

ENCODING PURPOSE AND BENEFICIARY IN SLAVIC: A COMPARISON OF THE PREPOSITIONS *DLJA/DLA* AND *ZA*

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Purpose and Beneficiary

“Purpose is the SR taken by an entity, often a state of affairs, aimed at by the intentional action of an agent” (Luraghi 2003: 45)

(1) He came to me and asked **for help**.

“Beneficiary (also called Benefactive) is the role that is taken by the (human) entity in favor of which an action is performed” (Luraghi 2003: 40)

(2) She baked a cake **for me**.

Frequent polysemy cross-linguistically (cf. Croft 1991; Schmidtkte 2010; Luraghi 2010); Centrality of animacy (cf. Luraghi 2005b: 143)

In many languages, Purpose and Beneficiary are expressed by prepositions that can also express Cause (cf. Croft 1991; Luraghi 2005b)

(3) The study was dismissed **for lack of scientific proof**.

Dlja/dla vs. za

Modern Russian *dlja* and Modern Polish *dla* encode:

- **Purpose** (cf. Rus. *tema dlja obsuždenija* ‘topic for discussion’; Pol. *zrobić coś dla zabawy* ‘do something for fun’)
- **Beneficiary** (cf. Rus. *tort dlja gostej* ‘cake for the guests’; Pol. *literatura dla dzieci* ‘literature for kids’)

Dlja/dla do not encode Cause anymore

cf. OCS, OR *dělja*, OP *dziela* ‘because of, for’ > **dělja* (Derksen 2008: 102–103)

In Modern Russian and Modern Polish, Purpose and Beneficiary can also be encoded by the preposition *za*:

- **Purpose** (cf. Rus. *borot’sja za svobodu* and Pol. *walczyć za wolność* ‘fight for freedom’)
- **Beneficiary** (cf. Rus. *platit’ za vsech* and Pol. *płacić za wszystkich* ‘pay for everyone’)

Unlike *dlja/dla*, *za* encodes **Cause** (cf. Rus. *nakazat’ za prostupok* ‘punish for the misconduct’; Pol. *karać za zbrodnię* ‘punish for the crime’)

Dlja/dla vs. za

So, what are the differences between the two prepositions? What is their distribution in the encoding of purposes and beneficiaries?

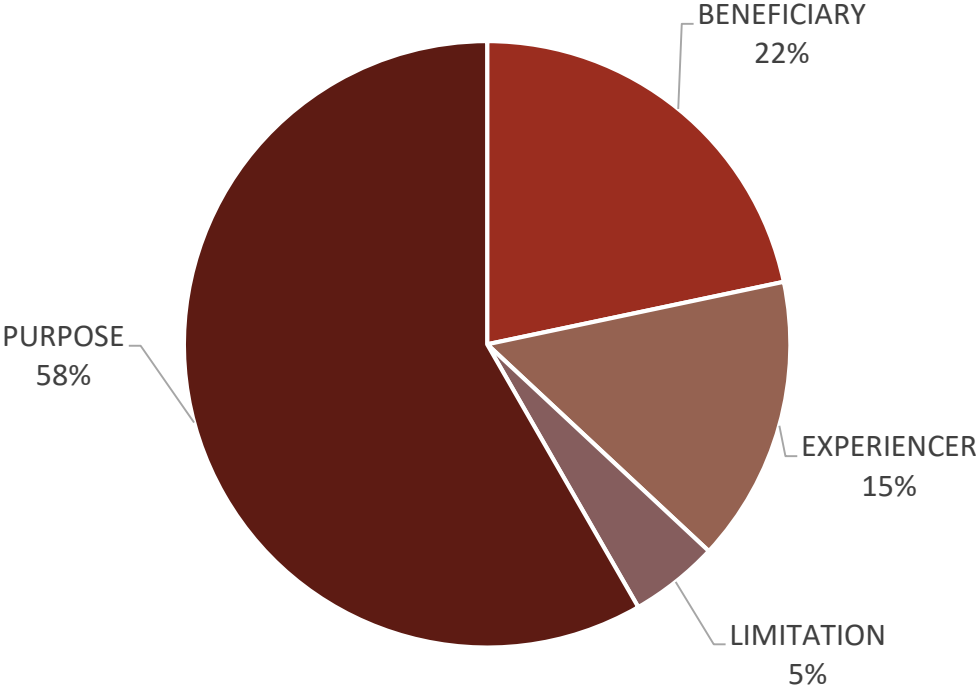
Corpus-based analysis to investigate the semantics and distribution of the two prepositions

