

# Semantic Network of the REFLEXIVE SJA Constructions in Russian: Prototype and Case Meanings\*

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## 1. Introduction

Common Slavic(henceforth CS) is known to have two types of the reflexive pronoun long and short forms. CS *se* is a short form of the reflexive pronoun *sebe* in the accusative case in Slavic(Isačenko 1960, 380). Ivanov mentions that the enclitic form *se* lost its independence and changed into a particle in the 15th century(Ivanov 1983, 297-98). SJA in contemporary standard Russian expresses the reflexive meaning, but there are various situations designated by verbs with SJA(cf. Ahn 2006 and 2007) that have nothing to do with reflexivity. For example, (1) denotes a situation where a woman has difficulty in sleeping and it does not seem to have any relationship to reflexive semantics.

- (1) *Ej ploxo spalos'.<sup>1)</sup>*  
She slept badly.

The diverse meanings of SJA sentences seem to be caused by the lexical meanings of verbs, but this semantic diversity could also be explained using the relationship between verb and SJA. The purpose of

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\* This paper is written based on the idea in Ahn(2006), but includes comments from brilliant minds after Ahn(2006). Ahn(2006), of course, has more data and more discussions about other uses of Russian SJA.

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1) This type of SJA sentences is categorized as a peripheral member of the category of the PASSIVE SJA. For more detailed information about the PASSIVE SJA, see Ahn(2007).

the current paper is to show the semantic network of the REFLEXIVE SJA<sup>2)</sup>, and this is the first question of the current paper. The SJA verbs are related to complicated questions of the category of voice, of verbal aspect, of argument structure of a sentence, etc. In the quest to understand the semantics of SJA, the reflexive meaning is a good starting point.

The second question pursued here is about a possible criterion of categorizing SJA verbs. This criterion is the meaning of Russian case, especially of the accusative and dative cases. This question may simply be an extension of the first, because CS and other contemporary Slavic languages such as Czech and Bulgarian have a separate form of the short reflexive pronoun in the dative case as well as the accusative short reflexive pronoun.<sup>3)</sup>

Based on the answers to these two questions, a categorization of SJA verbs will be suggested, but not all the SJA verbs will be in the categorization. Only SJA verbs related to the REFLEXIVE SJA will be investigated in this research.<sup>4)</sup>

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2) The REFLEXIVE SJA in this paper is limited to SJA verbs which have undergone constructional change in the process of SJA attachment. See 2.1 for more detailed explanation about constructional change. The SJA sentences in this category have corresponding non SJA sentences in most cases and the participant obtains a new role in SJA sentences. For example, the proper reflexive construction has a participant with two semantic roles - agent and patient. However, participants in SJA sentence of the passive meaning such as *okno* and *rabočimi* in *okno moetsja rabočimi* do not acquire a new role in the process of SJA attachment.

3) cf. Comrie & Corbett(1993).

4) Ahn(2006) suggests a categorization of SJA verbs in Russian. The Russian SJA verbs consist of a semantic category composed of prototypes and peripheral. Considering the etymological and the functional aspects of SJA, the prototypes are reflexive SJA and passive SJA, For more detailed information, see Ahn 2006 and 2007.

The REFLEXIVE SJA is a prototype of the semantic category of SJA and is investigated with its peripheral in this research. The other prototype of SJA is called the PASSIVE SJA and is explained in detail in Ahn 2006 and 2007.

## 2. The REFLEXIVE SJA as a prototype of the category of SJA

### 2.1. The REFLEXIVE SJA in Russian

Reflexive constructions are characterized semantically by a participant carrying two roles in a situation expressed by a verb, as in the following example.

- (2) Otec moet sebja.  
 Father is washing himself.

The father in the sentence above is not only the agent of the action of washing, but also the patient, the "washee", at the same time. One entity with two roles is a characteristic feature of the reflexive meaning, and reflexive semantics can be expressed by SJA constructions as in (3).

- (3) Otec moetsja.<sup>5)</sup>  
 Father is washing himself.

Geniušienė(1987, 37-53) shows the difference between the transitive and reflexive constructions using the following figure.

<b>Otec moet sobaku</b>		<b>Otec moetsja.</b>	
$\Delta 1$		$\Delta 2$	
Human	Animate	Human	
Agent	Patient	Agent	Patient
Subj.	Obj.	Subj.	

**Figure 1.** Diathesis correspondences in non SJA and SJA sentences.

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5) The sentences (2) and (3) are possible to refer to an identical situation, but these examples are not semantically synonymous. The sentences reflect that the speaker has different focus. The sentence (2) shows focus on the patient and the SJA sentence expresses focus on the action that he is washing.

The  $\Delta$  in the figure designates the concept of diathesis. Diathesis is defined by Geniušienė as a pattern of correspondences between the constituents of the referent structure and the constituents of the role structure and syntactic structure (Geniušienė 1987, 53).<sup>6)</sup> Ontological features such as "human", "animate" appear in the referent level, while "agent", "patient", and other semantic roles<sup>7)</sup> are expressed in the semantic role level, and "subject", "object", and other syntactic features are expressed in the syntactic function level.

One of the reasons why the REFLEXIVE SJA is considered as a prototype or a prototypical meaning of the category of SJA is this diathesis, i.e. the correspondence between the elements of the referent structure and the semantic structure as well as the etymology of SJA. According to figure 1, one constituent with more than one semantic role is characteristic of the diathesis of the reflexive constructions. Compare the following diatheses of the PASSIVE and REFLEXIVE SJA constructions.

<b>Mal'čik moetsja mamoj</b>		<b>Mal'čik moetsja</b>	
$\Delta 1$		$\Delta 2$	
Human	Human	Human	
Patient	Agent	Agent	Patient
Subj.	Adj.	Subj.	

