

# SPACE AND METAPHOR IN VERBS PREFIXED WITH OD-/OT- ‘FROM’ IN BOSNIAN/CROATIAN/SERBIAN AND BULGARIAN

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## ABSTRACT

This article analyzes Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian (BCS) and Bulgarian (Blg.) verbs prefixed with *od-/ot-* ‘(away) from’ from a cognitive linguistics perspective, focusing on spatial meaning extensions into non-spatial domains, as well as similarities and differences between the languages in question. The prototypical sense of these verbs involves a path and can be presented as a trajector (TR) moving away from a landmark (LM), often a LM-boundary. This *from* schema is illustrated by BCS/Blg. *otići/otida* ‘go (away)’ and *odalečiti se/otdaleča se* ‘go/move away’. Most non-spatial meanings of *od-/ot-* verbs are derived by applying the idea of movement through space or a spatial path to a metaphorical or figurative movement/path—for example, BCS/Blg. *odustati od/otkaža se ot* ‘refuse, give up’ and *odskakati od (impf.)<sup>1</sup>/otliča se ot* ‘stand out, be different from’—in which the verbs often co-occur with the prepositions *od/ot*. Our analysis shows that the various meanings of verbs with *od-/ot-* are not random collections of senses, but form semantic networks with systematic and partially predictable associations of abstract ideas and spatial locations.

## [1] INTRODUCTION

This article<sup>2</sup> analyzes verbs prefixed with *od<sup>3</sup>/ot-* ‘(away) from’ in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian (BCS) and Bulgarian (Blg.) from a cognitive linguistics perspective, focusing on spatial meaning extensions into non-spatial domains. We decided to concentrate on BCS and Blg. prefix semantics because there are no comparisons

[1] This verb is quoted in its impf. form because the pf. form has a different meaning.

[2] This analysis is part of a broader study in progress comparing *od/ot-* and *do-* verbs in BCS and Bulgarian. A preliminary report on part of this study was presented at the Slavic Cognitive Linguistics Conference at the University of Zagreb, Croatia in September 2012. We would like to express our sincere gratitude to the conference participants and the two anonymous reviewers of this article for their insightful comments and suggestions.

[3] Some BCS verbs occur with *ot-, o-,* and *oda-* (allomorphs of *od-*). *Od-* is sometimes spelled *ot-* before certain voiceless consonants and vowels (e.g., *otplivati*, ‘swim away’, *otići* ‘go away’), *o-* with base verbs beginning with *d* and *t* (e.g., *odalečiti se* ‘go away’), and sometimes *oda-* with verbs beginning with two consonants (e.g., *odagnati* ‘drive away’).

related to this topic so far. Comparisons of individual Slavic languages are interesting because very similar languages do not necessarily follow the same prefixation model. *Od-/ot-* is a very productive verbal prefix in both BCS and Blg. The prefixation pattern and its semantic implications seem very similar at first glance; however, as our analysis shows, there are also some challenging differences.

This analysis follows the theoretical premises of cognitive linguistics (e.g., (Janda 1986); (Tabakowska 2003); (Przybylska 2006); (Klikovac 2006); (Tchizmarova 2005, 2006); (Belaj 2008); (Šarić 2008)) and approaches spatial particles as networks of interrelated meanings. Within this framework, category members share different sets of attributes with each other, fuzzy boundaries among concepts are allowed, and more and less prototypical senses to which other senses directly or less directly relate are identified (see, e.g., (Langacker 1987); (Tyler & Evans 2003)). Image schemas are also used and they usually depict two basic entities: a trajector (TR) and a landmark (LM), respectively defined by Langacker (1987) as the figure within a relational profile and another salient entity in a relational predication, prototypically providing a point of reference for locating the TR. An image schema is “a cognitive representation comprising a generalization over perceived similarities among instances of usage” (Barlow & Kemmer 2000, viii). Image schemas lack specificity and content, which makes them highly flexible preconceptual and primitive patterns used for reasoning ((Johnson 1987, 30).<sup>4</sup> In this analysis, we use the path image schema to depict movement away from a source (see Figure 1 on page 10).

