

ISSN 0350–185x
UDK 808

СРПСКА АКАДЕМИЈА НАУКА И УМЕТНОСТИ
И
ИНСТИТУТ ЗА СРПСКИ ЈЕЗИК САНУ

ЈУЖНОСЛОВЕНСКИ ФИЛОЛОГ

КЊ. LXXIII, СВ. 3–4

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Главни уредник

Предраг Пипер

БЕОГРАД
2017

ISSN 0350-185x, LXXIII, св. 3–4 (2017)

UDK:

COBISS.SR-ID:

DOI:

Примљено: 1. маја 2017.

Прихваћено: 22. маја 2017.

Оригинални научни рад

ALEKSANDER K. KIKLEWICZ*

Uniwersytet Warmińsko-Mazurski w Olsztynie

Wydział Humanistyczny

Instytut Dziennikarstwa i Komunikacji Społecznej

RUSSIAN MENTAL VERBS AS A SEMANTIC CLASS**

The subject of this article is subcategorization of Russian mental verbs (verbs of knowledge, understanding and thinking) considering information encoded in their form and structure about the mental (intellectual) functions and time schemata, i.e. taking into account such characteristics as continuity and limitations. The author refers to the extensive literature on this subject, above all, the publications of Russian researchers, such as L. M. Vasiliev, G. A. Zolotova, N. J. Shvedova et al., and also presents an analysis of the collected empirical material (543 units of modern Russian language). The conclusions concern the division of verbs into semantic classes as well as the degree of representation of each class.

Keywords: lexis, lexical semantics, mental verbs, semantic subcategorization, polysemy.

1. Introduction

Verbs, like various other speech parts, represent a fragment of the lexical language system where (at different levels) numerous types of

* akiklewicz@gmail.com

** The article presented has been prepared as part of a scientific research project “Syntactic Properties of Verbs as the Basis for their Integrated Lexicographic Description (in View of the Comparison of Polish, Bulgarian and Russian languages)” granted for the years 2014-2017 by the National Science Centre in Poland (Grant No.: 2013/11/B/HS2/03116).

categorizations take place. This includes ones based on the kind of information encoded in the lexical (mental) meaning of words. Investigating verbs in this respect is based on a linguistic tradition which originates to a certain degree from the theory of a semantic field and the thesaurus method. There are many publications in the area of Russian Studies dedicated to lexical semantic classes (cf. Russian *лексико-семантические группы*), including ones encompassing verbs. The monographs worth mentioning include: BABENKO 2002; KARAULOV 1976; 1981; KUZNETSOVA 1980; 1982; 1983; 1988; 1989; PLOTNIKOV 1979; 1984; STEPANOV 1982; SELIVERSTOVA 1982; SHVEDOVA 1983; VASILIEV 1971; 1981; 1990 et al.

There are different criteria for division of verbs into semantic groups. A leading Russian expert in that field, L. M. Vasiliev (1990: 119), wrote that one of the criteria is dominant elements of the meanings, set apart on the basis of lexical paradigms. According to this criterion, Vasiliev divided all Russian predicators (first verbs and adjectives) into two classes: the names of actions (cs. Russian *акциональные*) and the names of states (cs. Russian *бытийные*), and from among the second class isolated nine types. According to a different criterion: the most abstract core elements (with a identifying function), Vasiliev divided words and expressions with predicative meaning into the following onomasiological classes: existential, relative, qualitative, assessing, state, locative, action, process and functional ones.

Using the third criterion, syntagmatic elements (set apart on the basis of sentence schemata founded on lexical predicators), Vasiliev describes subjective, bi-subjective, causative, assessing classes and more.

The author admits that all the three classes overlap to a large extent (VASILIEV 1990: 119), which might prove interrelations between different aspects of a lexical meaning and other different types of meaning (see also: BABENKO 2002: 15). On the other hand, it makes the situation difficult as it is not clear which type of classification should be considered the statutory one, i.e. reflecting identity of classified units.

G. A. Zolotova, N. K. Onipenko and M. Y. Sidorova are authors of a model of functional and communication syntax widely recognized in Russian linguistics (1998). Whilst, considering a multifaceted nature of a lexical meaning, these authors create a semantic classification based on a set of criteria — such as category semantics of a verb, its grammar characteristics, valency (e.g. nature of a connoted subject) and a syntactic function, which participates in processes of generating syntactic structures.

2. Mental verbs: problem of characteristic properties

One of the classes among autosemantic names of action are mental verbs (Rus. *ментальные глаголы / глаголы интеллектуальной деятельности*)¹. The separation of verbs of this kind may seem obvious from a practical point of view, and because of the existence of prototypical items: *знать, понимать, думать, решать, рассуждать, считать* etc., as presented by M. Danielewiczowa (2002). However, it is easier to determine distinctive features of elements inside the class than to point to the so-called *archiseme*, i.e. a semantic element shared by all the words belonging to a given class. Danielewiczowa describes mental/epistemic verbs as objects that refer to the states, processes and operations located in the mind of man (2002: 21). She specifies her standpoint as follows: all verbs referring to states of mind are semantically founded on the notion of knowledge (ibidem: 14). For this reason one can have some reservations. First of all, it needs stressing that epistemic states do not include all the functions of higher brain activity of a human – Danielewiczowa herself writes not only about states but also about processes, events and actions “located” in the mind. Although in the case of denominations of epistemic states, knowledge is a central, or at least an assertive semantic component, the semantic structure of verbs of thinking, understanding, comparing, identifying, deciding, contemplation etc. is configured in a different way: a component [to know] has a status of presupposition or implication, and sometimes its presence is not too obvious.