Figure 2. Diathesis of the passive and reflexive SJA constructions.

These SJA constructions show different diatheses. The PASSIVE SJA construction has a one-to-one correspondence between the constituents on the referent level and the constituents on the semantic role level, while the

6) Diathesis is defined differently as "a pattern of correspondences between units at the syntactic level and units at the semantic level" by Xrakovskij(1974, 13).

7) Geniušienė(1987, 37-44) also thinks that the semantic roles are systematic and that they play an important role in the reflexive constructions. Geniušienė tries to classify these roles using a simpler and more generalized "hyper role". The concept of "hyper role" is semi syntactic rather than purely semantic and shares features with Fillmore's hyper case(1977b: 65), known as allo-case by Cook(1972, 13).

REFLEXIVE SJA construction displays a single constituent with two semantic roles. This difference in the diatheses can be a criterion for categorizing SJA constructions. The REFLEXIVE SJA category signals that there exists a participant carrying out more than one role in a situation, and this is a semantic feature of the prototypical reflexive SJA in Russian.<sup>8)</sup>

The category of the REFLEXIVE SJA constructions can be divided into several subcategories according to the semantics of the SJA sentences. First of all, one group of verbs can be termed the proper reflexive or the "reflexive par excellence" (Israeli 1997, 52). If (4) and (5) are interchangeable, then they are an example of this subcategory. The frequency of the substitution is, however, relatively low, because the verb with the reflexive pronoun *sebja* is possible only when there is another object with the pronoun as in (5), i.e. the conversion of a SJA verb to a verb phrase with the reflexive pronoun *sebja* is not found frequently (Israeli 1997, 52–8). However, this conversion is productive, if a contextual condition – existence of a secondary object in the same sentence – is met. In other words, this conversion is rarely used because of contextual complexity, but the conversion happens when the context provides a proper condition. This productivity of the conversion also shows that the REFLEXIVE SJA is a prototype.

(4) My zaščičaemsja, vy napadaete (Russian National Corpus)!  
We are defending ourselves, you are attacking!

(5) My zaščičaem i sebja, i družej.  
We are defending both ourselves and friends.

The second subcategory of the REFLEXIVE SJA is the verbs of grooming and body care like shaving, combing, and other actions that are

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8) This diathesis pattern enables us to divide the reflexive SJA and the passive SJA as prototypes of SJA. The passive SJA is related to the empathic function of the reflexive pronoun. For more discussion, see Ahn 2006 & 2007.

carried out on the body. The semantic structure of the subcategory is very much similar to that of the proper reflexive SJA. But unlike the proper reflexive SJA, in this subcategory the patient is not identical to the agent on the referent level. This difference can be explained using the metonymy THE PART FOR THE WHOLE(Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 38).

- (6) a. Brat breetsja.  
The brother shaves.  
b.\*Brat breet sebja.  
The brother shaves himself.  
c. Brat breet (sebe) borodu.  
The brother shaves his beard.

For a typical grooming verb like *brit'sja* 'shave (oneself)', it is known that the SJA verb cannot be replaced by a non SJA verb with a reflexive pronoun as in (6b), but only by (6c)(Veyrenc 1980, 227-28: quoted from Israeli 1997, 55). However, Google and the Russian National Corpus give 679 and 2 examples, respectively, of the substitution of *breetsja* with *breet sebja* as in (7).

- (7) On breet sebja prosto kak vsjakij čelovek(Google).  
He just shaves himself like any person.

The conversion using the long reflexive pronoun *sebja* with grooming verbs is more complicated than the proper reflexive SJA because the action of the verb affects only part of the body. Other actions on body parts or the actions involving body parts and actions of grooming or body care, can be described by SJA verbs. The following example expresses action involving a specific body part of the speaker. Note that the action can be expressed by a SJA verb.

- (8) a. On ponuril golovu.  
He hung his head.  
b. On ponurilsja.  
He hung his head.

The information on the referent level - a person and his/her head as body part - helps us understand the meaning of the SJA construction more effectively. The patient in the transitive construction is a body part, namely the head of the subject in the same construction. The action of hanging is directed from an entity to its body part, and there are many SJA verbs that have the same relationship between an entity and its body part. Reference information explains why the SJA verb is used to express the meaning based on the relationship between the subject and the patient. Israeli (58) refers to these predicates as SJA verbs with a "partitive object".<sup>9)</sup> This group can be a metaphorically extended meaning of the body part with grooming verbs above. The things that can be considered partitive objects include personal possessions such as money, valuables, and body parts such as eyebrows, nose, etc. In the case of body parts, semantic similarity with grooming verbs can be established.

(9) Govorit, čto vy belites' i rumjanites'.(Russian National Corpus)  
(Someone) says that you use make up.

(10) On zažmurilsja.  
He closed his eyes tightly.

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9) The concept of body part can be extended to things that are not body parts, but are very closely related to the subject. For example, in the verb *nestis'* 'lay eggs' the eggs are seen as a valuable extension of the hen's body. However, valuable possessions/extensions can be different for different subjects. The concept of valuable possession can be extended to things associated with the subject. Israeli(1997, 58) mentions that the verb *nestis'* 'lay eggs' has a different distribution among birds, although all birds lay eggs. For example, this verb has a different meaning with birds like ostriches, i.e. running fast, because ostriches are famous for running fast, not for laying eggs. Apresjan attributes this difference to the "naïve view of the world". The use of *nestis'* with ostriches shows an interpretation against background knowledge that the female ostrich is better known for its speed than for its eggs. However, this kind of polysemy is not frequently met in Russian. If a bird were famous for its special way of hunting and there were a sentence [*ptica nesetsja*], the verb *nestis'* would not likely mean 'go hunting'.

