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## Semantic Maps for BE and HAVE in Slavic

This study presents data concerning the concepts BE and HAVE, what these concepts mean, and how they are expressed lexically in Russian, Czech, Polish, and Bulgarian<sup>1</sup>. These concepts are revealed to have multiple meanings and functions (polysemy) and to be expressed by various lexical items (suppletion). An understanding of polysemy and suppletion both as phenomena in language and as developmental processes is important for understanding how BE and HAVE are structured and how they change over time. Both BE and HAVE show polysemy in a blended prototype model, whereby each are composed of two major, inseparable meanings, an abstract idea and a joining idea. BE and HAVE also show various degrees of suppletion in different languages. The similar structure, meaning, and function of BE and HAVE reveal that these two concepts are closely related semantic ideas that are also the organizing principles in a broader nexus of semantically related concepts. When BE and HAVE are renewed in language, new lexical material is provided from these semantically related concepts. As we look closely at the semantic maps of BE and HAVE in four Slavic languages, we will see the complexities of BE and HAVE, the degrees and types of polysemy and suppletion, and the types of language-dependent variety that are found in the expression of these two key semantic ideas.

The constructions for BE and HAVE in a broader Indo-European context suggest two key ideas, one abstract, the other serving to join two items (see Figure 1). For BE, these are the familiar distinctions between EXISTENCE and COPULA. Although these two prototypes can be distinguished and identified as the key concepts in the expression of BE, the data suggest that both of these ideas are present in varying degrees in any use of BE. Similarly, HAVE is composed of the abstract notion POSSESSION and a joining notion, RELATIONSHIP, both of which are present in all expressions of HAVE. POSSESSION is understood here very broadly to encompass the many types of possession, whereas RELATIONSHIP accounts for uses of HAVE which have nothing do to with ownership or

possession, but rather express relationships such as part and whole, particularly in the expression of body part possession or kinship relations.

