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# **Semantic Derivation Strategies of Verbs of Smell Emission in the Polish and Ukrainian Languages**

## **1. Introduction**

Semantic derivation represents a lexical item's dynamic semantic potential and reveals mechanisms and strategies of situation concept extensions, i.e., lexical representations of reality fragments in languages (Мельчук, 1999, p. 85). Within a situational approach towards semantic derivation, situation concept extensions assume changes in participants' characteristics (parameters): participants may change their structure, type, rank, etc. The criterion for changing the parameters is an alternative feature which differentiates source situation participants from target participants by their role and their referential, pragmatic and categorial characteristics.

As a theoretical construct (model), semantic derivation is supposed to represent cognitive strategies that underlie lexical items' semantic shifts.

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The relevance of a selected topic is determined by the functional and cognitive characteristics of human language itself, the anthropocentric orientation of modern semantic theories, and tendencies towards a profound study of lexico-semantic systems dynamics.

In support of cognitive (in a broader sense) strategies, we shall study semantic shifts of verbs of smell emission in the Polish and Ukrainian languages. Verbs of smell emission are a semantic class of words that denote a situation of smell emission and its perception, cf. Pol. *pachnieć* “wydzielać jakiś woń, jakiś zapach [emit a smell]”; *Pnące się róże pod oknami pachniały odurzająco* [The climbing roses under the windows smelt intoxicating] (SJP, 1997) vs. Ukr. *пахнути* “видавати, виділяти який-небудь запах [emit a smell]”; *Пахли недавно зрубані дерева* [The freshly cut trees smelt] (SUM, n.d.).

Verbs of smell emission have been an object of linguistic studies within the thematic classes of perception (Падучева, 2004, p. 197), causation (Rothmayr, 2009, p. 160), and emission (Gawrońska, 1994; Levin, 1993; Milivojević, 2016). The subjects of analyses were semantic and syntactical alternations, mainly considered on a scale of perception situations. It is not without reason that verbs of smell emission might also have derivational potential and may reveal concept extensions not only within the internal (perceptual) boundaries but also within the external (value-based) ones (see Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 1999; Sweetser, 1990). It is relevant to study the semantic derivation of verbs of smell emission in closely or distantly related languages since regular semantic shifts are found in many (if not in all) languages of the world, irrespective of their phylogenetic and cultural differences (Wierzbicka, 1992).

The purpose is to characterize the semantic derivation strategies of verbs of smell emission in the Polish and Ukrainian languages and to determine the dynamics of the development of their semantic paradigms in the contrastive aspect.

The purpose is fourfold:

- to describe the model of a prototype situation based on the information encoded in the semantics of Polish and Ukrainian verbs of smell emission;
- to characterize the semantic derivation strategies of verbs of smell emission in the contrastive aspect;
- to trace the semantic shifts of verbs of smell emission in the contrasted languages;
- to establish further prospects for the semantic derivation of verbs of smell emission.

## 2. Methods

In analyzing the semantic derivation of smell emission vocabulary, we shall study the verb class denominations, cf. Pol. *cuchnąć, dyszeć, pachnieć, śmierdzieć, tchnąć, trącić, wonieć, wydawać, wyziewać, zalatywać, zatrącać, ziać, zionąć* vs. Ukr. *відгонити, віддавати, віяти, воняти, духмяніти, душити, нести, пахкотити, пахнути, пахтити, пашіти, перти, повівати, припахати, продувати, смердіти, тхнути, тягти*. The essential feature of the denominations is their capacity to form sentential (predicate-and-actant) structures. Cf.

Meanings of verbal lexemes are a complicated phenomenon determined by: 1) categorial semantics of nominal terms that combine with verbs; 2) the type of sense relations between action, subject and object revealed in the patterns “subject – action”, “action – object”, and “subject – action – object. (Уфимцева, 2004, p. 119)

From this viewpoint, semantic derivation strategies of verbs of smell emission are considered situational strategies determined by changes in the characteristics of participants in a situation: role (based on the participants' type or structure changes), pragmatic (based on the participants' communicative rank changes), taxonomic (based on the participants' categorial feature changes), referential (based on the participants' denotative status changes), and deictic (based on the participants' positional feature changes) (see Демечук, 2016, pp. 45–46).

The material consists of 112 verb denominations selected by continuous sampling (55 verbs in Ukrainian and 57 verbs in Polish). The denominations are selected from representative explanatory and phraseological dictionaries of the Ukrainian and Polish languages. The source of illustrative material is the Ukrainian Text Corpus (Laboratory of Computer Linguistics at Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv) (KTUM, n.d.) and Korpus Języka Polskiego PWN (KJP, n.d.). As for the selection criteria, the paper uses lexical items that characterize a person's perceptual (odorative) situations and their changes, cf. Ukr. *Тут чимось мені смердить* vs. Pol. *Coś mi tu śmierdzi* [Something stinks here]. In cross-linguistic comparison, such a selection is supposed to reveal not only the ways in which the information in a person's perceptual (odorative) strategies is encoded and distributed in the semantics of the contrasted lexical items, but also those areas of language cognition that represent the national worldview, and the specificities of the ethnic mentality of people that belong to different linguistic communities.