Danielewiczowa defines the verb *przypuszczać* (‘assume’) as follows (ibidem: 331):

a przypuszcza, że p

[T] *a*,

[TD] that (i) knows about himself that he does not know if *p* occurs,
(ii) is ready to say that if *p*, then someone who does not know everything can know that *p*,

[R] is ready to say that he does not know anything so that he is not ready to say that *p*

From a strictly linguistic, operational point of view this definition is acceptable since it allows for identification of a given unit in a semantic respect (thus, linguistic descriptions of this kind are useful in programs for automated text processing). However, from the point of view of linguistic competence it is questionable if the mental condition of a

¹ See an overview of Russian publications about mental verbs: TROPININA 1984.

presupposition actually assumes awareness of ignorance. Such an interpretation is correct when a verb is in the rheme position:

- (1) *Możemy tylko przypuszczać, że jest to wierzchołek góry lodowej.* = ‘We are aware we do not know it is a tip of the iceberg’

However, in most cases, when it comes to a presupposition, an element of uncertainty regarding authenticity of a subjective conviction comes to the fore. Let us consider the sentence:

- (2) *Przypuszczam, że będzie narastał opór przeciwko niektórym decyzjom kierownictwa.* = ‘I suppose that there will be an intensification of the resistance against certain decisions of the management’

There is no reason to think that the speaker is aware of his ignorance, which is a lack of real and justified convictions regarding the increasing opposition to the management. It is more about the fact that the speaker is aware of this state of affairs and at the same time, he is not sure his conviction is real.

“Being aware” is undoubtedly a more basic semantic component than “knowledge” — and this is another reason to question a basic status of this descriptor (‘knowledge’) in the field of mental verbs. Although A. Wierzbicka (2010: 66 ff.) includes *wiedzieć* (‘to know’) in the class of universal concepts, she treats other mental verbs in the same way: *myśleć* (‘think’), *chcieć* (‘want’) and *czuć* (‘feel’). Therefore, it can be concluded that *wiedzieć* (‘to know’) does not perform the function of a universal descriptor, encoded in the meaning of all the designations of mental states, actions/processes and events. Lexicographic practice suggests the same, in particular the research conducted by the Y. D. Apresyan team and especially their dictionaries (2004; 2014). Thus, a definition of verb *воображать* ‘imagine’ in both dictionaries is: ‘to keep in mind the image of a specific object or situation when this object or this situation is not perceived by the senses’ (APRESYAN 2004: 135; 2014: 244). As we can see, the definition does not include a reference to knowledge — a core element is predicate *иметь в сознании* ‘make aware, present, keep in mind’. A different Russian verb *считать* ‘think, suppose, be convinced’ is described as a concept which should be considered semantically elemental (APRESYAN 2004: 1129), so it is not in the category of knowledge.

It cannot be ignored that in the semantic tradition based on formal logic, knowledge is explained by reference to other, more elemental concepts, which mainly are: truth and conviction (which is mentioned by Danielewiczowa herself, see 2002, 73). Knowledge is considered “a ju-

stified real conviction” (WOLEŃSKI 2007: 367 ff.). J. Woleński (ibidem: 369) states that the component [conviction] is so important that it allows us to distinguish, on one hand, knowledge (*‘x is convinced that p’*) and, on the other hand, presupposition, judgment, opinion etc. (*‘x is not convinced that p’*).

Verbs *знать* ‘to know’ and *думать* ‘to think’ are also considered semantically derivative in the model of a universal semantic code by the outstanding V. V. Martynov (1977). The model, which is not unfortunately well-known among Polish linguists, assumes a basic semantic (sentence) structure based on the configuration of three concepts: subject (*S*), action (*A*) and object (*O*). The basic structure SAO is expanded by using one’s own and others’ means which are quantification, deictic, modal or other modifiers. Thus, Martynov (1977: 148) defines *знать* by making reference to such semantic components as [agent], [indicator] and [information];

знать (*X знает об Y-е*)

The agent by inalienable indicator has information about something.

The verb *думать* is interpreted on the basis of other semantic components: [agent], [effector], [activity]:

думать, мыслить, считать, полагать (*X думает*)

The agent functions through the informational effector.

The verb *хотеть* ‘want’ is defined in the following way:

хотеть, стремиться (*X хочет действовать*)

The agent does so by the effect of a fascinating effector, as he is intended to do.

Of course, Martynov’s definitions might justifiably seem (especially in today’s poststructuralist times) too egotistic: a universal semantic code is a model, deliberately constructed for the purpose of computational linguistics (or engineering linguistics as it was referred to in 1960s-70s) and it does not really adhere to a “naive” linguistic competence. However, experiments by the Belarusian researcher are interesting as an example of segmentation of conceptual categories considered indivisible by other researchers.

