

## “Metaphor in Grammar: Conceptualization of Time”

by Laura A. Janda, University of Tromsø

### A. - G.: Properties inherent to types of matter

#### A. Edges

*Clear beginning and ending*

1) Odnosel'čane našli<sup>P</sup> ego mertvym. 'The fellow-villagers found<sup>P</sup> him dead.'

*No clear beginning and ending*

2) Na stul'jax i krovati ležali<sup>i</sup> vešči, vnutye iz sunduka. 'On the chairs and bed lay<sup>i</sup> things that had been taken out of the trunk.'

#### B. Shape

*Situations of varying length*

3) Vot ja napisal<sup>P</sup> roman o rabočem klasse, kak vse. 'Look, I've written<sup>P</sup> a novel about the working class, like everyone else.'

4) Ja ljublju večer pjatnicy: možno posidet<sup>P</sup> za stolom, povozit<sup>sja</sup><sup>P</sup> s rebjatami, uložit<sup>P</sup> ix na polčasa pozže. 'I love Friday evening: one can spend some time sitting<sup>P</sup> at the table, spend some time playing<sup>P</sup> with the children, and put<sup>P</sup> them to bed a half hour later.'

*Punctual*

5) Ee muž umer<sup>P</sup> ot razryva serdca. 'Her husband died<sup>P</sup> from a heart attack.'

*Imperfective has some extension*

6) On nosil<sup>i</sup> galstuk belogo cveta. 'He wore/was wearing<sup>i</sup> a white tie.'

*Imperfective extends to include some past*

7) Ja rabotaju<sup>i</sup> zdes' s prošlogo goda. 'I have been working<sup>i</sup> here since last year.'

*Gnomic imperfective spreads*

8) Televidenie delaet<sup>i</sup> mir ploskim i primitivnym. 'Television makes<sup>i</sup> the world flat and simplistic.'

*Categorical negation spreads*

9) Èti deklaracii ne podtverždalis<sup>i</sup> kakimi-libo faktami. 'Those declarations were not verified<sup>i</sup> by any facts whatsoever.'

#### C. Integrity

*Unique occurrence*

10) On našel<sup>P</sup> pozvonok mamonta v rajone večnoj merzloty. 'He found<sup>P</sup> the vertebra of a mammoth in the perma-frost region.'

*Continuous process*

11) Dnem ona gotovilas<sup>i</sup> k èkzamenam. 'During the day she prepared<sup>i</sup> for the examinations.'

*Continuous repetition*

12) Po rodu svoej raboty ja každydnevno stalkivajus<sup>i</sup> s ljud'mi, postradavšimi ot ukusov životnyx. 'Given the nature of my work, I daily encounter<sup>i</sup> people who have suffered animal bites.'

#### D. Countability

*Discrete quantification*

13) Boris pročital<sup>P</sup> ètu knigu za dva časa. 'Boris read<sup>P</sup> that book/got that book read<sup>P</sup> in two hours.'

*Partitive genitive*

14) –A utrom ona govorit, bez tebjja ne mogu. –A ty čto? –Nu, uspokoil, deneg dal<sup>p</sup>...

‘—And in the morning she says, I can’t go on without you. –So what did you do? –Well, I calmed her down, gave<sup>p</sup> her some money.’

*Filling*

15) Sledujuščie pjat’ dnej djadja Kolja ležit<sup>i</sup> bezmolvnyj, nosom v potolok. ‘For the next five days uncle Kolja lies<sup>i</sup> silent, with his nose pointing toward the ceiling.’

*External measurement*

16) Sibirskaja tigrica dva časa deržala<sup>i</sup> v straxe žitelej Potsdama. ‘A Siberian tigress kept<sup>i</sup> the inhabitants of Potsdam in fear for two hours.’

*Open-ended quantities with no definite beginning or ending*

17) Ona podžidala<sup>i</sup> muža nočami. ‘She waited up<sup>i</sup> for her husband during the nights.’

**E. Streamability***Perfective Gestalt*

18) On uvleksja<sup>p</sup> vyraščivaniem gribov. ‘He became mad<sup>p</sup> about cultivating mushrooms.’