These two examples show semantic and constructional similarities. Semantically these actions are carried out on a specific body part by the subject, and the SJA verb can be paraphrased with the reflexive possessive pronoun *svoj* 'one's own'.

- (11) On zažmuril svoi glaza.(RNC)  
He squinted his eyes.

The third subcategory of reflexive SJA includes verbs of revealing/covering, altering the appearance, harming, altering one's state, and etc.<sup>10)</sup>

- (12) a. Deti i vzroslye osen'ju kutajutsja v svobodnye kurtki(Russian National Corpus).  
Children and adults wrap themselves in loose jackets during the fall.  
b. Kak vy ljubite kutat' sebja v odeždy!  
How you love to wrap yourself in clothes.

The REFLEXIVE SJA with these subcategories is obviously one of the largest groups of SJA verbs in Russian. As mentioned above, the function of the REFLEXIVE SJA constructions appears very basic and is shared with a number of SJA verbs. Considering this basic semantic quality and the frequency of the REFLEXIVE SJA, it seems possible to call the category of the REFLEXIVE SJA verb a prototype for all SJA verbs.

## 2.2 Prototype and Peripherals

The concepts of prototype and peripheral are frequently used in Cognitive Linguistics, which is a relatively new linguistic framework that rests on the following hypotheses(Croft and Cruse 2004, 1-4):

1. Language is not an autonomous cognitive faculty.
2. Grammar is conceptualization.
3. Knowledge of language emerges from language use.

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10) cf. Israeli 1997, 51-2.

Based on these hypotheses Cognitive Linguistics provides important theoretical tools in linguistic investigation, such as the concepts of prototype and radial category. The concepts of prototype and periphery of a category play an important role in expounding on the semantics of SJA in Russian, because SJA constructions consist of a semantic category with central and peripheral meanings. The traditional approach to the concept of a category is called compositional analysis, and many linguists have tried to show that a linguistic category cannot be explained using features.<sup>11)</sup> The concept BACHELOR is profiled against a frame<sup>12)</sup> that does not accommodate the variety of actual social statuses found in the real world (Fillmore 1977b: 69). In the case of the SJA construction *my zaščiščaemsja* 'we defend ourselves' in the meaning of *my zaščiščaem sebja* 'we defend ourselves' is a prototypical member of the SJA category, while *bojat'sja* 'be afraid' as in *ona boitsja* 'she is afraid' is on the periphery of the SJA category. By indicating which members of a category are more central or prototypical than other members, the prototype model of category structure explains many aspects of linguistic categories better than the classical model of semantic componential analysis for several reasons. First of all, for many everyday concepts, adequate definitions in terms of necessary and sufficient features are simply not available.<sup>13)</sup> Secondly, the prototype

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11) Katz & Fodor analyzes a semantic category of BACHELOR using features such as ADULT, MALE, UNMARRIED, etc., but there are many constituents of this category, which cannot be explained using the concept of shared features. For example, the Pope, Tarzan, an adult male living with his girlfriend, and a male homosexual all share the features of BACHELOR, but we don't call any of them a bachelor. For more discussions about these examples, cf. Fillmore(1977a: 68-70), and Fillmore(1982: 117-18).

12) This term "frame" is actively used by Fillmore. Fillmore describes his frame semantics model as a model of the semantics of understanding: the full, rich understanding that a speaker intends to convey in a text and that a hearer constructs for that text. Understanding is the primary data; truth value judgments and judgments of semantic relations such as synonymy and implication are derivative and theory driven(Fillmore 1985: 235, quoted from Croft & Cruse 8).

approach presents the fact that some members of a category are judged "better", or "more representative" of the category than others. Thirdly, the classical model can offer no account of why category boundaries seem to be vague and variable(Croft & Cruse 76-7). Some category members are better examples of the category than others and those members are typically referred to as the prototype or prototypical members of the category. For example, if the category was VEGETABLE, the rating of Goodness Of Exemplar (GOE) of various items might be as follows (according to British subjects(Croft & Cruse 2004, 78)):

	GOE rating
LEEK, CARROT	1
BROCCOLI, PARSNIP	2
CELERY, BEETROOT	3
AUBERGINE, COURGETTE	4
PARSLEY, BASIL	5
RHUBARB	6
LEMON	7

**Table 1.** GOE ratings of the members of the category of VEGETABLE

In a British context, LEMON is a peripheral member of the category of VEGETABLE, while CARROT is a unanimously identified as prototype.

Russian SJA verbs constitute a category. Morphologically SJA is attached to its host verbs,<sup>14)</sup> and semantically these verbs denote diverse situations. The situations, however, seem to be coherent in some way. Many linguists have attempted to classify the meanings of SJA verbs based on taxonomic classification of verbs:

- 1) Isačenko(1960, 374) - Signaling intransitivity.
- 2) Vinogradov(1972, 494-501) - Eliminating transitivity/strengthening intransitivity.

13) cf. Wittgenstein's well known example of GAME has no shared feature among the members of the category. Fillmore pointed out that the noun bachelor seems to have definitions, but the definitions typically hold only within a specific domain.

14) Ahn(2006, 2007) claims that SJA is rather a clitic than a suffix in the process of grammaticalization. See also Ahn(2006: 83-85).

- 3) Janko Trinickaja(1962, 245-6) - The emphasis on the independence of the event denoted by the verb from the actants of the verb.
- 4) Švedova et al.(1982, 618) - Formal intransitivity.
- 5) Gerritsen(1990, 276) - The assignment of an extra role.
- 6) Kemmer(1993, 243)/Israeli(1997, ch.2) - Low elaboration of an event.
- 7) Janda(1993b: 311-312) - On the Self/ By the Self.

