Contrastive study of a perception verb in English and Russian: 
*feel* vs *чувствовать*’

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## Contents

Acknowledgments .................................................................................................................. 3  
List of abbreviations ............................................................................................................. 5  
Scientific transliteration of Cyrillic (Russian) ....................................................................... 7  
1. Introduction ......................................................................................................................... 8  
2. State of the art ...................................................................................................................... 11  
   2.1. What are perception verbs? .......................................................................................... 11  
   2.2. Hierarchy and polysemous nature of perception verbs .............................................. 12  
   2.3. Structural and syntactic peculiarities of perception processes .................................. 13  
   2.4. Studies on perception verbs across languages .......................................................... 15  
   2.5. Conclusions and research questions .......................................................................... 17  
3. Syntactic structures of feel and čuvstvovat’ and their correlation with different meanings ...... 18  
   3.1. Transitive constructions with feel and čuvstvovat’ ...................................................... 18  
   3.2. Predicate constructions with feel and čuvstvovat’ ..................................................... 22  
      3.2.1. Adjectival and adverbial predicate constructions .............................................. 22  
      3.2.2. Nominal predicate construction ........................................................................ 26  
   3.3. Clausal constructions with feel and čuvstvovat’ ......................................................... 27  
   3.4. Summary ....................................................................................................................... 29  
4. Contrastive analysis of the semantic field of feel and čuvstvovat’ ..................................... 32  
   4.1. Feel and čuvstvovat’ in dictionaries ......................................................................... 32  
   4.2. Semantics of feeling ..................................................................................................... 33  
      4.2.1. Sensory perception ............................................................................................. 33  
      4.2.2. Cognitive perception ......................................................................................... 34  
      4.2.3. Agentive perception ......................................................................................... 37  
      4.2.4. Copulative perception .................................................................................... 38  
   4.3. Summary ....................................................................................................................... 38  
4. Conclusion .......................................................................................................................... 41  
Appendix 1 ............................................................................................................................. 43  
Appendix 2 ............................................................................................................................. 45  
References .............................................................................................................................. 48
<table>
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<tr>
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### Scientific transliteration of Cyrillic (Russian)

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1. Introduction
The aim of the present study is a contrastive analysis of the verb of perception *feel* and its Russian counterpart *čuvstvovat’*. In the course of our research we will try to answer the following questions: what are the possible syntactic structures with the verbs *feel* and *čuvstvovat’*? Do Russian and English allow for the same choice of syntactic structures with these verbs? How do these syntactic constructions correlate with meaning?

The English verb *feel* is a direct transitive verb that has several distinctive characteristics. Due to the peculiarities of the English verb, it is capable of forming phrasal verbs such as *feel for, feel around, etc.* Moreover, *feel* can be optionally preceded by the modal verb *can* in the sentences expressing active and cognitive perception (*e.g.* *I can feel a sharp pain in my back*).

In contrast, the Russian verb *čuvstvovat’* has two morphological features which have no counterpart in English. First, *čuvstvovat’* can be used with a strong reflexive pronoun *sebja* or a clitic –*sja*, thus acquiring the following forms (i) *čuvstvovat’ sebja* and (ii) *čuvstvovat’sja*. When occurring with the strong pronoun *sebja* the subject takes the role of the experiencer and *sebja* indicates that the action is directed at the subject. The whole sentence acquires a subjective meaning.

(1)  On *čuvstvuet sebja* vinovatym. (RNC)
    he  feel-3SG.PRS SEBJA  guilty-INST.
    “He feels guilty.”

The reflexive clitic –*sja* (which can also take the form –*s’*) is found agglutinated to the verb and has various uses and meanings in Russian. It appears with verbs of physical activity directed at oneself (such as grooming and body care, *e.g.* *odevat’sja* ‘dress’, *umyvat’*sja ‘to wash one’s face’, *etc.*). It can also have a reciprocal interpretation, indicating that the two agents perform the action upon each other (*e.g.* *My pocelovalis’* “we kissed (each other)”)

Furthermore, it appears with numerous intransitive verbs such as (*ulybat’sja* “to smile”, *smejatsja* “to laugh”). When used with verbs of perception or mental verbs, -*sja* is referred to as “medial-passive -*sja*” (Gerritsen, 1990), ‘receptive’ (Israeli, 1997) or “modal-deagentive” (Geniusiene, 1987). In this case -*sja* marks a passive construction. “It does not refer to a separate participant and shows weak involvement on the part of the subject” (Israeli 1997: 141-142).

(2)  Čto-to zloe *čuvstvuet*sja v etom mire. (RNC)
    something evil  feel-Affix in this-DAT world-DAT
“There’s a wicked feeling about this place.”

Although in Middle English feel could also be found with a reflexive pronoun, in modern English the use of the reflexive myself is very infrequent and means “to have the sensation of being (what is predicated)” e.g. I don’t feel myself (OED).

The second peculiarity of the verb čuvstvovat’ lies in the category of aspect, which is characteristic of Russian grammar. Čuvstvovat’ can take two forms marking the aspect of the verb: imperfective or perfective, which are often called aspectual pairs (Padučeva 1996, Maslov 1948). In Russian imperfective verbs form a perfective verb with the help of morphological means such as prefixes. Thus, the imperfective verb čuvstvovat’ has a corresponding perfective verb počuvstvovat’ formed with the help of the prefix po-.

There is much controversy about the function or meaning of perfective and imperfective verbs. The traditional definition is that an imperfective verb represents continuous action, whereas its perfective counterpart represents a completed action. Padučeva refers to imperfective verbs as states and to perfective as “momentary transition” (cf. Padučeva 1996: 94). Though in English the tense can be used to mark completed or continuous action, the same tense, for instance the past simple as in (3), can be translated in Russian either by a perfective verb (3a) or its imperfective variant (3b).

(3) a. “Langdon felt a deep chill as they approached the body.” (RNC)
   Oni priblizils’, i Langdon počuvstvoval kak ego probiraet oznob.
   they approach-3PL.PST and Langdon feel-3SG.PST how he-ACC envelop-3SG chill-NOM

b. “Langdon felt a rising uncertainty.” (RNC)
   Langdon čuvstvoval sebja neuerenno.
   Langdon feel-3SG.PST SEBJA uncertain-ADV

Our research is based on the Russian National Corpus (RNC). RNC contains a wealth of examples dating from the middle of the 18th century until the early 21st century. It comprises the main corpus and different subcorpora, including a parallel corpus - a compilation of original texts and their translations into different languages. The parallel Russian - English and English - Russian corpus is the most relevant for the present research since it enables us to contrast the choice of syntactic structures and semantic representations of the verbs in both languages.
We randomly selected 200 Russian sentences and 200 English examples in the main corpus of RNC to examine and single out what syntactic structures are generally possible to form with the verbs *feel* and *чувствовать*.

The parallel corpus was used in order to study the correlation between constructions in both languages and their influence on the semantic meaning of the constructions. 400 random examples were extracted from the parallel corpus, including 200 original Russian examples with their translations into English and 200 English examples with their translations into Russian.

Other resources such as Google, British National Corpus (BNC), Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), were used in order to consult the examples.

Construction Grammar serves as a theoretical basis for our research. The underlying idea of Construction Grammar, as initially put forward in the works of Fillmore, Paul Kay and George Lakoff, is that “form-meaning correspondences are the basic units of language”. In other words, each construction correlates with a particular semantic interpretation. The principle was further developed in the work of Goldberg (1995) and caused the outburst of research in grammatical constructions.

Our paper has the following structure: section 2 discusses the notion, basic types and polysemous nature of perception verbs. It also presents a summary of major works on perception verbs in different languages. Section 3 examines the syntactic structures of both verbs and their relation to meaning. Finally, section 4 analyzes the lexicographic and corpus data and contrasts the semantics of both verbs.
2. State of the art

2.1. What are perception verbs?

When trying to define perception verbs, linguists tend to be unanimous in characterizing them as verbs expressing one of the five sense modalities, namely: sight, hearing, touch, smell and taste (Rogers 1971, Kryk 1978, Viberg 1983).

Perception verbs are further divided into three groups: ‘cognitive’ (a), ‘active’ (b) and ‘flip’ (c) (Rogers 1971):

(4) a. John saw the bird.
   b. John looked at the bird.
   c. The bird looked healthy (to John).

Cognitive perception verbs are also referred to as ‘passive perception verbs’ (Palmer 1966:99), ‘inert perception verbs’ (Leech 1971:23), ‘experience verbs’ (Viberg 1983:123), ‘non-intentional and non-deliberate’ (Behrman 1998:2). They indicate passive perception and are not used in the progressive or the imperative.

Cognitive verbs are often opposed to active verbs which express activity or “unbound process that is consciously controlled by a human agent” (Viberg 1983:123). Thus, cognitive verbs hear and see possess their active counterparts listen to and look at, while the other perception verbs feel, taste and smell have homophonous active counterparts.

