

## Metonymy in Modern Standard and Non-Standard Russian

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Verbs of sound production have derived metonymic meanings both in Standard Russian and in slang. Generally, the metonymic meanings are less characteristic of slang than the metaphoric ones, but nevertheless deserve attention.

The following patterns of metonymic transfer are characteristic of verbs of sound production in Standard Russian:

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- ‘to produce the sound characteristic of movement – to move producing this sound, e.g.:

(1) a. Mashina *taraxtela*, poshli povoroty; oglianuvshis’, ja uvidel vnizu elovyj les I ponial, chto my uspeli podniat’sia dovol’no vysoko [Boris Xazanov. Puteshestvie (2001)]<sup>1</sup>.

‘The car *rattled*, one turn came after another; when I looked back I saw a fur-tree forest down below and understood that we had managed to get quite high’

b. ... [on] napravliaetsia k nej [k kvartire], zagoniaet v sekretnyj garazh na zadvorkah kakogo-tozavoda svoi dzhip “Landrover”, a ottuda *tarahtit* na “Nive” [. Belkina. Ot liubvi do nenavisti].

‘... [he] walks towards it [the apartment], drives his jeep “Landrover” into a secret garage at the outskirts of some plant, and *rattles* on his Niva from there’.

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- ‘to produce the sound accompanying some activity – to engage in activity accompanied by this sound’, e.g.:

(2) a. Ego mashinka *stuchala* gromko, no sejchas ee stuk ne byl slyshen, potomu chto muzyka i penie zvuchali eshche gromche (V. Vojnovich. Monumental’naja propaganda . Znamia, 2000, N 2-3.

‘His typewriter *pounded* loudly, but now its pounding could not be heard, as music and singing were even louder’ .

b. ...Eshche odin sharikovyj sterzhenek izrasxodoval, to ot ruki pishu, to na mashiinke *stuchu* ... (V. Solovjev. Tri evreja ili uteshenie v slezax. Roman s epigrafami (1975–1998) .

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<sup>1</sup> Examples were drawn from the Russian National Corpus.

'Another ball point pen has run out, so now I either write in hand or *pound* on a typewriter'.

Modern technology helped produce new uses, cf:

- c. Goreev zakurival trubku, vypuskal neskol'ko gustyx klubov i nachinal veshchat', a ja *taraxtela* na kompjutere [Ol'ga Sul'chinskaja. Ja umru s telefonnoj trubkoj v ruke (Oktiabr', 2003, N 6)].

'Goreev would lit his pipe, let out several puffs of smoke and start preaching, while I was *rattling* on my computer'.

- 'to produce a sound – to inform by means of this sound', e.g.:

- (3) a. Tol'ko ne nado krichat' (esli, konechno, vy ne poterialis'), *stuchat'* palkoj po derevjam ili gorlanit' pesni [Oleg Tixomirov. Letnie stranicy. (Murzilka N 6, 2000).  
'Just don't shout, please (unless you've been lost, of course), *bang* at the trees with a stick, or bawl songs'.
- b. Mashina lomaetsia, on *stuchit* v blizhaishuju dver'(Andrej Gusev. Kino, video [Birzha plus svoj dom(N. Novgorod), 2002.08.12].  
'His car breaks, and he *bangs* at the nearest door'.

In Standard Russian, verbs of sound production produce metonymic meanings by the shift of the communicative accent in their definition (Paducheva 1998). Thus, in the definition of the meaning of the verb *stuchat'* 'pound' in the example *Ego mashinka stuchala gromko* 'His typewriter pounded loudly' (2a) the accented assertive component is 'X was producing a sound', whereas the Y's activity is inference, cf:

X was producing a sound <assertion>

Y was acting upon X <inference>

The verb's arguments (or situation participants) are as follows:

Participant	Semantic role (Deep case)	Expression	Category
X	Source of sound	Subject	Instrument
Y	Agent	Not expressed	Person

When the verb *stuchat'* 'pound' extends its meaning to 'to print' as in the example *Ja na mashinke stuchu* 'I am pounding on my type-writer' the accent is shifted to inference, which rises to the rank of assertion, whereas the assertion becomes the inference:

Y was doing something : printed acting upon X <assertion>

X was producing a sound <inference>

The situation participants remain the same, but they get a different expression: the Agent becomes the Subject, whereas the Source of sound lowers its rank and becomes a peripheral participant expressed by the Instrumental case, cf.:

Participant	Semantic role (deep case)	Expression	Category
Y	Agent	Subject	Person
X	Source of sound – Instrument-Place	<i>Na</i> 'on'+ Instrumental case	Thing

In some instances, though the diathesis changes, the verb remains in the same class, e.g.:

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(4) a. *Plasch gromko shurshal, a dozhdik tixon'ko shumel.* [V. Shukshin. *Plemiannik glavbuxa* (1958)].