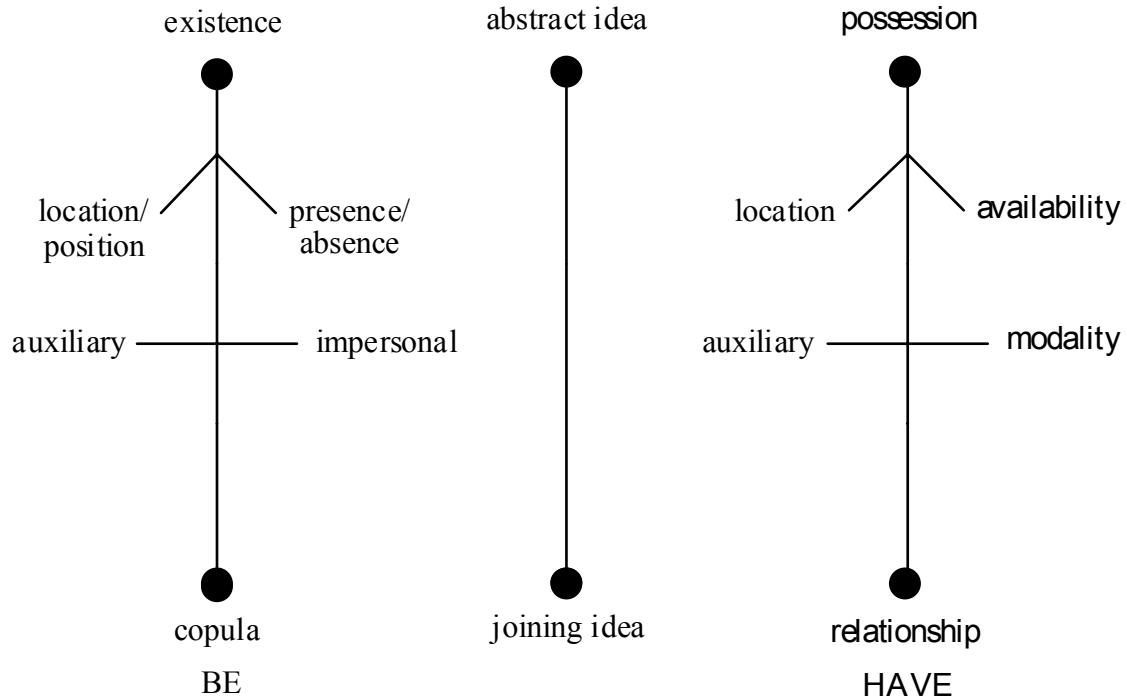


Figure 1  
Blended Prototype Model

The blended prototype model presented in Figure 1 will provide the framework for the individual semantic maps of BE and HAVE in Russian, Czech, Polish, and Bulgarian. As can already be seen, when dealing with BE and HAVE we are dealing with polysemous concepts. In addition to the two main meanings, there are related meanings and extensions of BE and HAVE, structurally quite similar to each other. Closely related to the abstract notions of EXISTENCE and POSSESSION are locational notions and notions of accessibility. For BE, this includes various uses that involve places or positions (especially SIT, STAND, LIE) and a distinction between simple EXISTENCE as opposed to merely being or not being somewhere at sometime, expressed in the notion PRESENCE/ABSENCE, where EXISTENCE is not questioned. In the case of HAVE, these notions express various types of possession. POSSESSION, as identified in the schema in Figure 1 includes notions of ownership which is more or less permanent, whereas

LOCATION expresses possession of an item in a certain *location*, which could be a garage, a home, a bank, or the person of the possessor, and AVAILABILITY involves *access* to a possessed object, which may or may not entail actual ownership. Both BE and HAVE are also frequently grammaticalized as auxiliaries, performing roles as markers of tense and mood, or providing material for various grammatical function words. Similarly, these concepts may give rise to various modal uses. For BE, this means the use of BE in conjunction with various modal particles, adjectives, adverbs, or in impersonal expressions, e.g., R *ej budet nužna vaša kniga* ‘she will need your book’, R *mne bylo xolodno* ‘I was cold’, Cz *je mi smutno* ‘I am sad’, whereas HAVE is frequently grammaticalized as a modal verb as in Engl *have to* ‘must’, and Cz *mít* ‘have’ and P *mieć* ‘have’, which can be used as modal verbs with meanings of ‘supposed to, should, ought, am to’. The present analysis proposes that all of these varied uses stem from the semantics of BE and HAVE represented in the two blended prototypical ideas.

Having defined BE and HAVE according to the schema in Figure 1, we now must identify how the various polysemies are expressed lexically. We find that BE and HAVE are expressed by multiple lexical items and root forms. These suppletions represent ancient root forms in the case of BE, which have been highly productive in the Indo-European languages. Nevertheless, we find a differing degree of suppletion in various Indo-European language families.

**Ancient Greek (no suppletion)**

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>es-* ‘be’ > Grk *eimí* ‘I am’

**Polish (two roots)**

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>es-* ‘be’ > P *jest* ‘(there) is’

PIE *\*bhuh<sub>x</sub>-* ‘be, become’ > P *być* ‘to be’, *będą* ‘they will be’

**English (three roots)**

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>es-* ‘be’ > Engl *am, is, are*

PIE *\*bhuh<sub>x</sub>-* ‘be, become’ > Engl *be, been*

PIE *\*wes-* ‘dwell’ > Engl *was, were*

**Old Irish (at least five roots!)**

PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>es-* ‘be’ > OIr *is* ‘is’

PIE *\*bhuh<sub>x</sub>-* ‘be, become’ > OIr *bíid* ‘is’

PIE *\*steh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘stand’ > OIr *a-tá* ‘is’

PIE *\*ghabh-* ‘take’ > OIr *rond-gabus* [lit. ‘I have taken it’] ‘I am’