- 300 occurrences of *dlja* and 300 occurrences of *za* in the Russian National Corpus
- 300 occurrences of *dla* and 300 occurrences of *za* in the National Corpus of Polish

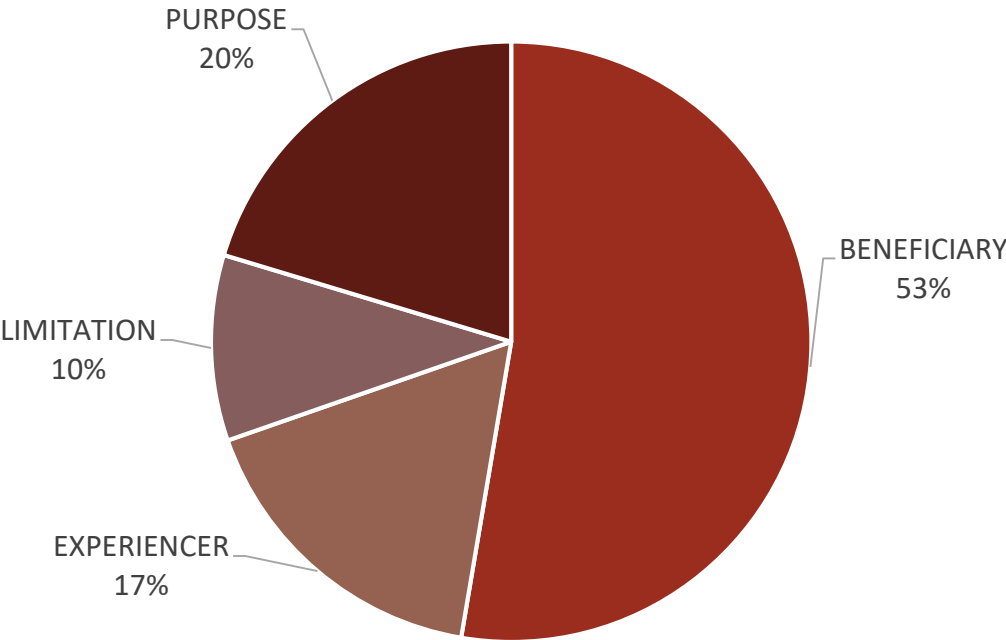
Classification of the Landmark (cf. Langacker 2008) based on the type of semantic role encoded

Quantitative analysis – *DLJA/DLA*

RUSSIAN



POLISH



Dlja in Russian

Purpose

- (5) *Dlja* *ukreplenija* *èkonomičeskogo položenija*
For consolidation:GEN economic situation
segodnja *neobchodimo* *rešit' rjad voprosov...*
today necessary solve series questions
'For the consolidation of the economic situation today, it is necessary to solve a series of questions...'

Beneficiary

- (6) *Dlja* *detej* *organizovali* *školu,*
For kids:GEN organized:3PL school
gde *prepodajut* *na* *kurdskom* *jazyke.*
where teach:3pl in Kurdish language
'They organized a school for kids where they teach in Kurdish'

Dla in Polish

Purpose

(7) ... *robimy to dla dobra miasta.*
do:1PL this for good:GEN city
'... we do this for the sake of the city.'

Beneficiary

(8) *Wujek przyniósł pomarańczowy gazowany napój dla Diany...*
uncle brought:3M.SG orange sparkling drink for Diana:GEN
'The uncle brought an orange-flavored sparkling drink for Diana.'

