Typological disclosures in the field of closing (semantics of 'open' and 'close')

Egor Kashkin, Vinogradov Russian Language Institute

Daria Zhornik, Lomonosov Moscow State University

Maria Sidorova, Lomonosov Moscow State University

Introduction

- Verbs of closing: stopping access to a static object by creating a barrier (Rus. *закрыть, запереть, заслонить...* / Eng. *close, shut, shield*...).

- Verbs of opening: creating access to a static object by removing a barrier (Rus. *открыть, отпереть, распахнуть...* / Eng. *open, unlock*...).

- Outside our research: regular derivations from manner verbs, e.g. Rus. *заделать* (< 'to do'), *заложить* (< 'to put'), *завесить* (< 'to hang'), *заколотить* (< 'to strike'), *забить* (< 'to beat') ...

Introduction

- Frame-based approach: collocations of lexical items → typologically consistent classes of situations (frames), see [Maisak, Rakhilina (eds.) 2007; Rakhilina, Reznikova 2013].

- Native speakers & questionnaires, dictionaries, corpora.

- Language sample (to be enlarged): Russian, Polish, Swedish, Hill Mari, Komi, Khanty.

Introduction: argument structure

- Adjectives (temperature [Koptjevskaja-Tamm (ed.) 2015], surface texture [Kashkin 2013]): semantic class of a noun.

- Verbs – often 1-2 participants, e.g.:

  - ✓ posture – Figure and Ground [Rakhilina 2000; Kozhemyakina et al. 2014],

  - ✓ rotation – Theme and Landmark [Kruglyakova 2010],

  - ✓ sound – Sound source [Reznikova et al. (eds.) 2015].

Introduction: argument structure

- Closing – a fine-grained argument structure:

  - ✓ WHO is closing WHAT WITH_WHAT FROM_WHAT;

  - ✓ to close a door (barrier) vs. to close a room (space);

  - ✓ [to cry and] shield one's face (contact) vs. to shield one's face [from a ball] (distance).

- Different arguments in different frames: Rus. *закрыть дверь на замок* 'lit.: to lock a door with a doorlock' vs. *закрыть рот* 'to shut one's mouth (with ???)'.

- Further: main focus on closing → comparison with opening.

Frames

Barrier in a building

- +/- Closure device

Russian *запереть* 'to lock', Izhma Komi *tomnoony* (< *toman* 'a doorlock'), Khanty *(lăp) tūxərti* vs. *(lăp) pentti*

*ma ɔw-em   kăt toman-na   **lăp   tūxər-ł-em / *lăp pen-ł-em***
I   door-1SG two doorlock-LOC PREV close-NPST-1SG.S:SG.O
'I **locked** the door with two doorlocks'.

Barrier in a building

- +/- tight closure

Hill Mari *čüčäš* 'to close' vs. *pitǝräš* 'to close, to lock (tightly, often with a doorlock)'

mǝn' amasa-m kok sravač don **pitǝr-en-äm / čüč-ǝn-äm**
I door-ACC two doorlock with close-PFV-1SG
'I **locked** the door with two doorlocks'.

Barrier in a building

*mӓn   kapka-m   **pitӓr-ӓš-ӓm**,   ӓräkä   jü-šӛ-vlä*

я   gate-ACC   close-PRT-1SG   alcohol   drink-PTCP.ACT-PL

pâr-en   ӓnžӛ-štä   kerd-ep

enter-CVB   PROH.3-3PL   can-3PL

'I **closed** the gate (e.g. using a stick), so that drunk men couldn't enter'

*kapka-m   **čüč-ӓm**   gӛn', ӓräkä   jü-šӛ*

gate-ACC   close-PRT.1SG if   alcohol   drink-PTCP.ACT

pâr-en   kerd-eš

enter-CVB can-NPST.3SG

'If I **close** the gate just slightly, a drunk man can enter'

Barrier in a building

- Default interpretations for parts of buildings.

- Russian:

*дом с **заколоченными** окнами*
'a house with its windows **boarded up**'

*дом с **закрытыми** окнами*
'a house with its windows **closed / *boarded up**'

Barrier in a building

- Metonymies, cf. Russian *закрыть дом* 'to lock the house', *закрыть мальчика в доме* 'to lock the boy in the house'.

- Possible restrictions on agentivity, cf. Hill Mari:

*măn' pi-m   komnat-eš   **pitǝr-en-ǝm / čüč-ǝn-ǝm***
I   dog-ACC   room-LAT   close-PFV-1SG
'I **locked** the dog in the room'.

*măn' mešäk-ǝm komnat-eš **kod-en-ǝm /   *pitǝr-en-ǝm / *čüč-ǝn-ǝm***
I   sack-ACC   room-LAT leave-PFV-1SG   close-PFV-1SG
'I **left** the sack in the room'.