OIr *fil* ‘see!’ > OIr *ní-m-fil* [lit. ‘See me not!’] ‘I am not’

Table 1

## Degrees of Suppletion in Some Indo-European Groups

Suppletion may or may not be present in a given language’s conception of BE, as in Ancient Greek, which only used a single root form, PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>es-* ‘be’. The Slavic expression of BE uses this same root, PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>es-* ‘be’ and PIE *\*bhuh<sub>x</sub>-* ‘be, become’, as found in Polish. English BE makes use of both these root forms and adds another, PIE *\*wes-* ‘dwell’ for the past tense forms Engl *was, were*. Old Irish presents at least five roots in the expression of a coherent concept BE, utilizing the same two roots as in Slavic with the additional use of PIE *\*steh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘stand’, a particularly productive root form in the Indo-European languages, PIE *\*ghabh-* ‘take’ (perhaps providing a sense of ‘I take, therefore I am’), and the form of the imperative of ‘see’ as in OIr *ní-m-fil* [lit. ‘See me not!’] ‘I am not’. If we consider the German extension of ‘give’ to ‘be’ in the expression Gm *es gibt* ‘there is’, we start to see the use of many concepts that we would perhaps not expect to see used to express BE. How can we account for the incorporation of such notions as STAND, TAKE, GIVE, and SEE for the expression of BE? The use of these

concepts in a coherent expression of BE can be better understood if we further consider BE and HAVE together with their semantic neighbors.

CATEGORY	BECOMING	BEING	UNBECOMING
<i>existence</i>	MAKE/DO BECOME	BE	(UNMAKE) <sup>ii</sup>
<i>possession</i>	GIVE, TAKE GET	HAVE	TAKE, GIVE LOSE
<i>creation</i>	CREATE	EXIST	DESTROY
<i>life</i>	BE BORN	LIVE, GROW	DIE
<i>visibility, presence</i>	APPEAR	BE visible	DISAPPEAR
<i>visibility, presence</i>	SHOW	BE visible	HIDE
<i>accessibility</i>	FIND	KEEP	LOSE, LEAVE
<i>motion</i>	COME	STAY	GO/LEAVE
<i>process</i>	START/BEGIN	CONTINUE	FINISH/END
<i>position</i>	STAND UP	STAND	SIT DOWN/LIE DOWN
<i>position</i>	SIT DOWN/LIE DOWN	SIT/LIE	STAND UP
<i>manipulation</i>	PUT	BE in location	REMOVE
<i>manipulation</i>	PICK UP	HOLD	PUT DOWN

Table 2

## The BECOMING-BEING-UNBECOMING Nexus

BE and HAVE serve as the central, organizing principles in a semantic network of related notions. Many of these relationships are quite transparent, such as GIVE-HAVE-TAKE or MAKE-BE-BECOME. BE and HAVE represent stative notions, here identified as the category BEING. Further categories of BECOMING and UNBECOMING represent the notions that bring about or put an end to the stative category. It should be pointed out that the items in Table 2 are concepts, not specific lexical items or specific verbs. Most often, these ideas are manifested lexically as verbs, but this is not always the case, e.g., *R u X-GEN (est') Y-NOM* [by X (there-is) Y] 'X has Y', where *R est'* 'there is' is an unchanging particle, derived from the third person singular present of 'be', but no longer strongly verbal. The items in the conceptual nexus comprise the notions most likely to become new expressions of BE and HAVE, as well as the semantic ideas most likely to be grammaticalized as auxiliary verbs.

Given these phenomena of polysemy and suppletion which are so important for the realization of BE and HAVE and their relationship to the semantically related items in the

conceptual nexus, what sorts of processes account for these developments? If we look at the development of BE and HAVE expressions and consider polysemy and suppletion as processes and not merely as descriptions of language phenomenon, we can see various ways in which new expressions for BE and HAVE develop. In the process of polysemization, a single concept comes to take on additional meanings. This may represent the incorporation of a new idea into a single concept, as perhaps happened at some time to bring EXISTENCE and COPULA together, or the change may be a matter of taking on a new meaning and gradually leaving a former meaning behind. The development of English *become* and *get* exhibits this type of polysemization well.