We particularly focus on relations between apparently unrelated meanings of prefixed verbs, paying special attention to how spatial meanings relate to non-spatial meanings, and to metaphorical transformations and abstractions that are responsible for some abstract/metaphorical meanings of prefixed verbs. We concentrate on movement in space and how it transforms from concrete domains into abstract/metaphorical ones. We first look at the semantic profile of the prefix *od-/ot-* in verbs expressing spatial motion, and then at the profile of verbs with abstract/metaphorical meanings (significantly, in most cases, the same verb has a concrete and a metaphorical meaning). We identify and explain the relations between several meanings of *od-/ot-* (Sections [2]–[4]), concentrating on similarities and differences between BCS and Blg. We examine how the semantic profile of the prefixes in motion contexts influences their semantics in non-spatial contexts. We approach the semantics of *od-/ot-* with an emphasis on meaning change and extensions through metaphor and metonymy, which can explain the links between apparently unrelated meanings. Section [5] presents a semantic network of verbs prefixed with *od-/ot-* and provides some conclusions and suggestions for further research.

[4] (Johnson 1987, 126) lists the following among the most important image schemas: CONTAINER, PATH, CENTER-PERIPHERY, NEAR-FAR, PART-WHOLE, CONTACT, and SURFACE.

The material that we base our observations on is mainly verbs listed in dictionaries. For BCS, (Anić 1998) and (Bujas 2001) were used. These sources probably do not list all existing BCS *od*-verbs (e.g., all the verbs that can be found in older sources); however, these dictionaries contain the most commonly and frequently used verbs, and so the inventory is suitable for a semantic description of modern language usage.<sup>5</sup> For Blg., GSBKE (*Grammar of Contemporary Standard Bulgarian*, also known as the *Academy Grammar*; (Andrejčin 1998)) and RBE (*Bulgarian Dictionary*; (Armjanov 2002))<sup>6</sup> were the primary sources, supplemented by examples provided by four native speakers of Bulgarian. Useful information for both languages was also found in Stojanov (2011)'s Croatian-Bulgarian dictionary. Because this article aims at a general overview of the meaning of the verbs prefixed with *od/ot-* in BCS and Blg, we consider the sources used to be sufficient for the aim of this analysis. A more detailed analysis of a number of issues related to specific subtypes and individual *od-/ot-* verbs that are only outlined in this analysis must be based on corpus studies and is beyond the scope of this article.

On the basis of our material, we have identified three main groups of verbs: the first group is verbs expressing motion in space away from a source, typically denoting self-caused motion (see Section [2]). The second group is verbs indicating spontaneous and caused separation (see Section [3]). In these two groups, concrete and metaphorical subgroups are identified. Verbs denoting cancellation of a previous action are treated as a special case of abstract separation. The third group (see Section [4]) implies abstract motion realized as completion, emphasizing either the initial point of a process or its duration. Verbs in which the spatial meaning is transformed into an action that is a response to some other preceding action represent a special case of completion.

## [2] THE FROM SCHEMA OF OD-/ OT-

The prototypical senses of verbs prefixed with *od-/ot-* involve a path and can be presented as a trajector (TR) moving away from a landmark (LM), often a LM-boundary.

[5] From Anić (1998) and Bujas (2001), 320 *od-* verbs were extracted. Including other sources would admittedly increase the number of prefixed verbs. However, we believe that the verbs considered in this study cover the major semantic types.

[6] We found 415 verbs with *ot-* in (Armjanov 2002), counting all imperfective and perfective forms of a verb (e.g., *otkačam* (impf.), *otkačvam* (impf.) and *otkača* (pf.) 'detach') as one entry, verbs with and without a reflexive particle (e.g., *otkača* and *otkača se*) as one entry, but homonyms (e.g., *otkača*<sup>1</sup> 'detach' and *otkača*<sup>2</sup> 'become/go insane') as separate entries.

[2.1] *Motion in space away from a source; verbs of self-caused motion*

The central meaning of *od-/ot-* involves a TR moving away from a LM as in BCS/Blg. *otići<sup>7</sup>/otida* ‘go (away)’. We call this the *from* schema and present it schematically in Figure 1.



