

to the widespread perception that the labour market for academics was in the process of becoming saturated; this was the so-called "Überfüllungskrise" or "Qualifikationskrise". Admittedly, Jewish students did not make up more than roughly ten percent of the total number of students, but in relative terms they were grossly overrepresented at the universities: their share of the student body was 7.5 times higher than their share of the total population in Germany at the time, and the anti-Semites quite simply blamed Jews for the *Überfüllung*.⁶⁴

The success of anti-Semitic agitation among German students stands in sharp contrast to the situation in Russia. Most students at Russian universities were politically radical, even revolutionary, and anti-Semitism made little headway.⁶⁵ An important difference between the student situation in Russia and Germany at the time may go some way to account for this difference: while the academic labour market in Russia in the late 19th century was gradually becoming more competitive, it was as yet far from saturation point, but the authorities had nonetheless introduced *numerus clausus* for Jewish applicants which kept their numbers relatively low. By contrast, in Germany there was no *numerus clausus* and in their perceived competition with Jews, German students had to fend for themselves. While we cannot know what the attitudes of Russian students would have been like without the *numerus clausus*, the German contrast suggests that it might well have been more anti-Jewish.

The explanation presented here cannot be extended to cover all cases of anti-Jewish sentiments at all times and places. Several authors have underscored the irrational character of anti-Semitism.⁶⁶ Anti-Jewish attitudes in societies with virtually no Jews, such as, for instance, in contemporary Poland, are indeed baffling. Under some social conditions, however, anti-Semitism as well as other kinds of xenophobia may be interpreted as a rational strategy to squeeze out irksome economic competitors. To explain it in this way is of course not to whitewash it. Anti-Semitism is as reprehensible when rooted in economic egotism as when the sources are religious bigotry or racial prejudice.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 53–55, 104–105.

⁶⁵ See Nathans, *Beyond the Pale*, pp. 257–307.

⁶⁶ See for instance Wolfgang Benz, *Was ist Antisemitismus?*, Munich 2004, p. 237.

Metonymy of Aspect/Aspects of Metonymy

Tore Nasset

Det humanistiske fakultet, Universitetet i Tromsø, N-9037 Tromsø, Norway.

tore.nasset@uit.no

Abstract

Ever since Lakoff and Johnson (1980) published their seminal monograph *Metaphors We Live By*, metaphor has been a cornerstone in cognitive linguistics, while metonymy has received less attention. However, recent years have witnessed a renewed interest in metonymy (Peitsman and Geeraerts 2006 and Croft 2006), and it is therefore natural to ask what the role of metonymy is in grammatical systems and how metonymy interacts with metaphor in such systems. The present paper sheds light on these questions on the basis of an analysis of Russian aspect, which Janda (2004 and 2007) has analyzed in terms of metaphor. I argue that metonymy relates the submeanings of the perfective aspect (section 3), that metonymy is pivotal in the relations among submeanings of the imperfective aspect (section 4), and – following Janda (2008) – that the relations between imperfective and perfective verbs involve metonymy (section 5). I propose that metaphor and metonymy are complementary in the Russian aspectual system; metaphor relates events to matter (objects and substances), while metonymy connects different types of events to each other (section 6). Before we turn to metonymy and its interaction with metaphor, it is necessary to define metaphor and metonymy and clarify the role of metaphor in Russian aspect (sections 1 and 2).

Keywords: Russian, aspect, metonymy, metaphor, cognitive linguistics.

1. Metaphor and Metonymy

Metaphor and metonymy are more than rhetorical devices used to embellish poetry. Lakoff (1993, 203) defines metaphor as "a cross-domain mapping in the conceptual system". By way of example, consider the *TIME IS SPACE* metaphor (Haspelmath 1997), which is relevant for our discussion of aspect. The Russian phrase *priechat' v dekabre* 'arrive in December' and its English equivalent involve a set of mappings from the source domain of space to the target domain of time. The month corresponds to a spatial container and the arrival to the content of this container.