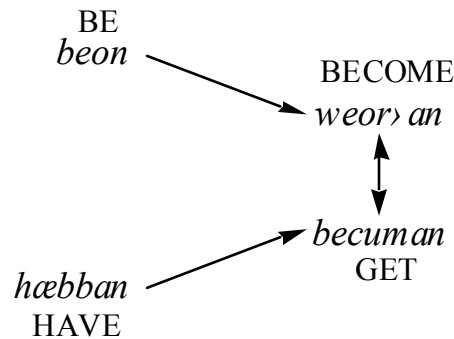


Figure 2

Relationship between English *get* and *become*

In Old English, the verb for BECOME is OE *weor>an* ‘become’ and the verb OE *becuman* means ‘come; obtain’, cf. Gm *bekommen* ‘get, obtain’. Over time, OE *weor>an* was replaced by OE *becuman* for the concept BECOME, yielding Modern English *become*. However, the same process is taking place all over again in the current challenge to Engl *become* by Engl *get* (itself a borrowing into English from the Scandinavian languages). Compare the expressions *I became angry* and *I got angry*. These English changes represent a way in which the conceptual nexus provides a framework for linguistic change. Polysemization and suppletion may take place within the BECOMING, BEING, or UNBECOMING categories or across these categories. The process of suppletion takes place when a given concept expressed by a particular lexical form comes to incorporate additional lexical items for the expression of that concept. When

such changes occur, it is precisely the items in the conceptual nexus which provide the semantic resources for new developments.

These notions of polysemy and suppletion, as well as the structure of the conceptual nexus, are integral for our understanding of how BE and HAVE are mapped out in Czech, Polish, Bulgarian, and Russian, as represented in Figure 3. Czech represents the simplest picture, using the forms of Cz *být* ‘be’ for all meanings of the blended prototype model of BE. Polish represents a slightly more complex picture, showing the mixture of ‘be’ and ‘have’ and the addition of other concepts. In the expression of EXISTENCE and PRESENCE/ABSENCE, Polish makes use of BE in positive utterances in the present tense, P *jest* ‘there is’, but uses HAVE in the negative present, P *nie ma* ‘there is not’. The forms of BE are used in the negative future P *nie będzie* ‘there will not be’ and negative past P *nie było* ‘there was not’. Here we see the introduction of lexical items for HAVE in the expression of BE in a limited context. Similarly, the form P *zostać* ‘become, remain’ competes with P *być* ‘be’ as an auxiliary verb with the past passive participle. Here we see the process of suppletion in its initial stages, where certain lexical items come to compete with previous forms in a particular construction. With time it is possible that the use of P *mieć* ‘have’ or P *zostać* ‘become, remain’ will spread to other areas currently expressed by P *być* ‘be’. Bulgarian shows the same infiltration of EXISTENCE and PRESENCE/ABSENCE territory by HAVE, but the extension covers both positive and negative contexts, so that B *imam* ‘have’ covers this semantic territory and the forms of B *съм* ‘be’ cover the rest of the schema.

