Minister and head MSWiA Ludwik Dorn.3SG.M
 [The reaction was instantaneous. The vice Prime Minister and the head of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration, Ludwik Dorn, called the Temkins.]
- (ii) Około godz. 11.00 do jednego z mieszkań zadzwonili
 around hour 11 to one of flats called.3PL.VIR
 kobieta i mężczyzna narodowości romskiej.
 woman.3SG.F and man.3SG.M nationality romany
 [Around 11 o'clock a woman and a man of Romany nationality called one of the flats.]

Although the unergative verb *zadzwoić* [to call] in (i) and (ii) above appears in the singular and plural form, respectively, we believe that this is related to the different status of the coordinate phrase in these two examples. In (i) the two conjuncts refer to one and the same person, hence the verb shows up in the singular, whereas in (ii) two different persons are involved and the verb appears in the plural. All in all, the data in (i) and (ii) do not argue in favour of that claim that unergatives can show variable agreement with the plural subject, in a way analogous to unaccusatives (cf. (11) and (12)).

- (13)
 Takie strzępy informacji wystarczyły [...].
 these fragments.3.PL.NOM information.gen sufficed.pfv.3pl.non-vir
 [These bits of information sufficed.]

In (13), the past tense form of the verb *wystarczyć*.PFV ‘to suffice’ agrees with the nominative subject *takie strzępy informacji* [these bits of information] in person, number and gender, which supports the surface subject status of the nominative DP.

In addition to the nominative DP, the verb under scrutiny may appear with the dative DP, as exemplified in (14) and (15):

- (14)
 Wystarczyły jej same te możliwości.
 sufficed.pfv.3pl.non-vir her.dat alone these opportunities.3pl.nom.non-vir
 [These very opportunities were sufficient for her.]

- (15)
 Do szczęścia wystarczały mu karty i ukochany Szekspir.
 to happiness sufficed.imp.3pl.non-vir him.3pl.dat.non-vir cards.3pl.nom.non-vir and beloved Shakespeare.3sg.nom
 [Cards and his beloved Shakespeare sufficed him to be happy.]

The dative may be interpreted as a beneficiary in (14) or as an experiencer in (15).

The nominative DP may bind the subject-oriented anaphor within the dative DP, as in (16), which indicates that the former acts as a subject, while the latter functions as an additional argument introduced by an applicative phrase (Cuervo, 2003, 2020):

- (16)
 Dzieci₁ wystarczają swoim₁ rodzicom.
 children.3pl.nom suffice.imp.3pl self’s parents.3pl.dat
 [Parents are satisfied with their children.]

In (16), the nominative DP *dzieci* [children] binds the subject-oriented possessive anaphor *swoim* ‘self’s’ within the dative DP, which in this case is interpreted as an experiencer. In turn, the dative DP cannot bind the subject-oriented anaphor, as shown in (17):

- (17)
 Pieniądze wystarczają Markowi₁ na *swoje₁ /jego₁ podróże.
 money.3pl.nom suffice.imp.3pl Mark.dat for self’s his travels
 [Money suffices Mark for his travels.]

In (17), the dative DP *Markowi* ‘Mark’ may only be co-referential with the possessive pronoun *jego* ‘his’, but it can never bind the possessive reflexive *swoje*

‘self’s’. This indicates that the dative in the structure containing *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV [to suffice], accompanied by the nominative DP, never acts as a subject.

4. *Wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV [to suffice] with genitive DPs

The verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV may co-occur with a genitive DP, as in (18) (cf. also (2) and (4) above):

- (18)
 Wejściówek wystarczy dla wszystkich chętnych (NKJP).
 tickets.GEN.PL suffice.PFV.3SG for everyone willing
 [There are enough tickets for everyone interested.]

In (18), the verb under scrutiny appears in an existential sentence, and its meaning corresponds to ‘to be enough’⁷. Cross-linguistically, unaccusative verbs are frequently used in existential clauses (Irwin, 2018; Levin & Rappaport Hovav, 1995; Moro, 1997). Likewise, Polish unaccusative verbs such as *ubyć*.PVF/*ubywać*.IMP [to disappear, to decrease] and *przybyć*.PVF/*przybywać*.IMP [to arrive, to increase] are commonly found in existential clauses (cf. Bondaruk, in press), as illustrated in (19):

- (19)
 W portfelu ubyło/ przybyło pieniądze.
 in wallet.LOC decreased.PFV.3SG.NEU/increased.PFV.3SG.NEU money.3PL.GEN.NON-VIR
 [There was less/more money in the wallet.]

Let us compare (19) with (20) below:

- (20)
 W portfelu wystarczyło pieniądze.
 in wallet.LOC sufficed.PFV.3SG.NEU money.3PL.GEN.NON-VIR
 [There was enough money in the wallet.]

(20) patterns like (19) in that both of these sentences contain the locative PP and the genitive DP, where the former corresponds to the Location and the latter represents the Thing whose existence is asserted in the sentence (Borschev & Partee, 2002, p. 19). Borschev & Partee (2002) emphasise that existence is always relative to Location. Consequently, in sentences like (18), where location is not explicitly stated, it is implied. The Location may be explicitly stated, as demonstrated in

⁷ Likewise, the English verb ‘to suffice’ is classed as expressing existence of a state on a par with *to be*, *to exist*, and *to seem* by Sorace (2004, p. 256).

the corpus example in (21), where the PP *na świecie* ‘in the world’ realises the Location argument:

- (21)
 Czy nie wystarczy nieszczęścia na świecie? (NKJP)
 if not suffices.PFV unhappiness.3SG.GEN on world
 [Is there not enough unhappiness in the world?]

The existential clauses in (18) and (20) – (21) (and in (19)) are different from existential clauses with *być* [to be], as in (22) below, in that they contain a genitive, not a nominative DP⁸.

- (22)
 W pokoju jest porządek.
 in room.LOC is order.3SG.NOM
 [There is order in the room.]

The genitive on the DP whose existence is asserted in (18) and (20) – (21) is structural, not lexical. This is because it may be replaced with the phrase modified by *dużo* ‘a lot’, which is only admissible in structural case positions (Przepiórkowski, 1999, p. 112). This is illustrated in (23):

- (23)
 Dużo wysiłku nie wystarczy.
 a.lot effort.3SG.GEN not suffices.PFV.3SG
 [A lot of effort does not suffice.]

The genitive on the DP in existential clauses with *wystarczać.IMP/wystarczyć.PFV* is partitive, because the DP in question must represent a homogenous object, viz. either a plural DP (cf. (18) and (20)) or an abstract entity, as in (21) above and (24) below, and can never be a proper noun or a singular DP, as can be seen in (25):

- (24)
 Pracy wystarczy jeszcze na około dwa miesiące. (NKJP)
 work.GEN suffice.PFV still for about two months
 [There will be enough work for two months.]

- (25)
 *Wystarczy dobrego pracownika /Marka.
 suffices.PFV good worker.GEN Mark.GEN
 [literally: There is enough of a good worker/Mark.]

⁸ The genitive case marking on the DP whose existence is asserted is regularly attested in Serbian existential clauses (Hartmann & Milićević, 2008).

In existential sentences with *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV, the partitive genitive is taken to be assigned by a null quantifier by Wierzbicka (1966) and Linsztet (2016).

The verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV, followed by the genitive DP, may co-occur with the dative DP, as illustrated in (26) (cf. also (4)):

- (26)
- | | | | | |
|--------------|---------|--------------------|-----|------------------|
| Wystarczy | mu | cierpliwości | i | opanowania. |
| suffices.PFV | him.DAT | patience.3SG.GEN.F | and | calm.3SG.GEN.NEU |
- [He will have enough patience and calm.]

The sentence in (26) is no longer existential, but it represents a possessive structure, with the possessor realised as a dative DP *mu* ‘him’⁹. Cross-linguistically, existence and possession are closely related (cf., for instance, Błaszczak, 2007; Freeze, 1992; Kayne, 1993,), and therefore it should not come as a surprise that the verbs attested in existential clauses may also show up in possessive structures. The verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV in possessive structures like (26) has the meaning ‘to have enough’. The dative in sentences like (26) is structurally higher than the genitive. This is supported by the fact that the dative QP may bind the pronominal variable within the genitive DP, as in (27):

- (27)
- | | | | | | | |
|----------|----------------------------|-----|--------------|-----------|----------------------|-----------|
| [Każdemu | bezrobotnemu] ₁ | nie | wystarczy | środków | na jego ₁ | potrzeby. |
| each | unemployed.DAT | not | suffices.PFV | means.GEN | for his | needs |
- [Each unemployed won’t have enough means for his needs.]