FIGURE 1: The prototypical meaning of *od-/ot-*, the *from* schema

*Concrete motion*

The majority of motion verbs in both BCS and Blg. can be prefixed with *od-/ot-* to express the meaning ‘away from a source’; for example, *odletjeti/otletja* ‘fly away’, *odskočiti/otskoča* ‘jump off’, and *otputovati/otpätuvam<sup>8</sup>* ‘leave, depart’. These verbs imply concrete, usually self-caused, motion by humans and other entities, which may be intentional or unintentional. In addition to very frequent generalized motion verbs (e.g., *otići/otida* ‘go (away)’), this group also includes infrequent verbs denoting extremely specific manners of motion (of animate and inanimate entities). This group also includes verbs of motion involving a vehicle (that use *od-* to imply displacement), verbs of body-internal motion, and so on. A number of these verbs (e.g., BCS/Blg. *odalečiti se/otdaleča se* ‘go/move away’) often co-occur with the cognate prepositions *od-/ot<sup>9</sup>* in the same constructions, reinforcing the core meaning of movement away from the LM. Some verbs can also occur with or without the reflexive particle *se*, as shown in Table 1 on page 12. In the former case, these verbs are used as self-motion verbs and mean “X moves away from a source,” whereas the latter scenario, “X moves Y away from a source” in caused-motion constructions, implies two participants: the mover and the moved entity, plus a LM. For instance, BCS *odvući se* ‘drag oneself away’ and Blg. *otdaleča se* ‘move

[7] In this analysis, BCS verbs are normally given in their perfective infinitive form. Imperfective forms are used (and marked *impf.*) in some cases in which their meaning significantly differs from the perfective ones or when perfective forms do not exist. When added to imperfective base verbs, *od-* in BCS, in addition to contributing a new meaning component, always perfectivizes them. For consistency, the Blg. verbs are also given in their perfective forms, and imperfective forms are added when necessary.

[8] The perfective and imperfective forms of this verb and several others in Table 1 on page 12 coincide.

[9] Slavic prefixes and prepositions are considered to both derive from a single group of function morphemes.

away’ imply self-motion, whereas BCS *odvući* ‘drag something away’ and Blg. *otdaleča* imply caused motion.

As Table 1 on the following page shows, most verbs in this group have the same stem in both Blg. and BCS (e.g., *odletjeti/otletja* ‘fly away’). However, some verbs such as BCS/Blg. *odjahati/otpätuvam* ‘ride away’ have different stems. There is *jazdja (kon)* ‘ride (a horse)’ in Blg., but, unlike BCS and Russian, *jazdja* cannot combine with *ot-* to denote the movement of a person or vehicle away from a source. Despite the occasional different stems in BCS and Blg., verbs with *od-/ot-* express the same meaning in the languages we compare.

Whereas motion with verbs at the beginning of the table apply to motion by humans, animals, solid objects capable of motion, and certain bodies of water (e.g., tidal waves), verbs such as BCS/Blg. *odjeknuti/otekna* ‘echo’ and a few others at the bottom of Table 1 on the next page share a common meaning: spreading away from a source. These verbs can be understood as a transitional category, but they still express a concrete motion involving a specific type of non-human trajectors (e.g., light, sound, smell, energy). *Od-/ot-* highlights the motion and source component in these verbs.

There are some differences between BCS and Blg. related to the combinability of certain motion verbs with *od-/ot-* (see Table 1 on the following page). In BCS, it seems that almost all self-motion verbs describing the manners in which animate entities can move (including some less frequently used verbs denoting very unusual manners of motion) can be prefixed with *od-* to express ‘move away from a source’ (e.g., impf. *lutati* ‘stray’, pf. *odlutati* ‘stray away’). BCS *lutati* and Blg. *lutam se* are cognates regarding their stems, but the Blg. verb does not combine with *ot-* (or another prefix) to indicate movement away. Blg. uses either other prefixes with these semantically equivalent verbs (e.g., *zalutam se* for BCS *odlutati*) or a phrasal expression (*otdaleča se nexajno* and *otdaleča se s päplene / na värvolica* for BCS *odlutati* and *odvrvjeti*, respectively). For BCS *odjahati* ‘ride away’, in addition to *otpätuvam*, Blg. can use *trägna (zamina, otida si) na kon (jazdejki)* ‘ride away’.

Interestingly, a productive pattern in BCS is prefixation by *od-* of sound-emission verbs. When prefixed with *od-*, verbs describing the sounds of animate and inanimate objects become motion verbs (e.g., impf. *tapkati* ‘patter’, *zujati* ‘buzz’, pf. *otapkati; odzujati* ‘patter away; buzz away’). The motion expressed by the prefixed verbs is characterized by the concomitant emission of the sound. This pattern seems not to be productive in Blg. In addition, some BCS and Blg. verbs with the same meaning may combine with different prefixes; for example, BCS *odisati* ‘emit, give out (a smell)’ and its corresponding Blg. verbs *izdam/izläča (miris, aro-mat)* combine with different prefixes, *od-* and *iz-*, respectively. More importantly, both BCS and Blg. have verbs with the meaning ‘go away, wander off’, and they both use the prefix *od-/ot-* (e.g., *odlutati/otdaleča se*).