Finally, the third group of perception verbs is called descriptive or flip (Rogers 1971), resultative (Scovel 1971:83) or copulative (Viberg 1983:124). Scovel (1971:83) uses the term resultative because, according to him, these verbs are “the result of the state of using a certain sense”. Viberg (1983:124) observes that the difference between experience (cognitive) verbs and copulative verbs lies in the choice of the grammatical subject or, as he terms it, in “base-selection”. The subject of the experience-based verbs is an animate undergoing some perception process, while the subject of a copulative verb is the “experienced entity” (e.g. A looks funny).

The following examples taken from Rogers (1980) show that in English the verb feel can be both cognitive, active and a flip verb, while in Russian (po)čuvstvovat’ is only a cognitive verb.

(5) a. John felt the rock Džon počuvstvoval kamen’ (Rogers,1971)
    John feel-3SG.PST stone-ACC
   b. John felt the rock Džon pošupal kamen’
2.2. Hierarchy and polysemous nature of perception verbs

According to Viberg (1983), who focuses on typology of perception verbs in more than 53 languages, there exists a hierarchy in which the verb see takes the highest position, followed by the verb hear and only then by touch, smell and taste. The existence of such a hierarchy explains the priority given to verbs of visual and auditory perception in linguistic studies.

Viberg (1983:136-137) gives the following interpretation of the hierarchy: “a verb having a basic meaning belonging to a sense modality higher in the hierarchy can get an extended meaning that covers some (or all) of the sense modalities lower in the hierarchy”. This means that the higher the position of the verb, the more polysemous it is. Viberg provides examples of the Kurdish verb ditin (‘see’) and the Luo verb winjo (‘hear’), which can extend their meanings to touch, smell and taste.

In his work, however, Viberg suggests a more detailed hierarchy that, in his view, better reflects peculiarities of the Russian perception verbs. He states that hear is more connected with smell, since these modalities do not require physical contact with the body, whereas touch is closer to taste, where the contact with the body is indispensable.

Analyzing patterns of polysemy of sense modalities in different language families, Viberg observes that in Russian, as in Swedish and many other languages, the experience verb feel also covers taste and smell, which is not the case in English. To illustrate the examples from Russian, he quotes the work of Rogers (1980) on the semantic analysis of Russian perception verbs:

(6) a. John felt the rock  
Džon čuvstvoval kamen’  
Džon feel-3SG.PST stone-ACC

b. John tasted the pepper  
Džon čuvstvoval vkus perca  
Džon feel-3SG.PST taste-ACC pepper-GEN  
Džon čuvstvoval perec

c. John smelled the soup  
Džon čuvstvoval zapax supa  
Džon feel-3SG.PST smell-ACC soup-GEN
Roger (1980) gets particularly interested in the polysemy of two Russian verbs of perception *(u)slyšat’* (‘hear’) and *(po)čuvstvovat’* (‘feel’). In his opinion, the Russian verb *(u)slyšat’* might be translated as “hear or feel” and is more specific than *sense* or *perceive*. Roger uses such terms as “elasticity of meaning” or “stretching phenomenon” to show that the meaning of *(u)slyšat’* may be extended to the English equivalents *hear, smell* and even *taste*, and *(po)čuvstvovat’* in its turn to *feel, taste* and *smell*.

Contrasting the semantics of cognitive verbs of perception in English and Polish, Kryk (1978) comes to the conclusion that in Polish auditory and visual perception is expressed by distinct verbs, while one verb *czuć* bears the semantics of the English equivalents *feel, smell* and *taste*. As for the active perception verbs Kryk points out that every English verb has an equivalent in Polish, but *taste* corresponds to two Polish equivalents *smakować* and *probować*.

Thus, the examples given above show that the perception verbs are highly polysemous and vary in their semantic extensions from one language to another.

### 2.3. Structural and syntactic peculiarities of perception processes

When used in a sentence, perception verbs become part of a perception process, which involves the presence of other important entities. Kryk (1978:118) singles out the following elements of the perception process: Perception, Percipient, Percept, named according to the function performed in the sentence. The Percipient is “the animate NP involved actively in or affected by the perception”, while the Percept is “a person, object, or phenomenon to affect one of the senses”. Fillmore (1971:42) also refers to these entities as Experiencer and Patient (or Objective). Kryk suggests that these entities might be universal and more analysis into them should be carried out.

Studying the way the perception process is structured in English and Spanish, Rojo & Valenzuela (2005) take Frame Semantics as a basis for their analysis and single out the following frame elements: “perceptor-active”, “preceptor-passive” “perceived”, “manner”, “organ”, “location or perceptor”, “path”, “source”.

The complementation of perception verbs is represented by various syntactic forms and has been extensively examined in works by many linguists.

Dik & Hengeveld (1991) study the typology of perception-verb complements. Four types of complementation are singled out in their paper: immediate perception of an individual (a),
immediate perception of a state of affairs (b), mental perception of a propositional content (c), reception of the propositional content of a speech act (d).

(7) a. I saw your brother last night. (Dik & Hengeveld, 1991)
   b. I saw him walk down the street.
   c. I saw that Mary had been crying.
   d. I hear you will probably sing in the Royal Albert Hall next week.

The study focuses on the complementation of the verbs *see* and *hear* and contrasts different types of complements in terms of their representation and expression in different languages.

Other works on complementation of perception verbs include Cinque (1992), who analyses pseudo-relative and *ACC-ing* constructions, Van der Meer (1994) dwells on the difference between bare-infinitive and *ing*-constructions, Borgonovo (1996) studies gerundial complements of perception verbs in English and Spanish. Miller and Lowrey (2003) compare the complementation of English and French perception verbs.

Bare infinitival and participial complements of perception verbs are examined in Felser (1998).

According to the study, complements of perception verbs possess the following grammatical features: firstly, the simultaneity condition implies that the event expressed by the complement should be simultaneous with the “matrix event”.

(8) We saw John drawing a circle. (Felser, 1998)
*We saw John to have drawn a circle.

Second, it is claimed that the complement must be a non-stative one or an event.

(9)a. John was being obnoxious. (Felser, 1998)
  *John was being tall.
  b. John was running.
  *John was knowing the answer.

Moreover, the direct perception complements do not bear tense markers such as the particle *to* or the aspectual auxiliaries *have* and *be* (10a). There are also certain constraints on the use of expletive *there* in complements (10b). Finally, perception verbs cannot be used in the passive form with direct complements (10c):

(10)a. *We saw John have drawn a circle. (Felser, 1998)
  b. *We heard there be a woman in the room.
  c. *John was seen draw a circle.
Felser claims that all these grammatical restrictions are due to the fact that verbs of perception behave as control verbs and provides evidence for it.

The difference between bare-infinitive and the *ing*-construction is regarded as an opposition of Static versus Dynamic in Van der Meer (1994:477). He observes that the *ing*-construction (11a) is a Static one since it describes “a frozen picture”, while the bare infinitive complement (11b) has a more Dynamic character and indicates simultaneous actions.

(11) a. ...he saw her standing by her door, fumbling with the key. (Van der Meer, 1994)
   b. …soon after lunch Andrea saw him drive up and get out briskly (Van der Meer, 1994)

The gerundial complement in English is claimed to be “structurally ambiguous” in Borgonovo (1996:16) and therefore may have two interpretations of the following sentence:

(12) I saw John sawing through the floor.(Borgonovo, 1996)

The study claims that on the one hand the sentence may be understood as “I see John directly fulfilling the action”, but on the other hand it can imply that I see only the saw being moved and suppose that John is performing the action of sawing. Borgonovo states that such dual interpretation is impossible in Spanish and explains this by a larger distribution of gerunds in English.

Thus we can see that the complementation of perception-verbs is quite varied and different interpretations should be taken into account.

2.4. Studies on perception verbs across languages

As we have already pointed out above, the majority of works focus primarily on verbs of visual or auditory perception. In his article on *look* and *see*, Gruber (1967:943) claims that both verbs are “verbs of motion of some sort”. When contrasting the constructions with verbs of visual perception and those of motion verbs, Gruber observes that they have much in common. *Look* takes prepositions based on *to* or *towards*, which are used with motion verbs and indicate direction, while *see* only takes prepositions based on *to*. The difference in the choice of prepositions is due to the semantic difference between both verbs.

(13) a. The bird flew toward the tree. (Gruber, 1967)
   a'. The bird looked toward the tree.
   b. The bird has flown to the nest.
   b'. The bird has seen the nest.
Gruber’s article caused lots of debate among linguists. Van Develde (1977) in his squib criticizes Gruber’s ideas and provides syntactic and semantic evidence to show that the verb *see* cannot be considered as a motion verb. Goldsmith, on the other hand, in his article on the thematic nature of *see*, claims that Gruber’s ideas are not entirely convincing and that more analysis of this problem should be done in future.

Usoniene (2001:165) researches indirect and direct perception expressed by the verbs *see* and *seem* in Lithuanian and English. She shows that the direct and indirect perception is highly determined by the choice of complementation. For instance, *that*-clause and full-infinitive clause signal indirect perception. Usoniene bases her study of clausal complementation on three essential elements “time reference”, “types of entities denoted by complements” and “type of complementizer”. The study also presents statistical data which are intended to show the influence of the subject and tense on the choice of complementation.