In (27), the dative case marked QP *każdemu bezrobotnemu* ‘each unemployed’ c-commands and binds the pronominal variable *jego* within the genitive DP, which supports the claim that the dative DP is structurally higher than the genitive DP.

The dative possessor may also bind the subject-oriented anaphor, as in (28):

- (28)
- | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|-------------|-----------|-----|----------------------|-------------------|----------|
| Markowi ₁ | wystarczy | pieniędzy | na | swoje ₁ / | jego ₁ | podróże. |
| Mark.DAT | suffice.PFV | money.GEN | for | self’s | his | travels |
- [Mark will have enough money for his travels.]

Example (28) contrasts in grammaticality with (17) above, since only the dative possessor as in (28) can bind the subject-oriented possessive anaphor *swój* [self’s],

⁹ Polish differs from Lithuanian, in which the dative possessor of the verbs *pakakti* [to suffice] and *užtekti* [to have enough] may alternate with the nominative one (Šereikaitė, 2020).

whereas the dative beneficiary, as in (17), cannot do so. The dative possessor DP in (28) behaves like a subject (cf. (16) above) in that it can bind the subject-oriented anaphor. The problem of how to reconcile the external argument status of the dative possessor in structure like (28) with the unaccusativity of the verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV is tackled by Bondaruk and Prażmowska (in press) within the Minimalist Program (Chomsky, 2008), and we leave this problem aside here.

In the existential and the possessive use, the verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV is semantically bleached. According to Rappaport Hovav and Levin (1998, p. 105), bleaching involves “the loss or weakening of the idiosyncratic aspect of verb meaning [...] and [...] never involves removal of grammatically relevant aspects of verb meaning”. Borschev et al. (2010, p. 18) specify that bleaching is most frequently manifested as a formal shift (e.g. the addition of the existential quantifier), but may also involve substantive meaning shifts. We would like to suggest that the idiosyncratic lexical meaning of *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV [to suffice] is bleached, which yields its existential meaning ‘to be enough’. This meaning change is accompanied by the change of the category of the verb from the lexical to the functional one, viz. from V to v^{10} . The third – possessive meaning – arises when the meaning of the v *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV occurs in conjunction with a specific functional projection that introduces the dative possessor DP (such as expletive VoiceP in Bondaruk and Prażmowska, in press).

5. Conclusions

The paper has presented evidence that the verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV is polysemous. In addition to its idiosyncratic lexical meaning ‘to suffice’, the verb may have an existential meaning ‘to be enough’ or a possessive meaning ‘to have enough’, which arise as a result of semantic bleaching. With all the three interpretations, the verb under scrutiny belongs to the same class of unaccusative predicates. However, each meaning of the verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV is associated with a different type of syntactic structure. Whereas the idiosyncratic meaning arises in case the verb co-occurs with the nominative DP, the two remaining meanings surface in the presence of the genitive DP. In existential clauses, the genitive DP may co-occur with an optional locative PP. In the possessive use, the genitive DP appears with the dative possessor. We have also argued that semantic bleaching of the verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV is connected with the change of its category from V to v , and its different meanings result from the way V or v combines with the particular functional categories.

¹⁰ The little v is a light verb which together with the lexical verb (V) forms a verb phrase. The light verb is a head of an outer shell of a verb phrase, whereas the lexical verb is a head of the inner core of the verb phrase (for details, cf. Chomsky, 1995, pp. 219–379; Radford, 2004, pp. 253–284).

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Word-forming Creativity of Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz in the Structural and Cognitive Approach

ABSTRACT

The aim of the article is to review some selected lexical units appearing in Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz's (henceforth also called Witkacy) letters to his wife. For the analysis of these lexemes, the methodological apparatus of traditional structural word-formation was used, enriched with tools taken from Ronald W. Langacker's cognitive grammar (1987, 1995, 2008) and the findings of other researchers remaining in this trend. Thanks to the two-dimensional view, the description of neologisms and textual occasionalisms seems more complete, and Witkacy's word-formation creativity can be viewed through the prism of new qualities – mental spaces and amalgams. The cognitive approach also allows for effective contextual decoding of meanings and brings closer the mechanisms of mental perception of the world by the conceptualizer.

Keywords: word formation, structuralism, cognitive grammar, Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz, letters

1. Introduction

Indisputably, since the publication of the successive volumes of Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz's (also called by his artistic name Witkacy) letters to his wife and other correspondents (family, friends of acquaintances and the so-called enemies)¹, the interest in the artist has revived. Nonetheless, this recognition of Witkacy has not been reflected in linguistic research. So far, the only monograph devoted to word formation and innovations in the field of lexis in Witkacy's artistic language, and, in fact, based on the research conducted according to the structuralist methodology, is the work of Magdalena Nowotny-Szybistowa (1973), written in the 1970s. Apart from this study, we can find individual linguistic articles on various detailed issues concerning Witkacy's idiolect and idiostyle (cf. Górny, 2014; Majewska-Wójcik, 2014). However, there is no overall discussion of the language of the author's correspondence.

¹ Letters to his wife were published in 4 volumes in 2005–2012, while letters to other correspondents were published in 2013–2017 in 2 volumes (the second volume being two-part).

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The material for this study was excerpted from 1278 letters² that Witkiewicz wrote to his wife Jadwiga³. Correspondence of the spouses is assumed to be strictly private. At times, the letters are very intimate, which is why Witkacy wanted the letters between him and his wife to be destroyed.

In Witkiewicz's literary and epistolographic work, noteworthy are his experiments on language, which is recognised as a matter of creative potential. Creativity itself, as Renata Grzegorzczkova (1995) notes, "is either opposed to automatism (reproduction), or it means creating new states of affairs"⁴ (p. 13). Creativity is bipolar, i.e. subject-object, which means that there is a creative potential in language, which an inventive subject capable of an original act triggers in the conscious act of creating a text with a specific function and purpose (Kudra, 2001, p. 5).

Reading Witkacy's correspondence with his wife, one can conclude that in the letters written to Jadwiga there are many different linguistic innovations, which, following Andrzej Markowski, are understood as new elements in the text, usage, norm or system, and which, for the purposes of this study, are limited to new lexical units, namely neologisms or occasionalisms (cf. Markowski, 2005, p. 4), since Witkacy's creativity is most visible on the level of word formation.⁵

In this light, the aim of the article is to analyse these textual lexical units from two perspectives: the structuralist word formation and cognitive word formation. I will look at what word formation bases Witkacy uses to create new words, with what techniques he does it and whether these innovations are systemic. Next, I will scrutinise some selected examples from the perspective of cognitive word formation. This is a very broad topic, and this study is only a prolegomenon for some deeper elaboration.

2. Witkiewicz's word-formation innovations in a structuralist optics

The structuralist approach to word-formation phenomena, arisen from the theory of de Saussure and the related conceptual apparatus in the context of the evolution of Polish word-formation research, was synthetically discussed a year

² It is a 4-volume edition of letters from 1923–1939.

³ The marriage of Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz and Jadwiga Unrug, concluded on April 30, 1923, was in fact a correspondence marriage, a long-distance relationship, because the Witkiewiczs lived together for a very short time after the wedding. Jadwiga left for Warsaw, Witkacy stayed in Zakopane. They saw each other from time to time, but their marriage was based mainly on the exchange of letters. Stanisław Ignacy wrote to his wife almost every day. Only his letters to Jadwiga have survived, while he destroyed the correspondence from his wife.

⁴ The translation of the original Polish quotes in the whole article is made by the author of this paper.