TABLE 1: Verbs of concrete motion prefixed with *od-/ot-* in BCS and Blg.

CONCRETE MOTION (SELF-CAUSED)		
BCS	BLG.	ENGLISH GLOSS
<i>otići</i>	<i>otida</i> <sup>1</sup>	'go (away)'
<i>odalečiti se</i>	<i>otdaleča se</i>	'go/move away'
<i>odjahati</i>	<i>otpätuvam (na kon, jazdejki)</i>	'ride away'
<i>odjedriti</i>	<i>otplavam</i> <sup>2</sup>	'sail away'
<i>otplivati</i>	<i>otpluvam</i>	'swim away'
<i>odletjeti</i>	<i>otletja</i>	'fly away'
<i>odlunjati</i>	<i>otdaleča se (nexajno)</i>	'wander off'
<i>odlutati</i>	<i>otdaleča se (nexajno)</i>	'stray away'
<i>odmaknuti (se)</i>	<i>otdräpna se</i>	'move away'
<i>odskočiti</i>	<i>otskoča</i>	'jump off'
<i>odvući (se)</i>	<i>otdaleča se (vlačejki se)</i>	'drag oneself away'
<i>odvrvjeti</i>	<i>otdaleča se (s päplene/na värvolica)</i>	'swarm off'
<i>odzujati</i>	<i>otdaleča se (s bramčene, žužene), otletja (s bramčene, žužene)</i>	'buzz away'
<i>otići</i>	<i>otmina</i> <sup>3</sup>	'pass, go away'
-	<i>otteglja se</i>	'move away (e.g., a tide), retreat' <sup>4</sup>
-	<i>otzvuča</i>	'subside, disappear' <sup>5</sup>
<i>odisati (impf.)</i>	-	'emit, give out'
<i>odjeknuti</i>	<i>otekna</i>	'echo'
<i>odraziti se</i>	<i>otrazja</i>	'reflect; bounce [in BCS]'
<i>odzvanjati (impf.)</i>	<i>otekna</i>	'reverberate, echo, resound'

Motion of humans, animals, solid objects capable of moving, and certain bodies of water

Spreading away from a source (for light, sound, smell)

<sup>1</sup> The central meaning of *otida* is movement away from the speaker, whereas *otida si* may mean 'leave, go home'.

<sup>2</sup> Occasionally, Blg. *otpluvam* is used with this meaning (e.g., *korabät otpluva* instead of *otplava* 'the ship sailed away').

<sup>3</sup> The same stem can be found in BCS *minuti* 'disappear' (a near-synonym of *proći* 'go away, disappear'). *Minuti* does not combine with *od-*, but it combines with *pre-* and *u-* (*preminuti* 'die', *uminuti* 'disappear, go away'). Good BCS equivalents for the spatial meaning of *otmina* would also be verbs prefixed with *pro-* and *pre-* (*proći* and *prestati*), as well as *završiti se*.

<sup>4</sup> BCS uses *povući se* (about a tide); *otići s položaja, dati ostavku* 'retreat'.

<sup>5</sup> BCS could use *otići* as a near-equivalent; however, better equivalents would be the verbs *gubiti se* and *nestajati* 'disappear, subside'.

TABLE 2: Verbs of abstract motion prefixed with *od-/ot-* in BCS and Blg.

ABSTRACT MOTION		
BCS	BLG.	ENGLISH GLOSS
<i>odalečiti se</i>	<i>otdaleča se</i>	'grow apart'
<i>odskakati</i> (impf.)	<i>otliča se</i>	'stand out/apart, be different from'
<i>otići</i> ( <i>s radnog mjesta</i> )	<i>otteglja (se)</i>	'resign, withdraw' <sup>1</sup>
<i>otići</i> ( <i>na onaj svijet</i> )	<i>otida</i> ( <i>na onja svjat</i> )	'die'
<i>odletjeti</i>	<i>otletja</i>	'go away, disappear'
<i>otići</i>	<i>otmina</i>	'go away, come to an end'
<i>odzvoniti</i>	<i>otzvuča</i>	'come to an end, die'

<sup>1</sup> For example, for Blg. *otteglja (se) ot rabota, post* 'resign from a job/position, withdraw', BCS would also use *povući se*.