3. Subcategorization of mental verbs

Mental verbs as a semantic class are not homogeneous — due to the nature of the conceptual information they represent several groups at a lower level of categorization. They can be divided according to two cri-

teria: 1) The nature of the mental function (as a basic area of signification) and 2) the time schemata, i.e. a type of activity (*Aktionsart*).

Vasiliev (1981: 124) divides all verbs of intellectual activity into three categories: 1) mental verbs; 2) verbs of knowledge and 3) verbs of memory. In the group of mental verbs the Russian researcher differentiates between 1) the names of thinking processes, and 2) the results of thinking processes. The verbs in the first group denote intentional targeted actions, or unintentional untargeted actions. Using the inductive method (i.e. generalizing observations over the semantic content of mental verbs), Vasiliev distinguishes the following subclasses within verbal names of targeted actions: 1) the names of thinking processes; 2) the names of shaping thoughts; 3) the names of processes of creating anything (“external objects”) by thinking, imagination, reflection etc.

Within verbs denoting results of thinking operations, Vasiliev distinguishes the names which are founded on the following core components: 1) to present; 2) to consider; 3) to decide; 4) to believe; 5) to understand; 6) to be wrong. One may wonder why knowledge is not considered a result of a thinking activity and to what extent such an outcome occurs in the case of faith, but on the other hand, one should not have any illusions that any classification in such a large group of units as mental verbs may be fully coherent and complete.

In the dictionary “Russian Verbal Sentences” (BABENKO 2002), ten types of verb predicates belonging to the semantic group of “intellectual activity” were distinguished². Each type is founded on a specific function of the mind, namely: 1) perception; 2) understanding; 3) knowledge; 4) thinking; 5) comparison; 6) selection; 7) decision; 8) assumption/imagination; 9) determination; 10) checking. Based on this classification, R. N. Gudnov (2013: 16) offers a configuration with a division into three areas: central and inner and outer peripheral, depending on the degree of typicality of information about intellectual activity. The author presents the semantic field of mental verbs as a radial structure.

² The authors of “the Dictionary” take into account the principles of hierarchical organization of vocabulary, distinguishing three levels: semantic fields (such as activity, existence, relation etc.), semantic groups (such as activity, movement, physical impact on the object, intellectual activity, linguistic activity, social activity, etc.), semantic subgroups (such as knowledge, cognition, thinking, and checking etc. within the names of intellectual activity) (BABENKO 2002: 25).

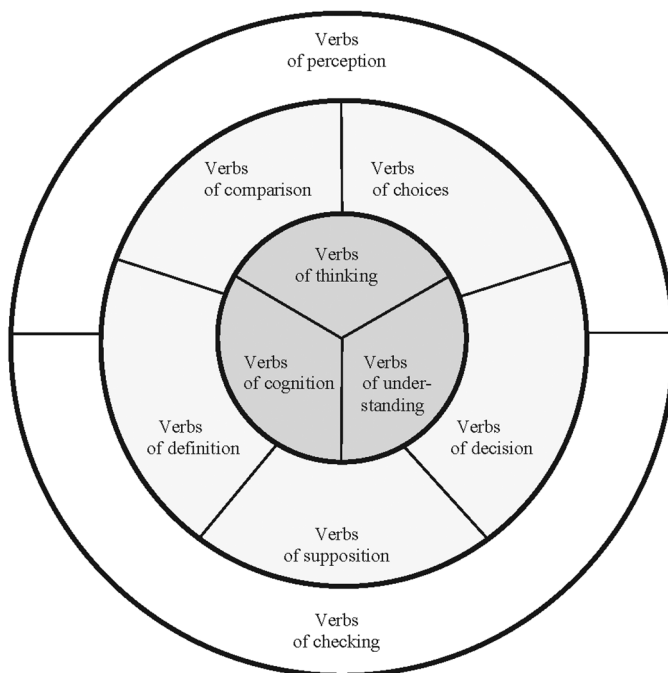


Figure 1. Radial structure of mental verbs

Another basis for the classification of mental verbs is time schemata. This is based on such semantic components as [continuity] and [event] (see: KAROLAK 2001: 463 ff.). Danielewiczowa (2002: 26 ff) divides all mental verbs into three categories: 1) events; 2) activities and 3) epistemic states. Furthermore, she states that mental events can be dependent (as it is the case with verbs *wymyślić* ‘imagine’, *przeanalizować* ‘analyze’, *skoncentrować się* ‘focus’) or independent (as with verbs *domyślić się* ‘guess’, *przywyknąć* ‘get accustomed’, *uwierzyć* ‘believe’) on actions of an epistemic subject. However, it seems there is also another opposition — due to time schemata. It is about distinguishing immediate events and the ones that close an action or process within a certain period of time. Among other things, this distinction is present in Z. Vendler’s (1957/1967; 1987) classification of verbs considering time schemata³. Vendler and then, A. P. D. Mourelatos (1978) divided verbs into four classes:

³ See an overview of logic and semantic publications in this area: SHAPCHIC 2009.