- Further semantic shifts, cf. Polish:

(x) *Niedługo później na miejscu pojawiła się policja i **zamknęła** przestępców.*
'A little later the police came there and **arrested** the criminals'.

Barrier for motion

- Russian: ***пере****крыть воду* 'to cut off the water', ***пере****крыть дорогу* 'to block the road'.

- Hill Mari: combination of some contexts with tight locking:

*sant'exn'ik tol-ân   kran-âm (väd-äm) **pitär-en / ˀčüč-än***
plumber come-PFV.3SG tap-ACC water-ACC close-PFV.3SG
'The plumber came and **cut off** the water'

čüč / ˀpitärä *kran-âm takeš väd änžä jogâ*
close.IMP   tap-ACC in.vain water PROH.3 flow
'**Turn off** the tap, so that the water doesn't run in vain'

Visual perception of a functional part

- Book, newspaper
- Swedish: the dominant verb of closing is rather unacceptable.

Han **slog upp** / $^{??}$**stängde** *boken*
'He **closed** the book'.

- At the same time, the dominant verb of opening is possible.

Han **öppnade** *boken*
'He **opened** the book'.

Visual perception of a functional part

- Sometimes: the same categorization as folding objects (folding chair, penknife).

- The focus on the change in form, not on creating a barrier.

- These properties may intersect, cf. both *закрыть* 'to close' and *сложить* 'to fold' possible about an umbrella in Russian.

- Khanty: the default categorization as the change of shape.

keše-n **lăp pon-i**
knife-P.2SG PREV put-IMP
'**Fold up** your knife'

ewi-je łuŋət-ti nepek-əł **lăp pon-əs**
girl-DIM read-IPFV.PART paper-P.3SG PREV put-PST
'The girl **closed** the book (lit.: the paper for reading)'.

Self-closing body parts

- Eyes and mouth.

- Particular lexicalization of closing eyes:

✓ Special verbs: Izhma Komi *čəkedny*, Hill Mari *kə̂maš.*
  NB! Self-closing, cf. Izhma Komi:

unmos'-is   *i*   *s'in-se*   **čəked-is**   /   **s'ipt-is**
fall.asleep-PST.3 and eye-ACC.P.3 close.eyes-PST.3 close-PST.3
'He fell asleep and **closed** his eyes'.

nyl-ys   *s'in-se*   **s'ipt-is**   /***čəked-is**   *ki-na-s*
girl-P.3SG eye-ACC.P.3 close-PST.3 close.eyes-PST.3 hand-INS-P.3SG
'The girl **closed** her eyes with her hands'.

Self-closing body parts

- Particular lexicalization of closing eyes:

✓ Semantic shifts: Kazym Khanty *xăńti* (the same root as in 'to hide'); Swedish *sluta* 'to finish' (cf. difference with mouth!).

*Jag **slutade** ögönen och somnade snart*
'I **closed** my eyes and soon fell asleep'.

*Patienten **stängde / *slutade** munnen*
'(After the examination) the patient **closed** his mouth'.

✓ Recategorization, cf. Polish:

*Profesor milczał długo, **nakrywszy oczy powiekami***
'The professor stayed silent for a long time, **having covered his eyes with eyelids**' (NKJP)

Covering

- Complete or partial covering of an object (Hill Mari *müdäš* - complete covering vs. *levedäš* – not necessarily complete covering).

*ävä   t'et'ä-žə-m   od'ejal   don   **leved-än / *müd-än***
mother child-P.3SG-ACC blanket with cover-PFV
'Mother covered her child with a blanket'. (cf. *müdən* – 'a child can't breathe and is going to die')

*savâc-šə̂   üp-əm   **müd-əšäš-läk / ˀleved-əšäš-läk***
headscarf-P.3SG hair-ACC cover-DEB-PTCL
'A headscarf should cover [a woman's] hair completely'.

Covering

- Flexibility or inflexibility of a barrier.

- Polish: *nakryć, zakryć* – both combine with flexible / inflexible objects

*Uformowane bułeczki **zakryj** / ^{OK}**nakryj** ręcznikiem kuchennym.*
'**Cover** the shaped cakes with a kitchen towel'.

- Khanty: different contexts for (*lăp) tūxərti* 'to close'/ (*lăp) laŋkti* 'to cover'

*aŋki   sox-ən   ńawrem-əł   **laŋk-s-əɫe***
mother   skin-LOC child-3SG   cover-PST-3SG.SG
'The mother **covered** the child with a blanket'.

*xuɫ-en   karti   an-ən   **lăp   tūxr-i   /   ˀlăp   laŋk-i***
fish-2SG iron   bowl-LOC PREV close-IMP   PREV cover-IMP
i   nox   uj-i
and PREV   take-IMP
'**Cover** the fish with a dish and take it away'.

