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## **The event of emotional change in Slovene in the light of Leonard Talmy's typological framework<sup>1</sup>**

### **1. Introduction**

This article aims to apply Leonard Talmy's typology of event integration<sup>2</sup> to a systematic account of the complex event of a change of emotional state in Slovene. Talmy distinguishes five types of event, namely "motion", "temporal contouring" (aspect), "change of state", "action correlation" and "realization". An event of state change, whether in the physical or mental realm, is explained by Talmy as consisting either of a state transition (i.e. a change in a certain property associated with a particular object), or of stasis (i.e. an unchanging continuation of that property)<sup>3</sup>. On this basis, I define the event of emotional change as consisting either of the transition of an emotional state (from non-emotional to emotional, e.g., *to get happy, come to love, arouse emotions*, or from an emotional to a non-emotional one, e.g., *to stop loving, control emotions*), or as emotional stasis, i.e. remaining in an emotional state (e.g., *to be angry, feel sadness, hate somebody*). In this article, I analyze linguistic patterns that are considered to be the most

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<sup>2</sup> As presented in L. Talmy, *Toward a Cognitive Semantics. Volume II Typology and Process in Concept Structuring*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, 2000, pp. 213–288.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 237.

commonly used in Slovene to express an event of emotional change<sup>4</sup>. The main assumption of this paper is Talmy's claim that "the organization of conceptualization for linguistic expressions sets state change into analogy to Motion"<sup>5</sup>. This assumption is confirmed by recent findings of experimental psychology and cognitive lexical and grammatical investigation<sup>6</sup>; however a systematic account of grammatical and semantic correspondences between the domain of emotion and motion in Slavic languages is still missing. This article aims to fill this gap by applying Talmy's account for meaning-to-form language patterns and typology of event integration to an analysis of grammatical and semantic correspondences between the dynamic situations of "change in location" and "change in an emotional state", as well as between the static situations of "remaining in a location" and "remaining in an emotional state".

## 2. Motion event in Talmy's theoretical approach

Talmy understands the concept of motion in a broad sense, i.e. either as the presence of motion (dynamic situations, e.g., *The pencil rolled off the table*) or as a stationary location in the event (static situations, e.g., *The pencil lay on the table*). A "Motion event" is characterized as consisting of a number of semantic components, namely "Motion" (i.e. the presence of motion *per se* or locatedness), the "Figure" (i.e. the entity that is moving or located), the "Path" (the path of motion or the stationary location of the Figure), and the "Ground" (the entity with respect to which the Figure's Path is characterized and the reference point for the motion or location of the Figure)<sup>7</sup>. A minimal Motion event can correlate with a co-event, usually Manner (i.e. the way the motion or locatedness is conceptualized) or Cause (i.e. the causal relation within a Motion event); together they form a full Motion event. Talmy first compared characteristic representations of

<sup>4</sup>The data was excerpted from the internet edition of the *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika* and the corpora of written and spoken Slovene: *Gigafida* and *Nova beseda*.

<sup>5</sup>L. Talmy, *Toward...*, p. 238.

<sup>6</sup>See, for instance, D.C. Richardson, M.J. Spivey, S. Edelman, A.D. Naples, "Language is spatial": Experimental evidence for image schemas of concrete and abstract verbs, [in:] *Proceedings of the 23rd Annual Meeting of the Cognitive Science Society*, eds. J.D. Moore, K. Stenning, Mahwah, NJ, 2001; Z. Kövecses, *Metaphor and Emotion: Language, Culture, and Body in Human Feeling*, Cambridge, 2000; S.M. Peña Cervel, *Topology and Cognition: What Image-Schemas Reveal about Metaphorical Language of Emotions*, Munich, 2003; R.W. Gibbs Jr., *Embodiment and Cognitive Science*, New York, 2006; J. Zlatev, J. Blomberg, U. Magnusson, *Metaphor and subjective experience. A study of motion-emotion metaphors in English, Swedish, Bulgarian and Thai*, [in:] *Moving Ourselves, Moving Others. Motion and emotion in intersubjectivity, consciousness and language*, eds. A. Foolen, M.U. Lüdtke, T.P. Racine, J. Zlatev, Amsterdam, 2012.

<sup>7</sup>L. Talmy, *Toward...*, p. 25.

a full Motion event across languages with regard to the semantic components and co-events. His original typological classification was defined with respect to what semantic component is lexicalized (or “incorporated”) in the main verb<sup>8</sup>.

Talmy observed three typological regularities according to whether the languages characteristically use the verb to express an integration (or “conflation”) of the Motion event with the co-event, the Path, or the Figure. Manner-incorporating languages are, for instance, Indo-European languages with the exception of post-Latin Romance languages. These languages incorporate the co-event of Manner and Cause with the verbs expressing motion as illustrated below by English examples with Slovene glosses:

(1) Move + Manner

Eng. *The rock rolled down the hill.*

Slov. ‘Kamenje se kotali po strmini.’

(2) Move + Cause

Eng. *I threw the keg into the storeroom*<sup>9</sup>.

Slov. ‘Vrgel sem sodček v skladišče.’

In the second, i.e. path-incorporating, type, the Motion component conflates with Path in the main verb (as in, for example, Romance, Turkish, Semitic and Japanese languages). The commonly-cited example of such conflating comes from Spanish:

(3) *La botella entró a la cueva* ‘The bottle floated into the cave’<sup>10</sup>.

The verb *entró* ‘moved in’ designates a Path directed toward a container-shaped Ground. In the third major typological type, the verb expresses both the Motion and the Figure. This pattern is said by Talmy to be predominant in Atsugewi and Navaho, but one can find it also in English and Slovene; see verbs formed from the nominal base (*rain* and *dež*)<sup>11</sup> in (4) and (5):

<sup>8</sup> As stated by Talmy in the Introduction to *Toward...* p. 9, Talmy’s original analysis „Motion situation” appeared in the his dissertation and the article published in 1985; see L. Talmy, *Semantic Structures in English and Atsugewi*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley, 1972. See also L. Talmy, Lexicalization patterns: semantic structure in lexical forms, [in:] *Language typology and syntactic description*, vol. III: *Grammatical categories and the lexicon*, ed. T. Shopen, Cambridge, 1985, pp. 57–149.

