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## METONYMIC MOTIVATION IN ENGLISH AND POLISH DENOMINAL VERBS

The aim of the paper is to compare and contrast the metonymic mappings which motivate the construction of meaning behind denominal verbs in English and Polish. The word-formation processes that create denominal verbs involve affixation, conversion and back-formation in English and paradigmatic derivation in Polish. The conceptual metonymies underlying the meaning of denominal verbs are treated as instances of the EVENT-schema metonymies in which concepts that belong to a particular EVENT schema are used to access other concepts within the same EVENT schema. The analysis has shown that the same set of metonymies can motivate meanings of denominal verbs in various ways, giving rise to different kinds of verbs that express the same meaning in English and Polish.

### 1. Introduction

The present paper aims at analysing and comparing the various metonymic mappings involved in the construction of meaning behind denominal verbs in English and Polish. The basic assumption in this comparison is that the differences and similarities between denominal verbs in these two languages arise at the level of meaning construction rather than at the level of linguistic forms.

In both languages, denominal verbs constitute an important part of the lexicon. While analysing the creation of meaning in the derivation of such verbs, it is possible to refer to the process of conceptual metonymy, understood as “a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same idealised cognitive models” (Radden and Kövecses 1999: 19-21). Metonymy underlying the mechanism of noun-to-verb conversion in English has been widely discussed by researchers. However, apart from conversion, nouns undergo verbalisation by means of other word-formation mechanisms, such as affixation or back-formation. Especially in Polish, affixation constitutes the most productive word-formation

process. It will be shown that the creation of meaning behind affixation and back-formation can be also motivated by conceptual metonymy.

The first part of the article presents the word-formation processes that are involved in the formation of denominal verbs in both languages. Next, after presenting the notion of metonymy, the focus goes to the various metonymic mappings within the EVENT schema in denominal verbs in both languages, English and Polish.

## 2. Denominal verbs in English and Polish

The word-formation processes involved in the creation of denominal verbs in English include conversion, affixation and back-formation (Bauer 1983: 222-223; 230-232; Quirk et al. 1985: 1557-1558; 1561; Szymanek 1989: 274-304). Conversion consists in changing the lexical category of the word without any changes in the form (e.g. *nail<sub>N</sub> – nail<sub>V</sub>*). When it comes to affixation in denominal verbs in English, they are created either with the aid of such suffixes as *-ify* (e.g. *beauty<sub>N</sub> – beautify<sub>V</sub>*), *-ise* (e.g. *ion<sub>N</sub> – ionise<sub>V</sub>*), *-ate* (e.g. *chlorine<sub>N</sub> – chlorinate<sub>V</sub>*), or prefixes such as *de-* or *un-* (e.g. *water<sub>N</sub> – dewater<sub>V</sub>*, *saddle<sub>N</sub> – unsaddle<sub>V</sub>*). Occasionally, a denominal verb can have both a prefix and a suffix (e.g. *chlorine<sub>N</sub> – dechlorinate<sub>V</sub>*). Finally, back-formation is a process which assumes deleting the forms that are or resemble affixes (e.g. *editor<sub>N</sub> – edit<sub>V</sub>*).

Denominal verbs in Polish are created through paradigmatic derivations, in which there is no formal difference between the base and the derivative, except for the difference in the inflectional endings selected by the stems (Wróbel 1999: 572-575; Awdziejew and Habrajska 2004: 124; Szymanek 2010: 185-186): the thematic suffix *-owa-* followed by the infinitival ending *-ć* (e.g. *szeft<sub>N</sub> – szefować<sub>V</sub>*), or the thematic suffixes *-i/y-*, *-a-*, *-e-* plus *-ć* (e.g. *plama<sub>N</sub> – plamić<sub>V</sub>*, *siodło<sub>N</sub> – siodlać<sub>V</sub>*, *próchno<sub>N</sub> – próchnieć<sub>V</sub>*). Additionally, denominal verbs may also have perfective prefixes in the so-called prefixal-paradigmatic derivations (e.g. *człowiek<sub>N</sub> – uczyłowieczyć<sub>V</sub>*, *las<sub>N</sub> – zalesić<sub>V</sub>*, *rdza<sub>N</sub> – odrzewić<sub>V</sub>*). Occasionally, denominal verbs require the postfix *się* in paradigmatic-postfixal derivations (e.g. *ślimak<sub>N</sub> – ślimaczyć się<sub>V</sub>*), and in prefixal-paradigmatic-postfixal derivations (e.g. *poczwarka<sub>N</sub> – przepoczwarzyć się<sub>V</sub>*).

## 3. Metonymic motivation in denominal verbs

According to the classic definition provided by Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 35), conceptual metonymy is “using one entity to refer to another that is related to it”. However, Radden and Kövecses (1999: 19-21) and Barcelona (2000: 4) have developed another definition, saying that conceptual metonymy is “a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to

another conceptual entity, the target, within the same idealized cognitive models (ICMs)”.

The treatment of conversion as conceptual metonymy has been widely discussed by numerous linguists, for instance, in Radden and Kövecses (1999), Dirven (1999), Schönefeld (2005), Balteiro (2007), Cetnarowska (2011), Kuczok (2011), Bierwiazzonek (2013) and others. Nevertheless, when it comes to other morphological processes involved in the creation of denominal verbs, the opinions of cognitive linguists vary. While Radden and Kövecses (1999: 37), Panther and Thornburg (2003) and Janda (2011: 369) treat suffixal derivatives as cases underlain by the metonymic process, Langacker (1999: 23-24), Schönefeld (2005: 147) and Bierwiazzonek (2013: 109-114) claim that such cases should be treated as conceptual blends of the meanings of their components.