'The raincoat *rustled* loudly, while it was raining quietly'

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b. *My podnimalis' po kolodcu vintovoi lestnicy, ona shurshala plaschom* [Denis Gucko. *Osennij chelovek* (2001)]/

'We were going up the spiral staircase well, she was *rustling* her raincoat'

Or:

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(5) a. *Muzhchiny, prixlebyvaja kofe, prosmatrivali za stolom gazety, - tol'ko stranic shelesteli* [Elena i Valerij Gordeevy. *Ne vse my umrem* (2002)]

'While sipping coffee men looked through the papers – one could hear only the pages *rustle*'.

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b. *Fadeev shelestel stranicami, chital stixi zanovo, iskal to, chto nashel Zhdanov, I ne mog naiti* [Grigorij Fuks. *Dvoe v barabane*(Zvezda, N 9, 2003)]

'Fadeev *rustled* the pages, read the poems again and again looking for what Zhdanov had found and was not able to find it.

In E.V. Paducheva's opinion in such instances the verb acquires the new meaning of the effect accompanying activity (Paducheva 2004).

What do all the metonymic extensions of verbs of sound production we have considered so far have in common? First of all, the activity or process which cause the sound in the situation described by the basic meaning and have the rank of inference in its definition are the same as the activity or the process constituting the assertion of the derived meaning.

Then, participants of the situation described by the basic meaning and the corresponding participants of the situation described by the extended meaning are coreferential: X of the basic meaning has the same referent as X in the derived meaning, e.g. *plasz shurshal* 'the raincoat rustled' – *ona shurshala plasschom* 'she rustled with her raincoat'; *kolesa [telegi] taraxteli*; 'the wheels of the cart rattled' – *telega taraxtela* 'the cart rattled', etc.).

Derived slang meanings of the verbs of sound production are quite a different matter. The verbs of sound production have slang meanings of activity, cf *shurshat* 'to rustle', slang 'to act', *gudet* 'to hoot', slang 'to engage in drinking', *stuchat* 'to knock', slang 'to tell on somebody', e.g.:

(6) Dolzhen li shkol'nik "shurshat" bystree? (AIF 21.02.2001)

' Shall a pupil rustle quicker?'

(7) U nix dedushka umer, I oni sami govorili, chto uzhe nedeliu *gudiat* (a woman witness in court, March 2005).

'Their granddad died. They themselves said that they had been drinking [lit. hooting] for a week already'.

(8) Vse za vsemi slediat, vse na vsax *stuchat*, a nachal'nik sovershenno ni pri chem

[Julia

Latynina. Na zone Belyj dom (Ezhenedel'nyj zhurnal, 2003, 04.14)].

'Everyone spies on everyone, everyone tells [lit. knocks] on everyone, whereas the boss is out of all that

However, the relation between a derived slang meaning and the standard meaning that motivates it is quite different than between motivating and motivated word in standard Russian. Let us consider the verb *shurshat* 'to rustle'. In example (5) its slang meaning describes some indeterminate activity.

In the following example this verb is synonymous to the verb 'to work' in a very generalized meaning 'to act to achieve smth', e.g.:

(9) ...studenchestvo – edinstvennaja kategorija, kotoroj nado by *shurshat* i *shurshat* na svoe budushchee, podtianuv remen' (Stolica 1993, N 3) .

'Students are the only category that should rustle and rustle for its future having tightened the belts'.

Cf a synonymous use of the verb *rabotat* 'to work':

(10) My dolzhny perebolet' i s zavtrashnej igry nachat' *rabotat* na pobedu [Sergej Kozin. Barxatnaja revoliucija v "Akbase" (Vechernjaja Kazan' 2003.01.14]

'We have to go through it and begin to work for victory from tomorrow's game'.

The slang meaning of the verb *shurshat* 'to rustle' is related to the meaning that motivates it only by the most general idea that when one acts, one produces some noise, whereas in the

situations described by the basic and the derived meaning of the verbs of sound production the noise is the same.