Radden and Kövecses (1999, 21) define metonymy as “a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same cognitive model.” In *the bathtub was overflowing*, where it is really the water in the bathtub that is overflowing, the bathtub is the vehicle we use in order to access the relevant water in our mental representation of reality. The concept of “cognitive model” or “idealized cognitive model” (Lakoff 1987) is meant to cover relevant encyclopedic knowledge (in this case about bathtubs) and the cultural models this knowledge is embedded in. Instead of idealized cognitive models, some scholars prefer definitions in terms of “domain matrices” (Croft 2006), “frames” (Blank 1999) or “scenarios” (Panther and Thornburg 1999). Peirsman and Geeraerts (2006) criticize these definitions, and instead suggest including the traditional concept of “contiguity relation” in the definition of metonymy. Discussion of these different conceptions is beyond the scope of the present study, but in the following I will take Peirsman and Geeraerts (2006) as my point of departure, since this approach facilitates a simple typology of metonymical relations that is relevant for my analysis.

Peirsman and Geeraerts classify metonymies according to prototypicality, which corresponds to the strength of the contiguity relation. As a prototypical example, consider the noun *rifle*, where a gun is named on the basis of a salient property of one of its parts, namely the rifled barrel. In other words, we are dealing with a contiguity relation between a whole (the gun) and a part (the rifled barrel). A somewhat weaker and less prototypical contiguity relation holds between container and contained. In examples like *the milk tipped over* (Peirsman and Geeraerts 2006, 281), we mention only the contained (the milk), although it was clearly a container with milk that tipped over. The difference between part-whole and contained-container relations is not always clear. However, a whole cannot function without its parts (a gun is not a gun if it lacks a barrel), whereas a container is a container regardless of whether it is filled with milk or not. In this sense, the contiguity relation is stronger in part-whole relations than in relations between container and contained.

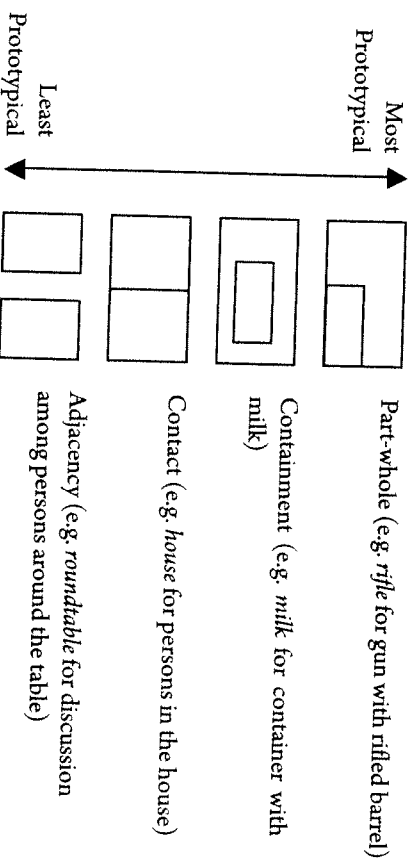
According to Peirsman and Geeraerts’ (2006) typology, contact relations, e.g. between located and location, represent a third kind of contiguity that is further removed from the prototype:

- (1) V neskol’ko minut ves’ dom byl na nogach. (S. Aksakov)¹
 “In a few minutes the whole house was awake (lit. on the legs).”

In this example, the location (*ves’ dom* ‘the whole house’) serves as a vehicle to access the people located in the house.² The weakest and least prototypical contiguity relation discussed by Peirsman and Geeraerts (2006) is adjacency. Consider the sentence *The president is invited to participate in the roundtable*, where the president will take part in a discussion among a number of persons adjacent to the relevant piece of furniture.

For the convenience of the reader, Figure 1 summarizes the four types of metonymy discussed above. The types are organized according to a scale of strength and prototypicality; part/whole in the uppermost portion of the figure is the strongest and most prototypical contiguity relation, while adjacency at the bottom represents the weakest and least prototypical relationship. The pictorial representations are adapted from Peirsman and Geeraerts 2006.

Figure 1. Peirsman and Geeraerts’ (2006) Typology of Metonymy



All the examples discussed so far are lexical, but it is not hard to find metonymical contiguity relations in grammatical systems. A case in point is

¹ This example is retrieved from The Russian National Corpus (<http://www.ruscorpora.ru>).