The result of the study demonstrates that, despite the difference in the structure and genetic origin of English and Lithuanian, many semantic and syntactic similarities are observed.

Some contrastive studies focus on the semantic representation and translational equivalents of perception verbs in different languages. Thus Stamenković (2010) carries out a contrastive study of Serbian *gledati* and English *look*, differentiating 6 semantic groups of visual perception verbs in both languages according to the manner of looking, duration of process, etc. For each group of verbs Stamenković studies Serbian verbs and their English equivalents, paying special attention to the metaphorical transformations of verbs and the shift in their primary meanings.

Translational equivalents of English and Spanish verbs of perception are studied in Rojo & Valenzuela (2005). The aim of this work is to compare the degree of correspondence of verbs of perception by means of contrasting selected examples and their translations from two Spanish and two English novels.

As for auditory verbs, they are studied in English (*hear* and *sound*), and German (*hören* ‘hear’ and *klingen* ‘sound’) in the article of Whitt (2008). Whitt’s primary interest is in the evidentiality of meaning and constructions in which auditory perception verbs occur. Whitt divides the verbs into subject-oriented (*hören, hear*) and object-oriented (*klingen, sound*) and contrasts the constructions in which both of these groups of verbs are found.

Active and passive perception in Russian is examined in an article by Nesset et al (2008). The linguists pose the question regarding morphological differences between active and passive
perception verbs, namely, why active verbs slushat’ (‘listen’) and smotret’ (‘look’) form perfective verbs with the help of prefix po- while passive verbs slyshat’ (‘hear’) and videt’ (‘see’) use prefix u-. The article aims to show that the choice of prefix is largely dependent on semantics. More attention is drawn to the semantics of the prefix po- which, according to the authors of the article, has a metaphorical PATH image schema.

2.5. Conclusions and research questions
To sum up, in this chapter we have tried to show that the class of perception verbs has received a lot of attention in linguistic literature. There are a number of works on the typology of perception verbs as well as contrastive studies of perception verbs in different languages. However, the insufficient number of contrastive studies on the Russian and English perception verbs, in particular the verb feel and чувствовать, determines our interest in the chosen topic and leads us to research the following questions: in chapter 3 we examine the constructions possible with both verbs and whether the same grammatical means are used to form these constructions. We study the correlation of meaning and construction and if the constructions with feel and чувствовать carry the same meanings. In chapter 4 our focus is on types of perception both verbs express and on how they behave from the point of view of polysemy.
3. Syntactic structures of *feel* and *čuvstvovat’* and their correlation with different meanings

In this chapter we single out the syntactic structures of the verbs *feel* and *čuvstvovat’*, contrasting their similarities as well as differences. We pay attention to the semantic representation of both verbs and trace the correlation between constructions and meaning. The results are based on a corpus research and are presented in Table [1], which can be found in summary 3.4.

3.1. Transitive constructions with *feel* and *čuvstvovat’*

Both *feel* and *čuvstvovat’* enter into transitive constructions with two nominal arguments.

The construction with *feel* can be represented by the following syntactic pattern [NP + *feel* + NP]. The first noun phrase, which is in subject position, refers to an animate being which performs the semantic role of either Agent or Experiencer (Fillmore 1971:42). In other words, the subject NP can be an active participant of the perception process (a) or undergo some sensory experience (b).

(14) a. He felt the cloth.
    b. Aunt Polly felt a sudden pang of remorse.

In the transitive construction with an agentive subject NP (14a) the verb acquires the meaning of ‘to examine by touch’, while with an experiencer subject NP (14b) it means ‘to perceive emotionally or physically’.

The object NP of *feel* is represented either by a concrete noun (*cloth, wall, shirt*) or an abstract noun describing emotional or physical states (*pain, desire, fright*) or a more complex noun phrase (*a sensation of pride, a glow of satisfaction*).

One more construction, which is more active and intentional, peculiar to *feel*, can also be formed with the help of prepositions. We obtain the following construction [NP + *feel* + for/about + NP], which has the meaning ‘to search or explore by touch’. The subject NP is always an animate agent. The object NP introduced by *for* is a concrete noun (*handle, wallet, wall*), while the object NP introduced by *about* is an abstract noun denoting location (*room, house*). In some cases both prepositions are used together after *feel*:

(15) a. Then he felt for matches and he could not find any at all. (RNC)
    b. One has to feel about the house for the beautiful warm-colored prey. (RNC)
    c. He felt about for his cap in the dark. (RNC)
Another prepositional construction that exhibits the \([\text{NP + feel + for + NP}]\) pattern, can take an animate experiencer subject NP and an animate object NP. The whole construction acquires the meaning ‘to have compassion, to sympathize with somebody’:

(16) He felt for poor African children. (RNC)

In Russian the same meaning is realized by the lexical verb \(\text{sočuvstvovat’} \) (‘sympathize’), which bears the morphological root of the verb \(\text{čuvstvovat’} \).

As for the transitive construction with \(\text{čuvstvovat’} \), it can be represented by the pattern \([\text{NP-NOM + V + NP-ACC/GEN}]\) pattern. Since Russian has a well-developed case system, NPs have to be marked for case. Thus, the subject NP is in the nominative case, whereas the object NP is marked for accusative.

(17) Ona \(\text{čuvstvovala} \) volnenie pri mysli o Vronskom
     she feel-3SG.PST anxiety-ACC at thought about Vronsky.
     “She felt emotion at the thought of Vronsky.” (RNC)

In negative sentences the object NP occurs in the genitive case due to peculiarities of the Russian case-system, which we will not comment here:

(18) Ja ne \(\text{čuvstvuju} \) boli.
     i not feel-1SG.PRS pain-GEN
     “I don’t feel pain.” (RNC)

The semantic role of the subject NP of \(\text{čuvstvovat’} \) is different from that of transitive feel since it can only acquire the experiencer role and is not used as an agent. Therefore, the transitive construction with \(\text{čuvstvovat’} \) has only the meaning of ‘to perceive emotionally, physically, by smell or taste’. Thus, while possessing quite similar syntactic structures, the nominal constructions with feel and \(\text{čuvstvovat’} \) share only one common meaning, i.e. ‘to perceive emotionally or physically’.

The second meaning of the verb to feel, ‘to explore, examine by touch or palpation’, cannot be rendered by the nominal construction with \(\text{čuvstvovat’} \). Russian resorts to other lexical means of expressing the same meaning, such as \(\text{trogat’} \) (‘touch’), \((\text{po})\text{ščupat’} \) (‘palpate’).

(19) “The old lady reached out her hand and felt Tom’s shirt.”(RNC)

    Ona \(\text{protjanula} \) ruki i \(\text{poščupala} \) rubašku Toma.
    She stretch-3SG.PST arms-ACC and palpate-3SG.PST shirt-ACC Tom-GEN.
In its turn ĉuvstvovat’ has semantic extensions that do not appear with feel. When followed by a sensory object such as zapax (‘a smell’) or vkus (‘taste’), it can take the meaning of ‘to perceive by smell or taste’.

(20) a. “I heard the rain on the roof and smelled the hay.” (RNC)

Ya slyšal stuk doždja po kryše i ĉuvstvoval zapax sena
I hear-3SG.PST knock-ACC rain-GEN on roof-INS and feel-3SG.PST smell-ACC hay-GEN

b. “He sat there tasting the brandy all the while, sitting on a rocking-chair in a horse-box”

ĉuvstvuja vkus brêndi na jazyke, on sidel v kačalke v
Feeling taste-ACC brandy-GEN on tongue-INS he sit-3SG.PST in rocking-chair in
 odom iz stoil one of horse-box

Thus, when occurring in a transitive construction both feel and ĉuvstvovat’ express perception. However, feel can take a more agentive meaning ‘to touch, to palpate’, whereas ĉuvstvovat’ can extend its meaning to other senses such as smell and taste.