<sup>9</sup> L. Talmy, *Toward...*, p. 28.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 49.

<sup>11</sup> Slovene verbs incorporating the Motion event and the Figure entity refer to natural phenomena related to weather (*snežiti* ‘to snow’/‘to be snowing’, *megliti se* ‘to become foggy’, and *oblačiti se* ‘to become cloudy’) and to changes of state of physical objects (e.g. *okamneti* ‘to petrify’, *ostekleneti* ‘to change into glass’, *oledeneti* ‘to change

(4) *It rained in through the bedroom window.*<sup>12</sup>

(5) *Ob pravem času je zadeževalo.*

‘It started to rain at the right time.’

## 2.1. Satellites

Let us look now more closely at the grammatical category of a “satellite” in Talmy’s framework. This category is explained as an “other than a noun-phrase or prepositional-phrase complement that is in a sister relation to the verb root” that “relates to the verb root as dependent to a head”<sup>13</sup>. Across languages, the satellite can be either a bound affix or a free word, for instance: English verb particles, Latin and Slavic prefixes, German separable and inseparable verb prefixes, Chinese verb complements, Atsugewi polysynthetic affixes around the verb root, etc.<sup>14</sup> Talmy stresses that the satellite should be distinguished from a preposition because the latter represents a constituent in a construction with a noun and governs its case (a noun designates an object nominal expressing the ground). Consequently, a nominal expressing Ground that is obvious or implicit from the context can be omitted together with “its” preposition, but the satellite remains, as in the English example in (6) and its Slovene gloss:

(6) *I was sitting in his room and then suddenly ran out (of it)*<sup>15</sup>.

‘Sedel sem v njegovi sobi in naenkrat sem stekel ven (iz nje).’

On the other hand, Talmy posits that “[G]enerally, the Path is expressed fully by the composition of a satellite and a preposition”<sup>16</sup>, as in the example from Slovene (7), in which the composition of the satellite (prefix) *pri-* ‘toward’ and the preposition *k* ‘at’ characterizes the Ground as an intended destination:

(7) *Prišel je k tabli.*

‘He came to the table.’

Slavic expressions of this type, i.e. with the prefix satellite and the preposition, are regarded by other researchers as “double framing” con-

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into ice’). I show in the ensuing discussion that, due to the processes of metaphor and metonymy, some of the latter denote an emotional change.

<sup>12</sup>L. Talmy, *Toward...*, p. 57.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibidem*, p. 102.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibidem*, p. 222.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibidem*, p. 107.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibidem*, p. 103.

structions. Croft *et alii*<sup>17</sup> claim that in Slavic languages, e.g. Russian and Bulgarian, the Path (a core schema of an event) can be expressed twice: once as part of the verb (a satellite in Talmy's terms), and once as a detached satellite (a preposition). What is important in this approach is that the double framing construction is defined as "not symmetrical, in that the complex event is encoded partly in the verb form and partly by a satellite". Note that in (7) the prefix and the preposition both share the same spatial meaning and refer to the same path. A prefix and a preposition can however instantiate different directions of motion, as in the Slovene example in (8):

- (8) *Ptica odleti v tople kraje.*  
'A bird flies away to a warm country.'

The prefix *od-* 'from' informs us that the figure is perceived as moving away from a source ground (not necessarily specified; implicit from the context) and the preposition *v* 'into' + accusative expresses that the motion is towards a goal. Thus in (8), the prefix and preposition encode different aspects of the path<sup>18</sup>. Another example shows that in constructions expressing a complex event of change (which I discuss in more detail later in this article), such as in (9), the prefix and the preposition refer to different events: *raz-* denotes spread motion that is metaphorically mapped onto the emergence of emotion, whereas the preposition expresses a metaphorical motion of the participant toward (or in exact terms 'onto') the object of the emotion expressed by the noun:

- (9) *Razjezil se je na prijatelja.*  
'He got angry at his friend.'

In other words, the prefix expresses a state transition while the preposition encodes a co-event relation of Cause between the experiencer and the object (and cause) of the emotion. Thus I assume that while in motion events the prefix and preposition can together fully express the path, in events of change, the preposition and the prefix can have different functions in the event construal. But even as far as events of change are concerned, Talmy suggests that in some constructions, the Path (or the core schema of the event) can be expressed by a satellite and/or preposition in

<sup>17</sup> W. Croft, J. Barðdal, W. Hollmann, V. Sotirova, C. Taoka, Revising Talmy's typological classification of complex events, [in:] *Contrastive construction grammar*, ed. H. Boas, Amsterdam, 2010, p. 210.

<sup>18</sup> See also prefixes and prepositions encoding a relationship between a Path and Ground entity in Slavic simple clauses in Z. Kaleta, T. Žeberek, I. Nowakowska-Kemna, A. Będkowska-Kopczyk, The imagery of the PATH-GOAL schema in Polish, Russian, Bulgarian and Slovenian, [in:] *Imagery in Language*, eds. B. Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, A. Kwiatkowska, Frankfurt, 2004, pp. 365–369.

satellite-framed languages. For instance, in the sentence *He choked to death on a bone*<sup>19</sup>, the preposition *to* represents the transition type and the noun *death* denotes the state.