² Notice that in addition to the contact metonymy between the house and the persons in the house, example 1 includes a part-whole relationship between people and their feet.

deverbal and deadjectival nouns like *učitel'* 'teacher' and *glupec* 'stupid person', where a person is named after one salient characteristic. In the terminology of Radden and Kövecses (1999), a salient property is used as a vehicle to access the relevant persons. Particularly interesting in this connection are the so-called common gender nouns in Russian, which denote persons with regard to one (mostly) negative property, as illustrated by e.g. *p'janica* 'drunkard' and *plaksa* 'crybaby' (Nessel 2001). Examples like these suggest that metonymy is relevant for the derivational morphology of nouns. In sections 3 through 5, I will argue that metonymy is equally important in verbal aspect. However, first we need to clarify the role of metaphor in the aspectual system, a topic we turn to in section 2.

2. Metaphor and Russian Aspect

Janda (2004, 2007) has shown that Russian aspect can be analyzed in terms of two basic metaphors that are specific versions of TIME IS SPACE:

- (2) Metaphors for Russian Aspect:
 PERFECTIVE IS A DISCRETE SOLID OBJECT
 IMPERFECTIVE IS A FLUID SUBSTANCE

Janda's analysis facilitates straightforward accounts of several properties of perfective and imperfective verbs. For instance, if perfective verbs are construed as solid objects, we correctly predict that conjoined perfectives form temporal sequences, since solid objects have edges and cannot easily occupy the same space:³

- (3) On pozavtrakal_[pɐ] i pročital_[pɐ] gazetn_u.⁴
 "He had breakfast and (then) read the newspaper."

³ It should be mentioned that conjoined *perfective* verbs that describe simultaneous events are marginally possible: *On prišel i privel s soboj drugu* 'He arrived and brought a friend with him'. In Janda's metaphorical model this can be compared to stacking solid objects like rocks on top of each other. If you drop a rock on top of another rock, it will normally fall on one side or another, but it is possible that the rocks will end up on top of each other, which reflects the non-prototypicality of simultaneous perfective verbs. I am indebted to an anonymous reviewer for drawing my attention to examples of this sort.

⁴ In the examples, imperfective verbs are marked as *verb^[ipf]* and perfective verbs as *verb^[pf]*.

If imperfective verbs are construed as fluid substances, we correctly predict that conjoined imperfective verbs normally describe processes that unfold in parallel, since fluids can blend into each other and occupy the same space:⁵

- (4) On zavtrakal_[ipf] i čital_[ipf] gazetn_u.
 "He had breakfast and (at the same time) read the newspaper."

Although these examples do not do justice to Janda's analysis, they are sufficient to show that metaphor is pivotal in the Russian aspectual system. The metaphors in example 2 relate events to matter and thereby provide the conceptual motivation for the perfective and imperfective aspects.

2. Metonymy and Russian Aspect 1: Perfective Verbs

The perfective aspect has several submeanings. The following are mentioned in Zaliznjak and Šmelev 2000:

- (5) Important perfective submeanings:
 a. *Konkretno-faktičeskoe* (concrete factual): On učeal_[pf] za granicu i postupil_[pf] v universitet. 'He went abroad and went to college.'
 b. *Nagladno-primernoe* (salient example): Inogda venoj byvaet_[pf] tak: nalēt_[pf] burja, poguljaet_[pf] časa dva-tri i tak že neožidanno zatičnet_[pf], kak načalas' [pf]. 'In the spring, it sometimes happens like this: A storm flies in, goes on for two to three hours, and then calms down as unexpectedly as it started.' (example from Bondarko 1971).
 c. *Potencial'noe* (potential): On rešit_[pf] ljubuju zadacu. 'He solves (is able to solve) any problem.'
 d. *Summarnoe* (summarizing): On tri raza postučal_[pf] v dver'. 'He knocked three times on the door.'