***Dlja/dla* encode prototypical Purposes and Beneficiaries**

Other meanings of *dlja/dla*

Experiencer

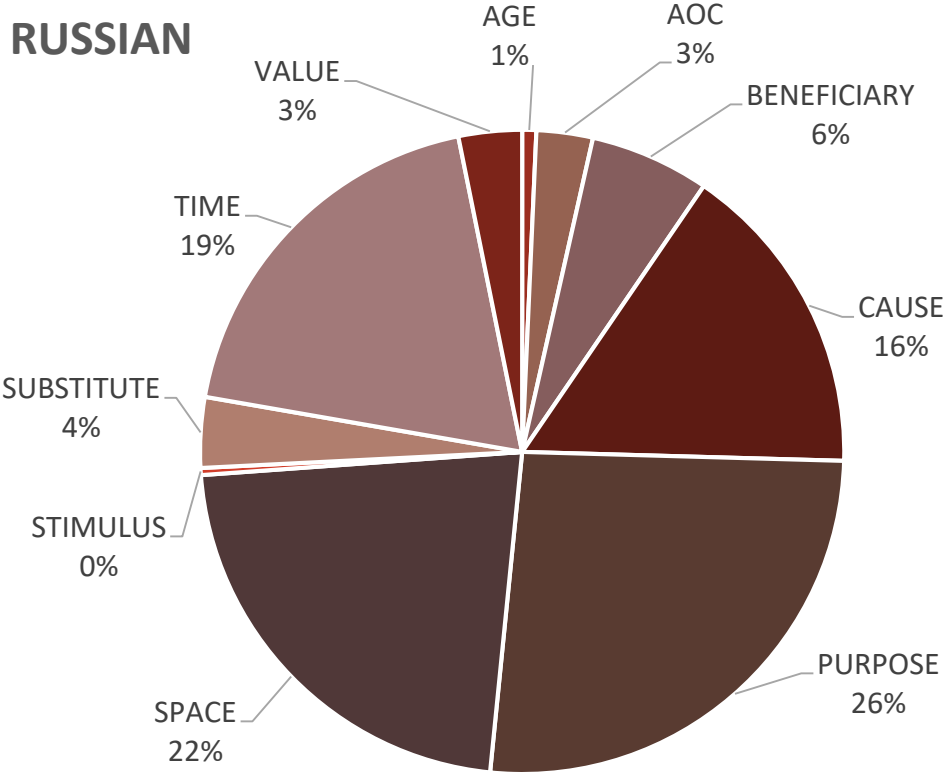
(9) Pol. *Dla* *mnie* *zawsze* *najważniejsza* *była* *rodzina*.
for 1SG.GEN always the_most_important was family
'For me family always was the most important (thing).'

Limitation

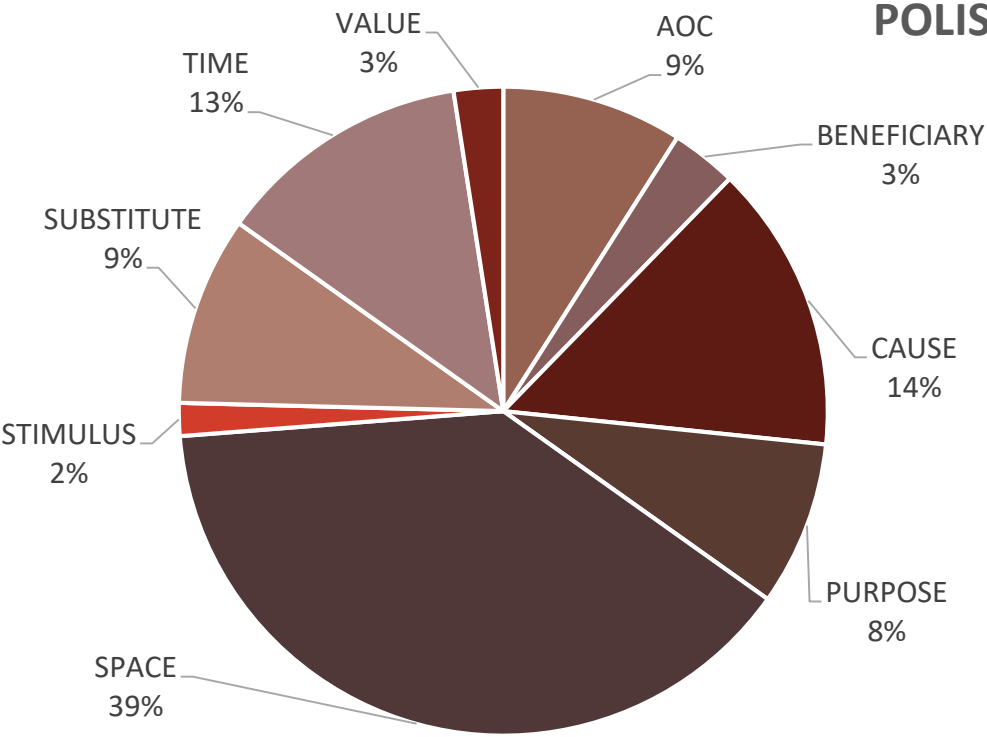
(10) Rus. *Privyčka* *ostavljat'* *samoe* *vkusnoe* *naposledok*
habit leave most tasty for_last
charakterna *dlja* *mnogich* *ljudej*.
typical for many:GEN people:GEN
'The habit of leaving the tastiest (thing) for last is typical of many people.'