Containers

- Sometimes: containers & covering with sth. flexible.
- Russian. **на**крыть : **за**крыть (*кастрюлю* 'pot') ≈ 1 : 1 (Google)
- Polish. **na**kryć : **za**kryć (garnek 'pot') ≈ 10 : 1 (Google)

Garnek **nakryć** / **ˀzakryć** *pokrywką, gotować na malym ogniu.*
'**Cover** a pot with a with a lid and cook on low hit'. (Google)

- Komi:

me taj čugun-se byl'yd-en **več'č'-i** / ᴼᴷ**s'ipt-i**
I PTCL pot-ACC.POSS3 plate-INS cover-PST.1SG close-PST.1SG
'I **covered** the pot with a plate.

- + / - Closure device

me **več'č'-i** *sunduk-se krys'ka-na-s* / **zamok vyl-e*
I cover-PST.1SG chest-ACC.POSS3 lid-INS-POSS3 lock on-ILL
'I **closed** a chest with its lid / *with a lock'.

Holes

- Often a special verb, e.g. Izhma Komi *tupkyny*.

*me ruz'-se   **tupk-i**   n'ič-na-s*

I   hole-ACC.P.3 plug-PST.1SG   moss-INS-P.3SG

'I **plugged** the hole with moss'

- NB! A much wider scope of *tupkyny* in Komi dialects and in standard Komi [KSK II: 585], specialization on holes in the Izhma dialect.

- Hill Mari: *pitəräš* 'to close tightly' & 'to plug (a hole)'.

Barrier for visual perception or for impact

- Distance between an object and a barrier, cf. Polish:

  - ✓ *Osłonić*, initially 'to put something rather ON an object to make it invisible / to avoid a negative impact'

  - → 'to protect someone or something from damage'

Osłonił *głowę rękami jak hełmem.*
'He **covered** the head with hands as a helmet'. (Google)

Ją ***osłonię*** *od najgorszych rzeczy.*
'I will **protect** her from the worst things'. (NKJP)

  - ✓ *Zasłonić*, 'to obscure, to make something invisible by placing something rather IN FRONT OF an object'

Wstał, ***zasłonił*** *okna i włączył jeszcze jedną lampkę.*
'He stood up, **covered** the windows <with blinds> and turned on another light'. (NKJP)

Barrier for visual perception or for impact

- Distance between an object and a "barrier", cf. Hill Mari:

*ǝrvezäš   licä-žǝ-m   m'ačik   gǝc   **är-en   šǝnd-en***
boy   face-P.3SG-ACC   ball   from   shield-CVB   seat-PFV
'A boy **shielded** his face from a ball' [distance]

*ǝdǝräš   mägǝräl   kolt-âš   dä   licä-žǝ-m   **pitär-en   šǝnd-äš***
girl   cry.CVB   send-PRET   and   face-P.3SG-ACC   close-CVB   seat-PRET
'A girl burst out crying and **shielded** her face' [contact]

Barrier for visual perception or for impact

- Komi

bad'j-ys   *kerka-se*   *šondy-s'y-s*
willow-P.3SG   house-ACC.P.3   sunlight-EL-P.3SG
sajed-e   **/**   ^{OK}**več'č'-e** **/**   ^{OK}**s'ipt-e**
obscure-PRS.3SG cover-PRS.3SG   close-PRS.3SG
'The willow **overshadows** the house from the sunlinght'.

- A smaller distance:

nyl-ys   **več'č'-is**   **/ ^{OK}sajed-is**   *čužem-se*   *ki-na-s*
girl-P.3SG   cover-PST.3SG obscure-PST.3SG face-ACC.P.3   hand-INS-P.3SG
'The girl **shielded** her face with an arm / hand'.

Opening

- Situations of opening and closing may be symmetrical

- Close vs. open the door

- Or asymmetrical:

- Tuck the hole vs. ??? the hole

- ??? an abscess vs. open an abscess

Opening

- Possible asymmetry in the inventory of parameters.

- Large degree: Russian *распахнуть* 'to open wide' – no counterpart in closing verbs.

- Small degree: Khanty *xūltəmti* 'to open slightly' (< *xūl* 'a chink') – no verb like *прикрыть* / *to close softly* in Khanty.

- Tightness: Hill Mari *čüčäš* and *pitäräš* (a fine-grained difference in the tightness of closure) vs. *pačaš* 'to open' opposed to both.

Closing remarks

- Type of object.

- +/- instrument and its type.

- Type of potential access to an object.

- Interaction between different participants => challenge for a traditional component analysis.

- Contiguity to the domain of changing shape.

- Asymmetry of closing and opening.

- A possible research topic: grammatical devices (prefixes, preverbs etc. and their compatibility).

Thank you for your attention!