The question is how these meanings are related to each other. I propose that they form a so-called radial category (Lakoff 1987), where the *konkretno-*

⁵ In the historical present or in descriptions of repeated events, the imperfective aspect is possible even if the events in question represent sequences: *Každye utro on priniμαet_[ipf] duš, odevaetsja_[ipf] i uchođit_[ipf] na rabotu* 'Every morning he takes a shower, gets dressed and goes to work'. However, in order to emphasize the sequentiality of the relevant events the perfective aspect is used, which is predicted by Janda's metaphorical model.

faktičeskoe značenie in 5a represents the central subcategory (the prototype).⁶ Submeanings 5b–d are peripheral subcategories that are related to the prototype via metonymy. Since we have seen that aspect involves metaphorical mappings from space to time, the metonymical relations are located inside the temporal target domain of the relevant metaphors.

As suggested by Bondarko's well-known example cited in 5b, the *nagljadno-primernoje značenie* concerns a repeated event that is described by means of a single striking example. There are a number of similar storms in the spring, which the perfective verbs describe by selecting, as it were, one single incident as an example. Insofar as one member (the striking example) is used as a vehicle to access a group of events, we are dealing with a metonymic contiguity relationship. Here is a similar example from V. Orlov's novel *Al'tist Danilov*, which begins with a description of how a certain Kudasov often comes to dinner (even without being invited):

- (6) Ni Danilovu, ni v sobstvennosti Muravlevym Kudasov ne nužen, odnako oni ego terpjat^[ipf]. [...] Vse ravno on pridet^[pf], izvinit^[pf] i sjadet^[pf] za stol.

"Neither Danilov, nor in particular the Muravlevs need Kudasov, although they tolerate him. Nevertheless, he comes, excuses himself in sits down at the table."⁷

Which of Peirsman and Geernaerts' types of metonymy is this? Because a group of events can be construed as a metaphorical container that contains the individual events, the *nagljadno-primernoje značenie* can be classified as belonging to the containment type. As mentioned in section 1, I reserve the part-whole type for cases where the whole cannot function without all the parts. In examples like 5b and 7, this criterion is not met; a series of storms or visits is equally "functional" regardless of how many individual storms or visits these series consists of.

The *potencial'noe značenie* in 5c is closely related to 5b. Sentences like *On rešit^[pf] ljubuju zadacu* 'he is able to solve any problem' involve a relationship between solving all (any) problems and solving one problem on a single oc-

⁶ Notice that this article discusses prototypes in three different contexts, which should not be confused. In section 2, we considered prototypical and non-prototypical metonymy, section 3 explores (non-)prototypical uses of perfective verbs, while in section 4 we will turn to prototypicality and the use of the imperfective aspect.

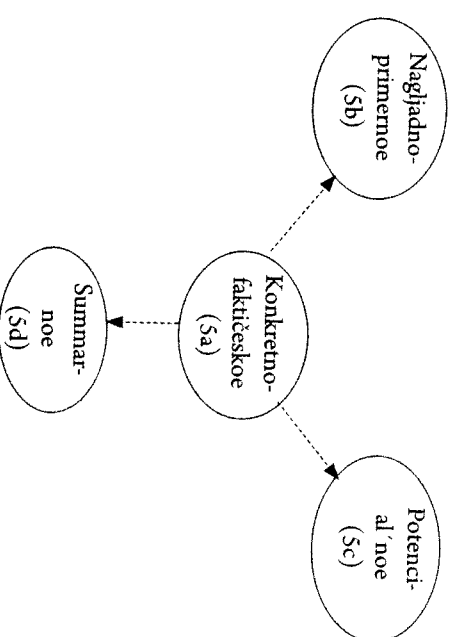
⁷ *Al'tist Danilov* is available at the site *Biblioteka Maksima Moškova* (<http://www.lib.ru>).

casion, as expressed by the perfective verb. Since we are dealing with one member (solving one problem on one occasion) of a group of events (solving all problems), I classify this as a metonymic contiguity relationship of the containment type.

We now turn to the *summarnoe značenie* in 5d. As suggested by the name, in examples of this type a series of events is summarized, i.e. conceptualized as one macro-event. In 5d, there are three knocking events (each possibly consisting of more than one knock), but the perfective verbs presents all the knocks as one incident. Once again we are dealing with a relationship between a series of events and the individual events that constitute the series, so I analyze this as metonymy of the containment type. Notice, however, that as opposed to the cases explored earlier in this section, in the *summarnoe značenie* the perfective verbs represent the container, not the contained. In Radden and Kövecses's (1999) terminology, the container is used as a vehicle to access its contents.