Quantitative analysis - ZA

RUSSIAN



POLISH



Za in Russian

Purpose

- (11) *U chudožnika tol'ko odna vozmožnost'*
at artist only one opportunity
borot'sja za svobodu tvorčestva.
fight for freedom:ACC creativity
'The artist has only one opportunity to fight for the freedom of creativity.'

Beneficiary

- (12) ... *dolja izbiratelej, progolosovavšich za gubernatora...*
percentage electors having_voted for governor:ACC
'... the percentage of electors who voted for the governor...'

Za in Polish

Purpose

(13) *Młodzi bojownicy getta mówią po polsku*
young fighters ghetto speak in Polish
i walczą za wolność waszą i naszą.
and fight for freedom:ACC your and our

‘The young fighters of the ghetto speak Polish and fight for your freedom and ours.’

Beneficiary

(14) *Będziemy co dzień modlić się*
will:1PL every day pray REFL
za ciebie, mistrzu Wolfgangu...
for 2SG:ACC mister Wolfgang

‘We will pray for you every day, Mr. Wolfgang...’

Dlja/dla vs. za

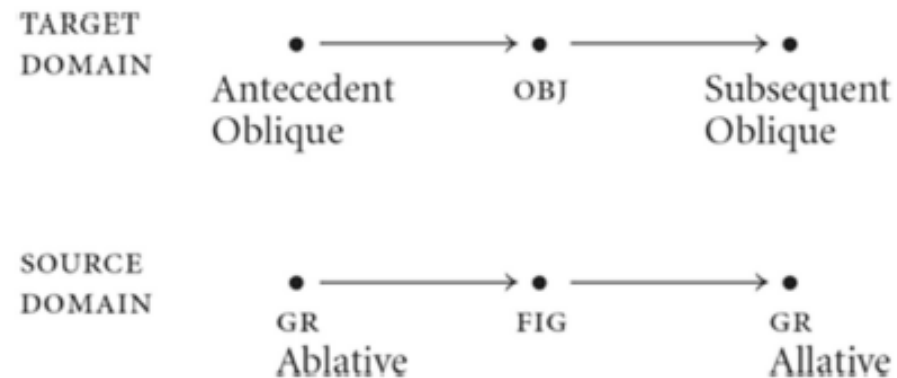
<i>Dlja/dla</i>	<i>Za</i>
Rus. <i>dlja ukreplenija (...) neobchodimo (...)</i> ‘for the consolidation (...) it is necessary (...)’	Rus. <i>borot’sja za svobodu</i> ‘fight for freedom’
Pol. <i>dla dobra miasta</i> ‘for the sake of the city’	Pol. <i>walczyć za wolność</i> ‘fight for freedom’
Rus. <i>dlja detej organizovali (...)</i> ‘they organized (...) for the kids’	Rus. <i>progolosovat’ za gubernatora</i> ‘vote for the governor’
Pol. <i>napój dla Diany</i> ‘a drink for Diana’	Pol. <i>modlić się za ciebie</i> ‘pray for you’

Za entails the idea of **substitution**, which is not the case for *dlja/dla*

Space → Causation

The meaning of substitution is related to the original spatial semantics of the preposition *za* 'behind'