1. states (habitual, stable), e.g.: *знать, помнить, понимать*
2. activities/processes/operations (telic), e.g.: *думать, решать, размышлять*⁴
3. achievements (resultative), e.g.: *научиться, познать, выяснить*
4. accomplishments (immediate), e.g.: *догадаться, узнать, вздумать*⁵

As can be seen, this classification adheres mostly to the description of mental verbs since it involves a representative and optimized division of words into aspectual classes – neither too general (as it is in the case of a grammatical category of an aspect) nor too detailed (as in the case of so-called *Aktionsarten*).

N. S. Matveyeva (2011: 130 ff.) takes into account a set of features in the classification of modal verbs: 1) meaning of a grammatical aspect; 2) presence of an aspectual pair; 3) meaning of continuity; 4) connectivity with adverbials of duration period; 5) connectivity with adverbials of duration; 6) connectivity with adverbials of purpose. Implementing these criteria, the Russian researcher distinguished four classes of mental verbs: 1) state (*верить, знать, полагать, сомневаться* etc.); 2) names of activities and unlimited processes (*гадать, размышлять, фантазировать, думаться* etc.); 3) names of limited activities and processes (*изучать – изучить, выведать – выведывать, отгадать – отгадывать* etc.); 4) names of activities stressing a result and event (*сметнуть, предположить, напомнить, забыть, ошибиться* etc.).

It can be established that Matveyeva's classification replicates the Vendler — Mourelatos classification to a large extent, providing more complex justification of the division, especially when it comes to the syntactic connectivity of verbs⁶. On the other hand, one may debate if distinguishing the second class is reasonable. Mental processes lead to certain results, anyway. For instance, in Russian language practice there is a conventionalized collocation:

⁴ Most of them are imperfective verbs, although there are occasional examples of imperfective delimitative verbs, that is the ones referring to activities/operations in a certain period of time but not necessarily completed, e.g. Russian *подумать (какое-то время), промедитировать (какое-то время), промечтать (какое-то время)* etc.

⁵ P. A. Shapchic (2009: 167) notes that the Vendler – Mourelatos model cannot be considered a classification of verbs since the same lexical unit having the same conceptual meaning can represent two or even more aspectual schemata, for example this is the case with aspectual pairs like Russian *вообразать // вообразить*.

⁶ Vendler (1987: 310) who had already noted a syntactic criterion in the classification of mental predicates, namely, connectivity with adverbials.

- (3) *размышлял и пришел к выводу, что...* ‘He has been thinking, and came to the conclusion that...’

In this case, a process of consideration leads to a conclusion. It is not a coincidence that the verbs listed by Matveyeva (representing the second class) can have a form of prefixal (delimitative) derivatives: *размышлять* – *поразмышлять*, *фантазировать* – *пофантазировать*, i.e. although they do not indicate a limit of a process they assume it is possible.

Matveyeva analyzed 380 units belonging to the category of mental verbs, specifying the representativeness of each of the distinguished semantic classes. The author’s calculations show that most verbs, 52%, fall into the fourth class. In particular, there are many verbal names of activities stressing the result – 36%. Therefore, according to her, the fact these specific taxonomic categories were the most frequent among mental verbs, generates the hypothesis that the majority of mental operations are thought to occur suddenly, abruptly and/or unevenly (MATVEYEVA 2011: 132).

Due to their representativeness, verbal names of limited actions and processes come second – their share is 23% of units. Other groups are less representative: there are 56 units (15%) in the first group and 39 units (10%) in the second group.

Taking into account two criteria: mental function and time schemata (based on Vendler’s classification), about a dozen classes of Russian mental verbs can be distinguished.

Table 1. Classification of mental verbs according to a psychological function⁷ and time schemata

THEMATIC CLASS	ASPECTUAL CLASS			
	STATE	ACTIVITY		
		PROCESS/ OPERATION	EVENT	
			ATTAINMENT	ACCOMPLISHMENT
1. knowledge, cognition	<i>знать, помнить, понимать, видеть, осознавать</i>	<i>выучиваться, узнавать, познавать, зубрить, забывать</i>	<i>понять, выучиться, научиться, запомнить, узнать, познать, вызубрить</i>	<i>догадаться, осознать, смекнуть, озарить</i>
2. thinking		<i>думать, мыслить, выяснять, рассуждать, соображать, собираться</i>	<i>додуматься, навдумывать, выяснить, сообразить</i>	<i>подумать</i>
3. comparison	<i>различать, ассоциировать</i>	<i>сравнивать, сопоставлять, различать</i>	<i>сравнить, сопоставить, различить, отождествлять</i>	<i>помешать, предпочесть</i>
4. selection		<i>выбирать, отбирать</i>	<i>выбрать, отобрать</i>	
5. solution		<i>решать, суммировать, множить, сочинять</i>	<i>решишь, суммировать, умножить, сочинить</i>	<i>отгадать</i>
6. opinion	<i>полагать, судить, считать, верить, мнить, предпочитать</i>			<i>возомнить, посчитать, предположить, поверить</i>
7. belief	<i>представлять, воображать, грезить</i>	<i>спекулировать</i>		<i>представить, вообразить, пригрезиться, привидеться</i>

⁷ The classification according to a mental function is based on Babenko's dictionary, although there have been some changes in this respect, for example verbal names of interest and planning were introduced.