However, it seems that these inconsistencies among scholars with regard to the role of metonymic motivation in derivation may be solved by distinguishing between metonymic shifts taking place prior to the word-formation process and metonymies that are posterior to this process, as suggested by Brdar and Brdar-Szabó (2013: 42). In other words, metonymic shifts in concatenative morphological processes, which assume combining two or more meaning-bearing items, as seen, for instance, in affixation and compounding, occur either in the input or the output of the word-formation process. A good example of the former type of metonymy is the compound noun *Wall Street*<sub>N</sub> which undergoes the metonymic shift PLACE FOR A PERSON WORKING IN THIS PLACE as an input for the *-er* nominalisation and creates the noun *Wall-Streeter*<sub>N</sub>. The latter type of metonymy can be illustrated with *construction*<sub>N</sub>, derived by suffixation from *construct*<sub>V</sub>, where the basic meaning of the derived noun is “the act of constructing something”, but the derived noun is often used metonymically with the meaning of “a building”, which is motivated by the ACTION FOR RESULT OF THE ACTION metonymy. With reference to non-concatenative word-formation processes, which reside in modifying a single lexical item, as seen, for example, in back-formation, Brdar and Brdar-Szabó claim that there is no doubt about their metonymic motivation: the authors have written that “conversion, blending, reduplication, clipping, as well as various kinds of shortening would belong here” (2013: 58).

Thus, in the present study, it will be assumed that all denominal verbs, regardless of the word-formation process responsible for their derivation, are motivated by metonymic shifts within the EVENT schema. In the cases of non-concatenative processes of conversion and back-formation, the metonymic motivation seems to be clear, whereas in the cases of affixation, it will be metonymic shifts occurring to the input word, whose meaning may be later blended with the meanings of the other components of the derived verb, such as prefixes, suffixes and postfixes.

Following Bierwiazzonek’s analysis (2013: 119), the EVENT-schema metonymies can be defined as “metonymies in which various concepts belonging to the same particular event schema are used to access other concepts belonging to the same event schema”. The EVENT-schema metonymies involve parts of the

ACTION ICM (as instantiations of the PART FOR WHOLE metonymy) in the domain of ACTION: AGENT, INSTRUMENT, RESULT, SOURCE, DESTINATION / GOAL, MEANS, MANNER, TIME, PLACE and OBJECT (Radden and Kövecses 1999: 36-38; Dirven 1999: 279-285), as presented in Figure 1 below. The circles in the diagram illustrate the conceptual domains or subdomains of the ACTION domain, and the arrows present the metonymic mappings.

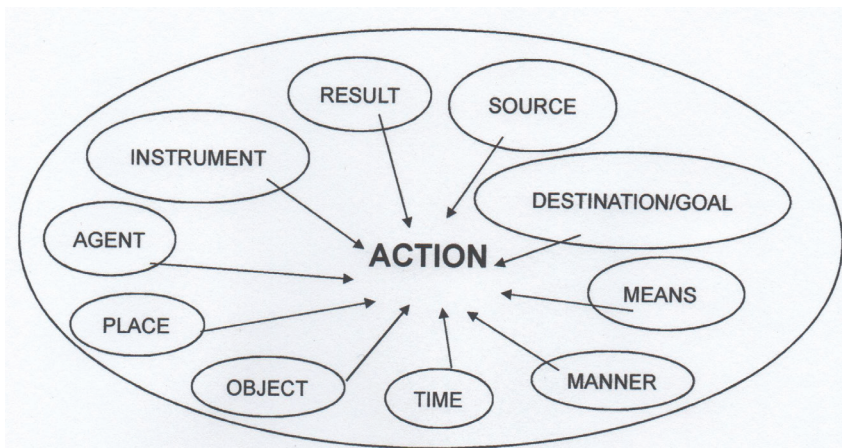


Figure 1. Parts of the ACTION ICM in the metonymical mappings in denominal verbs

It is also possible to identify such metonymies within the ACTION ICM, as, for instance, ACTION FOR AGENT (*snitch<sub>V</sub>* – *snitch<sub>N</sub>*), ACTION FOR OBJECT (*bite<sub>V</sub>* – *give someone a bite*) and ACTION FOR RESULT (*cut<sub>V</sub>* – *a deep cut*), but they motivate deverbal nouns (Radden and Kövecses 1999: 36-38; Bierwiazzonek 2013: 120), which are not discussed in this article.

The following parts of the present paper will analyse the various metonymic mappings, as presented in the above diagram, in the denominal verbs in English and Polish.

#### 4. The AGENT FOR ACTION metonymy

The AGENT FOR ACTION metonymy can be observed in the so-called stative or simulative verbs, whose meaning can be paraphrased as “to be like N” or “to act as N” (Szymanek 1988: 180-181; 1989: 275; 2010: 187; Gottfurcht 2008: 12). This kind of metonymic mapping is illustrated in the examples below. Example (1a) provides the English denominal verb *referee<sub>V</sub>*, formed by means of conversion from *referee<sub>N</sub>*, while example (2a) shows the denominal verb *tyrannise<sub>V</sub>* which is formed through suffixation from *tyran(t)<sub>N</sub>*. Their Polish

equivalents, *sędziować<sub>V</sub>* and *tyranizować<sub>V</sub>*, are created by way of paradigmatic derivation from *sędzia<sub>N</sub>* (1b) and *tyran<sub>N</sub>* (2b), respectively.