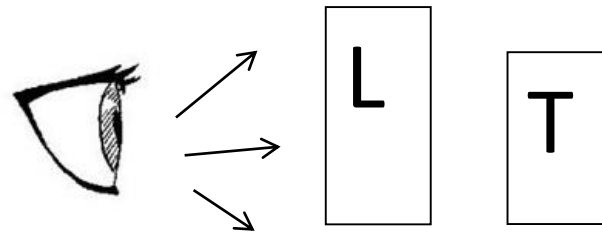
Domain of space as a source domain for the domain of causation (Croft 1991; Luraghi 2005a, 2005b)



[*Metaphor of causation*. From Croft (1991: 194)]

Space → Substitution

The spatial meaning of *za* entails a Landmark that is located between an observer and a Trajector (cf. Tabakowska 2003; Shakhova & Tyler 2010)



The relevant aspect of this scene is that the Landmark prevents the observer from seeing the Trajector (lack of access)

Lack of access triggers the idea of substitution, which is central for the semantic extension of the preposition *za*

Substitution as a key notion

(15) Rus. *Vot v ètom institute možno za pjat'*
so in this institute it's_possible for five:ACC
tysjač dollarov priobresti special'nost' ...
thousands dollars acquire specialty

'And so in this institute you can acquire a specialty for five thousand dollars...'

Za encodes the AMOUNT OF MONEY spent IN EXCHANGE FOR something

Substitution as a key notion

(16) Pol. *Zdobyła* *nagrodę* *za* *pracę* *naukową*.

earned:3F.SG prize for work:ACC scientific:ACC

‘She earned a prize for her scientific work.’

***Za* encodes the activity IN EXCHANGE FOR which a REWARD was obtained**

Substitution as a key notion

(17) Pol. *Ty* *chyba* *masz* *mnie* *za* *idiotę.*
2SG.NOM probably have:2SG 1SG.ACC for idiot:ACC
'You think I'm an idiot.'

(18) Rus. *Ee* *prinimali* *za* *mal'čika.*
3F.SG.ACC took:3PL for boy:ACC
'They thought she was a boy.'

***Za* encodes situations in which an entity IS MISTAKEN FOR something/someone else**

Substitution as a key notion

(19) Rus. *Ja ne mogu govorit' za prezidenta,*
1SG.NOM not can:1SG speak for president:ACC
ja govorju za sebja.
1SG.NOM speak:1SG for oneself:ACC
'I cannot speak for the president, I speak for myself.'

(20) Pol. *Podpisz się za mnie.*
sign:2SG.IMP REFL for 1SG.ACC
'Sign for me.'

Za encodes the person ON BEHALF OF whom some activity is carried out

cf. the notion of "Behalf Beneficiary" in Luraghi (2010)

Substitution as a key notion

The idea of substitution is also present when **Purpose** is encoded

Rus. *borot'sja za svobodu* 'fight for freedom'

Pol. *walczyć za wolność* 'fight for freedom'

Cf. Luraghi (2010: 121)

Gr. *etólmēsan gàr [...] ou mónon hupèr tēs hautôn sōtērias kinduneúein*

'Not only did they dare to run risk for their own safety...'

"an agent acts in exchange of what he or she envisages as the purpose of his or her acting" (Luraghi 2010: 127)

Substitution as a key notion

The same idea of substitution is present when **Beneficiary** is encoded

Rus. *progolosovat' za gubernatora* 'vote for the governor'

Pol. *modlić się za ciebie* 'pray for you'

An Agent acts in exchange of an event in favor of a Beneficiary

N.B. Examples such as Rus. *schodit' za chlebom*_{INS} 'go to get the bread' and *priechat' za Veroj*_{INS} 'come to pick up Vera' need to be treated differently, as they appear to result directly from the spatial meaning of *za*: behind → go behind/go after (cf. Shakhova & Tyler 2010)