### 2.3. Types of motion

According to Talmy, two types of motion event can be distinguished: a translational and a self-contained one. In the former, “an object’s basic location shifts from one point to another in space”; in self-contained motion, “an object keeps the same, or an “average”, location”<sup>20</sup>. Talmy associates the self-contained motion with oscillation, rotation, dilation, wiggling, local wander or rest. In English, the translational motion can be illustrated by the example *The ball rolled down the hill*, while an example of self-contained motion can be *The log rolled over and over in the water*<sup>21</sup>. In Slavic languages both types of motion can be expressed by the same prefix (a verb’s satellite) that encodes dynamic situations (i.e. ones involving motion) and interrelates with the meanings of the verbs it combines with. For instance, Slovene *raz-* can indicate translational motion in verbs of motion, such as *raziti se* (‘to go in various directions’), because the moving Figures dislocate from a spatial source. On the other hand, in verbs expressing physical processes such as *razrasti se* (‘to burst into flames’), the prefix can denote self-contained motion because the Figure (in this case a tree, for example) does not shift from the source but undergoes spread motion within its boundary. In other words, self-contained motion can be perceived as resulting in an increase in size (in a three-dimensional space, e.g., *razgoreti se* ‘to burst into flames’) or changing of shape (in a two-dimensional space, e.g., *razliti se* ‘to spill all over something’)<sup>22</sup>.

### 2.4. Framing events

In his further works<sup>23</sup>, Talmy extends the typology of Motion events by including five types of event with parallel semantic and syntactic properties, namely “motion”, “change of state”, “temporal contouring” (aspect), “action correlation” and “realization”<sup>24</sup>. As far as the event of mo-

<sup>19</sup> L. Talmy, *Toward...*, p. 250.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 35.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 36.

<sup>22</sup> See A. Będkowska-Kopczyk, *Dispersed motion metaphors of EMOTION in Slovene. A cognitive grammatical analysis of the prefix raz- in verbs of emotional experience*, forthcoming, pp. 22.

<sup>23</sup> L. Talmy, Path to realization: a typology of event conflation, [in:] *Proceedings of the 17<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, Berkeley, Calif., pp. 480–519; L. Talmy, *Toward...*

<sup>24</sup> Note that most applicable cognitive research and crucially, Talmy’s typology of languages, focus on motion events; see, for instance, Dan I. Slobin cross-linguistically, Victoria Hasko and Renee Perelmutter (eds.) and Dorota

tion is concerned, Talmy focuses on which of the syntactic constituents in a sentence the semantic component of Path (i.e. the schematic core of the framing event of motion) appears in. He observes that the Path is characteristically expressed either by the main verb (c.f., the path-incorporating pattern discussed above) or by the verb satellite (cf. the manner- and figure-incorporating type). Talmy proposes that languages fall into two types with regard to how the conceptual structure of an event is mapped onto a syntactic structure; these are “verb-framed” languages (e.g., post-Latin Romance languages) and “satellite-framed” languages (e.g., other Indo-European languages including Slavic)<sup>25</sup>.

To understand better Talmy’s typology of event integration I first discuss his approach to a complex (or macro) event and the types of events which are crucial for our understanding of emotion change. According to Talmy, the operation of general cognitive processes, i.e. cognitive partitioning and the ascription of entityhood, allow the human mind in perception or conception “to extend a boundary around a portion of what would otherwise be a continuum, whether of space, time, or other qualitative domain, and ascribe to the excerpted contents within the boundary the property of being a single unit entity”<sup>26</sup>. Talmy defines an event as a type of entity that includes within its boundary a continuous correlation between “some portion of its identifying qualitative domain and some portion of time”. An event can be conceptualized as a “particular type of internal structure and degree of structural complexity. Such structural properties can be reflected by properties of the syntactic forms that can represent the event”<sup>27</sup>. A macro-event is an event that can be syntactically represented by a complex sentence consisting of a main clause and a subordinate clause. Such an event can be conceptualized as being composed of two simpler events: a main event and a subordinate event (a “co-event”), and their correlation. Talmy states that a cognitive process of conceptual integration of events enables speakers to think of an event – that “under a more analytic conceptualiza-

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Chlopek for Slavic, see: D.I. Slobin, *The many ways to search for a frog: Linguistic typology and the expression of motion events*, [in:] *Relating events in narrative: Volume II: Typological and contextual perspectives*, eds. S. Strömquist, L. Verhoeven, Mahwah, NJ 2004, pp. 219–257; V. Hasko, R. Perelmutter (eds.), *New Approaches to Slavic Verbs of Motion*, eds. V. Hasko and R. Perelmutter. John Benjamins, Amsterdam and Philadelphia, 2010; D. Chlopek, *Scenes Constructed by English Spatial Particles Expressed in Polish*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe ATH, Bielsko-Biała.

<sup>25</sup> L. Talmy, *Toward...*, p. 221. Accordingly, verb-framed languages are said to have a framing verb (i.e. a verb expressing the core schema), and the other type of languages is said to have a framing satellite (i.e. a satellite expressing the core schema). *Ibidem*, p. 213.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*.

tion is understood as complex and represented by a multiclausal syntactic structure” – as a unitary entity, and represent it by a single clause<sup>28</sup>.

A main event within the macro-event is called a framing event in Talmy's theory. The framing event is a unitary event and constitutes a particular event schema which can be applied to several conceptual domains, including emotional states and processes (changes of emotional state). The internal structure of the framing event consists of four components: (i.) a figural entity on which attention is currently most focused (cf. the “Figure” discussed above), (ii.) the ground entity (cf. “Ground”), (iii.) an activating process by which the figural entity “either makes a transition or stays fixed with respect to the ground entity”, and (iv.) an association function that “sets the figural entity into a particular relation with the ground entity”<sup>29</sup>. Talmy observes that the four components are conceived to differ in their distinctiveness in the referential context. The figural entity is “generally set by context”. The activating process has only two values: fixity and transition. In motion events these values are realized as “stationariness” (e.g., *Ana je v Ljubljani* ‘Ana is in Ljubljana’) and “motion” (e.g., *Ana je odšla iz Ljubljane* ‘Ana left Ljubljana’). Further, I show that in the events of change, the fixity is realized as “stasis” and the transition as “change”. The particular association with a particular ground entity that the figural entity has entered into is said to determine the particular character of the event and distinguish it from other framing events. Thus, either the association function alone or this function together with the ground entity is considered by Talmy as “the schematic core of the framing event” called “the core schema”.<sup>30</sup> Another crucial factor for motion events (and, as we see later, also for events of change in the domain of emotion) is the *path* defined as being constituted by “the association function that relates the figural entity to the ground entity”<sup>31</sup>. The framing event is considered by Talmy to perform a framing function in relation to the macro-event. It determines the overall temporal framework and the aspect of the sentence expressing the macro-event, and the overall spatial framework where a physical setting is involved or some analogous reference frame where another conceptual domain is involved. The framing event also determines all or most of the argument structure and semantic features of the arguments overall within the macro-event as well as all or most of the syntactic complement structure in the sentence that expresses the macro-event.