- (1a) *referee<sub>N</sub>* – *referee<sub>V</sub>* (conversion)  
*Brown **refereed** the final.*
- (1b) *sędzia<sub>N</sub>* – *sędziować<sub>V</sub>* (paradigmatic derivation)  
*Brown **sędziował** w finale.*
- (2a) *tyran(t)<sub>N</sub>* – *tyrannise<sub>V</sub>* (suffixation)  
*Her mother-in-law **tyrannises** her.*
- (2b) *tyran<sub>N</sub>* – *tyranizować<sub>V</sub>* (paradigmatic derivation)  
*Szef mnie **tyranizuje** i znęca się nade mną.*

However, Polish and English do not always have corresponding denominal verbs. For instance, Polish *ślimaczyć się<sub>V</sub>* is a paradigmatic-postfixal derivation from *ślimak<sub>N</sub>* (3b). Unfortunately, the English equivalent of *ślimaczyć się<sub>V</sub>* is the phrase “to go at a snail’s pace”, which is not a denominal verb formed on the basis of *snail<sub>N</sub>* (3a).

- (3a) *snail<sub>N</sub>* – “to go at a snail’s pace”  
*The train **went at a snail’s pace** all the way.*
- (3b) *ślimak<sub>N</sub>* – *ślimaczyć się<sub>V</sub>* (paradigmatic-postfixal derivation)  
*Pociąg **ślimaczył się** całą drogę.*

Interestingly, in such cases as English *burglar<sub>N</sub>*, it is possible to identify two denominal verbs with synonymous meanings (4a): *burgle<sub>V</sub>*, created by means of back-formation and *burglarise<sub>V</sub>*, formed through suffixation. To make matters more complicated, their Polish counterpart, *włamywać się<sub>V</sub>*, seems to be the source of the deverbal noun *włamywacz<sub>N</sub>*; thus, the direction of the word-formation process is reversed in Polish (4b), and if it were possible to identify a metonymic motivation here, it would be ACTION FOR AGENT.

- (4a) *burglar<sub>N</sub>* – *burgle<sub>V</sub>* (back-formation)  
 – *burglarise<sub>V</sub>* (suffixation)  
*We’ve been **burgled** (**burglarised**).*
- (4b) *włamywać się<sub>V</sub>* – *włamywacz<sub>N</sub>* (a deverbal noun)  
***Włamano się** do nas.*

In yet another example, the English noun *sculptor<sub>N</sub>* seems to be the source for two denominal verbs with synonymous meanings: *sculpt<sub>V</sub>*, created through back-formation (5a) and *sculpture<sub>V</sub>*, created by means of conversion (5b). Their Polish equivalent is *wyrzeźbić<sub>V</sub>*, an instance of prefixal-paradigmatic derivation (5c). However, it is necessary to note that in the examples of *sculpture<sub>V</sub>* and *rzeźbić<sub>V</sub>* the metonymy underlying the meaning of those verbs is not AGENT FOR ACTION, but RESULT FOR ACTION.

- (5a) *sculptor*<sub>N</sub> – *sculpt*<sub>V</sub> (backformation)  
*Michelangelo sculpted the Pieta.*
- (5b) *sculpture*<sub>N</sub> – *sculpture*<sub>V</sub> (conversion)  
*Michelangelo sculptured the Pieta.*
- (5c) *rzeźba*<sub>N</sub> – *wyrzeźbić*<sub>V</sub> (prefixal-paradigmatic derivation)  
*Michał Anioł wyrzeźbił Pietę.*

## 5. The OBJECT FOR ACTION metonymy

The metonymy OBJECT FOR ACTION can be identified in three semantic groups of denominal verbs: privative verbs, repetitive verbs, and ornative verbs. It is necessary to distinguish between OBJECT as an element of the EVENT schema and the grammatical object of a verb. To be more precise here, perhaps this metonymic mapping should be called OBJECT INVOLVED IN THE ACTION FOR ACTION, as suggested by Bierwiaczonek (2013: 120).

Privative verbs are paraphrased as “to deprive of N”, “to free from N” or “to remove N” (Szymanek 1988: 180-181; 1989: 298-300). For instance, English *dust*<sub>V</sub> (6a) and its Polish denominal counterpart *odkurzać*<sub>V</sub> (6b) can be classified as privative verbs. Interestingly, sometimes the OBJECT FOR ACTION metonymy motivates two morphologically different denominal verbs with the same meaning, as, for instance, Polish *odrobaczać*<sub>V</sub> (7b) and its two English denominal equivalents: *worm*<sub>V</sub>, formed by means of conversion, and *deworm*<sub>V</sub>, derived from *worm*<sub>N</sub> by way of prefixation (7a).

- (6a) *dust*<sub>N</sub> – *dust*<sub>V</sub> (conversion)  
*She dusted the furniture.*
- (6b) *kurz*<sub>N</sub> – *odkurzać*<sub>V</sub> (prefixal-paradigmatic derivation)  
*Odkurzyła meble.*
- (7a) *worm*<sub>N</sub> – *worm*<sub>V</sub> (conversion)  
 – *deworm*<sub>V</sub> (prefixation)  
*We need to worm (to deworm) our dog.*
- (7b) *robak*<sub>N</sub> – *odrobaczać*<sub>V</sub> (prefixal-paradigmatic derivation)  
*Musimy odrobaczyć naszego psa.*

When it comes to repetitive verbs, paraphrased as “to provide with new N” (Szymanek 1989: 301-304), a good example is the English verb *rename*<sub>V</sub> derived from *name*<sub>N</sub> through prefixation (8a), equivalent to *przemianować*<sub>V</sub> in Polish, which is a prefixal-paradigmatic derivation from *miano*<sub>N</sub> (8b).