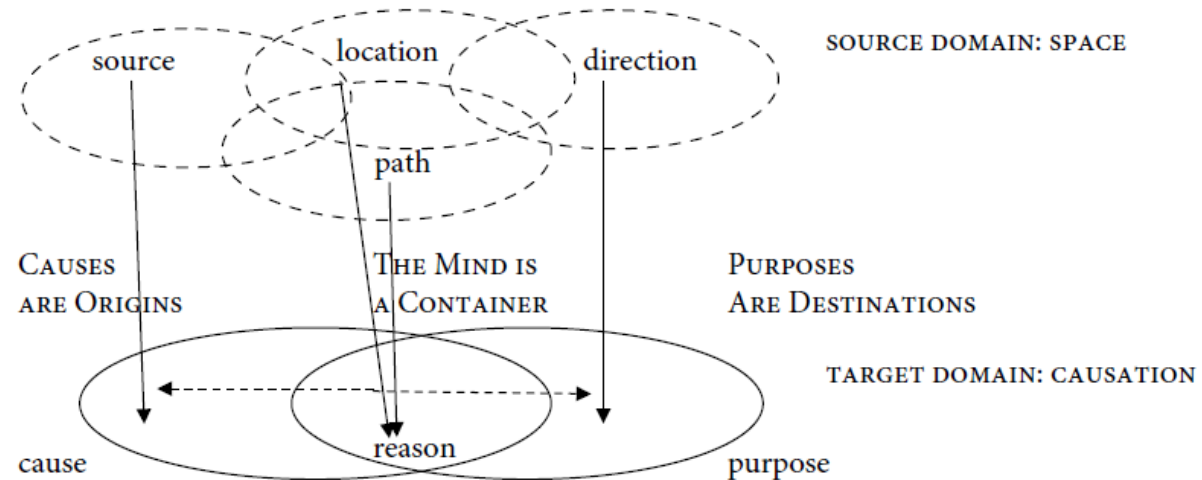
Substitution as a key notion

“In controlled states of affairs, an entity which is exchanged represents the reason for the exchange: hence, prepositions that denote exchange can be conceptualized as means for encoding **Reason**” (Luraghi 2005a)

The examples of Purpose and Beneficiary encoded by *za* can be considered as instantiations of Reason (cf. also Luraghi 2010: 127)

E.g. Freedom is the reason for fighting: the absence of freedom is what pushes someone to fight for reaching his/her purpose, i.e. freedom

Substitution as a key notion



[From Luraghi (2014:130)]

Croft (1991: 293) claims that Reason is “a category of intention and not of causation” and “can be considered an antecedent role, as source or motivation, or a subsequent role as purpose”.

Luraghi (2003: 46) discusses the non-directionality of Reason and claims that “the reason that motivates an agent to act is cognitively equivalent to the purpose of the action, so that the two notions overlap completely”.

Substitution as a key notion

Reason (and thus, the ideas of substitution and exchange) plays a role in bringing about the polysemy involving Cause, Purpose and Beneficiary (Luraghi 2005b, 2010)

Za covers the whole polysemy pattern and, differently from *dlja/dla*, also encodes **Cause**:

Rus. *nakazat' za prostupok* 'punish for the misconduct'

Pol. *karać za zbrodnię* 'punish for the crime'

The cause complements introduced by *za* imply the idea of substitution (i.e. punishment is what you get in exchange for a bad behavior)

Other cause complements that do not entail the idea of substitution are introduced by other prepositions (e.g. Rus. *ot, s, po, iz*)

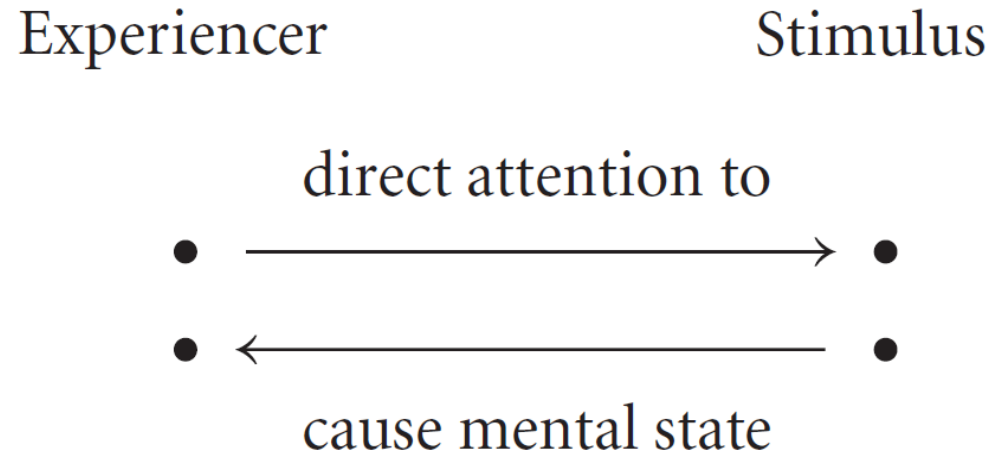
Substitution as a key notion

(21) Rus. *Roditeli očen' pereživali za nego.*
Parents very worried:PL for 3M.SG.ACC
'His parents were very worried about him.'