⁵ This is, undoubtedly, facilitated by the informal nature of the texts, colloquial language and the knowledge of the context by both interlocutors.

ago by Iwona Burkacka and Iwona Kaproń-Charzyńska (2022)⁶; therefore, there is no need to present the state of this research. Referring, however, to the cited article and to the section devoted to word formation contained in *Gramatyka współczesnego języka polskiego* [Grammar of Contemporary Polish Language] (Grzegorzczkowska et al., 1998)⁷, I will mention only those issues that will become crucial in the analysis of Witkacy's word-formation units. Accordingly, structural word-formation focuses on the techniques of creating word-formation units, word-forming means and their functions, showing the seriality of the word-formation model, and – in the case of composition – establishing the relationship between the members of a complex formation. In this methodology, the key value of the word-formation paraphrase is emphasised, in which the word-formation base is indicated, which is the carrier of meaning. A structural-meaning definition is based on the motivational relationship, while the meaning of the derivative unit is determined on the basis of the meaning of its components. Therefore, word-formation motivation is an important concept, signalling the static relationship between the motivating and motivated word. Capturing this relationship, however, becomes complicated when we deal with contaminations, neo-semanticisms, analogical structures, contextual uses of a word-formation unit or various types of language plays. There are added contents that are emotionally marked, with an axiological charge or other stylistic devices.

Witkacy's letters to his wife, on the one hand, are of a reporting nature since the author describes in detail the course of his subsequent days referring both to the sphere of his everyday routine activities and social life, as well as to the artistic and the most intimate sphere. On the other hand, the letters are saturated with emotions and axiology. This kind of intimate diary is written in colloquial language, but just like Witkacy's literary work, epistolography is also characterized by the originality of language. It would seem that Witkiewicz treats language as a matter for experimentation and exploration. However, as Nowotny-Szybistowa (1973), the author of the only linguistic monograph on Witkiewicz's artistic language, notices, Witkacy's works are a carrier of ideological content and they convey the author's philosophy of language, which is manifested both in the creation of neologisms and neophraseologisms, as well as in the subjectively expressed directly to the reader judgments about language integrated into the novel narrative or dramatic dialogue. (Nowotny-Szybistowa, 1973, pp. 5–6)

⁶ It is worth noting that the article ends with a very rich bibliography, covering both older publications and the latest texts.

⁷ I will use the basic word-formation concepts in the meaning given to them by the editors of the publication.

Numerous word-formation neologisms⁸, including occasionalisms⁹, neo-semantisms, and other types of linguistic innovations, also appear in the letters to his wife.

From the formal point of view, the group of Witkiewicz's word-formation innovations includes both derivatives, compositions as well as adaptations of foreign words. The word-formation basis of the new units comprises both appellative and anthroponyms, but with a clearly representative group of onymic units, as Witkacy "was fond of transforming authentic names and surnames" (Degler, 2013, p. 323). Hence, it is the type of base, i.e. the motivating word, that has been chosen as the material for an analysis. However, due to some difficulty in making a consistent division of the material, in some places I was forced to make arbitrary decisions and select groups not based on a common word-formation denominator, but on another criterion imposed by the frequency of occurrence in the research material.

2.1. Onymic neologisms: anthroponymic and toponymic

Witkiewicz's (word)formation creativity could have been seen in his literary works, even before the correspondence to his wife was published. Both the pseudonym adopted by the author (Witkacy = a portmanteau of the surname (Witk) and middle name (acy) as well as the names of literary heroes indicate his preference in this respect (cf. Dudek, 2007).

Among the anthroponymic neologisms, there are forms created by means of various types of derivation: affixing, backwards (including mutilation), interchangeable, but also combinations – backwards with a paradigm shift in terms of the genetic form of the surname and in terms of gender, as presented in (1).

(1)

Malinower (444)¹⁰ [Malinowski]; with **Chwiston** (444) [Chwistek]; to **Piernik** (629) [Piernikowski]; like **Budzia** (206) [Budziszewska]; **Płomieńśio** (945) [Płomieński]; to **Pomiros** (1049) [Pomirowski]; I taught **Kotula** to eat (337) [Kotulski]

⁸ Understood by me as new lexical units, not stabilized in the language, not listed in general dictionaries of the Polish language, recording the lexical resources of the Polish language at a given stage of development, when the text was written. The lexicon, as recorded in the so-called *Słownik warszawski* [Warsaw Dictionary], edited by Karłowicz et al. (1900–1927) (henceforth: *SW*) and *Słownik języka polskiego* [Dictionary of the Polish Language], edited by Doroszewski (n.d.) (henceforth: *SJPD*), constituted the comparative plane for the verification of the research material.

⁹ For the purposes of this study, I treat *occasionalism* as a word-formation or/and lexical unit that was referred to once, in a given text and has not become fixed in the language. The definitional framework of the term is vague. Chruścińska (1978) and Mierzwińska-Hajnos (2019), among others, wrote on occasionalisms more, and to their works an interested reader is referred.

¹⁰ The numbers in brackets indicate the number of the letter from which the exemplification comes.

From some surnames, Witkacy creates variant forms – diminutive forms or uses associations with appellatives, as is the case, e.g., of the surnames Piernikarski or Domaniewski, as presented in (2):

(2)

I wrote to them and to **Piernik** (629); **Piernikator** came in the morning (252); Greet the Protassewiczes, **Domka**, Prystorzy (1066); **Domcio** could give you the 500 back (760); Go there with **Domeczek** (1063).

The resulting derivatives are legible, taking into account the epistolographic context, they fit into the word formation patterns of the Polish language.

The surname is often used by Witkacy for language games, it becomes the basis for creating various parts of speech, a source of associations using the sound layer of the -onym, as in the case of paronomasia, illustrated in (3).

(3)

Brzękowski **odbrzękuje** [buzzes] me all the time (45); it's too **bujwidowaty** [bushy] (378) [Odo Bujwid – a doctor]; what is bubbling (381) [Odo Bujwid - doctor]; I'm "**Korfanty-ing**" (496) [Korfanty]; I keep on "**Chwistek-ing**" [whistling] about pussy (636); Dr. Steinberg, **chwistkista** (692) "(...) i **chwistki** wszystkie, i **peipery** [and all the whips and peipers]" (173) [Leon Chwistek, Tadeusz Peiper].

The last two forms in (3) are additionally marked by depreciation by the grammatical form of the non-masculine personal gender.

Foreign names became a source of humorous, even caricatured forms. Witkiewicz's phonetic homonymy and strong sound similarity were associated with Polish common words (part of the body and the verb with the pejorative meaning 'to stink'), which allowed him to play with the meaning. In addition, in the first use there was a paradigm shift in terms of gender, as in the examples presented in (4).

(4)

Kuper [backside] visited me twice (50); Former Miss Cooper (Zadek) [Backside]. I'm sending my attack to **Zasmradnik** [Stinkman] (106) [Jan Zahradnik] [reaction to the unflattering review of *W małym dworku* [In a small manor] by J. Zahradnik].

Toponyms can take an innovative form, although in letters these are single examples. Two are worth noting, listed in (5). 'Gubałówka' mountain reduced by

For the purpose of clarity and due to space limit, all Witkiewicz's neologisms are written in bold as nominative in their original Polish version, as well as the names they derive from; while the lexical context in which they occur is translated directly into English.

the elision of an element of a word-formation theme to the form of *Gubalka* and a derivative with a wordplay *Nowe Sączenie się* [New Trickling] (from the city of ‘Nowy Sącz’):

(5)

together with **Gubalka** (955), with my **Nowe Sączenie się** [New Trickling] (790).

The word-formation virtuosity of the author of *Letters to my wife* is revealed especially in the signatures under the letters, in autographonyms, the creation of which is motivated by the name of the author of the letters, association with some common word or situational association, as illustrated in the examples in (6).

(6)

Your **Witkosz** (69); Your **Witkaś** (101); Your **Witkasiewicz** (39), Your **Ciupuś** (568); Your **Wypinaszek** (1004); Your **Grzeszkiewicz**, Your **Dziamgol** [‘dziamgać’ means to do something slowly, take one’s time, cf. *SW*]; Your **Schyzio** [from schizophrenia] (289); Your **Frenek** [from schizophrenic], Your **Skamracy** [Whiners] (741) [dialect ‘skamrać’ – whine, ask, beg *SW*].

Part of the signature created on the basis of given names and/or two-part names, with characteristic formants, and the basis was not always authentic. Instead, it was often created on the basis of association with a common word, as stated in (7).