The most striking differences in the use of nominal constructions with feel and ĉuvstvovat’ occur on the semantic level. When examining translation equivalents of feel and ĉuvstvovat’ in this construction, we notice that there is a great variety in the semantic representation of feeling in Russian:

- In 53% of the cases feel is translated into Russian as ĉuvstvovat’ (‘feel’). It can be followed by both concrete and abstract nouns: ĉuvstvovat’ bol’ (‘feel pain’), ljubov’ (‘love’), prikosnovenie (‘touch’), ruku (‘smb’s hand’), etc.
- In 18% of the examples feel has the equivalent ispytyvat’ (‘to experience, deeply feel’), which is only used with abstract nouns. In the majority of the examples the object NPs possess a negative connotation or describe negative feelings such as: ispytyvat’ strax (‘feel fear’), volnenie (‘anxiety’), nenavist’ (‘hatred’), nedostatok (‘the lack of smth’).
- 14% of translational equivalents of feel are oxvatyvat’ (‘to envelop, to embrace’) and ovladevat’ (‘to possess’). These synonyms are often used metaphorically to refer to deep feelings that take over a person, sometimes irrespective of his/her control or will. A different transitive construction is then observed in Russian. The theme becomes the
subject of the construction with *oxvatyvat’* and is then used in the nominative case, while the object NP is in the accusative case and has the role of the animate experiencer:

(21) a. “Langdon felt a deep wave of apprehension.” (RNC)

| Langdon-ACC | embrace-3SG.PST | unconscious | apprehension-NOM |

b. “He felt a deep sense of dread.” (RNC)

| anxiety-NOM | still | strong-COMP | embrace-3SG.PST | he-ACC |

In its turn *ovladevat’* requires the experiencer NP in the instrumental case and a theme NP in the nominative case:

(22) “He felt a curious shyness.” (RNC)

| he-INS | possess-3SG.PST | strange | shyness-NOM |

- The equivalent *oščuščat’* (‘to perceive’) is encountered in 9% of examples. This lexeme is found in the [NP-NOM + V + N-ACC/GEN] construction as well as [NP + V + sebja+ N-INS]. The examples include *oščuščat’ želanie* (‘feel desire’), *strax* (‘fright’).

- 6% translational equivalents comprise such lexemes as *(na)šupat’* (‘touch, palpate, search for’), *čujat* (‘smell’), *pitat’* (‘nourish, feel’), *vosprinimat’* (‘perceive’)

In contrast, 90% of the Russian sentences with *čuvstvovat’* are translated into English by *feel*.

(23) On čuvstvoval glubokoe sostradanie.

he feel-3SG.PST deep compassion-ACC

“He felt profound compassion.” (RNC)

The other 10% include such equivalents as *be* (5%), *perceive* (3%), *sense* (2%):

(24) Ne prohodit i polučasa, kak ja načinaju čuvstvovat’ nepobedimuju

not pass-3SG.PRS and half hour how I begin-1SG.PRS feel invincible

weakness-ACC in legs-INS

“Before half an hour is over I am conscious of an overwhelming weakness in my legs.”

b. Ni odnoj mysli ne bylo u nego v golove i on kak-to perestal

Not one thought not be-3SG.PST at he-GEN in head and he somehow stop-3SG.PST čuvstvovat’ sebja.
feel SEBJA

“There wasn’t a single thought in his head, and he had somehow stopped sensing himself.” (RNC)

3.2. Predicate constructions with *feel* and *čuvstvovat’*

3.2.1. Adjectival and adverbial predicate constructions

The predicate adjectival construction with *feel* takes [NP + *feel* + AdjP] structure, as in the following examples:

(25) a. I feel young again.
    b. I feel cold.
    c. Langdon was still feeling stupid.

(26) a. The air-conditioning felt cold (to me).
    b. The rain feels good.
    c. The cloth feels very thin.

However, these two examples differ in the role of subject NP. In (25) it is an animate Experiencer, whereas (26) has an inanimate subject NP. The Experiencer role can be expressed in such a sentence but is usually omitted (Kryk, 1979). When it comes to the predicate, it expresses an emotional, mental or physical state in (25), whereas in (26) it describes a property that the inanimate subject supposedly possesses.

In (25) *feel* is used as a cognitive perception verb and the whole construction comes to mean ‘to be conscious of a physical, emotional or mental state’. In (26) it is used as a copulative (flip) verb and has the semantics ‘to give a particular impression, to perceive physically’.

In contrast *čuvstvovat’* enters the predicate adjectival constructions only as a cognitive verb and needs the presence of the strong reflexive pronoun *sebja*, which serves to indicate that the process is directed at the experiencer itself, the same form being used with all subjects irrespective of number or person. As for the predicate, it appears in the instrumental. The construction with *čuvstvovat’* has thus the pattern [NP-NOM + V + *sebja* + AdjP-INS].

(27) a. On čuvstvoval sebja spokojnym i radostnym. (RNC)
    he feel-3SG.PST SEBJA calm-INS and happy-INS
    “He felt contented and joyful.”

    b. Agafevna Petrovna i Cornej čuvstvovali sebja izmučennymi i nedovol’nymi.
    Agafevna Petrovna i Corney feel-3PL.PST SEBJA tired-INS.PL and dissatisfied-INS.PL
“Agafevna Petrovna and Corney both felt tired and dissatisfied.” (RNC)

Note that the instrumental case is one of the two canonical cases for nominal or adjectival predicates. However, in Russian the adjectival construction only appears to express ‘to have a particular perception of oneself’ i.e. to be conscious of a physical or emotional quality of oneself, but it cannot be used to describe the state of the subject. Therefore (28) is ungrammatical:

(28) *Ja čuvstvoval sebja xolodnym.

I feel-1.SG.PST SEBJA cold-ADJ

States are rendered in Russian with the help of another construction with čuvstvovat’ sebja in which the predicate is an adverb [NP-NOM + V + SEBJA + AdvP]:

(29) “Harry felt terrible.”

Harry čuvstvoval sebja užasno.

harry feel-3SG.PST SEBJA terribly-ADV.

The English adjectival predicate construction describes a state that Harry was conscious of and its closest counterpart in Russian is the adverbial construction. In contrast, in Russian the adjectival construction with čuvstvovat’ and the same predicate will acquire another meaning:

(30) Harry čuvstvoval sebja užasnym.

Harry feel-3SG.PST SEBJA terrible-INS

“Harry felt as if he was terrible.” (RNC)

The adverbial construction with feel is also used in English to describe states. However it is very infrequent and occurs only with selected adverbs:

(31) Then he began to feel badly and fear that he was in the wrong.

In the adverbial predicate construction, the adverb describes the verb. However in the adjectival construction the adjective describes the subject NP:

(32)a. Now, that I had my hair cut, I feel different. (RNC)

b. And this question always excited another question in him—whether they felt differently, did their loving and marrying differently, these Vronskys and Oblonskys. (RNC)

Feel is also found in an adjectival predicate construction followed by the preposition about which exhibits the [NP+ feel + AdjP +about] pattern and has the meaning of ‘to perceive emotionally’

(33) “I never felt good about what I had to do.” (RNC)

Ja nikogda ne polučal udovol’stvija ot togo čto prixodilos’ delat’

i never not get-1SG.PST satisfaction-ACC from that what have-3SG.PST do
Čuvstovat’ does not take a preposition and therefore we find other translational equivalents in Russian (33).

In the indirect question introduced by how, the construction comes to mean ‘to hold an opinion or belief’:

(34) a. I don’t know how to feel about it.
    b. How do you feel about what Miggs said?

The adjectival predicate construction presents interesting results in terms of its syntactic variety in both languages. In our corpus the construction [NP + feel + AdjP] is rendered in Russian by:

- the corresponding adjectival construction [NP + V + sebjja + AdjP-INSTR], which is found in 22% of all translational equivalents:

(35) “Harry didn’t feel brave.” (RNC)
    Harry ne čuvstvoval sebjja otvažnym
    harry not feel-3SG.PST SEBJA brave-INS

- 26% of the cases are translated with the help of adverbial constructions. Two sub-constructions are possible:

(i) The first construction corresponds to the [NP-NOM+ V + sebjja +AdvP] pattern:

(36) “I felt very light” (RNC)
    JA počuvstvoval sebjja očen legko
    i feel-3SG.PST SEBJA very lightly-ADV

(ii) The second adverbial construction resorts to other lexical and grammatical means. The experiencer appears in the dative case, while the auxiliary verb byt’ (‘to be’) takes the impersonal form, which is omitted in the Present tense. The whole construction can be represented as [NP-DAT+ (AUX) + AdvP] :

(37) a. “I feel uncomfortable.”
    Mne nelovko.
    i-DAT uncomfortably-ADV

b. “I felt uncomfortable.”
    Mne bylo nelovko.
    i-DAT be-1SG.PST uncomfortably-ADV

According to Wierzbicka (1992:403-404), this construction is called ‘dative-impersonal construction’ since it consists of a subject NP (often a pronoun) in the dative case and is used in Russian to talk about emotions as ‘involuntary and beyond control’.

- 20% of examples are rendered by the transitive nominal construction without sebjja, taking the form of [NP-NOM + V + NP-ACC]:
Pippin felt cold and sick.” (RNC)

One more possibility is to translate the construction with the help of an NP in the nominative case and a lexical verb other than чувствовать that incorporates the psychological state which is felt. The structure has then the form of [NP-NOM + V]. We get 23% of examples:

“Pippin felt cold and sick.” (RNC)

One more possibility is to translate the construction with the help of an NP in the nominative case and a lexical verb other than чувствовать that incorporates the psychological state which is felt. The structure has then the form of [NP-NOM + V]. We get 23% of examples:

“She felt frightened only for a second.” (RNC)

With verbs expressing physical or emotional states, such as mutit’ (‘to make dizzy’), тошнить (‘to sicken’), беспокоить (‘to worry’), волновать (‘to be anxious’), etc., the subject can also appear in the accusative case. In this construction the verb always occurs in its impersonal form. 9% of sentences are observed:

“He felt nauseous.” (RNC)

Wierzbicka (1992) pays special attention to how emotions are expressed in Russian and English. What is relevant and interesting for our research is that she notices obvious dominance of “active emotion verbs” in Russian, as in (39), (40), whereas English possesses very few of them and resorts to adjectives when describing feelings. Wierzbicka explains this with cultural differences.