- (8a) *name*<sub>N</sub> – *rename*<sub>V</sub> (prefixation)  
*The ship was renamed Titanic.*
- (8b) *miano*<sub>N</sub> – *przemianować*<sub>V</sub> (prefixal-paradigmatic derivation)  
*Statek został przemianowany na Titanic.*



Ornative verbs carry the meaning “to cause to have N” or “to provide with N” (Szymanek 1988: 180-181; 1989: 296). Some English examples involve *mask*<sub>V</sub> (9a) and *fish*<sub>V</sub> (10a), formed through conversion from *mask*<sub>N</sub> and *fish*<sub>N</sub>, respectively, as well as *chlorinate*<sub>V</sub>, formed by means of suffixation from *chlorine*<sub>N</sub> (11a). While the Polish counterpart of *mask*<sub>V</sub> is *zamaskować*<sub>V</sub>, a prefixal-paradigmatic derivation from *maska*<sub>N</sub> (9b), and the equivalent of *chlorinate*<sub>V</sub> is *chlorować*<sub>V</sub>, a paradigmatic derivation from *chlor*<sub>N</sub> (11b), English *fish*<sub>V</sub> needs to be translated into Polish as “łowić ryby” (10b).

- (9a) *mask*<sub>N</sub> – *mask*<sub>V</sub> (conversion)  
*She **masked** her anger with a smile.*
- (9b) *maska*<sub>N</sub> – *zamaskować*<sub>V</sub> (prefixal-paradigmatic derivation)  
***Zamaskowała** gniew uśmiechem.*
- (10a) *fish*<sub>N</sub> – *fish*<sub>V</sub> (conversion)  
*I'm **fishing** in the lake.*
- (10b) *ryba*<sub>N</sub> – “łowić ryby”  
***Łowią** ryby w jeziorze.*
- (11a) *chlorine*<sub>N</sub> – *chlorinate*<sub>V</sub> (suffixation)  
*Water is **chlorinated** to be disinfected.*
- (11b) *chlor*<sub>N</sub> – *chlorować*<sub>V</sub> (paradigmatic derivation)  
*Woda jest **chlorowana** w celach dezynfekcji.*

In the case of English *bed*<sub>V</sub> (12a), converted from *bed*<sub>N</sub>, the sense of the verb (“to provide with a bed”) is rendered in Polish by means of another denominal verb, *przenocować*<sub>V</sub>, which is created from *noc*<sub>N</sub> as a prefixal-paradigmatic derivation, and is motivated by the TIME FOR ACTION metonymy (12b).

- (12a) *bed*<sub>N</sub> – *bed*<sub>V</sub> (conversion)  
*We **bedded** the guests in our living-room.*
- (12b) *łóżko*<sub>N</sub> –  
**noc*<sub>N</sub> – *przenocować*<sub>V</sub> (prefixal-paradigmatic derivation)  
**Przenocowaliśmy** gości w naszym pokoju dziennym.*

## 6. The RESULT FOR ACTION metonymy

The first group of denominal verbs that follow the metonymic mapping RESULT FOR ACTION are verbs classified as causative or resultative verbs. They can be paraphrased as “to cause to be / become N”, “to make N” or “to convert into N” (Szymanek 1988: 180-181; 1989: 284; 2010: 188). For such English examples as *powder*<sub>V</sub>, derived by way of conversion from *powder*<sub>N</sub> (13a), and *beautify*<sub>V</sub>, derived through suffixation from *beauty*<sub>N</sub> (14a), there exist Polish equivalents: *sproszkować*<sub>V</sub> (13b) and *upiększać*<sub>V</sub> (14b), both prefixal-paradigmatic derivations from *proszek*<sub>N</sub> and *piękno*<sub>N</sub>, respectively.

- (13a) *powder*<sub>N</sub> – *powder*<sub>V</sub> (conversion)  
*The stone was **powdered** inside her kidney.*
- (13b) *proszek*<sub>N</sub> – *sproszkować*<sub>V</sub> (prefixal-paradigmatic derivation)  
*Kamień został **sproszkowany** wewnątrz jej nerki.*
- (14a) *beauty*<sub>N</sub> – *beautify*<sub>V</sub> (suffixation)  
*The house was **beautified** with architectural ornaments.*
- (14b) *piękno*<sub>N</sub> – *upiększać*<sub>V</sub> (prefixal-paradigmatic derivation)  
*Dom został **upiękuszony** ozdobami architektonicznymi.*

However, in some situations, there are no denominal counterparts in the compared languages: English *destruct*<sub>V</sub>, formed by way of back-formation from *destruction*<sub>N</sub> (15a), is translated into Polish as *zniszczyć*<sub>N</sub> (15b), and the Polish denominal verb *koncertować*<sub>V</sub>, a paradigmatic derivation from *koncert*<sub>N</sub> (16b), is usually rendered in English as *perform*<sub>V</sub> (16a). Neither *zniszczyć*<sub>V</sub> nor *perform*<sub>V</sub> is a denominal verb.

- (15a) *destruction*<sub>N</sub> – *destruct*<sub>V</sub> (back-formation)  
*They **destructed** their nuclear missiles.*
- (15b) *destrukcja*<sub>N</sub> – *zniszczyć*<sub>V</sub> (not a denominal verb)  
***Zniszczyli** swoje rakiety atomowe.*
- (16a) *concert*<sub>N</sub> – *perform*<sub>V</sub> (not a denominal verb)  
*The band will **perform** in June.*
- (16b) *koncert*<sub>N</sub> – *koncertować*<sub>V</sub> (paradigmatic derivation)  
*Zespół będzie **koncertował** w czerwcu.*

Next, the RESULT FOR ACTION metonymy can be also identified in inchoative or processual verbs, which are paraphrased as “to become N” (Szymanek 1988: 180-181; 2010: 187). For instance, Polish *zidiociec*<sub>V</sub> is a prefixal-paradigmatic derivation from *idiota*<sub>N</sub> (17b). Unfortunately, in English, there is no denominal verb with the same meaning, derived from *idiot*<sub>N</sub>: it is necessary to use the expression “to become an idiot” (17a).