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<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 15.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 218.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*.



In (10) I present English linguistic expressions of macro-events that include all the five types of main event distinguished by Talmy:

- (10) a. *The ball rolled in.* (event of motion)
- b. *The candle blew out.* (event of change of state)
- c. *They talked on.* (event of temporal contouring)
- d. *She sang along.* (event of action correlation)
- e. *The police hunted the fugitive down.* (event of realization)<sup>32</sup>

In all these sentences the schematic core of the event type is said to be expressed by the satellite. In (10a), the satellite *in* indicates the path of the ball entering a container-shaped ground; in (10b), *out* expresses that the candle extinguished as a result of something blowing on it (causative construction); *on* in (10c) indicates that some people continued their process of talking; *along* in (10d) indicates that a female participant of the event joined or accompanied another person; and, *down* in (10e) expresses that the police achieved their goal of capturing the fugitive.

### 3. State change

Talmy argues that the domain of state change can be “structured foundationally in accordance with several different conceptualizations that are prior to the selection of one of these for representation by a framing event”<sup>33</sup>. It follows from this that different conceptualizations of the same fact of change can be linguistically represented in many ways<sup>34</sup>. For instance, the fact of someone becoming happy (i.e. changing his or her state to a happy one) can be instantiated by many linguistic expressions in the Slovene language, such as the following three:

- (11) a. *Razveselil sem se tega.*  
      ‘I got happy because of that.’
- b. *To me je razveselilo.*  
      ‘It made me happy.’
- c. *To je vzbudilo moje veselje.*  
      ‘It aroused my happiness.’

<sup>32</sup> L. Talmy, *Toward...*, p. 214.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 237.

<sup>34</sup> See also Ronald W. Langacker’s the term of construal defined as “our manifest ability to conceive and portray the same situation in alternative ways”. R. W. Langacker, *Cognitive Grammar: A. Basic Introduction*, Oxford, 2008, p. 43. The notion of construal refers of course not only to events of state change, but it seems that the abstract domain of emotion is particularly prone to being structured in accordance with many alternative conceptualizations and represented by many alternative linguistic constructions.

Fundamental to our further discussion of emotional change is Talmy's assumption that:

(...) the organization of conceptualization for linguistic expression sets state change into analogy with Motion. In particular, change or stasis with respect to states parallels motion or stationariness with respect to objects. And state transition type parallels Path type.<sup>35</sup>

In his typological work, Talmy discusses three main types of construction reflecting the conceptualization of the state change framing event that – as we see further in this paper – can be applied to an accounting for emotional state change. In all three types the concept of motion is metaphorically extended to a change of state – either transition (a change in location is mapped onto a change in emotional state) or stasis (stationariness is mapped onto the remaining emotional state). Thus, all linguistic representations of a framing event of change are underlain by spatial metaphors. In the first type, an event can be conceptualized “in terms of change or stasis in the property itself”<sup>36</sup>, as in the following expressions:

- (12) a. *Her (state of) health changed from being well to being ill.* (transition)  
 b. *Her (state of) health is illness.* (stasis)

The second type involves the property that can be perceived as “a figural entity with respect to the object or situation as a ground entity, as if the property comes to or occurs in the object or situation”<sup>37</sup>. For instance:

- (13) a. *Death came to him.* (transition)  
 b. *Madness is upon him.*<sup>38</sup> (stasis)

In the third type, the object or situation can be conceptualized as “a figural entity with respect to a property as a ground entity, as if coming to or occurring in the property”<sup>39</sup>; see:

- (14) a. *She entered (a state) of ill health.* (transition)  
 b. *She is in ill health*<sup>40</sup> (stasis)

Talmy includes with the third type also constructions with an adjective that names the state (an adjective of emotional state) and the copula verb *be*:

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 238.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 237.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 238.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibidem*.

- (15) a. *She became ill* (transition)  
 b. *She is ill* (stasis)

While the image of motion *per se* or stationariness is apparent in metaphorical expressions containing nouns of emotion and verbs of motion (e.g., *enter*), in adjective constructions the image of motion does not seem to be clear enough. Thus, Talmy uses the more suggestive verbal form BECOME and explains these examples in terms of a pattern reflecting the metaphorical “MOVE” IN THE ENVIRONMENT\_Adjective<sup>41</sup>.

Talmy claims that the third type of conceptualization seems to be “the most basic and predominant in any language”<sup>42</sup>. Accordingly, within this framing-event representation, the activating process is considered either the transition of the figural entity with respect to the property (i.e. what is normally understood as “change”) or stasis (i.e. the object or situation’s remaining fixed with respect to the property)<sup>43</sup>. The association function is explained by Talmy as “the direction of the relationship that the object or situation has with respect to the property”<sup>44</sup>. This relationship is called the “transition type”. As we see later in this article, the emotional transition of the figural entity can reflect the alternate types of conceptualization of the beginning and the end of emotions, as well as the physical reactions associated with an emotion. On the other hand, remaining fixed with respect to the property reflects the conceptualization of the emotional state itself.