THEMATIC CLASS	ASPECTUAL CLASS			
	STATE	ACTIVITY		
		PROCESS/ OPERATION	EVENT	
			ATTAINMENT	ACCOMPLISHMENT
8. determination	<i>акцептировать, недооценивать, оценивать</i>	<i>спекулировать</i>		<i>представить, вообразить, пригрезиться, привидеться</i>
9. verification		<i>проверять, уточнять</i>	<i>проверить, уточнить</i>	
10. interest	<i>интересоваться, интриговать</i>	<i>заниматься</i>	<i>заняться</i>	<i>заинтересоваться, заинтриговать</i>
11. planning	<i>предвидеть</i>	<i>планировать, прогнозировать, думать, задумывать</i>	<i>запланировать, задумать</i>	<i>надумать, вздумать, решить (что-то сделать)</i>

4. The quantitative characteristics of subcategories

As a part of a scientific and research project (see footnote 1) 543 Russian mental verbs were analyzed with respect to semantics, including units (reflective verbs) which are the basis for the construction of a pseudo-subjective diathesis (with an object of a mental action / mental state in dative, e.g. *грезиться кому-л.*, *видеться кому-л.*, *представляться кому-л.*, *думаться кому-л.* etc.). Due to the fact that verbs were examined, inter alia, in terms of time schemata, elements of aspectual pairs (*узнавать – узнать*, *намереваться – намериться*, *объяснять – объяснить* etc.) were considered separate units of description. The table below includes quantitative data on the number of verbs that represent each semantic class.

Table 2. Quantitative representation of semantic classes of mental verbs

THEMATIC CLASS	ASPECTUAL CLASS				TOTAL	%
	STATE	ACTIVITY				
		PROCESS/ OPERATION	EVENT			
			ATTAINMENT	ACCOM- PLISHMENT		
1. knowledge, cognition	26	54	58	24	162	29.6
2. thinking	0	66	57	6	133	24.3
3. comparison	9	8	7	8	32	5.9
4. selection	0	3	3	0	6	1.1
5. solution	0	20	28	3	51	9.3
6. opinion	33	0	0	19	52	9.5
7. belief	16	4	0	13	33	6.0
8. determination	4	8	10	4	26	4.8
9. verification	0	2	2	0	4	0.7
10. interest	8	2	2	2	14	2.6
11. planning	4	14	14	2	34	6.2

The data shows that in terms of representativeness, the size of the distinguished classes of verbs is very diverse. Our data to some extent confirm Matveyeva's data: among mental verbs events are generally dominant and they account for over 48% (in Matveyeva's study – 52%). Processes and operations come second – 33.5% of the units. This figure is twice the number of names of accomplishments (14.8%). Accomplishments in terms of numbers are also superseded by states (18.2%), which generally indicates that the feature of semantic continuity is more characteristic of mental/intellectual functions than a feature of happening: the sphere of mental activity is verbalized mostly in terms of its duration, and mental events have their “history” – they are prepared, created in the course of operations and processes.

Considering the mental function encoded in a lexical meaning, two thematic groups stand out: knowledge and cognition – 29.6% and thinking

– 24.3%. These are names that in the most general and least specified way mean the possession of information (*осознавать, понимать, знать*) and generation of information (*думать*), and thus, they are considered the center of the category of mentality. Units of other classes are more or less semantically specified, i.e. they contain a number of additional semantic elements. For example, in Babenko’s “Dictionary” *решать* is interpreted as a verb derived from *думать, рассуждать*: ‘one comes to a conclusion after his reflection, deliberation’ (BABENKO 2002: 181). The semantics of thinking is further encoded in the meaning of verbal names of specification, selection, comparison and planning.

In terms of numbers, and with a big gap compared to the first two classes, there are verbs denoting an opinion – 9.5% and solution – 9.3%. They are sorts of “clones” of verbs of knowledge and cognition as well as verbs of thinking, except that the latter two semantic groups are more marked and specified.

Smaller semantic groups can be assigned to another rank: planning – 6.2%, imagination – 6.0% comparison – 5.9%, specification – 4.8%. At the fourth level, in terms of numbers, there are three other semantic groups: interest – 2.6%, selection – 1.1%, verification – 0.7%. Moreover, it does not mean that individual units representing these classes are marginal from the point of view of linguistic behavior. According to “Frequency Dictionary of Russian” (ZASORINA 1977), the verbs included in the three classes are not uncommonly used — see general frequency and ranks:

- (4) *интересовать* 40 (3066)
- (5) *интересоваться* 32 (3554)
- (6) *выбрать* 52 (2428)
- (7) *выбирать* 57 (2266)
- (8) *проверить* 52 (2428)
- (9) *проверит* 60 (1110)

In terms of frequency of use in linguistic practice, the mentioned words are more functional than elements belonging to bigger classes, e.g. general frequency of some verbs of thinking and opinion/judgment: *мыслить* – 30, *соображать* – 21, *мнить* – 6. The count of the thematic group brings information that cannot be over-interpreted. First of all, it is about mental function specification as regards complexity of the objective state of things and nature of human categorization, while frequency in the use of the language reflects a more communicative, interactive aspect of the meaning.