The analysis of semantic derivation strategies of verbs of smell emission involves two stages: (a) a description of a prototype situation and its participants' characteristics (cf. a prototype situation is "the most important source of semantic material for the derived words" (Кустова, 2004, p. 397)); (b) modelling of semantic shifts of verbs of smell emission in the contrasted languages (modelling makes it possible to reveal the way a situation concept evolves).

## 2.1. The characteristics of a prototype situation (situation of smell emission)

1. The situation is structured as a multidimensional concept. We differentiate between the internal and external capacities of a situation concept.
  - 1.1. The internal capacity (the information encoded in the word's semantics – "a fixed concept") is made of
    - a) perceptual constituent (physical characteristics of a smell property – 'to affect the olfactory sensory system'), cf. Pol. *wydawać* "wydzielać zapach [give off "to emit a smell"]": *Coś wydaje woń, zapach, odór* [Something emits a smell, odour, aroma] (USJP, 2004); Ukr. *віддавати* "мати запах чого-небудь [give off "to smell"]": *На сонці гній розпарився й віддавав запахом перегною* [In the sun, the manure evaporated and smelt like humus] (SUM, n.d.);
    - b) attribute constituent (how a smell property manifests itself), cf. Pol. *wyziewać* "lit. 'emanate' "wydzielać z siebie woń [to give off a smell]"; *Piwnice wyziewały odór zgnilizny* [The cellars smelt of rot] (USJP, 2004); Ukr. *повівати* "розноситися, ширитися в повітрі [lit. 'waft' "to spread out, spread in the air"]"; *Густий запах нізних гречок і сухої стерні повівав з поля* [The thick smell of late buckwheat and dry stubble wafted from the field] (SUM, n.d.);
    - c) evaluative constituent (how a smell property is evaluated), cf. Pol. *śmierdzieć* "wydzielać, wydawać bardzo nieprzyjemną, przykrą, odrażającą woń [stink "to give off a very unpleasant, disgusting smell"]" (USJP, 2004); Ukr. *смердіти* "виділяти неприємний запах, погано пахнути [stink "to emit an unpleasant smell, to smell bad"]" (SUM, n.d.).

- 1.2. The external capacity (the information encoded in the utterance's semantics – “a variable concept”) is made of
- a) situational constituent (how a smell property is identified), cf. Pol. *Śmierdzi ci z ust, chyba śledziami* [Your mouth stinks, I think herring] (USJP, 2004); Ukr. – *Пхе! Що це так смердить в покоях? Чи тютюн, чи оселедці?* [Phew! What is it that stinks in the rooms? Is it tobacco or herring?] (SUM, n.d.);
  - b) comparative constituent (a smell property is compared to another property), cf. Pol. *Мам клопoty, mój niemiecki partner filmowy używa nowych perfum firmy Chanel “Egoiste”, które pachną jak szarlotka z bitą śmietaną* [I have a problem, my German film partner uses the new Chanel perfume “Egoiste” that smells like an apple pie with whipped cream] (KJP, n.d.); Ukr. *Тіна в рожевій сукні пахне, як квітка* [Tina in a pink dress smells like a flower] (KTUM, n.d.);
  - c) gradual constituent (degree of a smell property manifestation), cf. Pol. *Bzy zaczęły mocniej pachnieć* [The lilacs started to smell stronger] (SJP, 1997); Ukr. *Розігріта живиця сильніше запахла в лісах* [Warmed resin smelt stronger in the woods] (SUM, n.d.);
  - d) locative constituent (where a smell property manifests itself), cf. Pol. *Strasznie tu śmierdzi* [It smells terrible in here] (USJP, 2004); Ukr. *З магазину пахло* [The shop smelt (lit. ‘It smelt from the shop’)] (KTUM, n.d.);
  - e) expressive constituent (imagery characteristics of a smell property), cf. Pol. *Książę trupem cuchnie, gnije żyw, z kości opada* [The prince reeks of a corpse, rots alive, falls off his bones] (SJP, 1997); Ukr. *У кімнаті стояло ліжко й побитий життям канцелярський стіл, що пахнув трупами й старими газетами* [The room contained a bed and a battered desk that smelt of corpses and old newspapers] (KTUM, n.d.);
  - f) associative constituent (stereotypical, symbolic or quasi-symbolic characteristics of a smell property), cf. Pol. *Nie tylko dlatego, że kaftaniczek był z tej samej włóczki co sweter mamy, ale że jak gdyby – pachniał mamą* [Not only because the kaftan was made of the same yarn as mom's sweater, but as if – it smelt like mom] (KJP, n.d.); Ukr. *Весь світ уже ніби просмердівся цим гарячим нудотним чадом вибухлих мін, свіжі воронки ще димляться, і перепалена розрита земля пахне смертю* [The whole world seems to have already stunk of this hot,

nauseating smoke of exploded mines, fresh funnels are still smoking, and the burned, dug-up earth smells of death] (KTUM, n.d.).

## 2.2. The characteristics of situation participants

1. The key participants in the situation are the source of emission (X), the object of perception (Y) and the subject of perception (Z): *X emits a smell (Y) vs. (Z) perceives (Y) emitted by (X)*.
2. The actants are ascribed with the semantic roles of EMITTER (source of emission), PERCEPT (object of perception) and OBSERVER (subject of perception/observation).