Needless to say, the meanings discussed here do not cover all possible uses of perfective verbs in Russian, but the analysis I propose suffices to show that metonymy is ubiquitous in the perfective aspect. The analysis is summarized in Figure 2, where the dashed arrows represent metonymical relations from the prototypical *konkretno-faktičeskoe značenie* in 5a to the peripheral meanings in 5b–d.

Figure 2. Radial Category for Metonymy in the Perfective Aspect



4. Metonymy and Russian Aspect 2: Imperfective Verbs

The question now arises as to whether metonymy is equally important in the imperfective aspect. Some major submeanings are listed in 7 (cf. Zaluznjak and Šmelev 2000):

- (7) Important imperfective submeanings:
- a. *Aktual'no-dlitel'noe* (ongoing durative): *Ne mešaj, ja rabotaju* [ɪpʃ]. "Don't disturb me, I am working."
 - b. *Neaktual'no-statal'noe* (not ongoing stative): *Vse sestry žili* [ɪpʃ] v devstve, a markiza vdovstvovala [ɪpʃ]. "All the sisters were unmarried, but the marchioness was a widow" (N. Leskov, from The Russian National Corpus, <http://www.ruscorpora.ru>)
 - c. Generalizing submeanings:
 - Mnogokratnoe*: *On segodnja dva raza otkryval* [ɪpʃ] okno. "Today he opened the window twice." (Repeated event)
 - Uzual'noe*: *On kurit* [ɪpʃ]. "He is a smoker." (Habit)
 - Potencial'noe*: *Ona govorit* [ɪpʃ] po-anglijski. "She speaks English." (Ability)
 - Atemporal'noe/gnomičeskoe*: *Volga vpadaet* [ɪpʃ] v Kaspijskoe more. "Volga falls into the Caspian Sea." (Gnomic, eternal truth)
 - d. *Obščefaktičeskoe* (general factual): *Ty pokazывa* [ɪpʃ] ej eto pis'mo? "Did you show her this letter?"

In the same way as for the perfective aspect, I propose that the meanings in examples 7 form a radial category centered around the *aktual'no-dlitel'noe značenie* in 7a, which I consider prototypical since it represents the normal, unmarked use of the imperfective aspect. In the following I invite the reader to consider some possible metonymical links between the prototype and the meanings in 7b–d.

While the *aktual'no-dlitel'noe značenie* represents processes that unfold before our eyes, normally verbs like *vdovstvovat'* [ɪpʃ] 'be a widow' and *carstvovat'* [ɪpʃ] 'rule' cannot felicitously be used in response to the question *Čto ty sečas delaeš* [ɪpʃ]? 'What are you doing now?' (Zaluznjak and Šmelev 2000, 23). The reason is that *vdovstvovat'* [ɪpʃ] and *carstvovat'* [ɪpʃ] are states. States are related to processes through metonymy: Since processes and states are both durative, but states lack change over time, there is a part-whole rela-

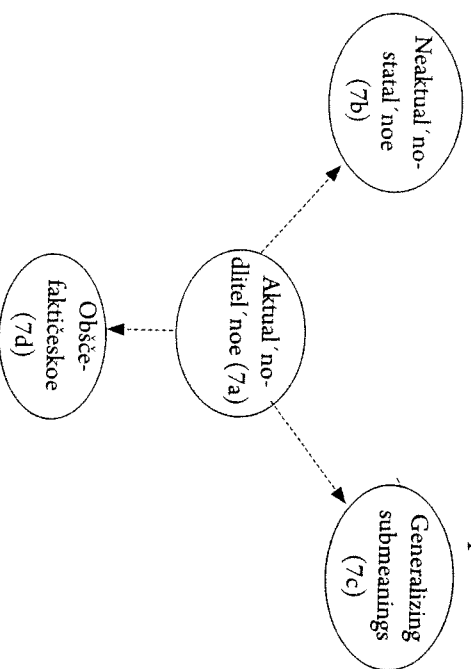
tion between the meaning of states and processes. Notice that I classify this as part-whole rather than containment, since durativity and change over time are essential facets of the meanings in question.