5. Polysemy of mental verbs

A phenomenon that especially needs to be discussed is polysemy present in the scope of mental verbs (much more noticeable than in verbs of feeling). As seen from the analysis of the source material, processes of semantic derivation are quite varied. The first and most representative one is a type of polysemy where the change of a lexical meaning does not result in the change of a thematic class. For example, this is the case with the verb *абстрагировать*, which has three meanings that belong to the class of thinking processes/operations:

- (10) *абстрагировать*₁ ‘present something in a general, abstract way’, e.g.: *Драматург абстрагировал смысл пьесы.*
- (11) *абстрагировать*₂ ‘abstract, leave something out of account’, e.g.: *Он абстрагирует от банальности этих высказываний.*
- (12) *абстрагировать*₃ ‘consider something separately from anything, not connect something with anything’, e.g.: *Он абстрагирует движение молекул от давления воздуха.*

As one can see, the difference of meanings can also be a situation where valency of a verb determines a sentence structure with two (*абстрагировать*₁ and *абстрагировать*₂) or three arguments (*абстрагировать*₃). In the material analyzed, fourteen instances of polysemy of this type were noted.

Table 3. Polysemy of mental verbs belonging to the same thematic class

1. MEANING	2. MEANING	THEMATIC CLASS
<i>верить</i> ₁ <i>Кихтенко верит, что террористов можно сделать более миролюбивыми.</i>	<i>верить</i> ₂ <i>Мы до последнего кадра верим в Голливуд.</i>	opinion
<i>воспринимать</i> ₁ , <i>воспринять</i> ₁ <i>Он плохо воспринимает то, что происходит в национальной обороне.</i>	<i>воспринимать</i> ₂ , <i>воспринять</i> ₂ <i>То, что происходит в частном секторе, он воспринимает как начало кризиса.</i>	knowledge and cognition
<i>дедуцировать</i> ₁ <i>Он дедуцирует рационально его отношение к миру.</i>	<i>дедуцировать</i> ₂ <i>Из понятия самоочевидности бытия философ дедуцирует основные идеи.</i>	thinking
<i>заключать</i> ₁ , <i>заключить</i> ₁ <i>Он заключил, что реплика предназначена для международного распространения.</i>	<i>заключать</i> ₂ , <i>заключить</i> ₂ <i>Из того, как он себя вел, я заключил, что молодой человек – бывший офицер.</i>	thinking

1. MEANING	2. MEANING	THEMATIC CLASS
<i>классифицировать</i> ₁ Он классифицирует случаи заболевания.	<i>классифицировать</i> ₂ В. К. Бабаев классифицирует правовые презумпции на общеправовые, межотраслевые и отраслевые.	determination
<i>переучиваться</i> ₁ , <i>переучиться</i> ₁ Кое-кто, правда, из старой гвардии с грехом пополам переучился.	<i>переучиваться</i> ₂ , <i>переучиться</i> ₂ – Переучился, – махнула рукой на внука бабушка Матрена Ивановна.	knowledge and cognition
<i>поверить</i> ₁ Я сначала не поверила даже, что он их утопил.	<i>поверить</i> ₂ Мы поверим в разум человека.	opinion
<i>позабывать</i> ₁ Он совершенно забывал всё, что можно.	<i>позабывать</i> ₂ Свои долги забываем, а чужой должок не забудем.	knowledge and cognition
<i>порешать</i> ₁ Мы посидим, порешаем задачи.	<i>порешать</i> ₂ Они порешали все вопросы.	solution
<i>принимать</i> ₁ , <i>принять</i> ₁ Мы принимаем, что $g=0$.	<i>принимать</i> ₂ , <i>принять</i> ₂ Самую печаль его принимали за непочтение.	opinion
<i>сочинять</i> ₁ , <i>сочинить</i> ₁ Нинка сочинила, что живет у подруги.	<i>сочинять</i> ₂ , <i>сочинить</i> ₂ Он сочинил симфонию.	solution
<i>трактовать</i> ₁ Он трактует, что здесь затрагивается Конституция.	<i>трактовать</i> ₂ В администрации Приморья такое решение трактуют как своеобразный ответ президента на недавнее письмо краевых властей.	knowledge and cognition
<i>узнавать</i> ₁ , <i>узнать</i> ₁ Он узнал о решении.	<i>узнавать</i> ₂ , <i>узнать</i> ₂ Я узнал голос дружочка.	knowledge and cognition

There is also another kind of semantic derivation, when there is a more radical change: in the new meaning the word represents a different thematic class. For example, the verb *передумывать/передумать* on one hand is used as a name of a thinking process meaning ‘think about everything or think about many things’ (YEVGENEVA 1984: 62). This case could be classified as a distributive type of action (see CZOCHRALSKI 1975: 22). For example, the verb with this meaning is used in the following sentences:

- (13) *Мы много передумали о том, что было в прошлом.*

- (14) *Я обо всем передумал.*
 (15) *О чем только он не передумал!*

On the other hand, this verb is also used with a different meaning representing a class of denominations of planning and resultative types of activities (the meaning is ‘again change its intention, decision’). Each meaning has its formal reflections. Firstly, the verb in the distributive meaning allows for the construction of a pseudo-subjective diathesis, that is in a reflexive form, the mental subject is in the dative in this case:

- (16) *О многом передумалось здесь за эти месяцы.*
 (17) *Что только не представилось и не передумалось мне за это время!*
 (18) *Многое передумалось в эти часы напряженного нервного возбуждения.*

Secondly, in the resultative meaning the verb (in presence of an exponent of a mental subject) is realized in the construction with the infinitive, not permitting other forms of grammaticalization of the base propositional and semantic structure:

- (19) *Он передумал уходить.*
 (20) *Он бесповоротно передумал лазить в дворовый люк.*
 (21) *Антонина Николаевна передумала ехать к сестре.*

Instances of polysemy of the latter type are presented in the table below.

Table 4. Polysemy of mental verbs belonging to the same thematic class

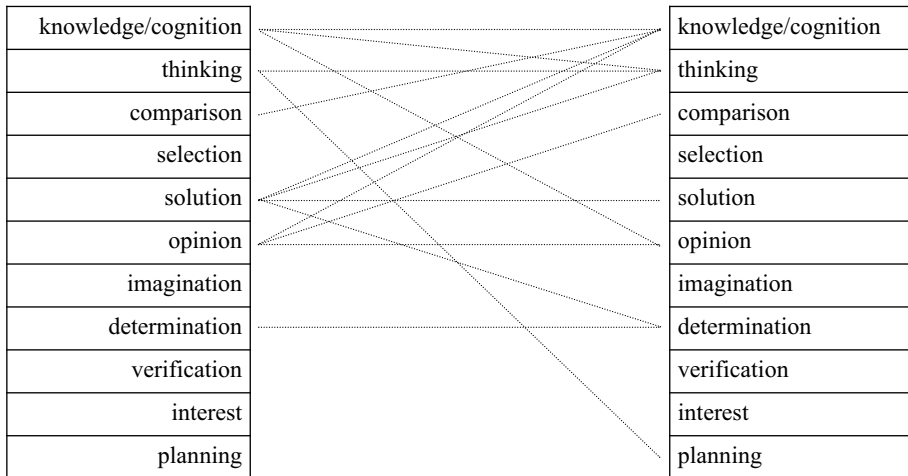
1. MEANING	THEMATIC CLASS	2. MEANING	THEMATIC CLASS
<i>думать₁</i> <i>Тренер думает, как поступить с Ивановым.</i>	thinking	<i>думать₁</i> <i>Тренер думает, как поступить с Ивановым.</i>	planning
<i>забывать₁, забыть₁</i> <i>Он забыл, что хотел сказать.</i>	knowledge, cognition	<i>забывать₂, забыть₂</i> <i>Переживал я оттого, что не мог забыть Анну Григорьевну.</i>	thinking
<i>задумываться₁, задуматься₁</i> <i>Я задумался: что бы такое сказать?</i>	thinking	<i>задумываться₂, задуматься₂</i> <i>Пушкину задумалось приволокнуться за женой Карамзина.</i>	planning
<i>идентифицировать₁</i> <i>Она идентифицирует эти внешние сущности.</i>	comparison	<i>идентифицировать₂</i> <i>Я идентифицировал Вас по имеющимся данным.</i>	knowledge, cognition

1. MEANING	THEMATIC CLASS	2. MEANING	THEMATIC CLASS
<i>пересчитывать₁, пересчитать₁</i> <i>Тигикко пересчитал, сколько у кого яхт, машин, домов.</i>	solution	<i>пересчитывать₂, пересчитать₂</i> <i>Мы пересчитали свои силы.</i>	determination
<i>подумывать₁, подумать₁</i> <i>Теперь я подумал, что, может, я был неправ.</i>	thinking	<i>подумывать₂, подумать₂</i> <i>Он подумывал сходить в медсанбат, попросить мазь от экземы.</i>	planning
<i>понимать₁, понять₁</i> <i>Я понимаю, что сделалось тогда со мною.</i>	knowledge, cognition	<i>понимать₂, понять₂</i> <i>Любовь он понимает как то, что дает человеку превосходство.</i>	opinion
<i>предпочитать₁, предпочесть₁</i> <i>Он предпочитает молчать.</i>	opinion	<i>предпочитать₂, предпочесть₂</i> <i>Курению они предпочитают активный отдых.</i>	comparison
<i>признавать₁, признать₁</i> <i>Он признает необходимость развития НОМФ.</i>	opinion	<i>признавать₂, признать₂</i> <i>Он сразу признал, что это был грек.</i>	knowledge, cognition
<i>раздумывать₁, раздумать₁</i> <i>Правительство раздумывает над созданием национального резерва нефти.</i>	thinking	<i>раздумывать₂, раздумать₂</i> <i>Гурьев обиделся и раздумал нас провожать...</i>	planning
<i>рассчитывать₁, рассчитать₁</i> <i>Они рассчитывают, сколько нужно оставить фермеру денег, чтобы он не умер.</i>	solution	<i>рассчитывать₂, рассчитать₂</i> <i>Они рассчитывают на предоставление отсрочки или рассрочки.</i>	opinion
<i>решать₁, решить₁</i> <i>Ученик решил задачу.</i>	solution	<i>решать₂, решить₂</i> <i>И тогда они окончательно решили о начале совместной работы.</i>	thinking

As it is presented in the table, the most frequently repeated type of polysemy is $V_{[\text{thinking}]} > V_{[\text{planning}]}$. It is a phenomenon of specifying the meaning of the verb: although thinking as a category of more general content is ambivalent to time, planning assumes an image of a situation which (according to the subject's wish) is to occur in the future.