### Abstract motion

Most non-spatial meanings of prefixed verbs are derived by applying the idea of movement through space, or a spatial path to a metaphorical or figurative movement/path; for instance, BCS/Blg. *odalečiti se/otdaleča se* 'go/move away' can be reinterpreted as a metaphorical movement away and these verbs can be used to mean 'grow apart'. The most general and frequent verb among the self-motion verbs, BCS/Blg. *otići/otida* (*si*) 'leave, go home', can be extended into metaphorical domains, such as in *otići na onaj svijet / otida na onja svjat* (or *otida si*) 'die'.<sup>10</sup> Blg. *otzvuča* 'subside, disappear' is used in the concrete domain for the decay of sound. It can also mean 'go away' (e.g., for bad news and pain). Blg. *otmina* can mean 'come to an end' (e.g., *krizata otminava* (impf.) 'the crisis is coming to an end' or *krizata njama da otmine nikoga* 'the crisis won't spare (literally, pass) anyone').<sup>11</sup> BCS/Blg. *odletjeti/otletja* 'fly away' can be used for time periods (e.g., *ljetu je odletjelo / ljetoto otletja* 'the summer flew by') or for abstract notions (e.g., hope, such as in Blg. *poslednata mi nadežda otletja* 'my last hope vanished'). BCS/Blg. *odzvoniti* (pf.) / *otzvuča* is used in metaphorical contexts in the meaning 'come to an end, die out' (e.g., for practices, habits, people, and objects in BCS, and for rumors or news in Blg.). Table 2 presents these and some other verbs with *od-/ot-* expressing abstract motion.

Although the BCS perfective verb *odskočiti* 'jump off' shares the concrete meaning with its Blg. cognate *otskoča*, the BCS imperfective verb *odskakati* has developed the metaphorically extended meaning 'stand out/apart, be different from'. Blg. *otskoča* does not share this metaphorical extension: the corresponding mean-

[10] BCS uses *otići* in the idiom *otići na kvasinu* 'become insane'; literally, 'turn to vinegar'; Blg. and BCS also use another *ot-/od-* verb in this context, *otkača/otkačiti se* 'go crazy' (literally, 'detach').

[11] BCS uses another ablative prefix with the same stem, *u-*. In these contexts, BCS would use verbs prefixed with *pro-* (*kriza prolazi* 'the crisis is coming to an end'), and with *za-* and *mimo-* (*zaobići, mimoći: kriza neće zaobići/mimoći nikoga*) 'the crisis won't spare (literally, pass) anyone'.

ing would be expressed with a different Blg. verb (i.e., *otliča se ot* ‘stand apart, be different from’<sup>12</sup>), showing once again that the languages compared usually share the prefix *od-/ot-* to express similar meanings even with different verb stems.

The concrete and abstract motion verbs are usually the same units used in concrete and abstract contexts. The coexistence of the concrete and abstract meaning in one single verb suggests that concrete and abstract/metaphorical (motion) are inseparable categories. The context and the presence of an abstract landmark disambiguates whether the meaning is concrete or abstract.

Some verbs expressing very specific/unusual manners of (agentive) motion are almost exclusively related to concrete motion in space (e.g., BCS *oteturati* ‘go away staggering, totter away’, *otšepati* ‘limp away’) and can hardly be used in metaphorical motion contexts.

### [3] SEPARATION

#### [3.1] Concrete separation

The verbs in this section all have to do with separation. These verbs denote that an entity separates from a source. This meaning arises naturally from the central one: physical movement away from a source is associated with separation or detachment of a TR from a LM. This meaning obtains the same representation as the prototypical one: motion in space away from a source, represented in Figure 1 on page 10. We distinguish two subtypes of prefixed verbs with *od-/ot-* that denote this meaning in two event types:

- (i) Spontaneous separation events: X moves away / spontaneously separates from a source;
- (ii) Caused separation events: X moves Y away from a source (X causes Y to move away).