### 3.1. The framing event of emotional change in Slovene

In Slovene, an emotional property can be expressed by means of: i.) emotion verbs, e.g., *ljubiti* ‘to love’, ii.) nouns, e.g., *ljubezen* ‘love’, iii.) constructions formed by adjectives with the copula verbs (e.g., *biti* ‘to be’ and *postati* ‘to become’), e.g., *biti jezen* ‘to be angry’ and iv.) constructions formed by adverbs with the copula verbs, e.g., *biti (komu) žal* lit. ‘to be somebody-dative sorry’ ‘to be sorry’. In this section I show that emotion verbs express a co-event of Manner in their root, i.e. the type of transition or stasis. By “type” I understand a particular emotional process in the case of transition, and a particular emotional state in the case of stasis<sup>45</sup>. Follow-

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 41.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 238.

<sup>43</sup> “Stasis” can be otherwise termed “state”, but Talmy reserves the term “state” for a property (emotion) conceptualized as a figural or ground entity.

<sup>44</sup> L. Talmy, *Toward...*, p. 238.

<sup>45</sup> This applies also to verbs that in expressions with nouns of emotion metaphorically extend their meanings derived from the domain of physical experience, e.g., (*v*)*zbuditi čustva* (literally: ‘to wake up emotions’) (*v*)*zdramiti čustva* ‘to arouse emotions’ (literally: ‘to wake up emotions.’)

ing recent research of semantic and grammatical functions of prepositions and prefixes in Slavic languages<sup>46</sup>, I argue that these two types of spatial particle metaphorically extend their spatial meanings to the domain of emotional experience. Thus, stasis (fixed emotional state) can be expressed by a prepositional phrase denoting either a metaphorical location of a property (an emotional state) or a metaphorical location of the object (people) within the property. On the other hand, the transition of a figural entity (i.e. change of emotional state) can be expressed by a verbal prefix. It must be noted, however, that a prefix has another important function in Slovene (and other Slavic languages): it is a marker of a perfective aspect and a modifier of the course of a change event (in terms of Aktionsarten). For instance, it is observed that the spatially-based meaning of the prefix *raz-* ('in all directions', 'apart') in verbs of emotion, e.g., *razveseliti* 'to make happy' in (11b), is metaphorically mapped onto their aspectual sense and correlates with inchoative, resultative and intensive (augmentative) senses<sup>47</sup>. This metaphorical shift from the domain of motion to the temporal domain is also explained within Talmy's framework as being underlain by a conceptual analogy between temporal and spatial structuring<sup>48</sup>.

I begin the analysis with the first type of conceptualization of change distinguished by Talmy. Within this conceptual pattern, I place constructions formed by verbs of emotion that express either stasis or transition of the emotional state. Such verbs are completed either by a noun phrase or a prepositional phrase expressing an object of emotion (for example, *ljubiti dekle* 'to love a girl-accusative' and *razjeziti se na prijatelja* 'to get angry at a friend-accusative', respectively) or a cause of an emotion (for example, *veseliti se obiska* 'to be looking forward to a visit-genitive' and *jeziti se zaradi slabega vremena* 'to be angry because of bad weather-genitive').

Verbs expressing emotional state include such verbs as *ljubiti* 'to love', *sovražiti* 'to hate', *jeziti se* 'to be angry' and *veseliti se* 'to be happy'; see, for instance:

- (16) *Ljubim dekle iz New Yorka.* (Gigafida) (stasis)  
'I love a girl from New York.'

<sup>46</sup> For instance, L.A. Janda, *A Semantic Analysis of the Russian Verbal Prefixes ZA-, PERE-, DO and OT-*, Munich, 1986; A. Przybylska, *Schematy wyobrażeniowe a semantyka polskich prefiksów czasownikowych do-, od-, prze-, roz-, u-*, Kraków, 2006; L. Šarič, *Spatial Concepts in Slavic: A Cognitive Linguistic Study of Prepositions and Cases*, Wiesbaden, 2008; A. Endresen, L.A. Janda, J. Kuznetsova, O. Lyashevskaya, O. Makarova, T. Nessel, T. Sokolova, Russian "purely aspectual" prefixes: Not so "empty" after all? "Scando-Slavica", 2012, 58 (2), pp. 229–289.

<sup>47</sup> See A. Będkowska-Kopczyk, *Dispersed...*

<sup>48</sup> Due to the limited scope of this article, the issue of temporal countering in the domain of emotion is not raised in the remaining part of this article.

Verbs that denote the framing event consisting of change are combined with prefixes that indicate the direction of an emotional change. This category of verbs consists of verbs that can occur only in an emotional context, e.g., *vzljubiti* 'to begin to love' or 'to begin to like strongly', *zasovražiti* 'to begin to hate', *razjeziti se* 'to get angry', *razveseliti se* 'to get happy', and verbs that metaphorically extend their spatial meanings (e.g., denoting physical processes) to the domain of emotion, for example, *razvneti se* (burst into flames → get angry), *razburiti se* and *vzburiti se* (stir up the water → 'get agitated', 'get upset'); see respectively (17a) and (17b):

- (17) a. *Američan, ki je vzljubil Slovenijo* (Nova beseda) (change)  
 'The American, who got to love Slovenia.'  
 b. *Razburil se je, ko mu je policist rekel, naj pihne v alkotest (...)* (Gigafida)  
 'He became angry when the policeman told him to take the sobriety test, and he hit him. (...).'