(7)

Your **Dech-Zapieralski** (Are you one of those Dech-Zapieralskis?) (640), Your **Więckuchno-Więckiewicz-Zasępiewicz-Pierdocheński** (804), **Monetary Sprawunkiewicz S.I. Moczopęd-Witkiewicz** (Are you one of those Moczopęds, like Witkacy?) (563).

“These are usually typically Witkiewiczzan, unusual semantically marked neologisms, and therefore closer to nickname forms” (Górny, 2014, p. 391). Additionally, they are carriers of emotions, irony, and caricature, which can be illustrated in the examples in (8).

(8)

Twój Mężuś-filozofek, dupek i wygłupek

[Your Philosopher Husband, asshole and tomfoolery]

Word formation creativity can also be seen in the attributions of help, an integral component of the autographonym. Typical in them is the prefix signalling the perfect character of the term, as in the examples in (9).

(9)

Your **b. zdetrakowany** [very detracked] W. (1)

Your **zupełnie zmarmeladowany** [totally marmalade] Wit. (1)

2.2. Appellative innovations

In the letters to his wife, as was the case in Witkiewicz's literary works (Nowotny-Szybistowa, 1973, pp. 74–84), the group with formal diminutive and/or hypocoristic exponents is quite numerous. Innovative diminutive forms in letters are created from scratch, which in the general language have only potential diminutive variants. Witkiewicz creates this type of neologisms systemically, using the formants typical of diminutives and hypocorisms: -ik, -ek, -ka, -ko, some of them with second-degree suffixes, which only have a modifying function in relation to the word-formation basis, and additionally serve the expressive function, as exemplified in (10).

(10)

drobne świństewka [little dirty tricks] (1070); for **grypka** [minor influenza] weakness (176); I have **operacyjka** [a minor surgery] (439); very funny **facecik** [cute guy] (165); In the gloomy **Kraik** [small country] (235); your **projekcik** [small project] (338); I had **natchnieńko** [a slight inspiration] (410); there was (...) a small letter **nieporozumieńko** [little misunderstanding] (1065); an unpleasant **awanturka** [a little fuss] (1067); on the higher **poziomek** [smaller level] (1114); both **rzeczulki** [small things] (1098); I will have **parka próśbek w Warszawie** [several small requests in cute Warsaw] (1183); keep this **reklamka** [minor ad] (574); If I don't get **stypka** [a scholarship], it's a disaster. [**stypka** – scholarship??] (1107);

I have a huge **mebelkowaty** [furniture-like] room – (...) one piece of **ubranko, sfeterek, fetorek** [little clothing, a small jumper, a little stench], because **koszulka** [the little shirt] has not been changed for 5 days) (784);

I burst (...) **mały hemoroidek** [little haemorrhoid] (865);

(I saw a wet **lawinka** [small avalanche] coming towards us – what to do!) (961).

The diminutive neologisms in (10), 'rzeczulka' and 'parka', are the examples of adideation – a kind of wordplay involving the use of phonic similarity between the diminutive form of a word and the almost identical sound of another lexeme. *Rzeczulka* means a thing in this context, and in terms of phonics it is associated with a small river, while *parka* has a quantitative meaning, it means several, a couple, and phonically it refers to the diminutive noun form *para* (dwoje) – *parka*.

In the semantic layer, in the diminutives appearing in the correspondence between Witkiewicz and his wife, one can discern the main, categorical meaning of littleness (e.g. **drobne świństewka** [little dirty tricks], **mały hemoroidek** [little haemorrhoid]) – while the stylistic character is clear, strong expressiveness – pejorative overtones, ironic and/or humorous overtones. These derivatives are an exponent of the author's high emotionality, his axiology, but also the linguistic humour (**hemoroidek** [little haemorrhoid]; **fetorek** [little stench]).

Apart from a large group of lexemes with a formal exponent of diminutiveness, in Witkiewicz's lexical material there are formations typical of general language,

with classic exponents of suffixal derivation, e.g. **bażanciość** umysłowa [mental pheasant-ness] (23); opromieniony **wspomnieniowością** [radiant with recollection-ness] (1007), but also created as a result of paradigmatic derivation, sometimes combined with the disintegration of the theme of the word-formation basis or suffixation with less productive formants and a less legible word-formation basis). An example is contained in (11).

(11)

mad **popojka** [poop] at the Star[oniewicz] (239); Nanny sick with **sprzątwa** [cleaning] (564); About **stypa** [wake] nothing (1115); Pain, fever, **opuchol** [swelling] (774) [‘opuchlina’ swelling (medic) – *SW*]; weak after **grypona** [flu] (802); he mumbled into the phone about the **portreton** [portrait] (824); (referring to the shirt and **smrodologia** [lit. stinkology; here: used underwear]) (760).

2.3. Composite

“Who said that compound words are against the ‘spirit’ of the Polish language (...). Now there is a new ‘spirit’, depending on the needs” – this is how Witkiewicz (1968, p. 135) wrote about the composition in “Jedynе wyjście” [The Only Way Out The only exit]. It was not the need for a nomination that prompted him to create complex structures, but the need for expression and originality, or simply communication. The conviction that language was worn out put Witkacy in a state of creative suspension, when he was overcome by the thought of the impossibility of creating and achieving Pure Form, which was an important point of his philosophy. Words were overloaded with automatically appearing associations, entangled in tradition, and Witkiewicz wanted to free himself from this, hence the originality at the word-formation level, although actually based on traditional nominative techniques. The group of composites includes assemblies, combinations, and contaminations. Witkiewicz’s creativity here mainly concerns the juxtaposition of word-formation bases into a complex unit, based on the concept of semantic connection, surprising formations composed of such and no other bases. The crafting scheme is traditional, but the selection of components is unpredictable. In (12) and (13) there are examples of interfix compositions, lists in (14), and contamination in (15).

(12)

had no **duposkopu** czy **tyłkowglądu** [buttoscope or butt view] (906); Wicked **Snobomędrek** [Snobbish-wiseman] (957); **listowstręt** [letter disgust] (1061); sudden **zęboból** [toothache] (1077).

Witkiewicz is aware of the innovations he creates, which he writes directly about (cf. examples 13, 14).

(13)

I made the words **dziwkojebnia** i **domojebnia** [bitch and home fuck]

(1178)

Domojebnia	}	Jeboskłon [Bitchfuck]
Damojebnia		
Dziwkojebnia		
Kurwojebnia		

I'm turning into some **gównociąg bagdadzko-antolowiecki** [Baghdad-Antołowiec shit pipeline] (1178)

(14)

I coined the concept of **bieda-portretów** [poverty-portraits] and **bieda-dupy** [poverty-ass] (1000); I have influenza (...) **śpiączkowo-bezgorączkową** [coma-afebrile] (353); Concerning **pierdzeńkowo-sraczkowatych** [farting-diarrhoea] experiences (575).

The way of formal integration of two or more elements, which may be hybrid components: native and foreign ones, is considered to be the characteristic feature of contamination. The procedure consists in associating formally convergent particles, their overlapping, without the need to respect morpheme boundaries (i.e. phonological, morphological and morphological rules).

(15)

I have **Lwistek** with me [Leon Chwistek] (36); **Bystek** is **chwidlowaty** [here: cattle-like], yet. (158).

Quite often, in Witkacy's letters to his wife, we can encounter *anagrams* – neologisms created by rearranging letters or syllables in words, examples of which are in (16).

(16)

Let **trak szlafil** [the sawmill grind/ the trail hit] this mail (129); The Lady **zchwinęła** [dislocated] her knee (1214); **Dół w bolku** [lit. Down in Bolko; here: pain down there] (621); fall into **niewolapone** [the wrong] hands (821); How **Móg Bily** [dear God] is to me (798).

2.4. Adaptations of foreign language basics

The epistolograph also creates new word-formation units on the basis of foreign-language lexis. The phonetic form of a word or expression becomes the basis for word formation. Some borrowings function in the transcribed version,

without additional word-formation treatments, others in adaptation, being subjected to (paradigmatic or phonological) derivation or other morphological process, and in this shape were included in the Polish paradigm¹¹, as illustrated in (17).