- (17a) *idiot*<sub>N</sub> – “to become an idiot”  
*The people **have become idiots!***
- (17b) *idiota*<sub>N</sub> – *zidiociec*<sub>V</sub> (prefixal-paradigmatic derivation)  
*Naród **zidiociał!***

## 7. The TIME FOR ACTION metonymy

The denominal verbs that follow the metonymy TIME FOR ACTION can be paraphrased as “to perform an action in the TIME”, although linguists providing various lists of semantic categories of derived verbs seem to omit such verbs or classify them together with locative verbs (e.g. Clark and Clark 1979: 772-773; Awdiejew and Habrajska 2004: 180-187; Gottfurcht 2008: 64). For English



*winter*<sub>V</sub>, derived by means of conversion from *winter*<sub>N</sub> (18a), there is the Polish denominal equivalent verb *zimować*<sub>V</sub>, formed as a paradigmatic derivation from *zima*<sub>N</sub> (18b).

- (18a) *winter*<sub>N</sub> – *winter*<sub>V</sub> (conversion)  
*Many British birds **winter** in Africa.*
- (18b) *zima*<sub>N</sub> – *zimować*<sub>V</sub> (paradigmatic derivation)  
*Wiele brytyjskich ptaków **zimuje** w Afryce.*

Nevertheless, it is possible to find instances when there is no counterpart for a denominal verb following the TIME FOR ACTION metonymy in either of the two compared languages. For example, English *weekend*<sub>V</sub> (19a), derived from *weekend*<sub>N</sub> through conversion, can be translated into Polish as “spędzać weekend” (19b), while Polish *nocować*<sub>V</sub> (20b) can be translated into English as “to spend a night” or “to stay” (20a).

- (19a) *weekend*<sub>N</sub> – *weekend*<sub>V</sub> (conversion)  
*They’re **weekending** in Paris.*
- (19b) *weekend*<sub>N</sub> – “spędzać weekend”  
*Spędzają weekend w Paryżu.*
- (20a) *night*<sub>N</sub> – “to spend a night / to stay”  
*During the trip we **spent the night (stayed)** in the mountains.*
- (20b) *noc*<sub>N</sub> – *nocować*<sub>V</sub> (paradigmatic derivation)  
*Podczas wycieczki **nocowaliśmy** w górach.*

## 8. The PLACE FOR ACTION metonymy

The PLACE FOR ACTION metonymy can be identified in such denominal verbs that can be paraphrased as “to perform an action in the PLACE”, and that may be said to belong to the semantic category of locative verbs (Gottfurcht 2008: 12). As seen in the examples below, while in the case of English *school*<sub>V</sub> (21a), derived from *school*<sub>N</sub> by means of conversion, there is a Polish equivalent *wyszkolić*<sub>N</sub>, a prefixal-paradigmatic derivation from *szkola*<sub>N</sub> (21b), the counterpart of the English verb *garden*<sub>V</sub> (22a), derived from *garden*<sub>N</sub> by way of conversion, is one of the Polish phrases: “pracować w ogrodzie” or “uprawiać ogródek” (22b).

- (21a) *school*<sub>N</sub> – *school*<sub>V</sub> (conversion)  
*He was **schooled** in London.*
- (21b) *szkola*<sub>N</sub> – *wyszkolić*<sub>V</sub> (prefixal-paradigmatic derivation)  
*Został **wyszkolony** w Londynie.*
- (22a) *garden*<sub>N</sub> – *garden*<sub>V</sub> (conversion)  
*She is **gardening** now.*
- (22b) *ogród*<sub>N</sub> – “pracować w ogrodzie / uprawiać ogródek”  
***Pracuje** teraz w ogrodzie.*

## 9. The INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION metonymy

The denominal verbs underlain by the metonymic mapping INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION follow the paraphrase “to perform an action with the INSTRUMENT”. In English, it is possible to find examples created through conversion, such as *brush*<sub>V</sub> (23a) and *hammer*<sub>V</sub> (24a), or suffixation, such as *hyphenate*<sub>V</sub> derived from *hyphen*<sub>N</sub> (25a). In Polish, however, this metonymy seems to be less productive. While there is the denominal verb *szczotkować*<sub>V</sub> (23b), a paradigmatic derivation from *szczotka*<sub>N</sub>, an equivalent of English *brush*<sub>V</sub>, the counterpart to *hammer*<sub>V</sub> in Polish is the expression “przybijać młotkiem” (24b), and *hyphenate*<sub>V</sub> needs to be translated into Polish as “pisać / dzielić za pomocą łącznika” (25b).

- (23a) *brush*<sub>N</sub> – *brush*<sub>V</sub> (conversion)  
**Brush** your teeth after a meal!
- (23b) *szczotka*<sub>N</sub> – *szczotkować*<sub>V</sub> (paradigmatic derivation)  
**Szczotkuj** zęby po posiłku.
- (24a) *hammer*<sub>N</sub> – *hammer*<sub>V</sub> (conversion)  
 He **hammered** the nail into the wall.
- (24b) *młotek*<sub>N</sub> – przybijać (młotkiem)  
**Przybil** gwóźdź do ściany.
- (25a) *hyphen*<sub>N</sub> – *hyphenate*<sub>V</sub> (suffixation)  
 Is your name **hyphenated**?
- (25b) *łącznik*<sub>N</sub> – “pisać / dzielić za pomocą łącznika”  
 Czy twoje nazwisko **pisze się z łącznikiem**?