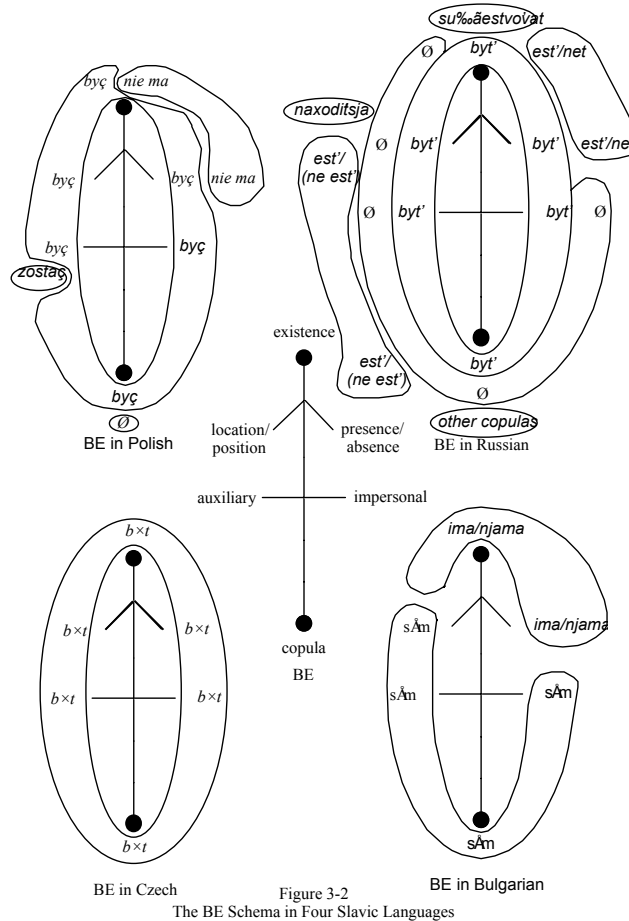


Figure 3

The BE Schema in Four Slavic Languages

However, when we come to the semantic map of BE in Russian, we find a seemingly impenetrable morass of forms. The details of these forms and their uses are too involved to discuss in this paper, but we see the same types of suppletion in the Russian expression of BE. The disjointed nature of BE in Russian and the multiplicity of forms is likely due to the loss of the present tense forms of R *byť* ‘be’ and the further developments of the former 3sg form R *est’* ‘(there) is’. It is in this environment that we see a number of BE expressions arise. Russian makes use of a zero form of BE, the inherited forms of R *byť* ‘be’ in the past and future, the forms R *est’/net* ‘there is/there is not’, and R *est’/ne est’* ‘is/is not’. In addition to these forms, new lexical items may be considered to be part of a wider and still developing paradigm of BE in Russian. Some of these BE expressions are exhibited in examples (1)-(7).



- (1) R *Ja ne beremenna i ne **javlja**us' biologičeskoj ili priemnoj mater'ju rebenka.*  
 [I-NOM not pregnant-NOM and not **appear**-1sg biological-INST or adopted mother-INST child-GEN.]  
 'I am not pregnant and **am** not the biological or adopted mother of a child.'
- (2) R *I ešče — lager' **predstavlja**et soboj dovol'no točnuju model' gosudarstva.*  
 [And still — camp-NOM **presents**-3sg **self**-INST enough precise model-ACC state-GEN.]  
 'And another thing — the camp **is** quite a precise model of the state.'
- (3) R *Po-moemu, i učastvovat' na duèli, i **prisutstvovat'** na nej, xotja by v kačestve vrača, prosto beznравstvenno.*  
 [By-mine, and participate-INF in duel-LOC, and **be-present**-INF in it-LOC, even be-COND-AUX in quality-LOC doctor-GEN, simply immoral.]  
 'In my opinion, both to participate in a duel and to **be present** at one, even if only in the role of a doctor, are simply immoral.'
- (4) R *Paul' Rudi **naxoditsja** v tjur'me.*  
 [Paul Rudy **is-located** in prison.]  
 'Paul Rudy **is** in prison.'
- (5) R *A pri Staline razve **tvorilos'** takoe?*  
 [But by Stalin-LOC really **happened**-Nsg-R/P such-NOM?]  
 'But did such things really **happen** under Stalin?'
- (6) R *Poxorony **sostojalis'** na sledujuščij den', pri učastii prezidenta Belorussii.*  
 [Funeral-NOM **took-place**-pl-R/P on next day-ACC, by participation-LOC president-GEN Belarus-GEN.]  
 'The funeral **took place** the next day with the participation of the president of Belarus.'
- (7) R *Tatarskij proboval borot'sja, delaja vid, čto ničego na samom dele ne **proisxodit**.*  
 [Tatarsky-NOM tried-Msg fight-INF, making image-ACC, that nothing-GEN in actual fact-LOC not **happens**-3sg.]  
 'Tatarsky tried to fight, pretending that nothing was actually **going on**.'