In 7c I have grouped a number of submeanings that involve generalizations on the basis of processes witnessed in actual reality. A simple sentence like *Ona govorit po-anglijski* can be used as a prototypical imperfective, i.e. in the meaning 'She is speaking English (right now)'. In this case we are witnessing the speech event as the words are coming out of the speaker's mouth. However, the same sentence can be uttered about a repeated event, or it can describe speaking English as a habit or ability of the speaker. In all these cases, we go from concrete events to general states of affairs, so arguably we are dealing with inductive reasoning based on metonymical contiguity relations. I suggest that these relations are of the containment type, since it is possible to construe repeated events and other general states of affairs as metaphorical containers that include the concrete events that form the basis of the metonymies in question.

Simplifying somewhat, the *obščefaktičeskoe značenie* places the focus on the event itself, while leaving its temporal constituency out of the picture. For instance, sentences like *Ty pokazывa* [ɪpʃ] ej eto pis'mo? may be uttered even when referring to a single, completed action. Although such conditions would usually favor the perfective aspect, the imperfective can be used if the emphasis is on whether or not the letter was shown to the relevant person. Metaphorically speaking, the *obščefaktičeskoe značenie* "peels off" the aspectual characteristics of the verb, thereby drawing the interlocutors' attention at its core meaning. Since the *obščefaktičeskoe značenie* focuses on part of the prototypical meaning of imperfective verbs, we are dealing with a part-whole relationship, i.e. a metonymical contiguity relation.

Figure 3 (next page) sums up the discussion of the imperfective aspect. The *aktual'no-dlitel'noe značenie* in 7a represents the prototype in the center, which is linked to the peripheral submeanings in 7b–d through dashed arrows that stand for metonymical contiguity relations.

Figure 3. Radial Category for Metonymy in the Imperfective Aspect



5. Metonymy and Russian Aspect 3: Relating the Two Aspects

So far we have been concerned with metonymical relations among imperfective verbs on the one hand and among perfective verbs on the other. We now turn to metonymies across the two aspects, i.e. metonymies that link imperfective verbs to perfective verbs. As the basis for the discussion, I will use Janda's (2007) taxonomy, which distinguishes between four types of perfective verbs:

- (8) Four types of perfective verbs (Janda 2007):
- a. Natural perfectives (*sdelat'* 'do', *napisat'* 'write')
 - b. Specialized perfectives (*peredelat'* 'redo', *vypisat'* 'copy out')
 - c. Complex acts (*popisat'* 'write for a while', *porabotat'* 'work for a while')
 - d. Single acts (*prygnut'* 'jump once', *kašljanut'* 'cough once')

As suggested by the term, natural perfectives denote the natural culmination of an activity. For instance, in the normal case the activity *pisat'*^[ipf] *pis'*^{mo} 'write a letter' leads to completion of the letter, which can be described by the corresponding perfective *napisat'*^[ipf] *pis'*^{mo}. The question is now whether there is a metonymical relationship between the natural perfective and the corresponding imperfective verb. I suggest the answer is "yes". Janda (2008,

81f.) has pointed out that the "activity shares a temporal boundary with the result it produces", so we seem to be dealing with a metonymical relation of the contact type.

According to Janda (2007), specialized perfectives describe a culmination of an activity achieved in a non-standard way. For instance, *peredelat'*^[ipf] 'redo' is not the standard outcome of *delat'*^[ipf] 'do'. Compared to natural perfectives, specialized perfectives are more distantly related to the corresponding imperfective verbs, and on this basis Janda (2008, 82) argues that we are dealing with a contiguity relation of the adjacency type.

Janda (2007) uses the term "complex act" about perfectives that assign temporal boundaries to an event. A prototypical example is the so-called delimitative *Aktionsart*. The delimitative *popisat'*^[ipf] 'write for a while' states that the writing process goes on for a period of time, and in this sense the process is limited by two arbitrary temporal boundaries. Since complex acts present a bounded portion of an unbounded imperfective event, Janda (2008, 82) suggest that we are dealing with a metonymical contiguity relation of the part/whole type.