A very interesting example is the English converted verb *finger*<sub>V</sub> (26a) and its correspondence to the Polish verbs *upalcować*<sub>V</sub> or *wypalcować*<sub>V</sub>, prefixal-paradigmatic derivations from *palec*<sub>N</sub> (26c). While the translation of *finger*<sub>V</sub> in Polish is “dotykać palcami” (26b), *upalcować*<sub>V</sub> can be translated into English with the expression “to leave fingermarks” (26d) and the use of the prefix *wy-* in *wypalcować*<sub>V</sub> would assume that the whole object was affected by the action (Awdziejew and Habrajska 2004: 122-143). Nevertheless, both verbs seem to be motivated by the INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION metonymy.

- (26a) *finger*<sub>N</sub> – *finger*<sub>V</sub> (conversion)  
 He sat down **finger**ing his beard.
- (26b) *Usiadł, dotykając palcami swojej brody.*
- (26c) *palec*<sub>N</sub> – *upalcować*<sub>V</sub> / *wypalcować*<sub>V</sub> (prefixal-paradigmatic derivation)  
*Klisa była **upalcowana** / **wypalcowana**.*
- (26d) *There were fingermarks on the film.*

## 10. The MEANS FOR ACTION metonymy

The metonymy MEANS FOR ACTION can be identified in those denominal verbs which can be paraphrased as “to perform the action with the MEANS”. Some examples involve English *signal*<sub>V</sub>, formed by means of conversion (27a), and *air-condition*<sub>V</sub>, derived by means of back-formation from *air-conditioning*<sub>N</sub> (28a). Both verbs have Polish denominal equivalents: *zasygnalizować*<sub>V</sub> (27b), a prefixal-paradigmatic derivation from *sygnał*<sub>N</sub>, and *klimatyzować*<sub>V</sub> (28b), a paradigmatic derivation from *klimatyzacja*<sub>N</sub>.

- (27a) *signal*<sub>N</sub> – *signal*<sub>V</sub> (conversion)  
*She signalled it was time to leave.*
- (27b) *sygnał*<sub>N</sub> – *zasygnalizować*<sub>V</sub> (prefixal-paradigmatic derivation)  
*Zasygnalizowała, że czas wyjść.*
- (28a) *air-conditioning*<sub>N</sub> – *air-condition*<sub>V</sub> (back-formation)  
*The room is air-conditioned.*
- (28b) *klimatyzacja*<sub>N</sub> – *klimatyzować*<sub>V</sub> (paradigmatic derivation)  
*Pokój jest klimatyzowany.*

It is worth noticing that although Radden and Kövecses (1999: 37-38) differentiate between the INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION and MEANS FOR ACTION metonymies, Szymanek (2010: 188) treats the categories of “instrument” and “means” as the same kind of source for meaning motivation in denominal verbs, perhaps because sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between the two concepts involved in the same EVENT schema. It can be said that both types of verbs seem to fall into the semantic category of instrumental verbs, paraphrased simply as “to use N” (Gottfurcht 2008: 12).

## 11. The SOURCE FOR ACTION metonymy

The denominal verbs motivated by the metonymy SOURCE FOR ACTION may be said to encompass the semantic category of ablative verbs, which are paraphrased as “to put out of N”, “to expel from N” or “to remove from N” (Szymanek 1988: 180-181; 1989: 298). In English, such examples of ablative verbs as *deplane*<sub>V</sub> (29a) or *unsaddle*<sub>V</sub> (30a) are formed with the aid of prefixation from *plane*<sub>N</sub> and *saddle*<sub>N</sub>, respectively. In Polish, it is possible to identify *wysiodlać*<sub>V</sub>, a prefixal-paradigmatic derivation from *siodło*<sub>N</sub> (30b), as the verb corresponding to *unsaddle*<sub>V</sub>, but *deplane*<sub>V</sub> needs to be translated as “opuścić samolot” (29b).

- (29a) *plane*<sub>N</sub> – *deplane*<sub>V</sub> (prefixation)  
*We deplaned by the rear door.*
- (29b) *samolot*<sub>N</sub> – “opuścić samolot”

- Opuściliśmy samolot tylnymi drzwiami.*
- (30a) *saddle<sub>N</sub> – unsaddle<sub>V</sub> (prefixation)*  
*After the horse ride father **unsaddled** the girl.*
- (30b) *siodło<sub>N</sub> – wysiodlać<sub>V</sub> (prefixal-paradigmatic derivation)*  
*Po przejażdżce konnej ojciec **wysiodlał** dziewczynkę.*

## 12. The GOAL / DESTINATION FOR ACTION metonymy

Some examples of denominal verbs following the metonymy GOAL or DESTINATION FOR ACTION involve such English verbs as *bottle<sub>V</sub>*, formed by means of conversion from *bottle<sub>N</sub>* (31a), or *orchestrate<sub>V</sub>*, created with the aid of suffixation from *orchestra<sub>N</sub>* (32a), and their Polish equivalents: *butelkować<sub>V</sub>*, a paradigmatic derivation from *butelka<sub>N</sub>* (31b), and *zorkiestrować<sub>V</sub>*, a prefixal-paradigmatic derivation from *orkiestra<sub>N</sub>* (32b). Verbs motivated by this type of metonymy can be classified as examples of locative verbs, paraphrased as “to locate or put in/on N” (Gottfurcht 2008: 12).