“It is uncharacteristic of Anglo-Saxons to “give themselves” to emotions. Their culture encourages them to be glad rather than to rejoice, to be sad rather than to pine, to be angry rather than to fume or rage…” (1992:401).

The same idea is supported by Pavlenko (2002) in the study on second language acquisition, which shows that L2 learners frame emotions differently in English and Russian. The empirical data suggest that some Russian L2 learners of English tend to use more verbs in their narrations, while American learners use adjectives when describing emotions.

In the translations from Russian into English, the predicate adjectival construction with чувствовать, is rendered with the help of an equivalent [NP + feel + AdjP] construction in the majority of the examples:
An interesting peculiarity can be observed in translational equivalents older than 1940. Translations of the [NP-NOM + V + sebja + AdjP-INS] construction into English using reflexive pronouns *myself, himself, etc. are often found:

(42) Anna čuvstvovala sebja sčastlivoj i polnoju radosti žizni.(RNC)
    “Anna felt herself happy and full of the joy of life.”

A few cases are translated into English with the help of the reflexive pronoun and an infinitive phrase:

(43) On čuvstvoval sebja vinovatym.
    “He felt himself to blame.” (RNC)

3.2.2. Nominal predicate construction
Both feel and čuvstvoval’ can be used with a predicate noun to express how the subject feels like. In English, the predicate noun is marked by either the preposition like or as, whereas Russian marks it with the instrumental case, which, as mentioned before, is the normal case for predicative NPs. However, in Russian in this construction the presence of the strong reflexive pronoun sebja is necessary. We thus obtain [NP-NOM + V + sebja + NP-INS]. The construction carries the meaning ‘to be in a particular state, to have a particular perception of oneself’ and corresponds to the equivalent English construction [NP + feel + like/as + NP]:

(44) On čuvstvoval sebja paleontologom (RNC)
    “He felt like a paleontologist.”

It should be noted that in English the object NP does not always denote an animate noun, but can also denote an activity. In that case the verb acquires a different meaning, ‘to be inclined to do something’, a construction which does not exist in Russian. Note that the NP can alternate with gerund of the corresponding verb.

(45) “I feel like a walk.       I feel like walking.
I would like to walk. Moreover, *feel* can be used with an impersonal subject in a copulative construction acquiring the meaning of ‘to seem likely to do something’

(46)  It feels like rain. *It feels like raining

However (46*) is ungrammatical and does not carry the same meaning as “to be inclined to”.

3.3. **Clausal constructions with *feel* and *čuvstvovat’***

Clausal complements are hierarchically more important than other types of complements since not all verbs (such as *give, talk, come, etc.* ) allow for clausal constructions. However, both *feel* and *čuvstvovat’* can take clausal arguments.

The clausal construction with *feel* can be represented by the [NP + *feel* + (that)Pfin] structure, in which the subject NP is an animate Experiencer and the clause is introduced by the optional conjunction *that*. A similar clausal construction is observed with *čuvstvovat’* and is represented as [NP-NOM + V + (*čto*) Pfin]. The NP is marked by the nominative case, while *čto* is a conjunction equivalent to English *that* and can also be omitted in the sentence. Note that due to the well-developed system of punctuation in Russian, *čto* needs to be preceded by a comma.

(47) a. “I feel the air is stuffy.” (RNC)

JA čuvstvuju, *čto* vozdux stal tesen.

i feel-1SG.PRS that air become-3SG.PST tight

b. “I feel that you can be of some help to Mrs. Hastings.” (RNC)

JA čuvstvuju, *vy* možete pomoč’ missis Hastings

i feel-1SG.PRS you can-2PL.PRS help Mrs.-DAT Hastings

The construction with clausal argument can be associated with different meanings. It can carry the same meaning as the construction with a nominal complement, i.e. ‘to perceive emotionally, physically’:

(48) a. “I feel that I am in love with him.” (RNC)

Ya čuvstvuju, *čto* vljubilas’

I feel-1SG.PRS that love-VERB

b. “I feel that I am tired.” (RNC)

JA čuvstvuju, *čto* ustal.
Moreover, *feel* and *čuvstvovat’* can be used as parenthetical verbs acting as semantic weakener of a statement. In case of parenthetical use with *čuvstvovat’* the subject pronoun is often omitted:

(49) “I feel it’s going to rain all day.” (RNC)

Čuvstvuju, dožd’ budet idti ves’ den’.

feel-1SG.PRS rain be-3SG.FUT go whole day

When entering the clausal construction, *feel* resembles the group of mental verbs in its semantic and syntactic properties. The construction thus acquires the meaning ‘to hold an opinion, belief, judgment’. However *čuvstvovat’* in the same construction does not acquire this meaning and other lexical means are used in translation, such as *sčitat’* (‘to consider’) in (50):

(50) “Many of us feel that Genesis is more or less allegorical.” (RNC)

Mnogie iz nas sčitajut, čto Kniga Bytija bolee ili menee allegorična.

Many of us think that book-NOM genesis-GEN more or less allegorical.

The clausal argument of *feel* and *čuvstvovat’* can contain an indirect wh-question:

(51) a. “I did not know that I could ever feel what I have felt.” (RNC)

JA ne znal, čto ja sposoben čuvstvovat’ to, čto ja teper’ počuvstval.

i not know-1SG.PST that I able feel that what I now feel-1SG.PST

b. “How did you feel when you heard about my late neighbor?” (RNC)

Čto vy počuvstvali kogda uznali o smerti moego soseda?

what you feel-3SG.PST when know-3SG.PST about death-INS my-GEN neighbor-GEN

Feel can enter bare infinitive and ing-clause constructions which correspond to the [NP+ feel + Pger/Pinf] pattern and takes then the meaning of ‘to perceive physically, emotionally, by intuition’. The majority of examples with Pger/Pinf constructions in our corpus describe some physical bodily sensation that the animate Experiencer undergoes:

(52) a. He could feel her arm go stiff. (RNC)

b. She could feel the stone floor trembling under their feet. (RNC)

c. I could feel it climbing up my neck. (RNC)

Nevertheless, some examples, bearing the semantics of ‘to perceive emotionally or by intuition’, are found:

(53) a. Behind his back he could feel everyone eyeing his blue overalls. (RNC)

b. Silas could feel his homeland testing him. (RNC)
The Pger/Pinf constructions are absent in Russian and the meaning is rendered with the help of a clause introduced by the conjunction *kak* (‘how’) or, in a few cases, by *čto* (‘that’).

(54) a. On čuvstval kak lico krasneet. (RNC)
  he feel-3SG.PST how face redden-3SG.PRS
  “He could feel his face getting red.”

b. Kaspian počuvstval, čto zemlja drožit pod ego nogami. (RNC)
  Caspian feel-3SG.PST that ground tremble-3SG.PRS under his feet.
  “Caspian could feel the ground shake under his feet.”

The clausal argument of *feel* can be introduced by *as if / as though* and the equivalent clausal argument of *čuvstvovat’* by *kak budto, budto, slovno* (‘as if/as though’). Both constructions can be represented as [NP + *feel + as if/as though* Pfin] and [NP + V + *kak budto/slovno* Pfin] and express the meaning of ‘to have a particular perception of one’s physical or emotional state’:

(55) a. “I feel as if a string had snapped inside my body.”
  Ja počuvstval, slovno vse u menja vnatri oborvalos’.
  i feel-1SG.PST as though all in me inside tear-3SG.PST

b. “He felt as if he had fought and killed the dragon.”
  On počuvstval, kak budto srazilsja s drakonom i ubil ego.
  he feel-3SG.PST as if fight-3SG.PST with dragon-INS and kill-3SG.PST him-GEN

3.4. Summary
The table given below summarizes the constructions in which *feel* and *čuvstvovat’* occur and shows their correlation with different meanings.

It can be observed that *feel* enters into more constructions, since it allows for gerundial and prepositional complements which are not found in Russian. However, the majority of the constructions are common for both verbs and differ only with respect to grammatical peculiarities in Russian (such as case-marking or the use of reflexive pronoun *sebja*).

Semantic interpretations of the constructions display a much greater variety. In comparison to *feel*, *čuvstvovat’* is only used as a cognitive verb and thus does not carry agentive or copulative meaning. Moreover predicate adjectival constructions express different meanings. While [**feel + AdjP**] describes states, the Russian counterpart construction describes the Experiencer’s particular perception of oneself. States are represented by the adverbial predicate construction in Russian. As for clausal constructions, *feel* and *čuvstvovat’* are found in identical constructions
with *that* and *wh-* clauses. *Čuvstvovat’*, however, can take a clausal construction introduced by *kak* (‘how’) which expresses the meaning “to perceive emotionally, physically, by intuition”. The construction with this meaning possesses the equivalent of gerundial and bare-infinitive construction with *feel* in English.