*Determined vs. non-determined distinction:* exat<sup>i</sup> vs. ezdit<sup>i</sup> ‘ride<sup>i</sup>’, idti<sup>i</sup> vs. xodit<sup>i</sup> ‘walk<sup>i</sup>’, etc.

*Gradual accumulation*

19) Vo mne, estestvenno, nakaplivalsja<sup>i</sup> protest protiv ix “pravdy”. ‘A feeling of protest against their “truth” naturally welled<sup>i</sup> up in me.’

**F. Penetrability***Descriptions of manner*

20) Policejskie krepko deržali<sup>i</sup> ego za pleči. ‘The policemen held<sup>i</sup> him firmly by the shoulders.’

**G. Conversions***Derived imperfective with repetitive meaning*

21) S kinos’emkami mne ne povezlo. Vo-pervyx, mai tancy snimali malo, i bol’šej čast’ju v otryvkax, za isključeniem fil’ma-baleta “Zoluška”. Často vybirali<sup>i</sup> ploxyju točku dlja s’emok, i tancovščiki v kadre polučalis’ prizemistye. Nado snimat’ iz točki “snizu vverx”. ‘I had bad luck with films. On the one hand, my dances were rarely filmed, and for the most part in excerpts, with the exception of the ballet film “Cinderella”. They often chose<sup>i</sup> a bad angle for the shots, and the dancers looked stocky in the close-ups. They need to be shot “from below”.’

*Derived imperfective with processual meaning*

22) Podobrav sebe trusiki, bjustgal’ter i mjagkie botinočki, ona zašla za vešalku, razdelas’ i čerez neskol’ko minut, polnost’ju odetaja, byla uže gotova idti. Ostal’nye medlenno vybirali<sup>i</sup> sebe narjady. ‘After selecting panties, a bra, and soft shoes for herself, she went behind the cloak-room, undressed, and in a few minutes, fully dressed, was already prepared to go. The others were slowly choosing<sup>i</sup> their outfits.’

*Prefixation as perfectivization or catalysis of new meanings*

*Suffixation with –nu- as singularization:* prygat<sup>i</sup> ‘jump’ vs. prygnut<sup>p</sup> ‘jump (once)<sup>p</sup>’

*Rehomogenization and packaging with po-*

23) Govorjat, Klinton v svoi poslednie dni popodpisyval<sup>p</sup> bumag... ‘They say that during his last days Clinton signed<sup>p</sup> a bunch of papers...’

## **H. – K.: Properties relevant to the interactions of types of matter and to discourse structure**

### **H. Compatibility**

*Sequenced perfectives*

24) Kogda otec prosnulsja<sup>p</sup> i vstal<sup>p</sup> i vyšel<sup>p</sup> iz šalaša, on sprosil<sup>p</sup> nas: “Kto pokrivalami nakryl menja?”. ‘When father awoke<sup>p</sup> and got up<sup>p</sup> and went out<sup>p</sup> of the cabin, he asked<sup>p</sup> us: “Who covered me with blankets?”’

*Perfective future*

25) Zavtra poluču<sup>p</sup> laboratornye analizy gormonal’nogo balansa. ‘Tomorrow I will receive<sup>p</sup> the laboratory analysis of the hormonal balance.’

*Habitual repetition*

26) Mne vo dvore nraivilos’ – tam vsja naša žizn’ proxodila. Mama inogda vysunetsja<sup>p</sup> iz okna, kriknet<sup>p</sup>: Vo dvore? ‘I liked it in our courtyard –our whole life took place there. Sometimes Mama would lean out<sup>p</sup> of the window and yell<sup>p</sup>: Are you in the courtyard?’

*Simultaneous imperfectives*

27) Devuška smotrela<sup>i</sup> v okno, i v ee svetlyx glazax otražalis<sup>i</sup> derev’ja, doma, nebo. ‘The girl was looking<sup>i</sup> out the window and trees, houses, and the sky were reflected<sup>i</sup> in her bright eyes.’

*Imperfective present*

28) Sejčas rabotaem<sup>i</sup> nad novym menju, dopolnjaem<sup>i</sup> ego, rabotaem<sup>i</sup> nad novymi sousami. ‘Right now we are working<sup>i</sup> on a new menu, we are expanding<sup>i</sup> it and working<sup>i</sup> on new sauces.’