- (31a) *bottle<sub>N</sub> – bottle<sub>V</sub> (conversion)*  
*The beer is **bottled** in this place.*
- (31b) *butelka<sub>N</sub> – butelkować<sub>V</sub> (paradigmatic derivation)*  
*Piwo jest **butelkowane** w tym miejscu.*
- (32a) *orchestra<sub>N</sub> – orchestrate<sub>V</sub> (suffixation)*  
*The opera was composed and **orchestrated** by the same man.*
- (32b) *orkiestra<sub>N</sub> – zorkiestrować<sub>V</sub> (prefixal-paradigmatic derivation)*  
*Opera została skomponowana i **zorkiestrowana** przez tego samego człowieka.*

An interesting case is the correspondence between the English verb *house<sub>V</sub>*, derived from *house<sub>N</sub>* through conversion, and the Polish denominal verbs: *zadomowić się<sub>V</sub>*, a prefixal-paradigmatic-postfixal derivation, as well as *udomowić<sub>V</sub>*, a prefixal-paradigmatic derivation, both derived from *dom<sub>N</sub>*. The English verb *house<sub>V</sub>* (33a) can be translated into Polish as *mieścić<sub>V</sub>* (33b), which is not a denominal verb. Then, Polish *zadomowić się<sub>V</sub>* (33c), can be translated into English as “to feel at home” (33d). Next, Polish *udomowić<sub>V</sub>* (33e) has its English counterpart *domesticate<sub>V</sub>*, which is not a denominal verb created from *house<sub>N</sub>* (33f).

- (33a) *house<sub>N</sub> – house<sub>V</sub> (conversion)*  
*The building **houses** 30 families.*
- (33b) *Budynek mieści 30 rodzin.*
- (33c) *dom<sub>N</sub> – zadomowić się<sub>V</sub> (prefixal-paradigmatic-postfixal derivation)*  
***Zadomowił się** teraz w Polsce.*
- (33d) *He **feels at home** in Poland now.*

- (33e) *dom*<sub>N</sub> – *udomowić*<sub>V</sub> (prefixal-paradigmatic derivation)  
*Kiedy pies został **udomowiony**?*  
 (33f) *When was the dog **domesticated**?*

### 13. The MANNER FOR ACTION metonymy

The denominal verbs motivated by the metonymy MANNER FOR ACTION have the meaning “to perform an action in the MANNER”. A good example is the English verb *pulse*<sub>V</sub> (34a), derived by means of conversion from *pulse*<sub>N</sub>, and its Polish equivalent *pulsować*<sub>V</sub> (34b), a paradigmatic derivation from *puls*<sub>N</sub>. However, in another example, the English denominal verb *balloon*<sub>V</sub> (35a), created through conversion from *balloon*<sub>N</sub>, does not have a Polish counterpart; however, there exists an expression “nadymać się jak balon”, which renders the same meaning (35b). It seems that the available classifications of denominal verbs have failed to provide a semantic category which could encompass the examples underlain by this metonymy. Perhaps some of them, such as the English verb *balloon*<sub>V</sub>, can be classified as similitive verbs, which follow the paraphrase “to be like N” (Szymanek 1989: 275; Gottfurcht 2008: 12)

- (34a) *pulse*<sub>N</sub> – *pulse*<sub>V</sub> (conversion)  
*A vein **pulsed** in his temple.*  
 (34b) *puls*<sub>N</sub> – *pulsować*<sub>V</sub> (paradigmatic derivation)  
*Żyła **pulsowała** na jego skroni.*  
 (35a) *balloon*<sub>N</sub> – *balloon*<sub>V</sub> (conversion)  
*Her coat **ballooned** round her in the wind.*  
 (35b) *balon*<sub>N</sub> – “nadymać się (jak balon)”  
*Jej płaszcz **nadymał się jak balon** na wietrze.*

### 14. Conclusions

The comparison of the metonymic mappings underlying the meaning of denominal verbs in English and Polish allows us to distinguish certain patterns of metonymic motivation, as presented in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Patterns of metonymic motivation in English and Polish denominal verbs

Metonymic correspondence	Verb correspondence	English examples	Polish examples
The same metonymy in English and Polish	Corresponding denominal verbs in English and Polish	<i>referee<sub>N</sub> – referee<sub>V</sub></i> (AGENT FOR ACTION)	<i>sędzia<sub>N</sub></i> – <i>sędziować<sub>V</sub></i> (AGENT FOR ACTION)
The same metonymy in English and Polish	Two different denominal verbs in English and only one in Polish	<i>worm<sub>N</sub> – worm<sub>V</sub></i> or <i>deworm<sub>V</sub></i> (OBJECT FOR ACTION)	<i>robak<sub>N</sub></i> – <i>odrobaczać<sub>V</sub></i> (OBJECT FOR ACTION)
The same metonymy in English and Polish	Denominal verbs with different meanings in English and Polish	<i>finger<sub>N</sub> – finger<sub>V</sub></i> (INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION)	“touch with one’s fingers”
		“to leave fingerprints”	<i>palec<sub>N</sub></i> – <i>upalcować<sub>V</sub></i> (INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION)
		“to domesticate”	<i>dom<sub>N</sub> – udomowić<sub>V</sub></i> (DESTINATION FOR ACTION)
		“to feel at home”	<i>dom<sub>N</sub> – zadowić się<sub>V</sub></i> (DESTINATION FOR ACTION)
		<i>house<sub>N</sub> – house<sub>V</sub></i> (DESTINATION FOR ACTION)	“mieścić”
Different metonymies in English and Polish	Different denominal verbs with the same meaning in English and Polish	<i>bed<sub>N</sub> – bed<sub>V</sub></i> (OBJECT FOR ACTION)	<i>noc<sub>N</sub></i> – <i>przenocować<sub>V</sub></i> (TIME FOR ACTION)
Two different metonymies in English and no corresponding metonymy in Polish	Two different denominal verbs in English and no denominal verbs in Polish	<i>burglar<sub>N</sub> – burgle<sub>V</sub></i> (AGENT FOR ACTION)	<i>włamywać się<sub>V</sub></i>
		<i>burglary<sub>N</sub></i> – <i>burglarise<sub>V</sub></i> (RESULT FOR ACTION)	