The Reference Grammar of Slovene Language<sup>49</sup> lists a total of 35 Slovene prefixes, including prefixes borrowed from foreign languages. Among these prefixes, eight can combine with verbs of emotion; these are: *vz-* (and its allomorphs *z-* and *s-*), *raz-*, *o(b)-*, *pre-*, *po-*, *za-*, *na-*, and *u-*). In the spatial realm, these prefixes combine with verbs of motion and embody dynamic image schemata, i.e. motion that results in a change of location (e.g., *raziti se* 'to walk in various directions'). In the domain of emotion, they denote metaphorical motion that is mapped onto the emergence of emotional states, i.e. the emotional change. For instance, the prefixes *vz-*, *raz-* and *o(b)-* embody various types of sensorimotor experience associated with the emergence of emotions. In verbs of anger and emotional arousal the prefixes *vz-* 'up, upwards' and *raz-* 'in different directions' metaphorically extend the spatial sense of, respectively, upward or dispersed movement of psycho-physical sensations inside the human body<sup>50</sup>. When occurring in verbs of emotion, both prefixes encode self-contained motion (like in verbs of physical processes). On the other hand, the prefix *o(b)-* 'around' in verbs denoting shame, fear, happiness, outrage, and irritation indicates that emotional processes are conceptualized in terms of translocative circular motion, i.e. metaphorical movement of emotion around people. The sche-

<sup>49</sup> J. Toporišič, *Slovenska slovnica*, Maribor, 2000.

<sup>50</sup> See A. Będkowska-Kopczyk, Semantic and grammatical features of *o-/ob-* in verbs of emotion in Slovene, [in:] "Jezikoslovje", 2012, 13 (1), pp. 19–38; A. Będkowska-Kopczyk, The prefix *vz-* and its allomorphs on verbs of emotional experience in Slovene. Grammatical evidence for UPWARD MOTION metaphors of EMOTIONS, [in:] *Filologie, areál a praxe. Inovativnost v současných filologických oboreh. Sv. II.*, eds. L. Pavera et al., Prague, pp. 82–105; A. Będkowska-Kopczyk, Dispersed...

matic representations of these three prefixes are mapped onto the emergence of emotions and contribute three different types of information: (i.) upward motion is associated with the accessibility of emotions: emotions become accessible (see the metaphor *VISION IS UP*<sup>51</sup>), (ii.) dispersed motion is associated with the rapid increase and intensity of an emotional state, and (iii.) circular motion is associated with the entirety of the emotional process, i.e. the emergence of emotions is perceived to completely affect the referent coded as experiencer. Thus, linguistic expressions formed by verbs combined with these prefixes instantiate the metaphor *CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS*<sup>52</sup>. I argue that this metaphor is a generic (basic) conceptual metaphor underlying Slovene prefixed verbs of emotional experience, and the metaphor *THE OCCURRENCE OF EMOTIONS IS MOVEMENT IN VARIOUS DIRECTIONS ON A PATH* (i.e. *UPWARD*, *DISPERSED* and *CIRCULAR*) is considered its elaboration.

The second type of framing event of emotional state change distinguished by Talmy, i.e. with the emotion perceived as a figural entity with respect to the man or his body part (the ground entity), is represented in Slovene metaphorical expressions that contain a noun of emotion in nominative and a verb that metaphorically extends its meaning to the domain of emotion and denotes the transition or stasis. The human ground entity is expressed by a prepositional phrase with *v* 'in' + locative, as seen in (18):

(18) a. *V ljudeh je vstalo sovraštvo do tujcev.* (transition)

'Hate for foreigners aroused in people.'

b. *V njenih očeh je bilo videti sovraštvo.* (stasis)

'Hate was visible in her eyes.'

In (18a), the framing event of transition is expressed by the prefix *v-* 'up' in *vstati* 'to arise'. The metaphorical upward movement carried out by the figural entity (hate) in the ground entity (people) is mapped onto the emergence of this emotion. In (18b) the body parts, i.e. the eyes, elaborate the ground entity that metaphorically contains hate. I claim that the core schema of stasis is instantiated by the prepositional phrase *v* 'in' + locative that metaphorically expresses the location of an emotion. In both expressions, the ground entities (people or their parts) are conceptualized

<sup>51</sup> See L. Šarić, A Cognitive Semantic Account of the Prefix *uz-* in Croatian, [in:] "Jezikoslovlje", 2012, 13 (1), pp. 191–218.

<sup>52</sup> G. Lakoff, M. Johnson, *Philosophy in the Flesh. The Embodied Mind and its Challenge to Western Thought*, New York, 1999, p. 179.

as a container for an emotion<sup>53</sup>. The emotion is conceptualized in terms of a living entity (18a) or an abstract (or concrete) entity that is either undergoing motion (change) or remains in the container (stasis). Underlying this type of framing event is a blend of the commonly known metaphors PEOPLE ARE CONTAINERS FOR EMOTION and EMOTION IS AN ENTITY.

A framing event consisting of the transition of an emotional state can also be conceptualized in terms of the figural entity (an emotion) acting on the ground entity (a man). This pattern is represented in Slovene metaphorical expressions with a noun of emotion in nominative, causative prefixed verbs of motion and action, and a noun phrase or a personal pronoun (in accusative) referring to a human ground entity; see (19) and (20).

- (19) *Obšla jo je jeza.* (transition)  
lit. 'Anger went around her.'  
'She became angry.'

- (20) *Hrepenenje ga je popolnoma obvladalo.* (transition)  
lit. 'Yearning has entirely controlled him.'  
'He was overwhelmed with yearning.'

The verb *obiti* ('to go around') in (19) denotes that the emotion is perceived as metaphorically moving around the figural entity, while *obvladati* ('to controlled') in (20) denotes that the emotion is perceived as metaphorically surrounding the figural entity with an action. In both examples, the prefix (a verb's satellite) indicates that the motion and action is completed and that the emotion affects the man entirely. The spatially-based meaning of the prefix is again a framing expression that is mapped onto the accomplishment of a motion and action and the beginning of the emotional state, i.e. anger in (19) and yearning in (20). These two expressions reflect the ontological metaphor EMOTION IS A LIVING ENTITY that can move around and act on people.