The source of emission may be

- a) people or their body parts, cf. Pol. *Matka odchyliła głowę chłopaka, odsunęła grzywkę. Włosy pachniały naftą, były tłuste* [The mother tilted the boy's head back and pushed back his forelock. The hair smelt of kerosene, it was greasy] (KJP, n.d.); Ukr. *З-під сукенки гостро пахло гаряче тіло жінки* [The woman's hot body smelt strongly from under the dress] (KTUM, n.d.);
- b) plants or their parts, cf. Pol. *Gdzie, jak nad Renem, pachną wianuszki białych róż* [Where, like on the Rhine, wreaths of pale roses smell] (KJP, n.d.); Ukr. *Солодко і н'янюче пахне пожовклий лозняк* [The yellowed willow tree smells sweet and intoxicating] (KTUM, n.d.);
- c) artifacts, cf. Pol. *Jeszcze ciepłe arkusze, jeszcze farba pachnie przenikliwie i brudzi dłonie* [The sheets are still warm, the paint still smells subtle and stains your hands] (KJP, n.d.); Ukr. *Кольорова постіль пахне пральним порошком* [Colored bedding smells of washing powder] (KTUM, n.d.);
- d) temporal objects, cf. Pol. *Wiosna pachnie bzem* [Spring smells of lilac]; Ukr. *Солов'ї співають, пахне яблуневим цвітом, весна* [Nightingales are singing, spring smells of apple blossom] (KTUM, n.d.).

The object of perception is an evaluatively or emotionally conceptualized smell property, cf. Pol. *pachnieć ładnie, mocno, nieładnie, odurzająco, oszałamiająco, ostro* [to smell nice, strong, not nice, intoxicating, stunning, sharp] (USJP, 2004). Sometimes (in locative constructions), PERCEPT can be interpreted as an unspecified object of perception (see Levin, 1993, p. 33). Such an object tends to reveal fixed evaluative characteristics, cf. Pol. *pachnie* “*nieos. unosi się*

jakiś zapach przyjemny [‘it smells’ *impersonal* there is a pleasant smell around here]” (SJP, 1997); Ukr. *У кімнаті пахло* ‘= (щось) видавало приємний або неприємний запах’ [The room has smelt (*literally* ‘It has smelt in the room’) ‘= (something) emitted a pleasant or unpleasant smell’].

The subject of perception is anyone capable of perceiving and distinguishing smells with the olfactory system (ANALYZER). In a prototype situation, the OBSERVER participant is not expressed at the syntactic level: “It is included in the actant structure of the verb [...], but in the diathesis it has the rank BEHIND THE SCENE” (Падучева, 2006, p. 404). As a participant in a “smell emission” situation, OBSERVER may also act as the subject of evaluation or emotions, cf. Pol. *Pachnie (przyjemnie, uciążliwie, smutkiem)* [It smells (nice, intoxicating, sad)] (KJP, n.d.); Ukr. *Бадьоро (запаморочливо, очманіло, хвилююче) пахло* [It smelled invigorating (dizzy, giddy, exciting)] (KTUM, n.d.).

3. In a prototype situation, the EMITTER participant is “topicalized”, the PERCEPT participant has the status of an incorporated actant, and the OBSERVER participant gets the rank BEHIND THE SCENE, cf. Ukr. *Квіти пахнуть* [Flowers smell] = ‘flowers (X) emit a smell (Y), which is perceived by someone (Z)’. Such a situation is prototypical since it reveals the features of an “organic” state of affairs:

An organic state is intrinsic to the meaning of the predicate: the corresponding situation is considered an inherent characteristic which is not a result of any other event (*a stone is heavy, grass is green*). On the contrary, the derived state is interpreted as acquired, being a result of some process or action (Кибрик, 1992, p. 136).

From this point of view, the situation of *The flowers smell of gasoline* is considered as derived since it reveals signs of a “non-organic” (acquired) state of affairs (the flowers themselves do not smell of gasoline).

4. The choice of the participants’ syntactic positions (communicative ranks) is regulated by changes of logical accents within the opposition of the assertive and presuppositional components of meaning (see Апресян, 1995, p. 257). In particular, one may explain the bringing of the OBSERVER participant into the rank BEHIND THE SCENE by the fact that the presuppositional component ‘Z perceives some smell’ characterizes the subject of perception as an identifier of smell in general (the olfactory system is designed to identify smells of any quality). On the other hand, the assertive component ‘X gives off some smell’ encodes information on a specific smell property,

cf. Ukr. *квітка* “частина рослини, що має [...] приємний запах [*flower* “a part of a plant that has [...] a pleasant smell”]” (SUM, n.d.). Naturally, the negation of the assertive component characterizes the situation as a “non-emission of a (specific) smell property” state of affairs in which the subject of perception is considered a participant which is incapable of identifying the property, cf. Ukr. *Квіти не пахнуть* [Flowers do not smell] ⊃ ‘do not emit a smell’. It is worth noting that for the situation of “failure in the functioning of the perceiver’s olfactory systems (stuffy nose, loss of smell)”, it is relevant to use “inert state” constructions, cf. ‘VERBS OF INERT PERCEPTION’ in Leech (2004, p. 25), cf. Pol. *Chodziło o osoby, które przestały wyczuwać zapachy i smaki w ciągu czterech tygodni od daty zgłoszenia* [These were people who had ceased to sense smells and tastes within four weeks from the date of reporting] (Zieleniewska, 2020); Ukr. *На 6-й день я перестала відчувати запахи. Це не було якось раптово, типу “заклало” – і все. Але аромату вечері я не відчувала. Почала пробувати нюхати все підряд: креми, чаї, лимони... Ніс не закладений – але запаху не відчуваєш* [On the 6th day, I stopped smelling. It didn’t happen suddenly, something like “stuffed up” – and that’s it. But I did not smell the aroma of dinner. I started trying to smell everything in turn: creams, teas, lemons... The nose is not blocked – but you can’t smell it] (Марчук, 2020).