Metonymic correspondence	Verb correspondence	English examples	Polish examples
Two different metonymies in English and one corresponding metonymy in Polish	Two different denominal verbs in English and only one denominal verb in Polish	<i>sculpture</i> <sub>N</sub> – <i>sculpturise</i> <sub>V</sub> (RESULT FOR ACTION)	<i>rzeźba</i> <sub>N</sub> – <i>rzeźbić</i> <sub>V</sub> (RESULT FOR ACTION)
		<i>sculptor</i> <sub>N</sub> – <i>sculpt</i> <sub>V</sub> (AGENT FOR ACTION)	
Metonymy in one language only	Denominal verbs in one language only	<i>hammer</i> <sub>N</sub> – <i>hammer</i> <sub>V</sub> (INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION)	<i>młotek</i> <sub>N</sub> – “przybijając młotkiem”
		<i>snail</i> <sub>N</sub> – “to move at a snail’s pace”	<i>ślimak</i> <sub>N</sub> – <i>ślimaczyć się</i> <sub>V</sub> (AGENT FOR ACTION)

First of all, there are numerous cases when equivalent English and Polish denominal verbs are underlain by the same metonymic mappings within the ACTION ICM, for example: *referee*<sub>N</sub> – *referee*<sub>V</sub> and *sędzia*<sub>N</sub> – *sędziować*<sub>V</sub> with the AGENT FOR ACTION metonymy in both languages.

Second, it is possible to have two denominal verbs in English motivated by the same metonymy, for instance, *worm*<sub>N</sub> – *worm*<sub>V</sub> or *deworm*<sub>V</sub> with the OBJECT FOR ACTION metonymy, which can be compared with Polish *robak*<sub>N</sub> – *odrobaczać*<sub>V</sub>, also motivated by the OBJECT FOR ACTION metonymy.

Next, in certain situations there are different meanings of denominal verbs in English and Polish, although they are motivated by the same metonymic mapping, for instance, *finger*<sub>N</sub> – *finger*<sub>V</sub>, with the meaning of the verb “to touch with one’s fingers”, as well as *palec*<sub>N</sub> – *upalcować*<sub>V</sub> or *wypalcować*<sub>V</sub>, meaning “to leave fingermarks”, are motivated by the INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION metonymy. Then, there are also cases when denominal verbs in the same language carry different meanings, for example: in Polish *dom*<sub>N</sub> – *zadomowić się*<sub>V</sub>, which means “to feel at home”, or *udomowić*<sub>V</sub>, which means “to domesticate”, depending on the prefix, although both are motivated by the same metonymy DESTINATION FOR ACTION. By contrast, English *house*<sub>V</sub>, created from *house*<sub>N</sub> and motivated by the same metonymy, can be translated into Polish as “mieścić”.

Furthermore, in some cases, there are different denominal verbs and metonymies for the same action in English and Polish, for example, *bed*<sub>N</sub> – *bed*<sub>V</sub> with the GOAL FOR ACTION metonymy, versus *noc*<sub>N</sub> – *przenocować*<sub>V</sub> with the TIME FOR ACTION metonymy.

It is possible to distinguish cases when in English two different denominal verbs, and sometimes also two different metonymic mappings, render the same

meaning of the verb, equivalent to only one verb in Polish. For instance, *burglar*<sub>N</sub> – *burgle*<sub>V</sub> is motivated by the AGENT FOR ACTION metonymy and *burglary*<sub>N</sub> – *burglarise*<sub>V</sub> by the RESULT FOR ACTION metonymy, while their Polish equivalent is *włamywać się*<sub>V</sub>, which is not a denominal verb. Another example is *sculptor*<sub>N</sub> – *sculpt*<sub>V</sub>, motivated by the AGENT FOR ACTION metonymy and *sculpture*<sub>N</sub> – *sculpturise*<sub>V</sub> with the RESULT FOR ACTION metonymy versus Polish *rzeźba*<sub>N</sub> – *rzeźbić*<sub>V</sub>, also motivated by the RESULT FOR ACTION metonymy.

Finally, in certain examples, there are no corresponding denominal verbs between English and Polish, for instance, *hammer*<sub>N</sub> – *hammer*<sub>V</sub>, which is motivated by the INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION metonymy, versus *młotek*<sub>N</sub> – “przybijać młotkiem”, or *ślimak*<sub>N</sub> – *ślimaczyć się*<sub>V</sub>, underlain by the AGENT FOR ACTION metonymy, versus *snail*<sub>N</sub> – “to move at a snail’s pace”.

To sum up our analysis, it needs to be observed that conceptual metonymy seems to be a universal mechanism involved in conceptualisation of denominal verbs, and it can be identified in verbs formed by means of affixation, conversion and back-formation in English, as well as paradigmatic derivation in Polish. Nevertheless, as it has been shown, metonymy motivates the construction of meaning in various ways. On the one hand, the types of metonymic mappings within the EVENT schema in both English and Polish are the same. On the other hand, however, there seems to be a high degree of variation in the meaning construction of denominal verbs in these languages. These observations may contribute to the claim that the differences between the two languages contrasted in this study depend not only on the choice of particular linguistic forms, but that they reach much deeper, to the level of conceptualisation and meaning construction that motivates the use of specific words and phrases to express the same concepts in English and Polish.

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