The separation scenarios involve either spontaneous separation, as in Scenario 1, or caused separation involving causal agents, as in Scenario 2. The difference is expressed by verbs without and with the reflexive *se*, and has to do with causation and intentional versus non-intentional action. For example, in BCS/Blg. *odljuštiti (se)/otljuštja (se)* ‘peel off’, the reflexive particle *se* denotes self-caused, usually non-intentional, processes (spontaneous separation), whereas the same verb without *se* indicates intentional action by a causal agent, or ‘X causes Y to peel off’; that is, intentional separation. Scenario 2 implies three elements; two participants—a mover (X), and an object moved or separated (Y)—and a source (a LM) that the moved object is separated from.

[12] The BCS verbs with the same stem and meaning are *razlikovati se* ‘be different’ and *odlikovati se* ‘stand out’.

In Scenario 2, X causes Y to move away from a source. *Od-/ot-* verbs in this scenario imply events of taking away, sending, carrying, driving, and throwing away, as well as verbs of pulling and pushing apart (e.g., BCS/Blg. *odvesti/otveda* ‘take away’). This is a very productive meaning in both languages. Table 3 on page 18 contains verbs of separation, among which a few subgroups can be identified. These subgroups depend on the semantics of the base verbs; that is, the event types they express:

- Separation events implying a TR pushing (itself or something else) away from a LM such as BCS/Blg. *odgurati (se)/otblásna (se)* ‘push away’; constructions expressing this meaning often co-occur with the preposition *od/ot*;

- Events implying detachment of a TR from a LM; for example, BCS/Blg. *odijeliti (se)/otdelja (se)* ‘detach, separate’; constructions expressing this meaning also often co-occur with the preposition *od/ot*;

- Events implying that the TR is taking something away from the LM that belonged to or was an integral part of the LM; for instance, BCS/Blg. *odnijeti/otnema* ‘take away’; constructions with similar verbs also often include the preposition *od/ot*;

- Separation events implying separation in the material integrity of an object (with cutting and breaking events as typical<sup>13</sup>); for instance, BCS/Blg. *odrezati/ot-reža* ‘cut’. Separation is brought about by a tool. In this scenario, a connection of the separated object and its source is often implied; the moved object was often (an inherent) part of the source object, or the moved object and source object were in close physical contact touching each other; for instance, with verbs meaning ‘cut/chop/slice off’; constructions with similar verbs typically include direct objects, and often adverbials with the preposition *od/ot*;

- Opening events, including events of taking a top off (e.g., BCS/Blg. *odčepiti/ot-puša* ‘unclog’) with or without a tool; constructions with similar verbs typically include direct objects;

- Separation as undoing/cancellation a previous joining event (e.g., BCS/Blg. *odviti/otvija* ‘unwind’ with or without a tool; constructions with similar verbs typically include direct objects).

Separation can involve material destruction (e.g., with breaking events), but does not always do so (e.g., with opening and pushing-apart events). It can also imply using tools.

Separation verbs imply state change, which is the “framing event” (Talmy 1991) in constructions with these verbs.<sup>14</sup> As the examples in Table 3 on page 18

[13] On cutting and breaking events from a cross-linguistic perspective, see (Majid et al. 2007).

[14] According to Talmy (1991), prefixes and particles in “satellite-framed” languages characteristically encode state change, whereas the base verbs express “supporting events” (e.g., the manner of the state change). According to Majid et al. (2007), the base verbs inherently denote the state change, and the satellites reinforce or further specify the state change.

show, BCS and Blg. also often use the same verbal stems in this group. When different stems are used, prefixation with *od/ot-* is nevertheless the common pattern for deriving separation verbs. In some cases, BCS and Blg. do not have an equivalent in *od-/ot-*, but use another prefix (e.g., ablative *u-* in BCS *ukrasti* vs. *ot-* in Blg. *otkradna* ‘steal’).

Within this group, regular antonymous relations between the prefix pairs *od-/ot-* and *do-* or *za-* can be observed (e.g., BCS/Blg. *odvesti/otveda* ‘take away’ vs. *dovesti/doveda* ‘bring’; *odlijepiti/otlepja* ‘unglue, peel off’ vs. *zalijepiti/zalepja* (or *zalepna*) ‘glue’). The typical prefix indicating attachment in both languages is *za-* (e.g., BCS/Blg. *otvoriti/otvorja* ‘open’ vs. *zatvoriti/zatvorja* ‘close’).