### 3. Results

In the contrasted languages, the concept of a prototype situation may extend towards the semantics of predicates of (a) acquired state, cf. Pol. *Piwnica suchnęła stęchlizną* [The basement smelt musty] (USJP, 2004); Ukr. *Від неї пахло вітром і димом* [She smelt of wind and smoke] (KTUM, n.d.); (b) concurrent state, cf. Pol. *Miasto umyte po deszczu wiosennym pachnie niedzielą* [The city, washed after the spring rain, smells of Sunday] (SJP, 1997); Ukr. *Себастьян майже не пахнув Африкою* [Sebastian hardly smelt of Africa] (KTUM, n.d.); (c) categorial state, cf. Pol. *Cały jego arsenał pachnie partyzantką i chałupnictwem* [His entire arsenal smells of guerrilla warfare and cottage industry] (KJP, n.d.); Ukr. *Дещо додумувалось, вигадувалось, а то й позичалось – і тоді пахло штучністю й оголеністю наміру, але це були лише окремі сюжетні ходи, поодинокі деталі* [Something was invented, made up, and even borrowed –



and then it smelt of artificiality and the nakedness of the intention, but these were only separate plot moves, isolated details] (KTUM, n.d.).

The analysis is reduced to the semantic shifts and strategies of verbs of smell emission. Quantitative values (the number of semantic shifts) and the percentage ratio of the lexical items' semantic strategies in the Polish and Ukrainian languages are illustrated in Figure 1 (vide infra).

Figure 1. *Strategies of the semantic derivation of verbs of smell emission in Polish and Ukrainian*

Strategies	Polish	Ukrainian
Role	25.5 % (14)	42.1 % (24)
Deictic	9.0 % (5)	24.6 % (14)
Taxonomic	65.5 % (36)	33.3 % (19)

## 4. The semantic derivation of verbs of smell emission

### 4.1. Predicates of acquired state

Semantic development provides for a shift to an adjacent component within the same concept, cf. the notion of “internal metonymy” (Кустова, 2004, p. 56). The prototype situation is enriched in the participant of BACKGROUND PERCEPT (background object of perception). Such a participant is qualified as an actant of a “non-organic” state, acquired due to some process or action (vide supra). The background object of perception is a smell property which associatively correlates with an object characteristic, cf. the notion of “denotative (referential) attributes” in Рузин (1994), p. 81, cf. Pol. *Też nie lubiła Hrehora, obleśny typ, wulgarny i śmierdzi capem* [She didn't like Hrehor either, a filthy specimen, vulgar and he stinks like a goat] (КJP, n.d.); Ukr. *Моя майстерня цілий місяць смерділа часником і цибулею* [My workshop stank of garlic and onions for a whole month] (KTUM, n.d.).

We qualify the object characteristic as a situational property, which manifests itself in the mode of current perception, cf. Ukr. *Я пригорнув її, торкнувся губами волосся, що пахло сухою травою і парним молоком* [I hugged her and touched her hair with my lips, which smelt of dry grass

and fresh milk] (KTUM, n.d.). Semantic extension, in this case, provides for the strategy of changing the referential status of the subject of perception, which involves the redistribution of semantic roles within the macro role of OBSERVER – the subject of perception becomes the subject of identification (e.g., the hair itself does not emit the smell of dry grass and fresh milk; instead, the subject of perception attributes the property to it). The OBSERVER characterizes the situation as a simultaneous manifestation of two states of affairs: the perception of a smell property and the identification of an object that emits such a property.