(17)

from my **etherjer** (179) [Fr. intérieur – inside, here: the inside of the soul]; **żiupajtery** (193) [Eng. jupiter – reflector lamps]; **ferpary** about the wedding (114) [Fr. faire-part – notice]; Dearest Nini: **chujschu** is scary. (937) [joking transcription of ‘Who’s who’, a biographical dictionary]; borrow from anyone (...) **nęportki** (764) [Fr. m’importe qui – no matter whom]; I don’t feel any **żuadewiwru** (626) [Fr. joie de vivre – joy of life].

3. Witkiewicz’s word-formation innovations in the cognitive perspective

The structural approach shows how rich and internally diverse the research material is. When analysing such units and deciphering their semantic content, it is context, textual and/or situational entanglement which are important. When a given word-formation unit is authorial occasionalism and ephemeral in nature, a broader view is needed. Such tools are provided by cognitive grammar (incidentally, it often corresponds to the findings of structuralists), the most complete lecture of which was written by Ronald W. Langacker (1987, 1995, 2008, 2009), and is continued in Poland, e.g. by Krystyna Waszakowa (2017) (but also Kardela, 2005; Krzeszowski, 1997, 1999, 2012, 2013; Strutyński, 2005; Tabakowska, 1995, 2001; among others), and I will often refer to the findings of these researchers.

As noted by Waszakowa (2017, pp 113–114),

word-formation considerations about the cognitive inclination are not limited to what results from the relationship between the derivative and the basic word, or from presenting semantic-formal relations between word-formation-related words (e.g. within the word-formation nest), but also take into account analysis and description of conceptual structures, both the word-formation base and the derivative, as reflecting human cognitive abilities and conceptualization skills.

and perception. This means that the creation of conceptual content is based on the general human knowledge of the world, and the reading of meaning on the basis of reference to the so-called cognitive domains in which this general knowledge is contained. In both approaches – the structuralist and cognitive ones – a word-formation motivation is mentioned, which reveals the relationship between the meaning of the derivative word and its word-formation base. However, in the

¹¹ The opposite phenomenon also occurs, i.e. stylization of native words into foreign words by adding a characteristic (quasi-)suffix: “Fucking every week like Flaubert. **Kurwaz** [Fucker] must be increased like voltage, litre and mileage (and mileage!) (1047).”

cognitive approach, both units are anchored in cognitive domains – the source domain shapes the target domain, and this was shaped by the source domain (Langacker, 1995, p. 164). The conceptual content takes a specific form thanks to the word-formation means that language has at its disposal.

The new concepts are based on two compatible cognitive processes: comparison and viewing. A *comparison* is possible thanks to the so-called scanning, i.e. a conceptual analysis of the comparison pattern (directing our attention to the source domain) and the comparison object (target domain), i.e. juxtaposing them in order to read the differences between them (Waszakowa, 2017, p. 43). This procedure is also used in extracting patterns and categorizing, decomposing expressions into components and determining their functions, and in determining semantic convergence between the elements of various conceptual structures (p. 43). Langacker (as cited in Waszakowa, 2017, p. 44) associates the other of the cognitive processes – viewing – with the mental ability of man “to view the perceived situation in many different ways.” From the elements of viewing distinguished by the cognitive scientist, revealing how a person perceives a given situation or event mentally, in the context of the material obtained from letters written by Witkacy to his wife, the following should be mentioned. First, profiling, i.e., according to Langacker’s theory, highlighting, emphasizing in a given cognitive structure some element(s) which, in the conceptualizer’s assumption, deserves to be in the foreground for some reason. It is the construction of the event in terms of “figure/ground” - foreground and background elements. Second, the adopted perspective, a subjective or objective point of view that translates into the way the situation is constructed (cf. Waszakowa, 2017, p. 44).

Comparing as an ability of the human mind together with the ability to combine structures allows for the “operation of conceptual integration (i.e. merging, fusion of concepts), as described by Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner (1998), as a result of which, at the cognitive level, a new structure emerges from two or more concepts in an amalgam, irreducible to its components” (Waszakowa, 2017, pp. 36–37). We deal with amalgam formed as a result of mental process, e.g. in the case of compositions that appear in Witkiewicz’s letters.

However, it is impossible to analyse all the individuals excerpted from the correspondence from a cognitive perspective, so I had to make an arbitrary choice. I will limit myself to three units representing different techniques of creation: the derivative **smrodologia** [lit. stinkology] and the contamination **chwidlowaty** [here cattle-like], as illustrated in (18).

(18)

Miracles of St. Witkacy (...) I will tell orally (about the shirt and **smrodologia** [lit. stinkology] (760); **Bystek** is **chwidlowaty** [here: cattle-like] though (158).

We believe that these are dynamic speech events, the meaning of which can be read from usage, taking into account the extra-linguistic context. The

conceptualizer created these units on purpose, while the receiver's task is to read the intention of the sender.

In the first neologism, **smrodologia** [lit. stinkology], one can see the mental operation of the subject of the two input spaces, between which he notices the relationship of correspondence, creates the third semantic quality, which has not existed so far. Mental space arose from associations evoked by a specific use of language in a specific (non-)linguistic context. The used suffix *-(o)logia* [-ology] is characteristic of specialist and scientific structures. Witkacy juxtaposed it – in a manner characteristic of the idiosyncrasy of the writer-epistolographer – with a stylistically contrasting lexeme. Language users, on the basis of comparison and analogy, will be able to recreate the scheme following the pattern this lexeme was created in. The apparent structural transparency, however, does not guarantee proper decoding of the meaning of the derivative. In Witkiewicz's letter, as can be seen after taking into account the context of the use of the lexeme, cultural elements and knowledge of epistolography, this word by no means refers to a field of science, but on the basis of association and joke, it is a term for used/dirty men's underwear. The key to correct mental decoding is therefore knowledge of the matrix, but also the recipient's knowledge of reality and the knowledge of the situational context.

The contamination **chwidlowaty Bystek** [here: cattle-like] was created from the intersection of two words: the surname *Chwistek* (originally Witkacy's friend, and then fierce enemy) and the adjectival derivative *bodlowaty*, formed from the noun 'cattle' with the suffix *-owaty*. On the formal level, this was done by exchanging word particles without respecting morphological boundaries. On the mental level, conceptual integration takes place and an amalgam is created – a new concept derived from two source (input) spaces and creating a third one, independent of the roots, but based on the elements selected by the conceptualiser. The first input space – *Chwistek* – Leon, a person known to Witkacy, evoking ambivalent emotions in him, the second input space – *bydłowaty* [cattle-like] – having animal features or behaviour, livestock. In this case, we have elements integrated into one formation with a clear adjective component. Having two input spaces, a common meaning denominator should be found and a generic space should be created, which consists of: 'a subject, a specific real person, with an individual character, habits, behaviour', 'appearance and behaviour of animals / cattle' and 'a feature with an immanent assessment of behaviour, an axiological element'. The amalgam acquires a specific content as a result of the associations of the content included in the constituent lexemes and on account of the creative activity of the conceptualizer, in this case we are very sure that it was Witkiewicz. The intersection of words is a kind of comparison of the behaviour of a specific person (Leon Chwistek) to the behavior of animals. The friend's depreciation was hidden in the amalgam. The lexeme is occasional, unique, it shows a play on

words, it is not structurally transparent outside the context in which it was brought to life. The emergence of the contamination expression was provoked by the behaviour of Leon Chwistek, who dared to criticize Witkacy's work. Witkiewicz's wife – Jadwiga – knew the background of the event, since Witkacy shared the details of his life in the letters; thus, assumingly, the conceptual amalgam was clear to her as well.

Looking at this occasionalism only from the structural side, we see only the contamination of elements (if we know the broader context), while we are able to extract the content / concept only when we combine this perspective with the cognitive analysis.

4. Concluding remarks

The richness of structures created from various word-formation bases confirms the thesis of great linguistic creativity, which was demonstrated by Witkiewicz in his letters to his wife. The variety of techniques and forms can be seen both in appellatives and onyms. From the formal point of view, innovations arose as a result of affixation, composition, contamination, borrowings (with accompanying procedures) and various types of wordplay, i.e. classic word-formation mechanisms, but the epistolographer's ingenuity can be seen at the level not of technique itself, but of language. Witkiewicz often posted comments from the author, in which he expressed his distance to the linguistic matter he used, but which he considered worn out; hence, he was looking for new forms, new lexemes. As a result, he created a lot of neologisms and occasionalisms, which are a characteristic feature of the artist's idiolect and idiostyle. The new word-formation structures allowed Witkacy to express irony, mockery, parody, jokes, and, at times, sarcasm. They were also a carrier of jokes and puns.