The previous research, especially done by Isačenko, Vinogradov and Švedova et al. relates the meaning of SJA to grammatical intransitivity. The relatively recent research by Gerritsen, Kemmer, and Janda focuses on the semantic aspect of SJA. This paper focuses more on the communicative aspect of the SJA construction, i.e. the reason why a speaker prefers a SJA construction to an alternative linguistic expression without SJA. The reflexive SJA shows a different diathesis as in Figure 1 and 2. Gerritsen (1990, 276) notes this structural peculiarity of the reflexive SJA construction and claims that SJA signals the assignment of an extra role. Kemmer(1993, 243) mentions that the middle constructions express low elaboration of an event. I propose that a speaker chooses a SJA construction to convey his idea more effectively to a hearer, and his idea is mainly related to the focus on an event expressed by the verb. In other words, a SJA construction is used to indicate that a speaker wants to highlight the event encoded by the verb. In order to do that, the SJA construction eliminates a direct object by assigning an extra role to a subject. The elimination of a direct object also results in low elaboration of the given event.<sup>15)</sup>

The reflexive SJA should be considered the prototype of the category of SJA, given the etymology of SJA and the constructional and semantic characteristics of a SJA construction. What remains to be determined is which SJA constructions should be classified as peripherals of this category. First of all, the so called middle constructions can be considered as a peripheral member of the semantic network<sup>16)</sup> of the REFLEXIVE

15) For more discussion about the function of SJA, see Ahn(2006, chapter 4; 2007).

16) The term semantic network refers to a category made up of the constituents of a

SJA. The MIDDLE SJA includes the verbs involving body parts, verbs of emotion, and some verbs indicating non translational motion of the subject. The MIDDLE SJA constructions are similar to the REFLEXIVE SJAs in their diathesis. Secondly, the RECEIVER SJA might be a subcategory of the REFLEXIVE SJA and it can be explained through the concept of the dative case in Russian and other Slavic languages. Finally, the RECIPROCAL SJA constructions are included in the category of the REFLEXIVE SJA. The following section will give a more detailed discussion about these subcategories.

### 2.3. The peripherals: the MIDDLE, RECEIVER, and RECIPROCAL SJAs

The category of REFLEXIVE SJA consists of a prototypical and some peripheral subcategories. The REFLEXIVE SJA is the prototype and there are three categories of peripheral uses of SJA in Russian - the MIDDLE, RECEIVER, and RECIPROCAL SJAs. These peripheral semantic categories are related to the MIDDLE SJA, the RECEIVER SJA, and the RECIPROCAL SJA.

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polysemous linguistic expression. Sweetser(1990, 1) says that polysemy is "the synchronic linking of multiple related senses to a single form". Kemmer explains the meaning of middle voice through the concept of semantic mapping, which is a graphic mode of representing the hypothesized relations among the various situation types. The situations under analysis are laid out on a plane in a way that is suggestive of the presumed relations among the situations. This method of semantic mapping has also been used by Traugott(1982, quoted from Kemmer 1993, 10) and Talmy(2003, quoted from Kemmer 1993, 7). The semantic mapping represents the prototype and its semantic network, in which all members are connected via semantic relationships. Semantic mapping indicates the semantic variety of use of Russian SJA in "a number of seemingly unrelated syntactic structures"(Babby 1975, 297).

### 2.3.1. The MIDDLE SJA constructions<sup>17)</sup>

The semantics of the MIDDLE SJA constructions is diverse and sometimes confusing because of several issues that I will now discuss. The first issue is the definition of the term "middle". The middle voice in Indo European is historically related to the category of "medium" in Ancient Greek and the medium category expresses the subject's interest in the action of the predicate (Perel'muter 1984, 4).<sup>18)</sup> This is another argument for the current assertion that SJA expresses the speaker's focus on the action. Gerritsen has three distinctive groups in her classification of Russian reflexive verbs - medial, decausative, and reflexive. The MIDDLE SJA here includes the medial and decausative reflexive verbs as identified by Gerritsen. The distinction between the medial and decausative verbs is moot when only SJA verbs are taken into account without the corresponding non SJA constructions (Gerritsen 1990, 31).<sup>19)</sup> The term "middle" is used to refer to some SJA verbs with certain lexical meanings. The MIDDLE SJA constructions here include three subcategories distinguished by the semantics of the constructions - the MIDDLE SJA constructions designating subject's action engaging a body (part), emotion, and (non translational) motion.

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17) The sentence *dver' otkrylas'* 'The door was opened' has been considered as a typical example of middle voice constructions, but the MIDDLE SJA constructions are a subcategory of the REFLEXIVE SJA, and the REFLEXIVE SJA constructions are, in the current paper, supposed to have a change in the argument structure of participants. The door in the sentence *dver' otkrylas'* remains as a patient of the action of opening, therefore the sentence is investigated as a subcategory of the PASSIVE SJA in Ahn(2007).

18) Schenker(1986, 31) claims that the marked reflexive signals the interiorization of the subject in the action or state expressed by the verb. However, Gerritsen(1990, 289) does not find Schenker's classification sufficient to explain the semantics of the middle category.

19) The question of the correspondence between the transitive and causative constructions, as well as the correspondence between the reflexive and decausative constructions plays an important role and this will be a topic of my future research.