The third type of pattern of emotional state change distinguished by Talmy, i.e. with the man perceived as a figural entity with respect to the emotional state as the ground, is represented by metaphorical expressions formed by a verb of induced motion and a prepositional phrase with a noun expressing a given emotion. Expressions that reflect dynamic situations, i.e. transition of state, are formed by a prepositional phrase with *v* 'in' + accusative or *do* 'to' + genitive, as in (21a) and (21b), respectively. On the

<sup>53</sup> See the CONTAINER metaphor in Z. Kövescses, *Metaphor and Emotion: Language, Culture, and Body in Human Feeling*, Cambridge, 2000, pp. 155–156.

other hand, stasis is represented by a prepositional phrase with *v* ‘in’ + locative, as in (21c):

- (21) a. *spraviti koga v jezo* (transition)  
       lit. ‘to set somebody to anger’  
       ‘to make somebody angry’  
       b. *pripeljati koga do obupa* or *v obup* (transition)  
       ‘to drive somebody to despair’  
       c. *živeti v sovraštvu* (stasis)  
       ‘to live in (a state of) hate’

The verbs *spraviti* (‘to set’) and *pripeljati* (‘to drive’) that in physical contexts denote caused motion of an object from one place to another metaphorically extend their meanings into the domain of emotion and denote a (caused) change of the figural entity’s emotional state. The framing event of change is indicated by the prefixes (*s-/z-* ‘unite, bring together’ and *pri-* ‘move something closer to a goal’<sup>54</sup>) that occur in the verbs discussed. In the majority of examples found in the Gigafida corpus, emotional states are perceived as bounded regions in space (or location) which a person is put into (transition) or remains in (stasis). Thus, expressions formed by the prepositional phrases discussed here instantiate the well-known metaphors: STATES ARE LOCATIONS and EMOTIONAL CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS INTO LOCATIONS<sup>55</sup>.

Recall that within this type Talmy also includes constructions with an adjective. In Slovene, not only adjectives can be used to represent a framing event of change but also adverbs, see respectively (22) and (23). Such adjectives and adverbs can combine with the adjunct verb *postati* (‘to become’) in the case of transition or with the copula *biti* (‘to be’) in the case of stasis:

- (22) a. *Postala je panična in ni vedela, kaj naj stori.* (Nova beseda)  
       ‘She got panicky and she did not know what to do.’  
       b. *Kar malo jezna sem bila (...)* (Nova beseda)  
       ‘I was a little angry (...)’  
       (23) a. *Žal ji je postalo, ker mu je postavila to vprašanje (...)* (Nova beseda)  
       ‘She regretted asking him this question (...)’  
       b. *Strah jo je bilo ponoči (...)* (Nova beseda)  
       ‘She got scared at night (...)’

It is noteworthy that the Slovene verb *postati* ‘to become’ originates from Old Slavic *\*stojāti* ‘to cause to stand’ (and, earlier, from the Indo-

<sup>54</sup> M.L. Greenberg, *A Short Reference Grammar of Standard Slovene*, 2006, pp. 97–98, at: [http://www.seelrc.org:8080/grammar/pdf/stand\\_alone\\_slovene.pdf](http://www.seelrc.org:8080/grammar/pdf/stand_alone_slovene.pdf) (Access: 10 June 2013).

<sup>55</sup> G. Lakoff, M. Johnson, *Philosophy...*, pp. 179–181.



European root *\*stah-* having both dynamic and static meaning, i.e. ‘to maintain an upright position, supported by one’s feet’ and ‘to stand’ respectively). Thus, a diachronic perspective supports Talmy’s thesis which explains the notion of the transition of the figural entity in terms of a metaphorical “MOVE” IN THE ENVIRONMENT\_Adjective pattern.

I distinguish two further construction types reflecting the conceptualization of a change of state in Slovene. Using Talmy’s terminology, I formulate the first type as ‘the object is conceptualized as a figural entity associated with a property which is a ground entity as if that property causes the object to undergo a physical reaction associated with the property’. In other words, the figural entity is perceived either to undergo a transition into a new state, or, to remain fixed in a state with respect to the ground entity (i.e. the emotion). The event of change can be reflected by the following metaphorical expressions formed by a verb of physical reaction and a prepositional phrase consisting of *od* ‘from’ and an emotion noun in the genitive:

- (24) a. *zboleti od žalosti* (change)  
           ‘to get ill from sorrow’  
       b. *okamneti od groze* (change)  
           ‘to become petrified with terror’  
       c. *tresti se od jeze* (stasis)  
           ‘to tremble with anger’

The verbs in (24) express the co-event of Manner, i.e. they elaborate the type of physical reaction associated with the particular emotion. In (24a) and (24b), the prefixes *z-* in *zboleti* ‘to get ill’ and *o-* in *okamneti* (‘to petrify’) indicate a physical reaction that is perceived as happening (getting ill, beginning to be petrified) to the figural entity, while the unprefixed (and imperfective) verb in (24c) denotes stasis, i.e. a continuing of the physical state. This construction type metonymically refers to state change in the domain of emotional experience by virtue of the metonymy PHYSICAL REACTIONS STAND FOR EMOTIONS<sup>56</sup>. On the other hand, the preposition *od* + genitive that combines with a noun of strong and intensive emotion conveys the idea of emotions conceptualized as EXTERNAL FORCES that set the figural entity in motion by causing uncontrollable physical reactions<sup>57</sup>.

<sup>56</sup>Z. Kövecses, *Metaphor...*, p. 134.

<sup>57</sup>A noun of strong and intense emotion can also occur in a prepositional phrase with *iz* ‘out of’. Expressions with *out of*-phrases convey the idea of emotions conceptualized as container-shaped sources of controllable action, e.g., *Gole sem zabijal iz jeze* ‘I scored goals out of anger’; see Będkowska-Kopczyk, Emotions as causes of human behavior in Polish and Slovene, [in:] *Slavic Linguistics in a Cognitive Framework*, eds. L.A. Janda, M. Grygiel, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 260–264.

Thus, prepositional phrase with *od* 'from' + emotion noun in genitive expresses the co-event of Cause of the reactions. Expressions formed with the *od*-prepositional phrase reflect a blend of interrelated metaphors: EMOTION IS AN EXTERNAL FORCE which influences people independently of their will, and EMOTION IS THE CAUSE of uncontrollable physical reactions experienced by people.