These examples show some of the most common additional expressions of BE in Russian. In these examples we see a variety of different roots, all nexus concepts, extending their meanings to express COPULA, PRESENCE/ABSENCE, and LOCATION. These items appear in Table 3 as part of the conceptual nexus. The copula constructions in (1) and (2) are expressed by the verbs R *javljat'sja* 'appear' and R *predstavljat* 'present', which represent the nexus concepts APPEAR and PUT/STAND (R *pred-stavljat* 'is composed of the elements 'before-put/stand'). The PRESENCE/ABSENCE expression in (3) is derived from the prefix R *pri-*, which conveys a meaning of arrival or presence plus the present participle stem of 'be', LCS *\*søt-*, a form of the PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>es-* 'be' root. The LOCATION meaning is expressed in (4) by R *naxodit'sja* 'be located' ('find', i.e. 'on-go' + R/P, cf. Fr *se trouver* 'is found, is') and by the various HAPPEN expressions in (5)-(7). The expression in (5) represents the concept CREATE in the verb R *tvorit'sja* ('create' + R/P), (6) uses the positional notion STAND in R *sostojat'sja* 'take place' ('consist', i.e. 'withstand' + R/P), and (7) utilizes GO in R *proisxodit* 'happen, take place' ('through-from-go'). Through their meanings and their relationship to the conceptual nexus, these constructions cohere. However, there is little syntactic unity among these expressions. R *javljat'sja* 'appear' takes an instrumental predicate, R *predstavljat* 'present' combines with the instrumental of the reflexive pronoun, R *soboj* 'self'-INST, and takes an accusative object. These uses of the instrumental convey the notions of 'appears as X'='is X' and 'presents as itself X'='is X'. The HAPPEN expressions are all intransitive verbs, but their formation differs in the presence or absence of the R/P particle R *-sja*. The translations for (5)-(7) also demonstrate the many lexical expressions in English for HAPPEN, including Engl *happen*, Engl *take place*, and Engl *go on*. These Russian examples show the productive nature of the conceptual nexus in the renewal of expressions for BE. Several new COPULA, EXISTENCE, and LOCATION expressions have most likely arisen to fill the void left by the loss of the explicit present tense forms of 'be' and the reduction of those forms to the single particle R *est* 'there is'.

CATEGORY	BECOMING	BEING	UNBECOMING
<i>existence</i>		<i>byt</i> 'be' <i>est</i> 'is, there is' Ø 'is'	
<i>possession</i>		<i>imet'sja</i> 'there is'	
<i>creation</i>	<i>tvorit'sja</i> 'be, happen'	<i>suščestvovat</i> 'be, exist'	
<i>life</i>			
<i>visibility, presence</i>	<i>javljat'sja</i> 'be'		
<i>accessibility</i>	<i>naxodit'sja</i> 'be, be located'		
<i>motion</i>		<i>prisutstvovat</i> 'be, be present'	
<i>process</i>			
<i>position</i>		<i>sostojat'sja</i> 'be, take place'	
<i>position</i>		<i>stojat</i> 'stand' <i>sidet</i> 'sit' <i>ležat</i> 'lie'	
<i>manipulation</i>	<i>predstavljat' soboj</i> [present self-INST] 'be'		