The first subcategory of the MIDDLE SJA contains the SJA verbs describing actions engaging a body (part). This subcategory is semantically related to the REFLEXIVE SJA verbs of body care or actions on the body, but verbs of this subcategory of the MIDDLE SJA denote an action facilitated by an object such as *deržat'sja za perila* 'hold on to the banister/rail', *stuknut'sja ob ugol* 'knock(bump) against the corner', *udarit'sja, ušbit'sja ob ugol* 'hit, hurt oneself, bruise oneself against the corner', *teret'sja o zabor* 'rub against a fence' etc. The body part in this subcategory of SJA plays a different role than in the REFLEXIVE SJA of body care. In other words, the SJA verbs of grooming or body care denote action on the body part, i.e. the body part plays the role of the patient of the action, but the engaged body part in the MIDDLE SJA verbs does not appear as a patient, although the body part is involved in the performance of the action. The definiteness of the body part also seems different, too. The body parts in the examples of the REFLEXIVE SJA appear quite obviously identified by the SJA constructions and contexts.

(8) a. On ponuril golovu.  
He hung his head.

b. On ponurilsja.  
He hung his head.

(10) On zažmurilsja.  
He closed his eyes tightly.

The SJA verb phrase, *stuknut'sja ob ugol* 'knock(bump) against the corner' entails that the body part of the subject is involved in the action of knocking, but the identity of the body part is given by the context. The lexical meaning of SJA verbs gives us a clue to understand the reason why SJA is used in many types of seemingly isolated SJA verbs.

The second subcategory of the middle meaning is comprised of SJA verbs denoting changes or states of emotions of the subject such as *serdit'sja* 'get angry', *udivit'sja* 'be surprised', *radovat'sja* 'be happy',

*somnevat'sja* 'doubt', etc.

- (13) a. Uslyšav poslednie svodki s fronta, on volnuetsja. (Russian National Corpus)

After hearing the last reports from the front, he is agitated.

- b. Esli obščestvo tak volnuet sebja semejnoj dramoj, to est', ne stali li predatel'stva normoj žizni? (Jurij Dinabrug, O strane Arestan')

If society itself gets so excited over family drama, does that mean that betrayal has become the norm of life?

The first example denotes a situation where a man experiences a change of his emotional state. This SJA verb is not derived from the corresponding non SJA verb *volnovat'* 'worry', because we cannot transform (13a) into a sentence on *volnuet sebja*. However, it is possible to find examples with the non SJA verb and reflexive pronoun, although Google gave only 5 examples of the phrase *volnuet sebja* and Russian National Corpus does not have even one example. The sentence (13b) from Google signals that the meaning of the whole construction appears unrelated to the reflexive meaning, but related to the meaning of empathy as indicated in the English translation. Of course, frequency cannot prove that this sentence is not acceptable or grammatically wrong, but low frequency shows that the native Russian speakers do not prefer this type of SJA construction and it has a narrower semantic range than the corresponding frequent expression.

The SJA verbs expressing that the subject is experiencing a state of emotion or change of emotion can be considered as a metaphorical extension of the SJA verbs meaning action on the body part. If we use a Lakoffian formula, it would be that EMOTION IS A BODY (PART).<sup>20</sup> Israeli classified verbs of emotion into a group of decausative meaning, but she also mentioned that these SJA verbs can be in the same group with the verbs of actional decausative meaning (Israeli 1997, 66).

The third subcategory of the REFLEXIVE SJA describes motion made

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20) cf. Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 25-32.

by the subject, but the motion is non translational, i.e. the subject moves his/her body, changing his/her posture without changing his/her location as in (14a).

- (14) a. Ja povernulsja k devuške i uvidel ee glaza (Russian National Corpus).  
I turned to the girl and saw her eyes.  
b. Posle tragedii 11 sentjabrja dve strany povernulis' drug k drugu.  
After the tragedy on Sep.11 the two countries turned to each other.

This example of non translational motion can extend the meaning of motion to abstract motion by metaphor. As in (14b), the two countries above are abstract entities incapable of performing the motion of turning, but the motion of turning towards each other can be interpreted metaphorically as becoming friendly.

The MIDDLE SJA constructions are similar to the REFLEXIVE SJA constructions in their semantic structure. Both categories express a situation in which the subject of the SJA verb performs an action and the patient of the action is related to the subject physically or emotionally. However, the MIDDLE SJA constructions are located in the periphery of the semantic network of SJA for the following reasons: 1) the lexical meaning of the MIDDLE SJA verbs is limited; 2) the frequency of the MIDDLE SJA verbs is relatively less than that of the REFLEXIVE SJA verbs; 3) the MIDDLE SJA verbs do not appear to be as productive as the REFLEXIVE SJA verbs.

### 2.3.2. The RECEIVER SJA constructions

Some SJA verbs in Russian can be called "RECEIVER" SJA verbs because the subject agent carries another semantic role as a receiver of the result or effect of the action. In other words, the subject agent performs an action and the subject agent is affected by the action simultaneously. Etymologically the existence of the dative case form of the CS short reflexive pronoun might be the reason why Russian SJA verbs denote this kind of situation.

- (15) Ivan stroitsja. V pervom etaže doma budut žit' ego roditeli (Gerritsen 1990: 87).  
 Ivan is building a house for himself. His parents will occupy the first floor.

In the example above Ivan is building something (a house in this context) and Ivan does the action for himself or for his own sake. If this RECEIVER SJA incorporates meanings associated with the dative case, it should be possible to paraphrase SJA verbs using the dative case form of the reflexive pronoun.

- (16) a. Kak že ty v dorogu ideš', a tabakom ne zapassja? (Evgen'eva 1980)

How can it be that you go on a trip without stocking up on tobacco?

- b. ..., a tabakom ne zapas sebe (dlja sebja)?

without stocking up on tobacco for yourself?