The situation is also considered derivative as the EMITTER participant is demoted to the rank BEHIND THE SCENE. Such a situation is represented by a locative construction, cf. Pol. *Strasznie tu śmierdzi* [It smells terrible in here] (USJP, 2004); Ukr. *На горнищі так смерділо, що аж у носі дерло* [The attic stank so much that my nose tingled] (SUM, n.d.). We consider such a situation as a state with an unidentified source of emission (a person smells something but cannot identify who or what emits it), cf. Pol. *Co tak śmierdzi. Pachniało nie wiadomo czym* [What is that smell. It smelt of something] (KJP, n.d.); Ukr. – *Що це смерділо?* [What is that smell?] (KTUM, n.d.). Naturally, the subject of perception interprets such a situation in terms of a localized (closed) space (smell tends to spread out and, most importantly, it retains its properties within a closed, often unventilated room). The unidentified source situation should be distinguished from the situation in which a source of emission is non-personalized, cf. Pol. – *O, mamo, ty ja mówię no, może ze zlewu, przecież tam co jakiś czas wlewam to, tego Skrzata, i, i gorącą wodę wlewam i to do tego, mi nic nie śmierdzi, jemu coś śmierdzi* [Oh, mom, I say, maybe from the sink, after all, I pour it, that Skrzat, from time to time, and I add some hot water to this, I smell no odour, but he does] (KJP, n.d.). The subject of perception (*jemu coś śmierdzi* [he smells an odour, lit. 'something stinks to him']) localizes a source of emission but cannot accurately determine its nature. If the subject of perception conceptualizes (localizes) a source of emission by its characteristic attributes, the situation is considered a state with an unspecified source of emission, cf. Pol. *Śmierdzi od kilku tygodni – mówi 26-letni Daniel Mroczko, jeden z mieszkańców. Na pola, z których zebrano zboże, niemal codziennie pracownicy senatora ciągnikami wywożą mączkę. Rozsypują ją i bronują talerzówką* [It has stunk for several weeks – says 26-year-old Daniel Mroczko, one of the residents. The senator's employees used tractors to transport flour to the fields from which the grain was harvested. They scattered it and harrowed it with a plate disc] (KJP, n.d.),

source of emission – a chemical substance; Ukr. *Пахло йодоформом і ще якимсь лікарським густим пахом* [It smelt of iodoform and some other thick medicinal smell] (KTUM, n.d.), source of emission – drugs, medicine.

The localization of the source of emission (foregrounding of the EMITTER participant) provides for identification and specification of the background object of perception, cf. Pol. *Śmierdziało od niego wódką* [He reeked of vodka] (USJP, 2004); Ukr. *Від нього нудотно тхнуло собачатиною* [He sickeningly reeked of dog shit] (KTUM, n.d.). It is worth noting that the situation of the localization of the source of emission in the Polish and Ukrainian languages may also be realized by personal constructions with verbs that belong to the thematic group of “filling (permeation)”, cf. Pol. *przejsć* “zostać przesyconym, przesiąkniętym czymś; przesiąknąć [lit. ‘pass’ “to become permeated with smth.”]”: *Kozuch przeszedł zapachem naftaliny* [The sheepskin coat smelt of mothballs] (USJP, 2004); Ukr. *просмердітися* “просочитися, наповнитися, пропахнути неприємним запахом [become permeated “to be filled with, to become permeated with an unpleasant smell”]”: – *Та біля тебе ж стояти не можна!* – *обурився Максим.* – *Вже наскрізь просмердівся горілкою* [– But I can’t stand near you! – Maksym was indignant. – I have already become permeated with vodka] (SUM, n.d.).

## 4.2. Predicates of concurrent state

Predicates represent a semantic shift to another adjacent situation concept, cf. the notion of “external metonymy” (Кустова, 2004, p. 427). A target situation arises from a change in the observer’s cognitive stance (see Segal, 1995, p. 15). The OBSERVER considers such a shift as a sequential manifestation of two situations – the perception of smell and its associative correlation with an adjacent (in space and time) background, state of affairs, cf. Ukr. *Пахло осінню й літом разом* [It smelt of autumn and summer together] (KTUM, n.d.). Semantic extension simultaneously provides for the strategy of changing the OBSERVER’S referential status – the participant becomes the subject of association, cf. Pol. *Zjawia się Rena, strojna jak kwiat, pachnąca młodością, wabniejsza niż kiedykolwiek* [Rena appears, graceful as a flower, smelling of youth, more attractive than ever] (SJP, 1997); Ukr. *Тарасова хата була низькою, вкритою стрімким дахом і пахла старістю* [Taras’s house was low, covered with a steep roof, and smelt of old age] (KTUM, n.d.).

At the level of the situation concept, the manifestations provide for the correlation of a smell property with an individualized sense, cf. Pol. *Gdy tu*

*Żebro podał na mur pierwszy bochen ogromny, kasztanowaty, wyłożony od spodu tatarakiem, pachnący dzieciństwem i Rzekuciem, Szczęśny uczył, że tego chleba nie zapomni nigdy i nie odda towarzyszom zwyczajnie* [When Żebro handed him the first huge chestnut loaf, lined with tartar from below, smelling of childhood and Rzekucie, Szczęśny felt that he would never forget that piece of bread and would not simply give it to his companions] (KJP, n.d.); Ukr. *Шумлять, як в дитинстві, тополі, і пахне дитинством земля* [The poplars make noise, as in childhood, and the earth smells of childhood] (SUM, n.d.), or a conventionalized (stereotyped) sense, cf. Pol. *Było uroczyście, pachniało ciastem i świętami* [It was festive, smelt of cake and Christmas] (KJP, n.d.); Ukr. *Коли я ступив у хату до неї, там ще пахло, ну як вам сказати, – свічками, воском, пахло смертю* [When I stepped into her house, it still smelt, well, I would put it – of candles, wax, it smelt of death] (KTUM, n.d.).