The idea that when one is acting one is producing noise has emerged on the basis of the situations described by such sentences as *Otec shurshal stranicami gazety* ‘Father was *rustling the pages of the newspaper* (while reading), *Mysh shurshala v trave* ‘The mouse *rustled* in the grass’ (while running), *Prodavec shurshal bumazhkami* ‘The salesman was *rustling* the banknotes (while counting them), etc. One can suggest therefore that the slang meaning of the verb *shurshat*’ is derived not from the basic verb meaning, but from the ‘intermediate’ meaning of the effect accompanying activity (See the analysis of examples (3)-(4)). The argument frame has changed : in Standard Russian, when the meaning was extended from sound production to the effect accompanying the activity, all participants remained the same, whereas in slang meaning derivation, the number of participants changed: the INstrument disappeared from the situation, so that only the Agent remained

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This meaning of the verb *shurshat*’ ‘rustle’ would have been unique, had there not been another verb in the Russian language with the like meaning. IT is the verb *shebarshit’sia* (*sheburshit’sia*) and its substandard variant *shebarshat*. Its basic meaning is that of sound production caused by the natural force or one’s activity, e.g.

- (11) Melkij osennij dozhdik *shebarshil* po kryshe, to zatikhaja, to usilivajas’ (Jashin, MAS)  
 ‘The autumn drizzle *rustled* on the roof, now quieter, now louder’

One of its derived meanings is ‘to do something producing noise’, e.g.:

- (12) Kto-to, govoriu, okrug drov *shebarshil*, a ja ego dolbanul [Gl. Uspenskij].  
 I say, somebody was *rustling* near the firewood, so I hit him

Its colloquial meaning is ‘to fuss about’, e.g. (12a), and ‘to protest by saying something (12b):

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- (13) a. - Ne *sheburshis*’, - ispugalsia Kutia. – Chto, Vorobej so vchera ne pojavljajsja?...  
 [Sergej Kaledin. Zapiski grobokopatelia (1987–1999)]  
 ‘Don’t *fuss about* [lit. *rustle* ]’, said Kutia in a frightened voice. ‘Didn’t Vorobej pop up yesterday?’  
 b. – Esli kto-to v gazette nachnet *sheburshit’sia*, Grisha, skazhi, moi parni vrazumiat migom [Lev Korneshov. Gazeta. (2000)].  
 If anybody starts *fussing about* in the newspaper, Grisha, tell me, my boys will beat sense into them right away’.

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In V.I. Dal’s dictionary the verb *shebarshit*’ is found in the same entry with the dialect verb *shabandat*’ (*shavandat*’), as one of its variants’, as well as *shabarchat*’. All together these verbs constitute the following set of meanings:

Meaning	Verb
‘to produce a sound’: ‘to rustle’	<i>shabarcha(i)t</i> ’

'to do something producing a rustling sound', e.g. : 'to look for something in the darkness', 'to rummage'; 'to eat or sip when either not hungry or the food is not to one's liking,	<i>shab(v)andat'</i>  <i>shabarcha(it)</i>  <i>shebarshit'</i>
'to do smth indeterminate', 'to do smth unnecessary' : 'to fuss, to worry about trifles'	<i>shebarshit'</i>
'to speak': 'to gramble', 'to babble'	<i>shebarshit'</i>

Thus, dialect verbs constitute a system of meanings similar to the meanings of the verb *shurshat'* 'to rustle' showing that the pattern of semantic extension 'to do something producing a sound – to do something in general' is regular. However, in the dialects, i.e. in nonstandard varieties of the language all meanings have the same rank, whereas within the semantic structure of the verb *shurshat'* 'to rustle' the basic meaning of producing a sound is opposed to the meanings of doing smth and speaking, which are considered substandard. .

The conclusion that the activity described by the slang verb meaning is related to that described by the verb of sound production in its basic meaning very indirectly is confirmed by the verb *stuchat'* 'to knock'. Its slang meaning 'to tell on somebody' is related to its basic meaning only with an idea that an informer knocks at the door of his boss's study before getting to his business.

The verb *gudet'* 'to hoot' stands apart from the other verbs of sound production because in the system of its meanings the meaning of activity accompanied by some sound is absent. Therefore one can only make guesses about which standard meaning of this verb motivates its slang meaning. It is quite possible that the slang meaning of this verb 'to drink' is linked to one of its standard meanings by the idea that drinking in company is accompanied by the same kind of noise as produced by the group of people, e.g.:

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(14) Pisateli *gudeli* vrode by odobritel'no, no unylo [Valerij Popov. Gribniki xodiat s nozhami (1997)].

'The writers *buzzed* approvingly but dolefully.

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The derivation of slang meaning is accompanied by the verb's argument frame change<sup>^</sup> the verb stops combining with adverbs.

To sum up: metonymic slang meanings are related to the producing standard meanings less transparently than derived metonymic meanings within the standard language. While deriving slang meanings a verb's argument frame is simplified as the number of participants diminishes. On the contrary, metonymic derivation within the standard language implies that the number of situation participants remains the same and they are coreferential.

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