As shown in (16b), the SJA verb can be paraphrased using the long form of the dative reflexive pronoun *sebe* or the prepositional phrase *dlja* with the genitive reflexive pronoun *sebja* (Švedova et al. 1982, 618). These examples of the RECEIVER SJA constructions are different from the point of view of the identity of the object or patient of the verb. The first group of SJA verbs such as *stroit'sja* 'build something for oneself' does not allow an object/patient built to be stated explicitly, but the verb *zapastis'* 'stock up' does allow the semantic object or thing stocked up for one's own benefit to be overtly stated in the instrumental case. The explicit object in this construction is motivated by the flexible identity of the object, i.e. anything stackable can be the object of the verb *zapastis'* 'stock up', but the semantic range of the object of *stroit'sja* 'build' is more limited than that of *zapastis'* 'stock up'.

Vinogradov (1972, 498) defines these verbs as actions performed for the subject, or in the subject's interests. Russian has conventionalized this use in verbs such as *stroit'sja* 'build (one's home)', *zapastis'* 'provide/ stock up for oneself', *prosit'sja* 'ask for something for oneself', etc. which are benefactive verbs.

The RECEIVER SJA constructions occur relatively less frequently in Russian than in other Slavic languages. For example, Czech has the verb *koupit si* 'buy something for oneself' as in the following example. The Czech dative reflexive clitic *si* exhibits surprisingly high frequency and semantic range, particularly in the spoken language(Janda 1993b, 97).<sup>21)</sup>

- (17) Chystáte si koupit starší automobil v bazaru?  
Are you planning to buy a used car at the bazar?

The corresponding verb in Russian, *kupit'sja* 'buy (an idea)' does not mean that a person buys something for himself or herself. The person in the following construction does not accept or believe what he/she was told. This SJA verb undergoes semantic shift.

- (18) Ja ne kupljus' tak legko, kak moj bednyj Genrix.  
I am not so gullible as my poor Genrix.

Here the subject in the first person form says that he/she is not so gullible as Genrix is, but the meaning of the SJA verb can be paraphrased as 'buy an idea for oneself from another person' using a metaphor like IDEA IS AN ENTITY. The subject in the nominative case is the agent of the action of buying. The patient of the action is lexically limited to an idea and this entailment has caused the verb to undergo semantic shift in Russian.

The RECEIVER SJA in Russian constructions are not so productive as in Czech, and so this group of SJA verbs is obviously a peripheral semantic category of the REFLEXIVE SJA constructions.

### 2.3.3. The RECIPROCAL SJA constructions

The last peripheral category of the REFLEXIVE SJA involves the RECIPROCAL SJA constructions. The reciprocal semantics of SJA verbs are

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21) Colloquial Czech shows very interesting behavior regarding the reflexive clitic SE/SI. For more information, cf. Townsend(1990, 107-8).

considered an independent category in previous research on Russian reflexive verbs. Isačenko(382) classifies a group of "reciprocal reflexive" verbs, and other linguists have a group of reciprocal verbs in the classification of Russian reflexive verbs(cf. Vinogradov; Švedova et al.; Gerritsen; Israeli).

These RECIPROCAL SJA constructions share semantic features with the REFLEXIVE SJA constructions. From the point of view of their semantic structure, each participant in the RECIPROCAL SJA constructions(a single entity on the referent level) carries more than one semantic role.

(19) *Mužčiny i ženščiny borolis' na protjaženii vsej čelovečeskoj istorii*(Russian National Corpus).

Men and women have fought throughout the entire course of human history.

The subjects in plural forms are the agents of the fight, and at the same time the agents become the patients involved in the fight. The meaning of the sentence can be paraphrased using the adverbial phrase *drug druga* 'each other' as follows. The preposition *protiv* 'against' is used for the lexical meaning of the verb *borot'sja* 'fight'.

(20) *Mužčiny i ženščiny načinjut borot'sja drug protiv druga*(Russian National Corpus).

Men and women begin to fight each other.

The paraphrase using *drug druga* 'each other' varies depending on the lexical semantics of the verb. The reciprocal SJA sentences can be paraphrased using various case forms of *drug druga* 'each other' accompanied by prepositions such as *s* 'with' or *k* 'to'.

The RECIPROCAL SJA verbs are different from the REFLEXIVE SJA verbs in that the subject in the RECIPROCAL SJA sentence does not act on himself or for himself. However, as in (19) one participant in the reciprocal construction fights with another man or woman, and the man or woman fights back against the first mentioned participant. In other words, the two participants in the reciprocal construction, A and B, carry out the same function simultaneously, i.e. each participant functions as

both agent and patient in one action encoded by a given verb. The participants are described as plural in most cases, and there are different ways to express the plurality of subjects.

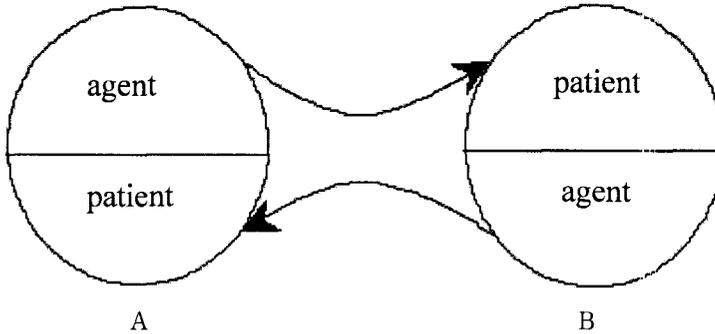


Figure 3. Schema of the reciprocal semantics.

The figure above is a pictorial description of the image schema<sup>22)</sup> of the semantics of the reciprocal construction. The plurality of the subject in the reciprocal construction is not a necessary and sufficient condition to motivate expression of reciprocal semantics. The following example uses a single subject with another participant with which the subject is fighting.

(21) Tam, kak genij, čerpaja sily iz nebes, boretsja on s prirodj(Russian National Corpus).