### Transitive constructions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>construction</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>Čuvstvovat’</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NP(_{agent}) + <em>feel</em> + NP</td>
<td>‘examine by touch, palpation’</td>
<td>NP-NOM + V + NP-ACC/GEN</td>
<td>‘to perceive emotionally, physically, by smell or taste’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP(_{agent}) + <em>feel</em>+for/about+ NP</td>
<td>‘to search or explore by touch’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP(_{experiencer}) + <em>feel</em> + NP</td>
<td>‘perceive emotionally, physically’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Predicate constructions

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</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NP + <em>feel</em>(cognitive)+ AdjP</td>
<td>‘to be conscious of a physical or emotional state’</td>
<td>NP-NOM + V + <em>sebja</em> + Adj-INS</td>
<td>‘to have a particular perception of oneself’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP + <em>feel</em>(copular) + AdjP</td>
<td>‘to give a particular impression about physical perception’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP + <em>feel</em> + AdjP + <em>about</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP + <em>feel</em> + AdvP</td>
<td>‘to be conscious of a physical or emotional state’</td>
<td>NP-NOM + V + AdvP</td>
<td>‘to be conscious of a physical or emotional state’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP + <em>feel</em> + like/as + NP</td>
<td>‘to be in a particular state to have a particular perception of oneself’</td>
<td>NP-NOM + V + <em>sebja</em> + NP-INS</td>
<td>‘to be in a particular state, to have a particular perception of oneself’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Clausal constructions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>construction</th>
<th>Čuvstvovat’</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NP + <em>feel</em> + (that)Pfin</td>
<td>1) ‘to perceive emotionally, physically, by intuition’; 2) ‘parenthetical use, the weaker of statement’; 3) ‘to hold an opinion,’</td>
<td>NP-NOM + V + (čto)Pfin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>Construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP+ <code>feel</code> + <code>wh</code> Pfin</td>
<td>'to perceive emotionally, physically, by intuition'</td>
<td>NP+ <code>V</code> + <code>wh</code> Pfin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP + <code>feel</code> + Pget/Pinf</td>
<td>'to perceive emotionally, physically, by intuition'</td>
<td>NP+ <code>V</code> + <code>kak</code> Pfin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table [1]. The overview of constructions and meanings of `feel` and `čuvstvovat`
4. Contrastive analysis of the semantic field of *feel* and *čuvstvovat’*

In this chapter we present a semantic analysis of *feel* and *čuvstvovat’*. We study the meanings of both verbs and the way they are presented in the main English and Russian explanatory dictionaries, namely the *Oxford English Dictionary (Online)* (OED), the *Thesaurus online dictionary*, the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (LDOCE), *Tolkovyi slovar’ russkogo jazyka* (Ušakov, 1935-1940), *Slovar’ russkogo jazyka* (Ožegov, 1970), *Bol’šoj tolkovyj slovar’ russkogo jazyka* (Kuznecov, 2000). The analysis of these lexicographic data and of the data coming from our corpus research will allow us to come up with a contrastive semantic map of *feel* and *čuvstvovat’* and to examine the similarities and differences between them.

4.1. *Feel* and *čuvstvovat’* in dictionaries

Lexicographic analysis shows that the number of meanings of *feel* and their presentation differs from one dictionary to another. In the OED all the meanings are divided into three groups, which in our view, can be regarded as the basic meanings of *feel*:

(i) “to examine or explore by touch”: *I felt his pulse*;

(ii) “to perceive, be conscious”: *I felt under my naked foot… some hard substance or other*;

(iii) “to be felt as having a specified quality, to seem”: *The air felt chilly*.

Each of the three groups contains different sub-senses amounting in total to 36 sub-senses. Since OED is supposed to take into account all the meanings of words in the history of the English language, it is possible to find obsolete or dialectal meanings of *feel* there.

In its turn LED focuses on modern usage and thus distinguishes around 17 different senses of *feel*. Some meanings are attributed to set phrases with *feel* such as *feel smooth, feel sure, feel strange*, others are linked to specific grammatical structures (e.g. *feel as if, feel that*).

The *Thesaurus online dictionary* subdivides meanings into two groups according to the transitive or intransitive use of *feel*, presenting 13 meanings in total. The lexicographic data gathered from three dictionaries mentioned above are presented in Table [2] which is found in Appendix 1.

In contrast Russian explanatory dictionaries distinguish far fewer meanings of *čuvstvovat’*. In Ušakov (1935-1940) and Kuznecov (2000) we find only 5 meanings and in Ožegov (1970) only 3
meanings are singled out. The authors are unanimous as for the three common meanings of čuvstvovat':

(i) “to experience some sensation”, e.g. čuvstvovat' volnenie (‘feel worried’), ljubov’ (‘love’)
(ii) “to be able to perceive in a particular way”, e.g. čuvstvovat’ muzyku (‘feel the music’), žyvopis (‘art’)
(iii) čuvstvovat’ sebja – “to have or experience some feelings (psychological or physical)” e.g. Bol’noj čuvstvuet sebja xorošo (‘The patient feels good’)

The complete data found in three dictionaries is given in Table [3] in Appendix 2.

4.2. Semantics of feeling
All the meanings presented in dictionaries can be roughly put into four groups, according to the nature of perception: sensory, cognitive, agentive and copulative (as illustrated by the provisionary map given below).

4.2.1. Sensory perception
Sensory perception comprises meanings that are associated with perception by sensory organs (e.g. by taste, by smell). Both feel and čuvstvovat’ can express sensory perception, namely perception by sense of touch:

(56) “At her left foot she felt something warm and furry.” (RNC)
U levoj nogi ona čuvstvovala čto-to teploe i moxnatoe.
At left-INS foot she feel-3SG.PST something warm and furry.

However the verb čuvstvovat’ can acquire another sensory meaning – ‘to perceive by smell or taste’. Etymological data suggests that čuvstvovat’ stems from a verb which used to mean hear or smell. The root of this verb goes back to the Old Church Slavonic по-чувати (po-čuvati), Bulgarian чувах (čuvam), which meant “to hear”. Further on the verb was connected to čut’ and čujat’ (‘smell, sense’) (Fasmer 1986:377).

When expressing this sensory meaning the verb is often followed by a sensory object such as vkus (‘taste’) or zapax (‘smell’):

(57)

a. “Billy could almost smell his breath - mustard gas and roses.” (RNC)

  Billi počti čto čuvstvoval zapax – gorčičnyj gaz i rozy.

b. “She poured some of the liquid down her throat, making an obvious effort not to taste it.” (RNC)

  Ona staralas’ glotat’ židkost’ srazu čtoby ne čuvstvovat’ ee vkusa.

According to OED the verb feel could express the meaning ‘to perceive by smell or taste’ and examples dating back to the 19th century can still be found:

(58) I feel a smell of tea. (OED, 1870)

Nevertheless, the examples such as (58) became obsolete in English and the verb feel does not extend its meaning to the sense modality of smell or taste.

4.2.2. Cognitive perception

The group of meanings denoting cognitive perception is one of the broadest and refers to meanings connected to emotive, physical or mental perception. One of the canonical cognitive meanings in which both verbs are found is ‘to perceive emotionally, physically, by intuition or inner feeling’. It is one of the most widely used basic meanings of both verbs and is characterized by a great structural and semantic representation. As shown in chapter 3, feel and čuvstvovat’ expressing this meaning can occur in various syntactic structures ranging from transitive and predicate constructions to clausal constructions. The given meaning is also very broad in its semantics. It can describe some emotional state that the Experiencer is conscious of or the perception of deep emotions:
(59)a. “I’m just feeling reckless and happy.” (RNC)
    Ya чувствую себе беззаботно и счастливо.
    i feel-1SG.PRS SEBJA reckless-INS and happy-INS

b. “She still felt twinges of desire when she looked at him.” (RNC)
    Ona все еще чувствовала желание когда смотрела на него.
    She all still feel-3SG.PST desire when look-3SG.PST at him.

c. He felt compassion for this life.” (RNC)
    Он чувствовал сочувствие к этой жизни.
    he feel-3SG.PST compassion-ACC to this life-INS

The physical perception includes either inner bodily sensations that the Experiencer undergoes for some reasons or physical states:

(60)a. “He felt quite worn out and shattered.” (RNC)
    Он чувствовал сильно утомление и разбитость.
    He feel-3SG.PST strong weariness-ACC and shatter-N

b. “I could feel my muscles loosen.” (RNC)
    Я чувствовал как расслабились мышцы.
    I feel-1SG.PST how loosen-3.PL.PST muscles-NOM

One more common meaning shared by both verbs is ‘to perceive by intuition’. The given meaning describes the type of perception caused by some foreboding, inner feeling:

(61) Čuvstvuju ved’ ne spiš’!
    feel-1SG.PRS VED’ not sleep-2SG.PRS
    “I can feel you are not sleeping!” (RNC)

Both feel and чувствовать can express meanings connected to mental processes and cognition. The cognitive meaning ‘to hold an opinion, belief or judgment’ is extensively represented with the verb feel both in our corpus and in English dictionaries. In the given meaning feel behaves semantically and syntactically like the group of mental verbs (think, believe, consider, etc.):

(62)a. “They felt that using analytical physics to support religious principles was a treason against science.” (RNC)
    Они считали, что использовать аналитическую физику для
    They consider-3PL.PST that using analytical physics-GEN for
b. Della Street said uneasily, “I feel that we should have some sort of an official status here.”
Della otvetila: “Ya dumaju nužno imet’ kakoi-to oficiálnyi predlog.”
de=reply-3SG.PST i think need-IMPRS have some oficial reason-ACC

However, the same meaning is not found for чувствовать’ in Russian dictionaries. In the examples from the parallel corpus given above it can be seen that Russian resorts to other lexical means to express this meaning, namely to such verbs as думать’ (‘think’), считать’ (‘consider’), полагать’ (‘believe’).