One of the driving forces of Witkiewicz's linguistic activity is the pursuit of language individualization, achieved in various ways, that is, making language capable of expressing metaphysical feelings and experiences of Individual Existence (cf. Nowotny-Szybistowa, 1973, p. 19) and he managed to achieve this uniqueness. A structural look at word-formation structures has allowed us to identify the technique by means of which a new word-formation unit was created, while the cognitive perspective has allowed us to understand the relationships between the constituent elements, and what symbolic content the source domains acquire after consolidation (cf. Kłaczyńska, 2017).

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In Search of Panchrony: Saussure *versus* Cognitive Linguistics

ABSTRACT

The notion of panchrony is discussed in the context of the on-going polarization between structurally- and functionally-oriented linguistic paradigms. The two radically divergent conceptions of panchrony are thus surveyed, as envisaged by, respectively, Saussure and cognitive linguistics. As panchrony is not as yet a widely accepted research paradigm, it is suggested that while functionalists seem to be still in search of an appropriate understanding of panchrony, some lesson as to what functionally-driven panchrony should be can be derived from a critical reading of Saussure's original proposal. It is concluded that as long as cognitive linguists hold that language is symbolic and interactive, panchrony must be attempted not in terms of linguistic universals, as for Saussure, but in terms of functional universals, such as cognitive and experiential patterns of behaviour.

Keywords: time and space, synchrony and diachrony, panchrony, structuralism, functionalism, cognitivism

1. Introduction

In this contribution, we offer a critical assessment of Saussure's (1916/1983) proposal of panchrony and contrast it with a functionally-oriented conception of how language could possibly relate to time and space, and how this language-space/time relationship could be approached in linguistics. Indeed, however well-established, if not just taken for granted¹, the opposition between synchrony and diachrony seems to have been giving way to attempts that can do without it (cf. Janda, 2013, p. 2; Kiełtyka, 2020; Łozowski, 2018, 2022; Mompean, 2015, p. 265;), which invites an idea of seeing language as independent of spatio-temporal constraints, *panchrony* being the usual name for the approach. And, thus, it seems to be tempting to express one's interest in relating the synchronic and diachronic dimensions of language in terms divergent from those of a dichotomy

¹ For example, Langacker (2008, p. 13) mentions „the sharp distinction drawn between the synchronic study of language structure and the diachronic study of how it changes and evolves” among the 10 most standard beliefs of modern linguistics. As he admits, „Since my own experience has led me to challenge all of [these 10] points, I reluctantly conclude that [they have] largely been imposed”. (p. 13)

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between the two, and of the priority of synchronic system over diachronic change. Yet, this is neither a straightforward task nor an easy strategy, and it brings us to the question of how the Saussurean structurally-based synchrony/diachrony opposition is interpreted in functionally-oriented research.

2. Panchrony: a new linguistic methodology, or a new conception of language?²

In most general terms, those functionalists that favour panchrony would side with one of two possible interpretations. In one of them, a merely methodological cause is championed, with linguists embarking upon a task of shifting, as they please, the “property line” between synchrony and diachrony. Here, the whole synchrony-or-diachrony controversy is a matter of maintaining sound research proportions, i.e. how much and what kinds of language data should and could be viewed from which temporal perspective, synchronic or diachronic, or both. Attempts at defining such a demarcation line prove that, indeed, there is a whole domain of linguistic investigation that can successfully be pursued as much in the vein of synchrony as of diachrony, which can only mean that the boundary between the two is vague and gradable, not clear-cut and dichotomous. Consequently, the resulting intersection of the synchronic and diachronic sets can be given the name of panchrony.

In the other reading, linguists stand up for a different conception of language. While structuralists typically do their best to keep synchrony and diachrony apart, functionalists persist in bringing the two together. If the former need the elevation of the notion of the boundary in order to be able to provide for the priority of synchronic system over diachronic change, the reason why the latter camouflage the boundary is to pave the way for extra-linguistic (i.e. cognitive, experiential, cultural) parameters into language and linguistics. The boundary between synchrony and diachrony, then, is vague because similar, if not identical, functionally-driven regularities can be detected on both planes; and it is to these regularities that the term panchrony is consistently applied (e.g. Winters, 1992, p. 510).

Whichever the interpretation, there has been a strong tendency within functional linguistics towards defining panchrony as the resultant of synchrony and diachrony. This amounts to, as Winters (1992, p. 503) calls it, a “compromise” or “reconciliation” view of panchrony, and does all the same mean a possibility of separating synchrony and diachrony, and thus of positing tendencies on discrete, though perhaps related, planes of these two modes of investigation. In particular, the danger we see is again a drive towards favouring synchrony

² This is discussed at length in Łozowski (2014, 2018) and, especially, Łozowski (2008), of which the present contribution is a revised version.

at the expense of diachrony, which would most overtly be unexpected in the light of functionalists' well-pronounced claim that diachronic considerations are a reflection, an "added value", or even a verification, a metric, of synchrony. In other words, once we allow for a synchrony-*versus*-diachrony tug-of-war, we may fall prey to the Saussurean way of thinking of language as consisting of two divergent elements, i.e. a static system and dynamic change, with no points of convergence between them.

If so, panchrony – before it is likely to become a generally accepted linguistic research concept – must first be successfully delimited and conceptualized. Take the role it is said to play in grammaticalization. That grammaticalization can be studied from a panchronic perspective, i.e. somehow independent of the contingencies of space and time, can be derived, for example, from Heine et al. (1991, p. 249) when they write that "the study of grammaticalization is elusive of the synchrony/diachrony dichotomy and that it requires a perspective that is independent of this dichotomy". As it stands, this quotation makes it clear that the issue of panchrony is closely related to, if not dependent on, how synchrony and diachrony are understood and related to each other. Yet, to envisage these two temporal perspectives at work towards some panchronic effect is a true challenge and the results may be far from clear-cut. Taking only what Heine et al. themselves offer as "panchronic grammar", one can easily see two different readings of the synchrony-diachrony relationship. Compare (i) and (ii):

(i)

Such a theory [panchronic grammar], in addition to accounting for "synchronic facts" (...), contains some component that takes care of the diachronic situation underlying these "synchronic facts", where this diachronic component provides an explanatory parameter for dealing with these "synchronic facts". (p. 251)

(ii)

[Panchrony] relates to a more narrowly defined range of phenomena, namely, to phenomena exhibiting *simultaneously* a synchronic-psychological and a diachronic relation. (p. 258)

In (i), there is hardly anything panchronic, with panchrony accounting for synchrony by means of containing diachrony that explains synchrony. This is simply calling for diachronic resources in order to explain synchronic opacity - a regular and successful practice in historical linguistics, usually exercised under some version of the rubric of "explaining the present through the past".³ However, there seems to be room for the (panchronic) "third way" in (ii), but it is more of a shared commonality rather than an independent entity on its own.

³ For one of the latest illustrations of how successful one can be in relating the past and the present of any language without invoking panchrony as an independent research tool, see Kiełtyka (2023).

Moreover, still on the grounds of grammaticalization, Kuteva (2001) is far less equivocal about how to understand panchrony. She advocates the panchronic approach as “both synchronic and diachronic” (p. 92). Promising as it seems, it appears, on a close reading, to amount to what we identify in (i) above, i.e. unlocking the present by diving into historical (and cognitive) sources of motivation, which, again, has more to do with maintaining the right balance between synchrony and diachrony than with deriving a new and distinct research perspective.

When Kuteva (2001) says that “the panchronic approach is *not* confined to a synchronic static perspective (...), with the diachronic parameter no less important than the synchronic” (p. 7), in practice she means nothing more than to appreciate the diachronic resources “as an explanatory tool in the many seemingly mysterious cases” (p. 8):

If we confine our analysis [of the discontinuous morpheme *le...m* in Ewe which is used to express a single grammatical function (progressive)] to pure synchrony, the discontinuity of the morphological marking for the progressive cannot be accounted for. (...) The easiest course would then be to avoid the issue of *explaining* auxiliary structure altogether, brushing it off as an accidental historical vagary and/or residual quirk of language structure. (...) The key here is the *genesis* of the particular auxiliiation syntagm. Once we refer to the genesis of the progressive marker in the Ewe progressive construction, the morphosyntax which it exhibits is in fact what might readily be expected. (...) Thus features that are a ‘mystery’ for a static description become an integral [cf. p. 7: “natural”] part of the diachronic explanation.