22) Image schemas(Lakoff 1987; Croft & Cruse 2004) are defined as schematic versions of images. Images are representations of specific, embodied experiences(see Fillmore 1975: 123; 1977a: 73-74). Domains that give rise to images are described as embodied(Lakoff 1987, 267) or grounded(Lakoff and Turner 1989, 113). Image schemas are not specific, but are schematic. In other words, the role of the participants in Figure 1 is separated in a circle, but it is difficult to separate in real sentences. They represent schematic patterns arising from imagistic domains, such as containers, paths, links, forces, and balance, that recur in a variety of embodied domains and structure our bodily experience(Lakoff 1987, 453), and they structure our non bodily experience as well, via metaphor(Lakoff 1987, 453). This definition clarifies the seemingly contradictory description of image schemas: image schemas are 'abstract' in one sense of the word - they are schematic - but not 'abstract' in another sense of that word - they are embodied(Croft & Cruse 2004, 44).

There, like a genius, deriving strength from the heavens, he is fighting with nature.

A reciprocal construction requires two entities performing an identical action. The common semantic feature between reflexive and reciprocal constructions is the fact that one participant performs two roles in a situation. The difference is the number of the participants and the mode of the action performed - a reciprocal construction can be said to have two separate transitive actions, for example, *oni obnimalis'* 'they embraced' refers to one participant embracing the other, and the other participant embracing the first participant back. The reciprocal verbs constitute an interesting semantic category of SJA verbs as a peripheral member of the REFLEXIVE SJA verbs.

### 3. An additional semantic criterion: the ACCUSATIVE and DATIVE SJAs.

The previous research shows detailed classifications of the reflexive verbs in Russian (cf. Isačenko 1960; Vinogradov 1972; Švedova et al. 1982; Gerritsen 1990; Israeli 1997, etc.), but the classifications are based on the lexical meaning of the host verb. Considering the etymological origin of SJA, which is a short form of the reflexive pronoun, it is a plausible idea to employ the concept of case in the categorization of SJA meanings (for instance, Czech and Bulgarian still maintain separate forms for the short reflexive pronoun in the accusative and dative cases<sup>23)</sup> ).

A complicated case system is one of the characteristics of most Slavic languages. Švedova et al. (1982, 479) defines case in the Russian Academy Grammar as follows: cases are polysemous, each case has its own system of meanings, and some meanings are basic and central, whereas others are semantically peripheral. Janda (1993a, 15) also mentions that case functions as a marker expressing the role assignment of participants in a situation

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23) cf. Comrie & Corbett 1993.

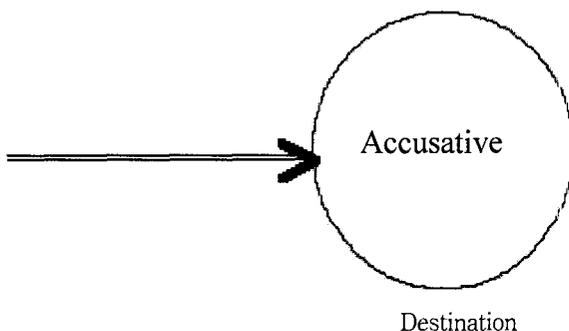
expressed by a predicate. The following assumptions are inherent in the cognitive framework:

- (i) Case is always meaning bearing.
- (ii) Case meaning has a constant objective moment that can be subjectively applied.
- (iii) Case meaning involves the organization of rather than the specification of information.
- (iv) Case meaning is not essentially different from lexical meaning in structure.

However, it is not necessary to have all the Russian cases to explain the REFLEXIVE SJA category. The accusative and dative cases seem to be the only ones we need when we consider that the short reflexive pronoun in CS is realized only in the accusative and dative cases.

ACCUSATIVE REFLEXIVE SJA is comprised of the REFLEXIVE SJA, the MIDDLE SJA and some RECIPROCAL SJA verbs, because those SJA constructions show similar diatheses on the semantic role level, i.e. an agent performs an action and the same entity or a part of the entity appears as the patient of the action. The body part, possession, or emotion of the agent can be the patient on the semantic role level.

Janda & Clancy(2002, 53) describes the meaning of the accusative case as a destination of an action.

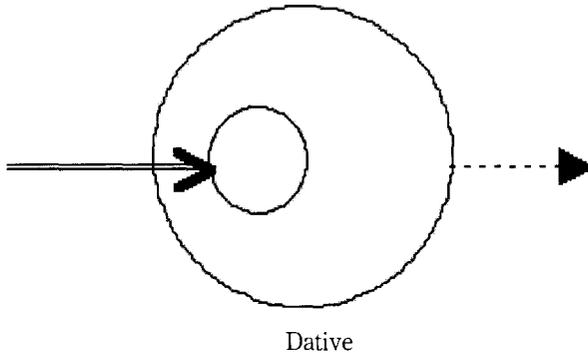


**Figure 4.** Schema of the accusative case

The accusative case as a destination implies an agent and a patient. The

patient is the direct object, and it is in the accusative case because the action moves along a path from the agent to the patient (Janda & Clancy 2002, 64). The patient role is perceived as a destination of an action by the agent in the subject position of the SJA constructions.

The dative case in Russian expresses the meaning of receiver, and the meaning of receiver can be extended to an affected participant metaphorically as an agent receiving a metaphorical influence from outside. The meaning of receiver is the prototype of the dative case (Janda & Clancy 2002, 84).



**Figure 5.** The dative case in Russian

The DATIVE SJA signifies that the subject is affected by the event, and the event can be either good or bad for the speaker. In other words, the subject does something for the sake of himself, or the subject is affected by the action but not in a good way.

- (22) *My ošiblis'*.  
We made mistakes.

The subject of (22) made mistakes and the result of the mistakes affected the subject negatively.