Verbs that involve cancellation of a previous action (see Table 3 on page 18) illustrate a variation of the *separation* schema, usually implying detachment or opening. In our view, verbs denoting cancellation are semantically no different from the other separation verbs, and they align well with them both semantically and structurally. The cancellation subgroup illustrates separation of entities that have been put together. In this group, we have noticed that BCS uses *od-* in some cases in which Blg. uses a different prefix, *raz-* (e.g., BCS *odmrznuti* vs. Blg. *razmrazja* ‘thaw, defrost’; BCS *odmotati* vs. Blg. *razvija/razmotaja* ‘unwrap, unwind’, although *otmotaja* is also possible). In some cases, both languages exhibit variation of *od-* and *raz-* in near-synonyms; for example, *odvezati/razvezati* in BCS; *otvārža/razvārža* ‘untie’ in Blg. *Odšiti/otšija* ‘unstitch’ in BCS/Blg have near-synonyms in *rašiti/razšija*. Whereas both *otšija rākav* (impf.) ‘unstitch a sleeve’ (i.e., by detaching the sleeve from the garment) and *razšija rākav* (impf.) ‘unstitch a sleeve’ (i.e., by undoing every stitch made on the sleeve) are acceptable in Blg., *razšija roklja* (impf.) ‘unstitch a dress’ is acceptable with *raz-*, but not with *ot-* (*\*otšija roklja* (impf.) ‘unstitch the dress’, which would imply that the dress was stitched onto something).

Moreover, *otvija* and *razvija* ‘unscrew, unwind’ are near-synonyms in Blg. in most contexts. They differ in acceptability in only a few instances such as *razvija kālbo* ‘unwind a ball (e.g., of yarn)’, but not *\*otvija kālbo*. This example can be compared to *otvija/razvija bolt/gajka* ‘unscrew/unwind a screw/nut’,<sup>15</sup> in which both verbs are possible. It may be noted that in the case of the ball of yarn, when unwound, the TR acquires its original thread-like shape and loses the ball-like shape, whereas in the case of the screw the TR is hard and non-bending, and does not undergo such a transformation. In BCS, *odviti* and *razviti* are also synonyms in some contexts, implying ‘unfold, unroll’. However, *razviti* has another meaning, ‘spread’ (e.g., *razviti krila* ‘spread wings’), which is not conveyed by *odviti*. On the other hand, *odviti*, but not *razviti*, is used in the meaning ‘unscrew’. *Raz-* generally implies ‘spreading’ of a broad surface, or an object’s spreading over a broad

[15] Notice also that the opposite of Blg. *razvija kālbo* ‘unwind a ball (e.g., of yarn)’ is *navija* ‘wind up’, not *\*zavija*, whereas the opposite of *razvija/otvija gajka* ‘unscrew/unwind a nut’ is either *zavija* or *navija*.

surface; it indicates the radial shape of a trajector’s path. In both BCS and Blg., *raz-* generally implies more intensive spreading, or that a larger area is affected by spreading than *od-/ot-* does.

In addition to opening, BCS/Blg. *odškrinuti/otkrexna*, illustrates an (attenuative) meaning ‘do X slightly’. Other similar examples include BCS/Blg. *otpiti/otpija* ‘drink a little/part of’, BCS *odvaditi* ‘take out part of sth.’, BCS/Blg. *otsuti, od-liti/otsipja* ‘pour a little’. In all of these verbs, however, there is the idea of separation of one object from another one.

In most cases, BCS and Blg. use the same stem prefixed with *od-/ot-*. In other cases, different stems are used (BCS *odgurati (se) odbaciti (se), odbiti (se)* ‘push away’ vs. Blg. *otblāsna (se)*), but nonetheless the prefix *od-/ot-* is used in the same meaning of separation in both languages. Occasionally, different prefixes are used. For example, in addition to the verb with *ot-*, *otpādja* ‘drive off/away’, the Blg. equivalents of both BCS verbs *odagnati* and *otjerati* ‘drive away, chase off, kick out’,<sup>16</sup> *izgonja* and *progonja* use the prefixes *iz-* and *pro-* to emphasize the idea of going out of (or through and then out of) a container boundary. As these examples show, the two languages make use of slightly different construals: this implies that the same idea can often be conceptualized and encoded in more than one way—for example, as a movement away from a source or as going out of a container boundary—and related languages may end up choosing different means (in our case, different prefixes) to express that idea, or a given language may allow a certain overlap in the semantic networks of structures (here, prefixes) expressing the same idea.