Another type of change of state construction reflects only the conceptualization of a transition from an emotional state into a neutral one, i.e. the end of an emotional state. I define this pattern as 'the object is conceptualized as a figural entity associated with a property which is a ground entity as if the object causes the property to extinguish'. This type can be represented by metaphorical expressions formed by a causative or reflexive prefixed verb of action completed with a noun expressing emotion in accusative in (25a) or genitive (25b):

- (25) a. *obrzdati jezo*  
           'to bridle anger'  
       b. *otresti se strahu*  
           'to shake off fear'

The prefix *o(b)*- 'around' occurring in both verbs of action indicates that the metaphorical action of bridling and shaking off the emotion is completed, thus its spatially-based dynamic meaning is metaphorically mapped onto the event of state transition (the extinguishing of the emotion). In both examples, the emotion is conceptualized in terms of ontological metaphors: EMOTION IS A LIVING ENTITY (here: A HORSE) (25a) and EMOTION IS DUST (25b).

#### 4. Conclusions

In this article, Talmy's typological framework was applied to systematize Slovene expressions that reflect a complex event of emotional change. In constructions formed by Slovene prefixed verbs of emotion, a prefix (as a verb satellite) denotes a path of metaphorical motion leading to a change, i.e. the direction of the state transition. As such, the prefix instantiates the core schema of the emotional change and represents the transition type. In the case of stasis, the core schema of the event is instantiated by a verb. In constructions formed by Slovene nouns of emotion, an emotion is conceptualized either as a figure entity with respect to the man or his body part, or as a ground entity. Verbs occurring in such constructions metaphorically extend their concrete meaning into the domain of emotion. Prefixed verbs

denote dynamic situations (transition), while imperfective verbs denote static situations (stasis). In constructions with emotion as a figure entity, the human ground entity is expressed by means of a prepositional phrase with *v* 'in' + locative or by a noun phrase. In the first case an emotion is metaphorically acting (transition) or remaining (stasis) in a human ground entity that is conceptualized as a container. In the latter case, an emotion is metaphorically moving around or acting on a human ground entity (transition). In constructions with an emotion as a ground entity expressed either by means of a noun occurring in a prepositional phrase with *v* 'in' + accusative or locative, or by means of an adjective or adverb, an emotion is conceptualized as a bounded region which a person is put into (transition) or remains in (stasis). In constructions with emotion as a ground entity expressed by means of a prepositional phrase with *od* 'from' + genitive, the emotion is conceptualized as a cause of physical reactions undergone by people. And finally, in constructions with emotion as a ground entity expressed by means of a noun phrase, a verb metaphorically extends its meaning and denotes an action undertaken by a human as a figure entity that results in transition. Only this type of construction expresses transition from an emotional state into a non-emotional one.

I conclude that Talmy's framework enables us to account not only for semantic but also for syntactic properties of Slovene expressions denoting an event of emotional change by pointing at a conceptual analogy between spatial structuring and structuring in the domain of emotion. The conceptual analogy motivates, in turn, a syntactic analogy between linguistic patterns expressing on the one hand a "change in location" and a "change in an emotional state", and "remaining in a location" and "remaining in an emotional state" on the other.

### Internet linguistic sources:

Gigafida = The Corpus Gigafida. Available from: <http://demo.gigafida.net> (Access: 10 August 2013).

Nova beseda = The Corpus Nova beseda. Available from: <http://bos.zrc-sazu.si> (Access: 10 March 2013).

*Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika* 'Dictionary of Standard Slovene Language' (SSKJ). Electronic version. A. Bajec et al. (eds.). Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU. Available at <http://bos.zrc-sazu.si/sskj.html>. (Access: 10 August 2013).

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**Zdarzenie wyrażające zmianę stanu emocjonalnego w języku słoweńskim w świetle typologii Leonarda Talmy'ego**

W artykule zastosowano typologię integracji zdarzeń Leonarda Talmy'ego do opisu słoweńskich konstrukcji wyrażających zmianę stanu emocjonalnego, tzn. początek i koniec stanu emocjonalnego. Talmy szeroko rozumie zdarzenie wyrażające zmianę stanu (fizycznego, mentalnego) obiektu jako: 1) zmianę danej cechy związanej z określonym obiektem (czyli to, co potocznie określane jest jako „zmiana”) i 2) trwanie danej cechy (czyli „stan”). Zauważa, że w wielu językach zdarzenie wyrażające zmianę stanu konceptualizowane jest w sposób analogiczny do zdarzeń wyrażających ruch, przy czym ruch także rozumiany jest zarówno jako zmiana danego położenia jak i trwanie w tym samym położeniu. W językach słowiańskich zmianę położenia i stanu wyrażają prefiksy czasownikowe, określane przez Talmy'ego jako satelity czasownika (np. słow. *vz-leteti* 'wzlecieć' przy ruchu i *vz-ljubiti* 'pokochać').

W artykule przedstawiono słoweńskie przykłady językowe, w których cecha (uczucie) wyrażona jest poprzez: 1) czasownik, np. *ljubiti* 'kochać', 2) rzeczownik, np. *jeza* 'złość', 3) konstrukcję przymiotnikową, np. *biti jezen* 'być zły' (stan) i 4) konstrukcję przysłówkową, np. *biti (komu) žal* 'być (komu) przykro'. Zastosowanie teorii Talmy'ego pozwoliło na systematyczny opis przestrzennych podstaw konceptualizacji uczuć i ukazanie gramatycznych i semantycznych podobieństw w konstruowaniu dynamicznej sytuacji „zmiany położenia” i „zmiany stanu emocjonalnego” (np. *spraviti koga v jezo* 'wprawić kogo w złość'), jak również w konstruowaniu statycznej sytuacji „trwania w danym położeniu” i „trwania w danym stanie emocjonalnym” (np. *živeti v sovraštvu* 'żyć w nienawiści’).