The typology of “background situations” includes the classes of (a) time (period), cf. Pol. *Wszystko pachnie dawnością* [Everything smells of antiquity] (KJP, n.d.); Ukr. *Шкіра пахла старим звичним життям* [The skin smelt of the old familiar life] (KTUM, n.d.); (b) space (location), cf. Pol. *Świeży ser pachnie suwalskimi łąkami* [Fresh cheese smells of Suwałki meadows] (NKJP, n.d.); Ukr. *Пахло рідним Поділлям* [It smelt of native Podillia] (KTUM, n.d.); (c) event, cf. Pol. *W domu pachnie już Wigilią* [It smells of Christmas Eve at home] (NKJP, n.d.); Ukr. *Згодом вони обернулися в оберемок лепехи, що гостро пахла троєцькими святами* [Later, they turned into a bundle of sweet flag, which smelt strongly of the Trinity holidays] (KTUM, n.d.); (d) quality, cf. Pol. *Pachniało w pokoju ziemią wiosenną i czystym, orzeźwiającym chłodem nocy* [The room smelt of spring earth and the pure, refreshing chill of the night] (KJP, n.d.); Ukr. *Від нього пахло грозою й холодом* [He smelt of thunderstorm and cold] (KTUM, n.d.), etc.

### 4.3. Predicates of categorial state

Semantic derivation is based on a categorial shift – a physical feature or source situation is used as a model of an abstract property or situation and is applied to a referent with fundamentally different properties (see Кустова, 2004, p. 58). The categorial shift provides for changes in the taxonomic characteristics of the object participants; the OBSERVER participant acquires the features of the subject of evaluation (interpretation), cf. Pol. *Marek Biernacki uważa, że sprawa Tarnowskiego pachnie dintojrą i godzi w prestiż Polski na arenie międzynarodowej* [Marek Biernacki believes that the Tarnowski case smells

of a kangaroo trial and that it harms Poland's prestige in the international arena] (KJP, n.d.); Ukr. *Коли до змагань залишається тиждень, Круглов розуміє, що справа пахне скандалом* [When there was a week left before the competition, Kruhlov realized that the matter smelt of a scandal] (SUM, n.d.). The object participants play the role of socio-cultural stimuli whose function is reduced to the initiation of a certain value-based (emotional) reaction on the part of the OBSERVER participant, cf.

The qualitative specificity of the emotional reflection of reality is that it represents not the properties of the things themselves, but their significance for human life. (Шаховский, 2008, p. 36)

The typology of “socio-cultural stimuli” includes the objects of (a) social acts (actions), cf. Pol. *Ta sprawa od początku śmierdziała szwindlem* [This case smelt fake from the beginning] (KJP, n.d.); Ukr. *Він пах злочином* [He smelt of crime] (KTUM, n.d.); (b) social conflicts, cf. Pol.  *pachnie prochem* “można się spodziewać bitwy, strzelaniny, zanosі się na wojnę [‘it smells of powder’ you can expect a battle, a shootout, there is going to be a war]”: *Nie były to już czasy spokojne. Pachniało prochem i krwią* [These were no longer quiet times. It smelt of powder and blood] (SJP, 1997; USJP, 2004); Ukr. *В повітрі пахне реакцією, а значить, і порохом* [The air smells of reaction, which means it smells of a gunpowder] (SUM, n.d.); (c) social events, cf. Pol. *Już pachnie festiwalem* [It already smells of a festival] (KJP, n.d.); *I от, нарешті, на вечір, коли вже в усьому домі так смачно і врочисто пахло святом, вона і старший брат Валерко одягали святкові вбрання* [And so, finally, in the evening, when the whole house has already smelt of the delicious and solemn holidays, she and her older brother Valerko put on festive clothes] (KTUM, n.d.); (d) social consequences, cf. Pol. *Robisz tajdactwa, ale małe, tarne, głupie, które pachną kratką* [You are up to villainies, but small, flimsy, stupid ones that smell of jail (arrest)] (SJP, 1997); Ukr. *Та це ж діло пахне наслідками* [Well, that affair smells of consequences] (KTUM, n.d.); (e) social practices, cf. Pol. *Na pierwszy rzut oka widać, że taka umowa pachnie systemem argentyńskim* [At first glance, you can see that such an agreement smells of the Argentinean system] (NKJP, n.d.); (f) social evaluation, cf. Pol. *Rakuskiemu księciu okrutnie ta korona pachnie* [This crown smells cruel to the Rakuski prince] (SJP, 1997); Ukr. *Отож і могло так статися: не Хільбудій догадався, що татьба його пахне недобрим, і вивіз полонених далі від Фракії, імператор прислав кораблі і забрав свідків Хільбудієвої ганьби* [So it could have happened: Khilbudius didn't

guess that his theft smelt bad and took the captives further from Thrace, but the emperor sent ships and took away the witnesses of Khilbudius's disgrace] (KTUM, n.d.); (g) social groups (classes), cf. Ukr. *Зовні козак ніби, а пальцем ткнеш, смердить шляхтичем, – мовив Хмельницький, сідаючи у фотель* [Outside, he looks like a Cossack, but if you poke him with a finger, he smells of a nobleman – said Khmelnytskyi, sitting down in an armchair] (SUM, n.d.); (h) socio-political movements (opinions), cf. Pol. *Na dzisiejszej scenie politycznej nie ma miejsca dla ideologicznych fanatyków – to wszystko cuchnie “fasyzmem”, “totalitaryzmem”, “nietolerancją”* [There is no place for ideological fanatics on today's political scene – everything reeks of “fascism”, “totalitarianism”, “intolerance”] (KJP, n.d.); Ukr. *А тому, що та ціла УНРРА і сам її головний “бос”, бувший мейор Нью Йорку, Ля Гвардія, досить тхнули “червоним душком”* [And that is because the whole UNRRA and its main “boss”, the former mayor of New York, La Guardia, rather reeked of “red smell”] (KTUM, n.d.). *Душком від тебе антирадянським припахує* [You smell of anti-Soviet things] (SUM, n.d.).