*Historical present*

29) Ona sžimaet<sup>i</sup> zubami sigaretu, ščelkaet<sup>i</sup> zažigalkoj i zatjagivaetsja<sup>i</sup>. ‘She squeezes<sup>i</sup> the cigarette with her teeth, flicks<sup>i</sup> the lighter, and takes<sup>i</sup> a drag.’

*Stretching the present moment*

30) Ja rabotaju<sup>i</sup> zdes’ s prošlogo goda. ‘I have been working<sup>i</sup> here since last year.’

*Perfective embedded in imperfective*

31) Kogda ja otkryval<sup>i</sup> okno, dver’ oglušitel’no zatreščala<sup>p</sup>. ‘While I was opening<sup>i</sup> the window, the door made a deafening crash<sup>p</sup>.’

### **I. Dynamicity**

*Perfectives move narrative along, imperfectives retard it*

32) Otec rodilsja<sup>p</sup> v Sankt-Peterburge v 1911 godu. Kodga načalas<sup>p</sup> pervaja mirovaja vojna, v Pitere žit<sup>i</sup> stalo<sup>p</sup> trudno, i vsja sem’ja uexala<sup>p</sup> v derevnju Pominovo v Tverskoj oblasti, na rodinu babuški. Dom, gde oni žili<sup>i</sup>, stoit<sup>i</sup>, kstati, do six por, rodstvenniki ezdjat<sup>i</sup> tuda otdyxat<sup>i</sup>. Tam že, v Pominove, otec poznakomilsja<sup>p</sup> s moej mamoj. Oni poženilis<sup>p</sup>, kodga im bylo<sup>i</sup> po 17 let. ‘My father was born<sup>p</sup> in St. Petersburg in 1911. When WWI began<sup>p</sup>, it became<sup>p</sup> hard to live<sup>i</sup> in Petersburg, and the whole family left<sup>p</sup> for the village of Pominovo in the Tver’ region, for our grandmother’s homeland. The house where they lived<sup>i</sup>, by the way, still stands<sup>i</sup> to this day, and the relatives go<sup>i</sup> there for vacations<sup>i</sup>. In that

same place, in Pominovo, my father met<sup>P</sup> my mother. They got married<sup>P</sup> when they were<sup>i</sup> 17 years old.'

### J. Salience

*Backgrounding effect of general-factual*

33) Ja u vas uže odnaždy sprašivala<sup>i</sup>, vlijajut li antibiotiki na obrazovanie antitel κ VIČ. Vy otvetili, čto net. I teper' u menja ešče odin vopros...

'I have already asked<sup>i</sup> you once whether antibiotics influence the formation of HIV antibodies. You answered no. And now I have another question...'

### K. Contiguity

*Phasal verbs followed by imperfective infinitives*

34) I kak raz v ètot moment stali<sup>P</sup> našu komnatu otkryvat<sup>i</sup> ključom. 'And right at that moment they started<sup>P</sup> to open<sup>i</sup> our room with a key.'

*Ingressives*

35) Počemy čelovek, ranee obraščavšijsja k duxovnosti kak k važnejšemu iz uslovij protivostojanija narkoèpidimii, vdruk zagovoril<sup>P</sup> o tradicijax kak ob "ustarevšix stereotipax"? 'Why is it that a person who previously treated spirituality as one of the most important conditions for opposing the drug epidemic, suddenly started talking<sup>P</sup> about traditions as "outmoded stereotypes"?'  
*Terminatives*

36) V kakie strany možno ezdit', esli otsidel<sup>P</sup> v SŠA kak xaker? 'Which countries can one go to if one has done time<sup>P</sup> in the USA as a hacker?'