In contrast, the verb чувствовать’ is characterized by other cognitive meaning, which is not expressed by feel, namely ‘to understand, realize’. While feel shares the semantics of such mental verbs as думать, верить, считать, чувствовать’ is closer to понимать’ (‘understand’), осознавать’ (‘realize’), знать’ (‘know’).

(63)a. Чувствуя, чо еë не слушают, Устинович быстро закончила свою

feeling that her not listen-3PL.PRS ustinovič quickly finish-3SG.PST her

speech-NOM

“Realising that no one was listening to her, Ustinovich quickly wound up her

speech.”(RNC)

b. Bosch чувствовал, чо разлада не избежат’.
Bosch feel-3SG.PST that collision-GEN not avoid

“Bosch knew there was no use trying to avoid the collision.” (RNC)

Both feel and чувствовать’ possess the cognitive meaning of ‘to have a particular perception of oneself’. This meaning emphasizes a particular emotional or physical state that is usually uncharacteristic of a person or his/her behavior:

(64)a. “He felt like an idiot.” (RNC)

On чувствовал себет idiotom.

he feel-3SG.PST SEBJA idiot-INS

b. “He felt as though a happy balloon inside him had got a puncture.” (RNC)
On чувствовал, будто воздушный шарик внутри него прокололи.

he feel-3SG.PST though air balloon inside him pin-3SG.PST

One of the specific cognitive meanings of чувствовать is ‘to be able to perceive in a particular way’:

(65)a. Андреев чувствует живопис, никогда не нравится ему слабая вещ’. (RNC)

Andreev feel-3SG.PRS painting never not like-PRF he-DAT weak thing-NOM

b. Профессор из Германии учит чувствовать музыку Баха. (RNC)

Professor from Germany teach-3SG.PRS feel music-ACC Bach-GEN

In this meaning чувствовать is synonymous with the verbs разбирать (‘to know much about smth’), понимать (‘understand’). Though this meaning is not listed for feel in dictionary entries and we have not found it in our corpus data, nevertheless, it is possible to find such expressions as feel the music, feel the beauty in contemporary English:

(66) The Germans felt music intuitively, wrote the loftiest books. (COCA)

4.2.3. Agentive perception

Agentive meanings imply that the active verb takes a subject NP that performs the function of the Doer or the Agent of the action.

Agentive meaning is peculiar to the verb feel as opposed to чувствовать. Two submeanings can be traced in the examples: ‘to touch, palpate’ and ‘to explore, search by touch’. According to the etymological data the verb itself derives from Old Saxon folem, Old High German folma ‘hand’ and fuolen ‘to handle, grope’. (OED).

(67)a. But instead of feeling the hard, smooth wood of the floor of the wardrobe, she felt something soft and powdery. (RNC)

b. Arha stretched out her hands but she felt no walls. (RNC)

c. He felt the patient’s stomach. (RNC)

The original meaning extended later on and the verb came to denote ‘to search or explore by touch’.

(68)a. He felt for his wallet. (RNC)

b. He felt about the kitchen table for matches. (RNC)

In contrast the verb чувствовать does not occur in the agentive meaning. As we have mentioned above even the etymology of the word has a different root and goes back to the verbs hear and smell.
Thus, Russian resorts to other lexical means when translating *feel* in the agentive meaning. This can be illustrated by the following parallel corpus examples:

(69)a. “Actually all he could feel was a kneecap.” (RNC)

   Na samom dele prošupyvalas’ tol’ko kolennaja čašečka.

   actually palpate-IMPRS only knee cap-NOM

b. “The old lady reached out her hand and felt Tom’s shirt.” (RNC)

   Ona protjanula ruki i poščupala rubašku Toma.

   she stretch-3SG.PST hands-ACC and palpate-3SG.PST shirt-ACC Tom-GEN

4.2.4. Copulative perception

The group of copulative perception implies that the verb is used as a copular one, linking subject NP with the complement of the subject. As a copular verb *feel* can acquire the meaning ‘to give a particular sensation or impression’, which is synonymous to the verbs *seem, appear, look like* in English.

(70) “It feels cool up here.” (RNC)

   zdes’ xolodno.

   here cold-ADV

In its turn *čuvstvovat’* does not express copulative perception. The examples with copulative *feel* are often translated into Russian with the help of impersonal constructions (71) or lexical verbs such as *kazat’sja* (‘seem’).

(71) “This place feels damp.” (RNC)

   Kak u vas zdes’ syro.

   How at you-2PL.GEN here damp-ADV

4.3. Summary

All the meanings discussed above can be summarized in Table [4] and in the semantic map [1] given below. It can be clearly seen that *feel* and *čuvstvovat’* possess some common meanings, as well as verb-specific meanings.

Sensory and cognitive perception is characteristic for both verbs. Nevertheless, sensory meanings are broader in Russian, since *čuvstvovat’* can cover not only the perception by sense of *touch*, but also the modality of *smell* and *taste*. 
Cognitive meanings present a more complex picture. *Feel* and *čuvstvovat*’ can both express the meanings ‘to perceive emotionally, physically, by intuition’ and ‘to have a particular perception of oneself’. However, *feel* bears the semantics of such mental words as *think, believe*, while *čuvstvovat*’ resembles the verbs *understand, realize* in its semantics. Moreover, *čuvstvovat*’ has one more specific meaning ‘to be able to perceive in a particular way’ which is not frequent with *feel*.

The agentive and copulative meanings are specific to *feel* only and are not expressed by *čuvstvovat*’ in Russian.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><em>feel</em></th>
<th><em>čuvstvovat</em>’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sensory</td>
<td>'perceive by sense of touch'</td>
<td>'perceive by smell or taste'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cognitive</td>
<td>'perceive emotionally, physically'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'perceive by intuition'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'have a particular perception of oneself'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'to hold an opinion, belief, judgment'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'to perceive mentally, understand, realize'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'to be able to perceive in a particular way'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agentive</td>
<td>'to touch, palpate'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'to examine, explore, search (by touch or palpation)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copulative</td>
<td>'to give a particular physical sensation or impression'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table [4]. The semantics of *feel* and *čuvstvovat*’
Semantic map of feeling [1]

- **Sensory**
  - by sense of touch
  - by smell or taste

- **Cognitive**
  - think, believe
  - have a particular perception of oneself
  - understand, realize

- **Agentive**
  - touch, palpate
  - search, explore

- **Copulative**
  - seem, appear
  - emotionally, physically, by intuition
  - be able to perceive in a particular way

- **Feel**

Semantic map of feeling [1]
4. Conclusion

In this paper we have presented the contrastive analysis of the perception verb *feel* and its Russian counterpart *čuvstvovat’*.

Our primary research question was concerned with the syntactic structures in which both verbs are found and their relation to meaning. The interest was caused by the Construction Grammar approach. We carried out a corpus-based analysis, which showed that the main differences in the syntactic structures of both verbs result from the differences in the grammatical systems of English and Russian. While *feel* can become a part of a phrasal verb and take the gerund or bare-infinitive complementation, *čuvstvovat’* assigns case-marking, is marked by aspect and can be followed by the reflexive pronoun *sebja*.

Thus the three major types of constructions, against which the similarities and differences of the two verbs were contrasted, are transitive, predicate and clausal.

The most intrinsic peculiarity of the transitive constructions with *feel* and *čuvstvovat’* is that syntactically they do not reveal major differences. However, on the semantic level there are a great variety of translational equivalents. The verb *feel*, in particular, can be rendered into Russian with the help of various lexemes synonymous to *čuvstvovat’*, whereas the reverse translation shows that *čuvstvovat’* is rendered by *feel* in the majority of cases.