Two types of derivational strategies underlie the situation represented by the predicates of the categorial state – emotive and ethical.

The emotive strategy provides for the evaluation of the OBSERVER's emotional attitude towards the object of perception. As a source of emission, the object of perception “determines” an evaluative and emotional attitude towards itself on the part of the OBSERVER participant, taking into account those situational characteristics that are of value for the OBSERVER, cf. Pol. *Z każdego kąta pachniało tajemnicą i... smutkiem, bo przedmioty otaczające Erwina dla większości Koloraków były jedynie nieco śmiesznymi relikami przeszłości* [From every corner it smelt of mystery and ... sadness, because the objects surrounding Erwin for most of the Koloraks were just slightly funny relics of the past] (KJP, n.d.); Ukr. *Пахло любов'ю!* [It smelt of love] (KTUM, n.d.). Adjacent to the emotive one is the affective strategy that characterizes the degree of the OBSERVER's emotional attitude towards the object of perception, cf. Pol. *Jednak Horni tchnie olbrzymim smutkiem* [However, Horni exudes great sadness] (Lenard & Mikołajczak, 2022); Ukr. *Русьчині брови злітають від здивування, та Майка помічає інше – Руслана мимоволі підводиться, сідає подалі, ніби від Майки тхне страшним заразним горем* [Ruslana's eyebrows rise in surprise, but Maika notices something else – Ruslana involuntarily stands up, takes another place, as if Maika reeks of terrible contagious grief] (KTUM, n.d.). Characterizing the OBSERVER's degree of interest, such situations reveal

a particular referential feature: “they presuppose the existence of a single object they evaluate” (Вольф, 2006, p. 45), cf. Ukr. *Пахне недолюбленою тривогою* [It smells of unloved anxiety] (KTUM, n.d.).

The ethical strategy is reduced to the tendentious interpretation of an object participant. Within the imaginary scale of “prescriptiveness”, the characteristics of such a participant are attributed to the minimum, medium or maximum of obligatory features that underlie the evaluative attitude on the part of the OBSERVER.

The evaluation is considered minimally prescriptive when the characteristics of an evaluated object only determine the direction of judgment within the “good – bad” extrema. Such a situation is observed at the level of word semantics, cf. Pol. *trącić* “odznaczać się czymś w pewnym stopniu, zawierać elementy czegoś [*smack* “to be distinguished to some extent, contain elements of something”]: *Jego dowcip trącił cynizmem. Ta prawda trąci banałem* [His wit smacked of cynicism. This truth smacks of banality] (USJP, 2004), or Aktionsart semantics, cf. Ukr. *Звісно, машина трохи перестаралась, тут попахувало особистою нескромністю* [Of course, the car overdid it a bit, it reeked of personal immodesty] (KTUM, n.d.). For the OBSERVER, the evaluation often reveals the features of an insufficiently shaped (incomplete) judgment, as it is based on an intuitive (sometimes false) impression, cf. Pol. *coś niedobrze pachnie* “coś jest podejrzane, jest nie w porządku [*smth. smells bad* “something is suspicious, something is not right”]: – *Cała ta sprawa z odnalezioną nagłą córeczką niedobrze mi pachnie – powiedziała. – Czy ty, Jasiu, nie knujesz na starość czegoś podłego?* [“The whole thing about the suddenly found daughter smells bad to me,” she said. “Are you, Johnny, plotting something mean in your old age?”] (USJP, 2004); Ukr. *пахнути* “містити в собі можливість, загрозу спричинитися до чого-небудь, закінчитися чимсь (звичайно неприємним, небезпечним) [*smell* “to contain an opportunity, a threat to cause something, to end up with something (unpleasant, dangerous)”]: *Чую вже, що та похвала для Омелька не добром пахне* [I feel that that praise might be unpleasant (dangerous) for Omelko (*literally* ‘I feel that that praise does not smell good for Omelko’)] (SUM, n.d.).

The medial prescriptiveness provides for a conditioned (which arises under certain conditions) interpretation of an object participant. The OBSERVER evaluates such a situation from two viewpoints – reminiscent and approximative. The viewpoints focus on a certain temporal (either retrospective or prospective) component of the situation concept. The reminiscent viewpoint characterizes