The RECIPROCAL SJA exemplifies an interesting point regarding the use of case in the classification of SJA. A RECIPROCAL SJA construction can be either accusative or dative depending on the lexical meaning of a verb. For example, *obnimat'sja* 'hug (each other)' is a member of the

accusative reciprocal SJA verbs, while *perepisat'sja* 'write (to each other)' and *sovetovat'sja* 'advise (each other)' are the members of the DATIVE RECIPROCAL SJA verbs.

#### 4. The Semantic Network of the REFLEXIVE SJA

Russian SJA verbs related to the reflexive function have various semantic subcategories that can be expressed in the following semantic network.

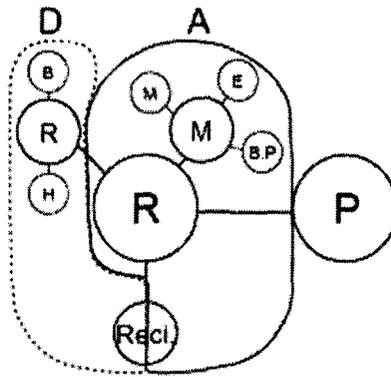


Figure 6. The Semantic Network of the REFLEXIVE SJA.

The prototype of SJA is both REFLEXIVE and PASSIVE SJA<sup>24)</sup> - see the big circles with R and P in the center of Figure 4. The REFLEXIVE SJA has three peripheral subcategories - the MIDDLE SJA, the RECEIVER SJA, and the RECIPROCAL SJA, which are indicated by three medium size circles (R, M, and Reci) around the REFLEXIVE SJA circle. The MIDDLE SJA has as sub meanings the SJA of action engaging a body (part)(a small circle marked "BP"), the SJA of non-translational motion(a small circle marked "M"), and the SJA of emotion(a small circle

24) The PASSIVE SJA and the peripheral SJA constructions are investigated in Ahn 2007.

marked "E"). The RECEIVER SJA expresses an affected agent as a receiver of the action, and the result of the action can be either good (benefit) or harm to the agent. A small circle marked by B represents the group of verbs affecting the subject in a positive way, and a small circle with H represents SJA verbs of a negative or not positive influence on the subject. The category of the RECIPROCAL SJA - a medium sized circle marked "Reci" is located between the ACCUSATIVE and DATIVE SJA categories, depending on the lexical semantics of a verb. The whole category of the REFLEXIVE SJA can be classified into the ACCUSATIVE REFLEXIVE SJA, demarcated by a solid line marked "A", and the DATIVE REFLEXIVE SJA, demarcated by a dotted line marked "D" as in Figure 4.

## 5. Conclusion

Russian SJA is known as a clitic expressing the meaning of reflexivity and the passive meaning. These two meanings are the prototypical meanings of Russian SJA. The whole category of SJA is, of course, a semantic network of two prototypical meanings with a number of peripheral members with diverse meanings.

In the current paper, the REFLEXIVE SJA constructions are investigated from the perspective of Cognitive Linguistics. The REFLEXIVE SJA is the prototype for all SJA verbs, because of the relationship to the etymological origin of the clitic (the short reflexive pronoun of CS), the relative frequency and semantic productivity of SJA, etc. The REFLEXIVE SJA is related to its peripheral SJAs, such as the MIDDLE, RECEIVER, and RECIPROCAL SJAs based on the semantic similarity among them. These subcategories are the peripheral members in the semantic network of the REFLEXIVE SJA. All these categories are semantically related to each other, which makes these categories cohesive in a semantic network.

This Cognitive Linguistics approach offers us a better way of understanding the structure of SJA verbs by explaining the semantics of the SJA category using graded centrality and semantic network, not through binary feature opposition or pure logic.

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## 요약문

## 러시아어의 재귀SJA 구조의 의미망: 원형과 격의미

안 혁

러시아어 재귀사로 알려져 있는 SJA는 동사와 결합하여 소위 재귀의미의 문장구조를 형성하게 된다. 러시아어 SJA동사들은 재귀동사 이외에도 많은 다양한 의미들을 표현한다. 본 논문의 목적은 러시아어 SJA동사의 한 축을 이루는 재귀의미의 SJA동사들과 그와 의미적으로 관계된 동사들을 인지문법의 관점에서 고찰하는 것이다.

인지문법의 관점에서 재귀 SJA는 전체 SJA범주의 원형적 구성원이 된다. 이는 그 의미적 생산성, 기타 하위 범주보다 커다란 그룹을 형성하는 사용의 빈도, 역사적인 기원 등이 그 논거가 된다. 재귀 SJA는 그 범주 내에 다양한 의미의 하위 범주들을 갖는다. 주어의 신체 일부에 행해지는 행위의 그룹은 '고개를 숙이다', '머리 빗다' 등의 동사들을 포함하며, 그 자체가 가장 다수의 의미적 그룹이 된다.

중간 SJA동사 그룹은 역사적으로 중간태와 관련되고, 의미적으로 재귀 SJA와 유사하지만, 상이한 디아테자의 구조를 보인다. 여기에는 주어의 신체가 관계되는 행위, 감정 변화의 동사, 그리고 움직임을 나타내는 동사들이 포함된다. 수신자 SJA는 행위자가 자신의 행위에 영향을 받음을 나타내며, 대부분의 경우, 자신이 수혜자가 되지만, 그렇지 않은 경우도 동사의 어휘의미에 의해 나타난다. 그리고 마지막 주변적 SJA범주는 상호 SJA이다.

위와 같은 재귀 SJA와 그 주변적 SJA범주들은 격의미를 이용하여 새로운 분류를 시도할 수 있다. 사용되는 격은 대격과 여격이 되며, 이 모든 범주들은 하나의 SJA 의미망을 구성하게 된다.

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