The predicate constructions, on the other hand, present interest in terms of structural peculiarities. We distinguished various syntactic means of rendering the predicate adjectival construction with *feel* into Russian and vice versa. Moreover, predicate constructions differ semantically, since the states are rendered by adjectival and adverbial constructions with *feel*, while only adverbial construction is possible with *čuvstvovat’* to describe states.

The clausal constructions introduced by *that* and *wh-* clause were found with both *feel* and *čuvstvovat’*. However the semantics of the two constructions differs slightly. Another dissimilarity is that *čuvstvovat’* can take the clause introduced by *kak* (‘how’), which is equivalent to gerundial and bare-infinitival constructions with *feel*.

Our second research question was to contrast the polysemy and meaning extensions of both verbs. Four groups of meanings were taken as a basis to contrast the semantics of both verbs: *sensory, cognitive, agentive* and *copular*. As to the sensory modality, *feel* is found to extend its meaning to the sense of *touch*, while *čuvstvovat’* to the sense of *smell, taste* as well as sense of *touch*. 


The common cognitive meanings of *feel* and *čuvstvovat’* are ‘to perceive emotionally, physically, by intuition’ and ‘to have a particular perception of oneself’. Other cognitive meanings are characterized by different shades of mental perception. *Feel* shares the semantic and structural peculiarities of such verbs as *think, believe*, whereas *čuvstvovat’* bears similarity with *understand, realize*.

Moreover *feel* was found to express agentive and copular meanings, which is not the case with *čuvstvovat’*. 
## Appendix 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thesaurus online dictionary</th>
<th>Oxford English Dictionary (Online)</th>
<th>Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>verb (used with object)</strong></td>
<td><strong>I. To examine or explore by touch</strong></td>
<td><strong>1. feeling/emotion</strong> [linking verb, transitive] - to experience a particular physical feeling or emotion: <em>feel hungry, feel fine</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. to perceive or examine by touch</td>
<td>- to handle (an object) in order to experience a tactual sensation;</td>
<td>2. notice [transitive not in progressive] - to notice something that is happening to you, especially something that is touching you: <em>She felt his arms go round her.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. to have a sensation of (something), other than by sight, hearing, taste, or smell: <em>to feel a toothache</em></td>
<td>- to try by touching, e.g. with a stick or the foot;</td>
<td>3. feel smooth / dry etc. [linking verb] - to give you a particular physical feeling, especially when you touch or hold something: <em>Her hands felt rough.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. to find or pursue (one's way) by touching, groping, or cautious moves</td>
<td>- to find one's way by groping; to proceed by cautious steps;</td>
<td>4. feel good / strange etc. [linking verb] if a situation, event, etc. feels good, strange etc., that is the emotion or feeling that it gives you: <em>It felt wonderful to be wearing clean clothes again.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. to be or become conscious of</td>
<td>- to feel out: to ascertain the configuration of (something) as if by touch;</td>
<td>5. have an opinion [transitive not usually in progressive] - to have a particular opinion, especially one that is based on your feelings, not on facts: <em>Some of the parents felt the school wasn't doing enough about bullying.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. to be emotionally affected by: <em>to feel one's disgrace keenly</em></td>
<td>- to grope after;</td>
<td>6. touch [transitive] - to touch something with your fingers to</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **verb (used without object)** | **II. To perceive, be conscious.** |  |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|  |
| 9. to have perception by touch or by any nerves of sensation other than those of sight, hearing, taste, and smell. | - trans. to perceive by the sense of touch; |  |
| 10. to make examination by touch; grope. | - to perceive, or be affected with sensation by (an object) through those senses which (like that of touch) are not referred to any special ‘organ’; |  |
| 11. to perceive a state of mind or a condition of body: *to feel happy; to feel well.* | - to know by sense of touch or organic sensation; |  |
| 12. to have a sensation of being: *to feel warm.* | - to have or be capable of sensations of touch, etc. |  |
| 13. to make itself perceived or | - to perceive mentally, become aware of; |  |
|  | - to be conscious of (a subjective fact); to be the subject of, experience (a sensation, emotion), entertain (a conviction); |  |
| apparent; seem: *How does it feel to be rich?* | -to have the sensation of being (what is predicated); to be consciously; to regard oneself as.  
-to entertain a certain sentiment, be in a particular frame of mind. Also with as if, like;  
-To have passive experience of, undergo consciously;  
-To be emotionally affected by (an event or state of things);  
-To have the sensibilities excited; esp. to have sympathy with, compassion for (a person, his sufferings, etc.);  
-Expressing a belief or judgement; |
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>Used (like <em>taste</em>, <em>smell</em>) in quasi-passive sense with complement: To be felt as having a specified quality; to produce a certain impression on the senses (esp. that of touch) or the sensibilities; to seem.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| find out about it: *She felt his forehead.*  
7. *feel around/on/in etc.* something (for something) to search for something with your fingers: *She felt in her bag for a pencil.*  
8. *feel the force/effects/benefits etc.* of something to experience the good or bad results of something: *The local economy is beginning to feel the effects of the recession.*  
9. *feel your way* to move carefully, with your hands out in front of you, because you cannot see properly: *Silently, she felt her way across the room.* |

Table [2]. Lexicographic data of *feel* coming from OED, LDOCE and *Thesaurus online dictionary*
## Appendix 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Ispytyvat’ kakoe-libo čuvstvo</em> (‘to experience some sensation’)</td>
<td><em>Ispytyvat’ kakoe-libo čuvstvo</em> (‘to experience some sensation’)</td>
<td><em>Ispytyvat’ kakoe-libo čuvstvo</em> (Also with object clause ‘to experience some sensation’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g. Čuvstvovat’ golod (‘feel hungry’), teplo (‘warmth’), ljubov’ (‘love’)</td>
<td>e.g. Čuvstvovat’ volnenie (‘feel worried’), otvetstvennost’ (‘responsibility’)</td>
<td>e.g. Čuvstvovat’ xolod (‘feel cold’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(čto i s sojuzom čto), vosprinimat’, zamečat’ organami čuvstv, oščuščat’čto-nibud’ vnešnee.</em> (‘what and with conjunction ‘that’, to perceive, notice with the help of sense organs, to feel smth external’)</td>
<td><em>(čto i s sojuzom čto), vosprinimat’, osoznavat’, otdav’ sebe otčet</em> (‘what and with conjunction “that”, to understand, to realize, to be aware of)</td>
<td><em>(čto i s sojuzom čto), vosprinimat’, osoznavat’, otdav’ sebe otčet</em> (‘what and with conjunction “that”, to understand, to realize, to be aware of)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g. Ya čuvstvuju, čto ona zdes’ (‘I feel she is here’)</td>
<td>e.g. Ja čuvstvuju, čto glup ( ‘I feel that I am a fool’), Čuvstvovat’ svoju vinu pered kem-to (‘to feel guilty’)</td>
<td>e.g. Deti čuvstvujut, kto ix ljubit.(‘Children feel who loves them’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(čto i s sojuzom čto), ponimat’, osoznavat’, umet’ vosprinimat’ kogo, čto-nibud’, čto-nibud’</em> (‘genitive case, to be able to perceive smb or smth’)</td>
<td>*umet’ vosprinimat’, ponimat’, (‘to be able to perceive, understand) e.g. Čuvstvovat’ muziku ( ‘feel the music’), žyvopis (‘art’)</td>
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<td>e.g. On xorošo čuvstvuet poeziju (‘<em>He feels poetry well’</em>)</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>(čto i s sojuzom čto), vosprinimat’, zamečat’ organami čuvstv, oščuščat’čto-nibud’ vnešnee.</em> (‘what and with conjunction ‘that’, to perceive, notice with the help of sense organs, to feel smth external’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kogo-čto, umet’ vosprinimat’ kogo-nibud’, čto-nibud’ (‘genitive case, to be able to perceive smb or smth’)</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>(čto i s sojuzom čto), vosprinimat’, osoznavat’, otdav’ sebe otčet</em> (‘what and with conjunction “that”, to understand, to realize, to be aware of)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g. On xorošo čuvstvuet poeziju (‘<em>He feels poetry well’</em>)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Čuvstvovat’ sebja kak i kem-to naxoditsja v kakom-nibud’</td>
<td>Čuvstvovat’ sebja 1) kak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
čem, imet’, ispytyvat’ te ili inye oščuščenija fizičeskie ili psihicestkie (čuvstvovat’ + reflexive pronoun + instrumental NP), to have or experience some feelings (psychological or physical)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ispytyvat’ te ili inye oščuščenija</th>
<th>sostojanii zdorovja ('about health, to be in some state of health')</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(čuvstvovat’ + reflexive pronoun + instrumental NP), to have or experience some feelings</td>
<td>e.g. Bolnoj čuvstvuet sebja xorošo ('The patient feels good')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) kem-čem – sčitat’, oščuščat’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sebja kem-nibud’ ('to feel oneself as/like smb')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g. Čuvstvovat’ sebja hozjainom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>('Feel like an owner')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

References


Thesaurus online dictionary. Retrieved from [http://www.thesaurus.com](http://www.thesaurus.com)