What Janda (2007) calls "single act perfectives" select one cycle from a series of repeated events denoted by the corresponding imperfective verbs. By way of example, consider *prygnut'*^[ipf], which depicts a single jump from the series of jumps described by *prygat'*^[ipf] 'jump'. Because we are dealing with a single instance contained in a series of events, the metonymical relation in question is one of containment (Janda 2008, 82).

So far we have considered cases where perfective verbs are derived from imperfective verbs. What about the reverse pattern, whereby (secondary) imperfectives are derived from perfective verbs? Does this derivation process involve metonymy? It seems safe to say "yes". Typically, secondary imperfectivization transforms accomplishments or achievements into repeated events or temporally unbounded processes. A repeated event is a macro-event that contains the subevent denoted by the relevant perfective verb. In other words, we are dealing with metonymy of the containment type. When deriving a process from a perfective verb, you go from the end point to the whole process, which can be analyzed as an example of the contact type of metonymy.

We are now in a position to address the questions stated in the beginning of this article: What is the role of metonymy in grammatical systems, and how does it interact with metaphor in grammar? The analysis of aspect in Russian presented above suggests that metonymy is not restricted to the lexical examples often cited in discussions of metonymy, but in fact plays an important role in grammatical systems. In particular, we have seen that metonymy connects the submeanings of the perfective aspect (section 3), that metonymical links relate the submeanings of the imperfective aspect to each other (section 4), and that relationships between perfective and imperfective verbs can be analyzed in terms of metonymy (section 5). The metonymical relations explored in the present study are very often of the containment type, but we have seen examples of all of Peirsman and Geeraerts' four types, viz. part/whole, containment, contact and adjacency.

The proposed analysis suggests that metaphor and metonymy fulfill complementary roles in the Russian aspectual system. Metaphor relates events to matter (substances and objects), thereby providing the fundamental spatial motivation for aspect. Metaphor establishes a temporal target domain, within which metonymy relates various types of events to each other. To what extent the interaction of metaphor and metonymy in Russian aspect is typical for aspectual systems or grammar in general is a question that must be left open for future research. However, the present study suggests that the renewed interest in metonymy in cognitive linguistics opens up new perspectives for fruitful studies of grammatical meaning.

References

- Blank, A. 1999. "Co-presence and Succession: A Cognitive Typology of Metonymy". In *Metonymy in Language and Thought*, edited by K.-U. Panther. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 169–192.
- Bondarko, A. V. 1971. *Vid i vremja russkogo glagola*. Moscow: Prosvěščenie.
- Croft, W. 2006. "On Explaining Metonymy". *Cognitive Linguistics* 17:317–326.
- Haspelmath, M. 1997. *From Space to Time. Temporal Adverbials in the World's Languages*. Munich and Newcastle: Lincom Europa.
- Janda, L. A. 2004. "A Metaphor in Search of a Source Domain". *Cognitive Linguistics* 15:471–527.
- . 2007. "Aspectual Clusters of Russian Verbs". *Studies in Language* 31:607–648.
2008. "Metonymy via Perfectivization of Russian Verbs". *Slavica Helsingensia* 35:77–85.
- Lakoff, G. 1987. *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- . 1993. "The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor". In *Metaphor and Thought*, edited by A. Ortony. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 202–251.
- Lakoff, G. and M. Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Nesset, T. 2001. "How Pervasive Are Sexist Ideologies in Grammar?". In *Language and Ideology*, edited by R. Dirven, B. Hawkins, and E. Sandkjaerglu. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 197–226.
- Panther, K.-U. and L. Thornburg. 1999. "The Potentiality for Actuality Metonymy in English and Hungarian". In *Metonymy in Language and Thought*, edited by K.-U. Panther. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 333–360.
- Peirsman, Y. and D. Geeraerts 2006. "Metonymy as a Prototypical Category". *Cognitive Linguistics* 17:269–316.
- Radden, G. and Z. Kövecses. 1999. "Towards a Theory of Metonymy". In *Metonymy in Language and Thought*, edited by K.-U. Panther. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 17–60.
- Zaliznjak, A. A. and A. D. Šmelev. 2000. *Vvedenie v russkiju aspektologiju*. Moscow: Jazyki russkoj kul'tury.