## L. – N.: Properties relevant to the interactions of humans with types of matter and to pragmatic structure

### L. Stability

*Perfective verification of contract*

37) Esli ja Vas pravil'no ponjal, to host-mašina u vas pod QNX 4.22 i s nee vy čerez RS485 interfejs zaprašivaete dannye u ustrojstva s RS232-interfejsom, ispol'zuja v kačestve šljuza ADAM 4521. Esli èto tak, to togda vorpos: Sdelali<sup>P</sup> li vy dannyj modul' (ADAM 4521) i ubrali<sup>P</sup> li peremyčku INIT posle konfigurirovanija? T.e. sdelali<sup>P</sup> li vse po instrukcii? 'If I have understood you correctly, then your host-machine is running QNX 4.22 and from it you are through an RS485 interface requesting data from a device with an RS232 interface, using an ADAM 4521 as a buffer. If this is the case, then there is the question: Have you completed<sup>P</sup> the appropriate module (ADAM 4521) and have you removed<sup>P</sup> the default INIT after configuration? In other words, have you done<sup>P</sup> everything according to the instructions?'

*Gnomic satisfaction potential*

38) Naimenee opytnyj načal'nik učastka s naimenee obučennoj komandoj vseгда sdelat<sup>P</sup> naibolee važnoe otkrytie. 'The least experienced leader of the section with the least skilled team always makes<sup>P</sup> the most important discovery.'

*New instructions*

39) -Dobryj den', pred<sup>P</sup>javite<sup>P</sup>, požalujsta, vaši dokumenty... -Nu vot... Vot bumagi. -Otkrojte<sup>P</sup> požalujsta vaš багажник... -Good day, please present<sup>P</sup> your documents... -Well, ok... Here are the papers. -Please open<sup>P</sup> your trunk...'

*Frustration*

40) Zapiši moj telefon... Zapisyvaj<sup>i</sup>, požalujsta, ja očēn' toropljus'! 'Write down my telephone number... Write it down<sup>i</sup>, please, I'm in a big hurry!'

*Bad job*

41) Mužčina na motocikle neakkuratno delal<sup>i</sup> maneuvry. V rezul'tate vrezalsja v bordjur, pereletev čerez rul'. 'The man on the motorcycle made<sup>i</sup> sloppy maneuvers. As a result he crashed into the abutment and flew over the handlebar.'

**M. Texture***Specific threat*

42) Vot my peremestilis' na samyj verx piramidy. Ne ušibites'<sup>p</sup> golovoj o nizkie svody! 'Now we have moved to the very top of the pyramid. Don't hit<sup>p</sup> your head on the low arches!'

*Generalized guideline*

43) Ja očēn' xoču, čtoby vy ušli otsjuda s tem že količestvom glaz, čto i prišli. Poètomu - NE SNIMAJTE<sup>i</sup> MASKU NA POLE!!! Nikogda i ni pri kakix obstojatel'stvax! 'I really want you to leave here with the same number of eyes that you had when you came. So - DON'T REMOVE<sup>i</sup> YOUR MASK ON THE FIELD!!! Never and under no circumstances!'

*Polite situations*

Proxodite<sup>i</sup>! 'Come in<sup>i</sup>!' Snimajte<sup>i</sup> pal'to! 'Take off<sup>i</sup> your coat!' Sadites'<sup>i</sup>! 'Sit down<sup>i</sup>!'

**N. Implied conversions***Firm success vs. conative attempts*

44) Odnadždy on prišel i skazal učēnomu zjatju, čto episkop proslyšal o ego ume i xočet s nim poznamomit sja. Sperva molodoj zjat' i slušat' ob ètom ne xotel. No ksendz ugovarival, ugovarival, i nakonec, ugovori<sup>p</sup>. 'Once he came and told his educated son-in-law that the bishop had heard about his intelligence and wanted to meet him. At first the young son-in-law didn't even want to hear about it. But the priest tried and tried to convince him and finally he did convince<sup>p</sup> him.'

*Annulled event*

45) -KTO LOŽILSJA<sup>i</sup> V MOJU POSTEL' I SMJAL EE? - zarevel Mixajlo Ivanyč strašnym golosom. '- WHO LAY DOWN<sup>i</sup> IN MY BED AND MESSED IT UP? - roared Mikhailo Ivanyč in a terrible voice.'