Table 3

## New Sources of BE in Russian

When we turn to the semantic maps for HAVE in these Slavic languages, we see a fairly simple picture. Czech, Polish, and Bulgarian all express HAVE with a single transitive verb. Russian, however, has overlapping suppleted forms utilizing R *u* X-GEN (*est*) Y-NOM [by X (there-is) Y] 'X has Y' and somewhat marginally the verb R *imet* 'have' (Clancy, Forthcoming, Isačenko 1974). The lack of suppletion in HAVE appears to be a feature that separates BE from HAVE. For whatever reasons, the expression of BE appears more archaic than HAVE through the preservation of older forms alongside the newer ones and, in general, is more tolerant of suppleted forms, whereas HAVE expressions undergo complete renewal and new expressions tend to compete for

dominance and replace older expressions over time, e.g. the replacement of Lat *habere* ‘have’ by Span *tener* < Lat *tenere* ‘hold’ (Isačenko 1974:44).

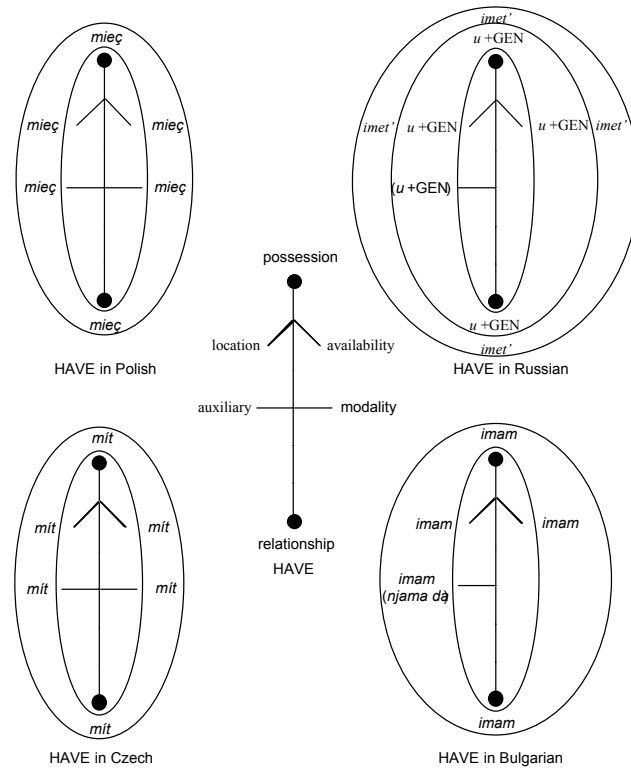


Figure 4-2  
The HAVE Schema in Four Slavic Languages

## Figure 4

### The HAVE Schema in Four Slavic Languages

The current paper is too brief to go into the necessary further details regarding the role of polysemy and suppletion in the expression of BE and HAVE, but hopefully the reader will have gained some insight into how BE and HAVE expressions develop both conceptually and lexically through these two processes. It is also not possible to consider the full nature of the conceptual nexus in this paper, but the examples presented here should be sufficient to demonstrate what kinds of structure the conceptual nexus provides for channeling the development of BE and HAVE and related concepts. The semantic maps for BE and HAVE in the Slavic languages considered here reveal that crossovers between BE and HAVE are common and that the two concepts are semantically and structurally quite similar. It is also possible to glimpse from this brief discussion is that the concepts in the BECOMING-BEING-UNBECOMING nexus are intricately and extensively related in

language specific ways. BE and HAVE serve as organizing prototypes for semantically related concepts, but the overall structure of all of these concepts in the conceptual nexus in a given language determines the extent to which connections between concepts will develop.

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<sup>i</sup> In this paper, small caps (BE, HAVE) are used to represent concepts, not specific lexical items or verbs. Single quotes are used for English glosses of various lexemes or to represent verbs. Italics are used for specific lexemes in the various languages considered in this study. For a fuller treatment of these ideas and other issues, see Clancy, Forthcoming.

<sup>ii</sup> It is rather comforting to know that this slot is somewhat forced and that we must take great pains to come up with lexical items to fill this position. The negation of fundamental BEING is simply not expressed lexically and is not a part of our everyday experience of living and interacting with the world.