the situation retrospectively, since the image from experience is the focus of attention, cf. Pol. *To nazwisko diabelnie Starym Miastem pachnie* [This name devilishly smells of Old Town] (SJP, 1997); Ukr. *Син Роман, від'їжджаючи в далекий світ, не хотів і сотні взяти, бо вони йому смерділи батьковим приниженням* [The son, Roman, leaving for a distant region, did not even want to take a single hundred banknote, because it reeked of the father's humiliation for him] (KTUM, n.d.). The approximative viewpoint characterizes the situation prospectively since the situation is considered to be 'approaching towards a certain state of affairs'. The OBSERVER evaluates the situation favourably if it meets the OBSERVER's intentions (plans), cf. Pol. *coś komuś pachnie* "ktoś ma na coś ochotę, coś kogoś ęci, pociąga [smth. smells for smb. "someone wants something, something attracts, tempts someone"]": *Widzę, że pachnie ci ta posadka* [I see that job smells for you] (USJP, 2004); *Pachniało podróżą* [It smelt of travelling] (KJP, n.d.); Ukr. *пахнути* "ставати близьким до здійснення; наближатися (про подорож, мандрівку і т. ін.) [smell "become close to realization; to approach (about a trip, journey, etc.)"]": *Мандрівка пахне, аж серце п'яне!* [The journey smells so good that my heart is malty!] (SUM, n.d.), and vice versa – it is considered unfavourable if some external factors get involved, cf. Pol. *coś pachnie czymś* "coś pociąga za sobą przykre następstwa, grozi czymś [smth. smells of smth. "something has unpleasant consequences, it threatens with something"]": *Takie rozruchy pachną rewolucją* [Such riots smell of a revolution] (USJP, 2004); Ukr. *пахне смаленим (смаженим, тютюном)* "загрожує небезпека, загибель і т. ін. або передбачаються неприємності [it smells of burn (tobacco) "danger, death, etc. are approaching; trouble is supposed to happen"]": *Досвідчений розвідник одразу збагнув, що в повітрі пахне смаленим* [An experienced scout immediately realized that it smells of burning in the air] (SUM, n.d.).

The maximal prescriptiveness provides for absolute (non-relative) evaluation of an object participant. The object is supposed to have a permanent characteristic which determines the object's value within a particular (usually negative) extremum, cf. Pol. *śmierdzieć czym* "mieć pełne charakterystyczne (ujemne) cechy [*stink* "to have certain characteristic (negative) features"]": *Hejt na milę śmierdział kospiracją* [Hejt stank of conspiracy for a mile] (SJP, 1997); Ukr. *смердіти* "перен. розм. бути огидним [*stink* "transf. colloq. to be disgusting"]": *Вже не тільки ідеалові етичному наших часів, але й передовим людям однаково смердять кати всіх часів і народів, партій і класів* [Executioners of all times and peoples, parties and classes stink not only of the ethical ideal of our time but also of advanced people] (SUM, n.d.).



## 5. Conclusion

The semantic extensions of verbs of smell emission have a situational nature that is reduced to changes in participants' characteristics. The extension dynamics in the Polish and Ukrainian verbs of smell emission show a regular semantic development – from the situation of smell emission towards the acquired, concurrent, and categorial states. The analysis has shown that the semantic development strategies of verbs of smell emission in the contrasted languages are not the same. The differences reveal themselves in the semantic derivation strategies. In Polish, the extension of the situation concept looks more local as it mainly focuses on changes in the scope of categorial properties of the situation participants (a taxonomic strategy). In Ukrainian, the situation concept extends to the situation participants' type, structure (a role strategy) and positional characteristics (a deictic strategy). An overall survey of the vernacular worldview requires further research into semantic derivation strategies of smell emission terms in the comparative, historical and typological aspects.

### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- KJP – *Korpus Języka Polskiego PWN* (n.d.).  
KTUM – *Korpus tekstів української мови* (n.d.).  
NKJP – *Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego* (n.d.).  
SJP – *Słownik języka polskiego* (1997).  
SUM – *Словник української мови* (n.d.).  
USJP – *Uniwersalny słownik języka polskiego* (2004).

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## **Strategie derywacji semantycznej czasowników emisji zapachu w języku polskim i ukraińskim**

W artykule skupiono się na strategiach derywacji semantycznej czasowników emisji zapachu – słów oznaczających sytuację wydzielania zapachu i jego percepcji. W pracy ukazano cechy czasowników emisji zapachu oraz scharakteryzowano ich zmiany semantyczne w języku polskim i ukraińskim. Rozszerzenia pojęcia sytuacji emisji zapachu są zdeterminowane przez zmiany charakterystyk uczestników sytuacji. Przesunięcia semantyczne sugerują regularny kierunek rozszerzeń – od domeny wewnętrznej (sytuacja emisji zapachu i jego percepcji) przez dziedzinę przyległą (identyfikacja zapachu) w kierunku domeny zewnętrznej (interpretacja zapachu).

**Słowa kluczowe:** strategia; model; derywacja semantyczna; czasowniki emisji zapachu; pojęcie sytuacji

## **Semantic derivation strategies of verbs of smell emission in the Polish and Ukrainian languages**

The article focuses on the strategies of semantic derivation of verbs of smell emission – a semantic class of words that denote a situation of smell emission and its perception. The study reveals the features of verbs of smell emission and characterizes their semantic shifts in the Polish and Ukrainian languages. We posit that a linguistic item's semantic paradigm development aligns with situation concept extensions, which are supposed to be determined by the changes participants undergo within source-to-target-situation shifts. The semantic shifts construed by Polish and Ukrainian verbs of smell emission suggest the regular direction of concept extensions – from an internal domain (a situation of smell emission and its perception) via an adjacent one (smell identification) towards an external (smell interpretation) domain.

**Keywords:** strategy; model; semantic derivation; verbs of smell emission; situation concept

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