Table: Overview of solids vs. substances distinction and implications for Russian aspect

<b>Discrete Solid Objects</b>		<b>Fluid Substances</b>	
<b>What we know about discrete solid objects</b>	<i>What this means for the Russian Perfective</i>	<b>What we know about fluid substances</b>	<i>What this means for the Russian imperfective</i>
<i>Inherent Properties</i>			
<b>A. Have edges</b>	<i>Boundedness</i>	<b>A. Have no inherent edges</b>	<i>Unboundedness, lack of reference to beginning/end</i>
<b>B. Can have various shapes; can be thin stable slices</b>	<i>Perfective can be of various durations and can be infinitely short; punctuality</i>	<b>B. Shape is irrelevant; cannot form thin stable slices; must have thickness; can be omnipresent</b>	<i>Must have some duration and can be infinitely long; generalizing effect of negation</i>
<b>C. Each item has integrity as a unique discrete whole; heterogeneity</b>	<i>Single one-time accomplishments and achievements; wholeness; definiteness; totality</i>	<b>C. Uniform, continuous and divisible; homogeneity</b>	<i>Ongoing activities and states; temporal stability; repetition; indefiniteness</i>
<b>D. Countable units</b>	<i>Used with measured adverbials and partitive genitive</i>	<b>D. Uncountable masses; can fill a space</b>	<i>Used with indefinite time reference, or with references that form boundaries</i>
<b>E. Cannot stream, pour; come all at once in a whole piece</b>	<i>Lack of determined/non-determined distinction; totality, completion, sense of a Gestalt</i>	<b>E. Can stream, pour or be stagnant; can come gradually</b>	<i>Determined vs. non-determined motion verbs; processual meanings</i>
<b>F. Impenetrable, only experienced from exterior</b>	<i>Exterior reference</i>	<b>F. You can reach/see/be inside</b>	<i>Interior reference, manner, unfolding</i>
<b>G. Can be converted to substances: a) when many are viewed from a distance, b) when pulverized</b>	<i>Perfectives can generate a) derived imperfectives with repetitive meaning, b) derived imperfectives with processual meaning</i>	<b>G. Can be converted to solids: a) by solidifying, b) when reference is made to a single particle, c) when packaged in a firm container</b>	<i>Imperfectives can generate derived perfectives a) using perfectivizing prefixes that organize the action, b) using the -nu- suffix, c) when states/activities are prefixed in po-/pro-; rehomogenized derived imperfective prefixed with po-</i>
<i>Interactions of Matter and Discourse Structure</i>			
<b>H. Cannot share space with other solids</b>	<i>Sequencing of perfectives with each other and with the human observer (a solid) at the present moment, which can force the meaning of future</i>	<b>H. Can share space with both substances and solids</b>	<i>Simultaneity of imperfectives with each other, with the human observer at the present moment, and with perfectives; present tense; historical present</i>
<b>I. Can provide a</b>	<i>Perfectives are dynamic,</i>	<b>I. Static, impede</b>	<i>Imperfectives retard</i>

<b>firm path of stepping stones</b>	<i>move narrative along</i>	<b>movement</b>	<i>narrative, encourage dwelling on characteristics, setting</i>
<b>J. Perceptually salient objects</b>	<i>Figure, foregrounding in narrative</i>	<b>J. Perceptually diffuse masses</b>	<i>Ground, backgrounding in narrative; neutral meaning of general-factual</i>
<b>K. Can serve as barriers or boundaries for substances</b>	<i>Use of perfective phasal verbs with imperfective infinitives; ingressives, terminatives, perduratives and delimitatives</i>	<b>K. Can be bounded by solids or mixed with other substances</b>	<i>Use of imperfective infinitives with phasal verbs</i>
<i>Human Interactions with Matter and Pragmatic Structure</i>			
<b>L. Provide the satisfying feel of a stable, manipulable object</b>	<i>Sense of result, (successful) completion; contracts; ability to perform; neutral imperatives giving new instructions</i>	<b>L. Slip through the fingers, nothing graspable</b>	<i>No sense of result or completion; conative meanings; implications of bad work; frustration</i>
<b>M. Hard, might be an obstacle, could hurt if used with any force</b>	<i>Negative warnings; impolite imperatives</i>	<b>M. Comfortingly soft and spreadable</b>	<i>Generalizing meaning of negative imperatives; polite imperatives</i>
<b>N. Can spontaneously form as lumps of substances</b>	<i>Successful completion in relation to conative imperfectives</i>	<b>N. Can, like an odor or residue, signal the prior presence of solids</b>	<i>Reversals of action</i>