(22) Pol. *Jej bohaterowie podejmują walkę z nieznanym,
cierpią i tęsknią za domem.*
3F.SG.GEN heros undertake:3PL battle with unknown
suffer:3PL and miss:3PL for home:INS
'Her heroes undertake a battle against the unknown, they suffer and miss home.'

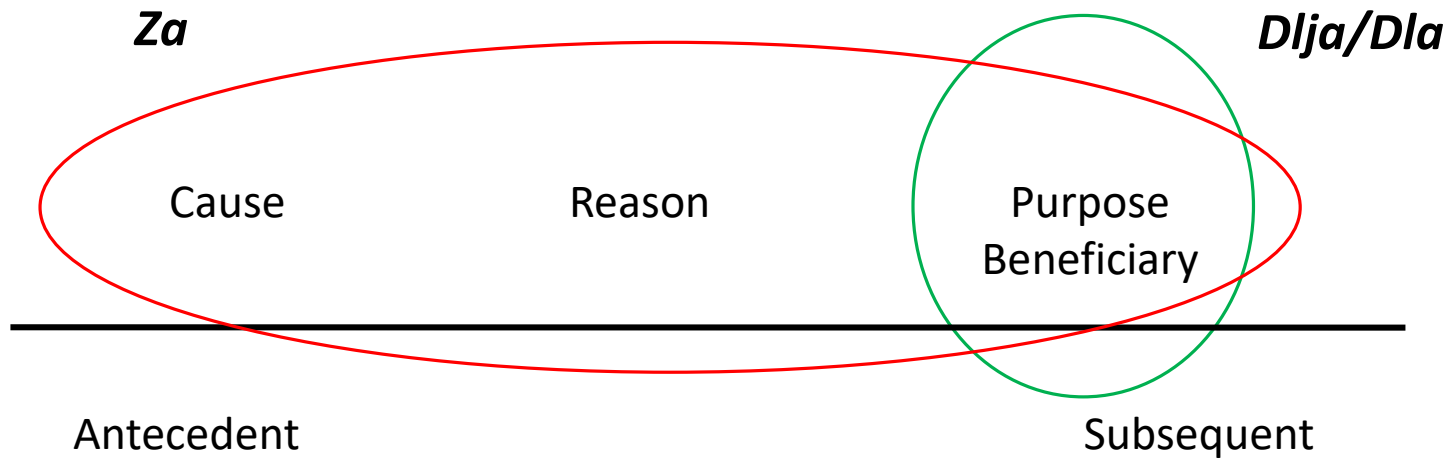
The STIMULUS encoded by *za* constitutes both the cause of the EXPERIENCER's mental state and its object of attention

Substitution as a key notion



Two-way causal relation [From Croft (1991:219)]

Polysemy patterns for *dlja/dla* and *za*



Conclusions

- In Modern Russian and Polish, the prepositions *dlja/dla* and *za* both encode Purpose and Beneficiary
- Our initial hypothesis was that the semantic feature that triggers the selection of *za* instead of *dlja/dla* for the encoding of Purpose and Beneficiary is substitution
- The analysis of corpus data has confirmed the centrality of the idea of substitution for the semantic extensions brought about by *za* in the domain of causation
- The meaning of substitution brought about by *za* is related to its spatial semantics implying the idea of lack of access

Conclusions

- Substitution and exchange lie at the basis of the semantic role Reason
- Purposes and Beneficiaries encoded by *za* can be seen as instantiations of Reason
- Reason is the element that favors the polysemy Cause-Purpose-Beneficiary
- This polysemy pattern is covered by *za*, but not by *dlja/dla*, which does not entail the idea of substitution

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Thank you!