In closing, let us provide a general scheme of semantic transformations which shows the distribution of the derivation relationship between thematic classes.

Figure 2. Relations of semantic derivation



As the scheme above shows it, polysemy usually involves verbs belonging to four thematic classes: knowledge/cognition, solution, thinking and opinion. It is explained by the fact that these four groups are the biggest, and polysemy, which is a known fact, is directly dependent on the factor of frequency.

6. Conclusion

In conclusion, it should be noted that mental verbs are a fairly large and semantically complex portion of the lexical system of modern Russian language, where units are subcategorized according to the nature of information encoded in their form and structure. The study shows that in terms of information about the mental function, the largest number of lexical units represent knowledge, cognition and thinking. These meanings can be considered typical for the category of mental verbs. Most other thematic classes can be considered as being semantically derived from the prototypical ones.

Due to time schemata mental verbs represent states, processes/operations, accomplishments and events. However, the largest number of units is in the second and third class, whilst the general trend is that mentality is accompanied by continuity of a situation.

Polysemy processes in the area of mental verbs are realized within the same thematic class as well as different classes, whereas the semantic

derivation usually refers to the biggest thematic classes which are verbal names of knowledge and cognition, thinking, solution and opinion/judgment.

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Александар К. Кикљевич

РУСКИ МЕНТАЛНИ ГЛАГОЛИ КАО СЕМАНТИЧКА КЛАСА

Резиме

Предмет чланка су ментални глаголи у савременом руском језику (глаголи знања, схватања и мишљења), који се сагледавају као семантичка класа. Истраживање се базира на теорији семантичког поља, као и на теорији семантичких тезауруса. Аутор разматра супкатегоризацију *verba cogitandi* узимајући у обзир два критеријума: дескриптивне семантичке компоненте (тј. објективне параметре интелектуалних радњи, процеса, односа и стања), као и временске схеме (ткз. унутрашње време), имајући у виду карактеристике попут непрекидности и ограничености. Консултована је лингвистичка линтература повезана са датом проблематиком, нарочито публикације руских лингвиста, међу којима су: Л. М. Васиљев, Г. А. Золотова, Н. Ј. Шведова, Н. С. Матвејева, Н. П. Тропињина и др. Такође, аутор испитује поједине супкласе. Анализа се врши на грађи од 543 лексичке јединице из савременог руског језика. Указује се да репрезентативност појединих семантичких супкласа варира у већем или мањем степену. У сегменту о вишезначности менталних глагола аутор разликује регуларне и нерегуларне процесе семантичке деривације. Један од закључака тиче се фреквентности употребе појединих полисеманата. Истраживање *verba cogitandi* у парадигматском аспекту чини основу синтаксичке анализе менталних глагола као предмета истраживања пројекта (који се реализује уз подршку пољског Националног центра за науку), у којем се посебно води рачуна о лексикографској и контрастивној перспективи.

Кључне речи: лексика, лексичка семантика, ментални глаголи, семантичка супкатегоризација, вишезначност.

Aleksander K. Kiklewicz

RUSSIAN MENTAL VERBS AS A SEMANTIC CLASS

Summary

The subject of the presented article is mental verbs (verbs of knowledge, understanding and thinking) in the modern Russian language, treated as a semantic class. The concept of research is based on semantic field theory and on a thesaurus perspective of semantic classes. The author focuses on the subcategorization of *verba cogitandi* taking into account two criteria: descriptive semantic components (i.e. objective parameters

of mental activities, processes, relationships and states) and temporary schemata (so called internal time), i.e. considering such characteristics as continuity and limitations. The author refers to the extensive literature on this subject, above all, the publications of Russian researchers, such as L. M. Vasiliev, G. A. Zolotova, N. Y. Shvedova, N. S. Matveyeva, and N. P. Tropinina et al. The author also examines the volume of the subclasses of mental verbs. The analysis carried out for this purpose is based on 543 verbal units of the modern Russian language. The author ascertains a more or less regular filling of separate semantic subclasses. In the section on the polysemy of mental verbs the author shows which processes are regular, and which are sporadic. One of the conclusions is: polysemy depends on the word frequency in speech. A paradigmatic study of *verba cogitandi* is the basis of a syntactic analysis of these units as part of a research project (National Science Centre, Poland) on syntax of mental verbs in lexicographical and comparative perspective.

Keywords: lexis, lexical semantics, mental verbs, semantic subcategorization, polysemy.