This minimalist idea of panchrony is precisely the reason why Kuteva (2001, p. 9) finds her programme on a par with those proposals where, as she says, “diachrony manifests itself in synchrony and that synchronic facts are mirrors that reflect their own history”.

In all honesty, to claim that, one does not really need to postulate anything like “a panchronic method of investigating language” at all (p. 7). Notice how Mithun (2003, p. 553) means to appreciate diachrony when she expresses the standard, if not merely the default, understanding of the diachrony-synchrony issue in functionalism at large:

Synchronic systems are understood [in functionalist approaches] as the historical products of sequences of individual diachronic events, each motivated in one way or another at the time it occurs. The diachronic dimension thus plays a key role in explanation.

Unlike Heine et al. (1991) or Kuteva (2001), however, Mithun can do without naming what she proclaims with any special name or under any special rubric, let alone that of *panchrony*.

Either way, the question of panchrony seems to be a derivative of synchrony and diachrony, understood both in their own respective terms and in their assumed mutual relationship. As the controversy continues, we suggest delving into Saussure’s

original ideas in order to give an idea of what panchrony in functional linguistics *cannot* possibly be. Some relevant generalizations on all the three allegedly related terms, synchrony, diachrony, and panchrony, seem now to be due.

3. Synchrony, diachrony, panchrony

The notion of panchrony has now come to the fore with the functionally-oriented rejection of the opposition between synchrony and diachrony, as originally envisaged by Saussure. That synchrony and diachrony should be kept apart Saussure (1916/1983, pp. 83–98) could not have made any clearer:

[W]e must distinguish two branches of linguistics. (...) The opposition between these two orders must be grasped in order to draw out all the consequences which it implies. (...) The contrast between the two points of view – synchronic and diachronic – is absolute and admits no compromise. (...) [I]t is irreducible. (...) Any notion of bringing together under the same discipline [i.e. linguistics] facts of such disparate nature would be mere fantasy. (...) This difference in nature between chronological succession [diachrony] and simultaneous coexistence [synchrony], between facts affecting parts and facts affecting the whole, makes it impossible to include both as subject matter of one and the same science. (...) All this (...) confirms the radical distinction between diachronic and synchronic. (...) [There is] the absolute necessity for distinguishing in linguistics between the two orders of phenomena. (...) Diachronic and synchronic studies contrast in every way. (...) No synchronic phenomenon has anything in common with any diachronic phenomenon. (...) Realising these facts should be sufficient to bring home the necessity of not confusing the two points of view. (...) In studying a language from either point of view, it is of the utmost importance to assign each fact to its appropriate sphere, and not to confuse the two methods.

Even if we read Saussure's intentions liberally and attempt to see in the synchrony/diachrony distinction not an absolute cut-off, but "a dynamic interface" (Ramat et al., 2013), or a dialectics of "long diachrony and past synchrony" (Rissanen, 2014, p. 110), or "a conceptually-driven analogy" (Verveckken, 2015), this distinction anyway stems from and follows a structurally-designed primacy of an autonomous language system over its realisation "through the exercise of the individual's language faculty" (Thibault, 1997, p. 113). In Ritt's (2004, p. 53) words, the rationale behind the synchrony-diachrony split is as follows:

Basically, the Saussurean position is that languages owe their properties to a tacit agreement among speakers within specific communities. On its basis they choose an essentially arbitrary subset of the potentially open set of properties that their common language, as a system of signs, might theoretically assume. (...) This view clearly backgrounds the undeniable fact that the conventions which any speech community at any point t_n in time seems to agree upon are rarely very different from the conventions assumed at a historically prior point t_{n-x} , as long as x is small enough. Thus, the Saussurean view suggests that there is no causal link between the properties of historically successive language stages.

As Saussure (1916/1983, p. 81) is believed to have said himself, “the linguist who wishes to understand [the] state must rule out of consideration everything which brought that state about, and pay no attention to diachrony”⁴.

While this apparently did not discourage some of the structuralists to develop profoundly the diachronic aspect of language, they still pursued their research with the intention of the (more or less explicit) primacy of synchrony over diachrony. Take this insightful remark from Jakobson (1972, p. 122):

Every phonological fact is treated as a part of the whole, which is related to other parts of higher levels. Thus the first principle of historical phonology will be: *every modification must be treated as a function of the system of which it is a part*. A phonological change can be understood only by elucidating its role within the system of the language. (...) Every phonological unit within a given system must be examined in its reciprocal relations with all other units of the system before and after the given phonological change.

This cannot be interpreted otherwise than as Jakobson’s call for a (system-based) dimension of diachrony and his conviction that diachronic phenomena always result from the way language functions in synchrony (cf. Heinz, 1983, pp. 286, 290–291). In Jakobson’s (1972, p. 136) further words,

A description furnishes the data concerning two linguistic situations, the period before and after the change, and allows us to investigate the direction and meaning of this change. As soon as this question is posed, we pass from the terrain of diachrony to that of synchrony. (...) The perception of movement is already present in the synchronic aspect.

Jakobson may well claim that “the joining together of the static and the dynamic” is the “antimony”, without referring to which “one cannot conceive of the dialectic of linguistic development” (p. 138), yet it seems to be clear for him that “the direction and meaning of change” we owe to synchrony, and not to the change itself, to the linguistic system, and not to its external motivation.

To mention two more structuralists of a similar position, Wartburg, explaining the paradox that language comes into being in diachrony but at the same time functions in synchrony, decisively opted for a mutual overlapping of synchrony and diachrony, yet he separated the two as rigidly as Saussure himself (cf. Heinz, 1983, p. 284–285). Similarly, Ullmann (1957, p. 256–257) pleaded for a relaxation of the ban to adhere strictly to “the Saussurean conception of diachronistic linguistics as a purely isolative study” only to speak - after some years, though – “of the necessity to distinguish between historical and descriptive viewpoints in linguistics” (1964, p. 103).

⁴ It is to one of our Reviewers that we owe an observation that Saussure’s view had changed in this respect from his early work on IE vowels, which was based on Neogrammarian principles, to the *Course*. Cf., for instance, Polomé (1990).

Against this (structurally-designated) background, the functionalist innovation entails two inherently related problems: a) the relationship between the synchronic and diachronic dimensions of language must be attempted on grounds different from those of the priority of synchronic system over diachronic change, and b) the dividing line between the two cannot be squeezed into any all-or-nothing or yes-or-no formal delimitations.

This, naturally, accords with a general stand functionalists take on language and linguistics. As Janda (2013, p. 2) makes the case for the cognitive branch of functionalism, “cognitive linguistics is a usage-based model of language structure (...) [with] no fundamental distinction between “performance” and “competence”, and (...) all language units (...) arising from usage events”. Here we have yet another call for the obliteration of methodological dichotomies, the synchrony-diachrony opposition included. Indeed, the list of the denied dichotomies can be quite long: “semantics/pragmatics, linguistic/encyclopaedic knowledge, literal/figurative language, or synchrony/diachrony” (Mompean 2015, p. 265). This all stands in a truly sharp contrast to Saussure’s original intentions.

4. Saussure on panchrony

What must be admitted, however, is that it was Saussure (1916/1983, p. 94) who first wrote about a possibility of panchronic description. By this he meant “relations which hold in all cases and for ever”, or “general principles existing independently of concrete facts [i.e. individual and specific]”. Yet, he did not quite see how this panchronic mode of investigation might at all be successful. If, for example, a given language change is not restricted in terms of either time and space and, thus, proves productive at all times and at all places, “there is no value, because there is no meaning. The panchronic point of view never gets to grips with specific facts of language structure” (p. 94).

In other words, the reason why Saussure postulates and, at the same time doubts panchronic description is precisely because “in linguistics as in chess, there are rules which outlast all events”. If so, the only panchronic characteristic of the French word *chose*, for example, must be limited – according to him – only to the analysis of “the sounds of the word considered in themselves”, and these seen as a certain continuum appear to be “devoid of linguistic value”, “just a formless mass, which lacks definition”. On Holdcroft’s (1991, p. 83) account of Saussure’s example,

[I]f we take a word, the French word *chose*, for instance, there is no point of view which combines both the diachronic perspective, in which ‘it stands in opposition to the Latin word from which it derives, *causa*’, and the synchronic perspective, in which ‘it stands in opposition to every word that might be associated with it in Modern French’.

In short, panchrony is impossible not because one and the same object, the French *chose*, cannot be seen from two different temporal perspectives, but because these perspectives require a different object for their study. In synchrony, *chose* is part of “*langue*, which is a system that is psychologically real”, whereas in diachrony, *chose* is part of “relations of succession between *individual items*, which speakers are unaware of and which are in no sense systematic” (Holdcroft, 1991, p. 70).

On the surface, the difficulty seems to be merely practical. Simply, once we set off in search of “rules that outlast all events”, rules which necessarily must relate to language as laws as they are “understood in the physical and natural sciences” (Saussure 1983, p. 94), we can only end up with negative findings. Why? This is how Harris (1987, p. 101) sees the answer:

Because (...) although it is possible to generalize about universal features of language (for example, that phonetic changes constantly occur), where specific linguistic facts are concerned (...) [a]ny concrete fact amenable to panchronic explanation could not be part of *la langue*. For example, the French word *chose* may be distinguished synchronically from other words belonging to the same *etat de langue*, and diachronically from words in earlier *etats de langue* (for instance, from Latin *causa*, from which it is etymologically derived). But there is no independent panchronic means of identifying it.

In other words, Saussure unintentionally admits that there is no practical tool that would allow for a holistic analysis of language, which is approaching sounds as “considered in themselves” and, at the same time, relating them to meanings “in themselves”, so to speak. What can be studied panchronically is form, but not function, and still less the form/function pairings. On Harris’ account of Saussure at this point, “the sounds (...) may be considered panchronically in themselves: but the sounds as such do not constitute the word” (p. 101).

Whether Saussure’s idea of impossibility behind panchronic research programme is plausible and whether this impossibility can at all relate to and indeed be derived from natural sciences is another question, but Saussure makes it again part of his anti-panchronistic argumentation while differentiating between phonetic evolution and its synchronic consequences. One of those consequences Saussure (1916/1983, pp. 151–153) specifies as “breaking grammatical links”:

Thus it comes about that one word is no longer felt to be derived from another. (...) Sound change also breaks the usual link between inflected forms of the same word. Thus Latin *comes-comitem* becomes in Old French *cuens // comte*.

The point here is that if we insist, as Saussure does, that the Old French pair *is* less of a link than the Latin one due to the operation of a sound change, we are mistaken in believing that we are relating two compatible systems. More specifically, as Harris (1987, p. 145) notices,

To compare the Latin case system (of six possible oppositions) to the Old French case system (of only two) is an exercise which students convinced by Parts One and Two of the *Cours* ought by now to reject out of hand; for the *valeurs* are clearly not comparable.

If, nevertheless, we do draw generalizations from comparing the nominative/accusative opposition in Latin with the nominative/oblique contrast in Old French, we no longer keep synchrony and diachrony apart. Neither do we merely study sounds “in themselves”. In fact, we “panchronize” the functional contrast in order to present it as a grammatical consequence of the phonetic evolution.

In other words, there is much more in Saussure’s reluctance to acknowledge any possibility of panchronicity than merely practical difficulties or doubtful research results. The real point is methodological. As Culler (1986, p. 51) makes the case for Saussure,

A panchronic synthesis is impossible (...) because of the arbitrary nature of linguistic signs. In other sorts of systems, one might hold together the synchronic and diachronic perspectives: “insofar as a value is rooted in things themselves and in their natural relations, one can, to a certain extent, follow this value through time, bearing in mind that it depends at each moment on a system of values that coexist with it”.⁵

Frankly speaking, it is Saussure’s own conception of language as an autonomous system of arbitrary signs that has now brought him to defend the synchrony/diachrony dichotomy at all expense in order to guarantee the autonomy of language. Of the two understandings ascribed by Saussure to his own thesis of the arbitrariness of the linguistic sign, i.e. the arbitrariness of the association of form and substance within the bounds of the linguistic sign and the arbitrariness of the substance itself, it is probably the latter that precludes the non-autonomy of language more. Take Taylor’s (2003, pp. 6–7) comments on that:

The meaning of a linguistic sign is not a fixed property of the linguistic sign considered in and of itself; rather, meaning is a function of the value of the sign within the sign system which constitutes a language. Thus concepts, i.e. the values associated with linguistic signs, are purely differential (...). This means that while the word *red* is obviously used by speakers of English to refer to properties of the world, and might well evoke in the mind of a speaker a mental image of the concept “red”, the meaning of the word is not given by any properties of the world, nor does it reflect any act of non-linguistic cognition on the part of a speaker. The meaning of *red* results from the value of the word within the system (...) of English colour terminology.

Simply speaking, Saussure just cannot allow for panchrony, because, on his conception of language, even a slight “conflation” (Harris 1987, p. 145) of synchronic

⁵ What one of our Reviewers sees here is a clear connection with Neogrammarians: in Saussure’s view, the present state (of language) should not be “judged” by, or seen as motivated by, previous facts. Again, we can only appreciate this observation.

and diachronic perspectives would mean both committing a methodological error as well as leaving language at the mercy of external influences.

As to the first (methodological) point, any integration of synchrony and diachrony would be precisely the fault Saussure ascribes to comparative-historical linguists “because of their failure to ask fundamental questions, in particular what precisely is being compared with what” (Holdcroft, 1991, p. 17). In Harris’ (1987, p. 102) words, the fear is this:

All we can do is examine a number of different synchronic entities (...), and the separate diachronic changes which connect them. The ‘panchronic error, in other words, is another version of the ‘historical error’. It is a mistake to imagine that there could be some more general perspective on language which would take in both synchronic and diachronic facts simultaneously.

The other point is also related to panchrony, to which the following lengthy quotation from Harris (1987, p. 226) does not seem to leave any doubts:

It does not fall within the scope of Saussurean linguistics to investigate universal constraints which derive from factors outside the human language faculty (...). For Saussure ‘there is no panchronic point of view’ (...). This is *not* a denial of the possibility of formulating generalizations of various kinds about linguistic phenomena; but it is both a denial that *faits de langue* can be identified on any basis ‘outside’ *la langue*, and an affirmation that the only generalizations which concern linguistics are those concerning *faits de langue*. Clearly, if there are no *faits de langue* which are panchronic facts, then *a fortiori* there are no psychological facts ‘universal to human nature’ which can be the concern of linguistics, other than those deriving from the *faculté linguistique*.

It is clear now that the reason why Saussure believes that, seen from a panchronic perspective, the French word *chose* must be limited to “sounds of the word considered in themselves”, and these must be claimed to appear “devoid of linguistic value”, is not that the word cannot be analysed otherwise, but it goes well with Saussure’s methodological imperative to suppress the external by controlling where the external comes from, which is space and time as construed by the human mind.

Indeed, the *chose* example alone suggests that Saussure tends to identify panchrony with any other natural law that breaks free from the constraints of time and space. For that reason, the term that we think is more appropriate to label his position of pushing language beyond space and time is that of transchrony, that is a view of language without taking into consideration either temporal or spatial contextualization, or asking a question of what language is if stripped of one of its basic parameters, i.e. the time-space dependence. The only answer Saussure could give to this question is that language is “a formless mass, which lacks definition”, and this does not encourage any further pursuit of panchrony, indeed.

5. Concluding remarks

While the debate on what panchrony in functional linguistics can possibly involve continues, we have sketched Saussure's original insight into a possibility of panchronic research in order to show what functionally-driven panchrony cannot be like. In a nutshell, as long as functionalists hold that language is not autonomous, but "symbolic and communicative/interactive" (Langacker, 2007, p. 422), panchrony must be attempted not in terms of linguistic universals of the "always-and-everywhere" type, as for Saussure, but in terms of functional universals, such as cognitive and experiential patterns of behaviour.

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