### [3.2] Abstract separation

Just as the central sense of concrete motion (moving away from a source) is transferred to abstract motion (see Section [2]), the idea of separation of tangible entities in physical space is extended to abstract notions or metaphorical separation; for example, BCS/Blg. *odnijeti/otnema (novac/pari)* ‘take away (money)’ is extended to taking away abstract entities such as faith in *odnijeti/otnema (vjeru/vjara)* ‘take away (faith)’. Again, the idea of movement through space is applied to metaphorical or figurative movement. Many separation verbs are frequently used in both concrete and metaphorical meanings; separation can be physical or metaphorical. The landmarks with which the verbs combine in their constructions reveal whether the verbs’ meaning is concrete or metaphorical (compare BCS *odvući koga kamo* ‘drag someone away’ vs. *odvući komu pažnju* ‘distract someone’s attention’). Some separation verbs have an exclusively abstract/metaphorical meaning; for

[16] BCS *odagnati, otjerati* ‘drive away, chase off, kick out’ and Blg. *otpādja* are also used for abstract separation; for example, *odagnati/otjerati loše misli/otpādja loši misli* ‘drive off/away bad thoughts’.

TABLE 3: Verbs of concrete separation prefixed with *od-/ot-* in BCS and Blg.

CONCRETE SEPARATION			
BCS	BLG.	ENGLISH GLOSS	
<i>odmaknuti (se)</i>	<i>otdrāpna (se)</i>	'move away'	Moving and pushing away
<i>odgurati (se), odbiti, odbaciti</i>	<i>otblāsna (se)</i>	'push away'	
<i>odijeliti (se)</i>	<i>otdelja (se)</i>	'detach, separate'	Detachment
<i>odljuštiti (se)</i>	<i>otljuštja (se)</i>	'peel off'	
<i>otkinuti (se)</i>	<i>otkāsna (se)</i>	'pick (e.g., a flower) <sup>1</sup>	Taking away
<i>odvesti</i>	<i>otveda</i>	'take away'	
<i>otuđiti<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>otkradna<sup>3</sup></i>	'steal'	
<i>odnijeti</i>	<i>otnema</i>	'take away'	
<i>odvući</i>	<i>otvleka</i>	'kidnap'	Cutting and breaking
<i>otuđiti</i>	<i>otmākna</i>	'steal, snatch, take away' <sup>4</sup>	
<i>odcijepiti (se)</i>	<i>otcepa (se)</i>	'chop off, cut out (e.g., an area); separate'	
<i>odrezati</i>	<i>otreža</i>	'cut'	
<i>otpiliti</i>	<i>otseka (klon), otreža</i>	'cut (e.g., with a saw)'	Opening
<i>odlomiti</i>	<i>otčupja</i>	'break/knock/chip/split off'	
<i>odčepiti</i>	<i>otpuša</i>	'unclog'	Cancellation of a previous action
<i>otvoriti</i>	<i>otvorja</i>	'open'	
<i>odškrinuti</i>	<i>otkrexna<sup>5</sup></i>	'open slightly'	
<i>odlijepiti</i>	<i>otlepja</i>	'unglue, peel off'	
<i>otkačiti</i>	<i>otkača</i>	'take off, detach'	
<i>odšiti</i>	<i>otšija</i>	'unstitch'	
<i>odviti, odšarafiti</i>	<i>otvija</i>	'unscrew'	

<sup>1</sup> In contexts with flowers (and fruits), BCS would typically use *ubрати* 'pick'.

<sup>2</sup> According to HJP (Hrvatski jezični portal, <http://hjp.novi-liber.hr/>), this verb is prefixed with *od-* (here realized as *o-*) and relates to the adjectival base *tuđ* 'foreign'.

<sup>3</sup> BCS uses another ablative prefix, *u-* (*ukrasti* 'steal') with this stem.

<sup>4</sup> BCS also uses verbs with *u-* (*ukrasti* 'steal', *ugrabiti* 'snatch', *uzeti* 'take') to express these meanings.

<sup>5</sup> *Otkrexna (se)* and *andotvorja (se)* also have a metaphorical meaning in Blg. 'make/become open-minded'. BCS *otvoriti (se)* (literally, 'open') shares this metaphorical meaning, but *odškrinuti* 'open slightly' does not show this meaning extension. Blg *otkrexna* (slang) means 1. 'inform somebody about something'; for example, *Otkrexnah go kakvo se sluči včera*. 'I informed him what happened yesterday.', and 2. 'teach somebody something'; for example, *Toj me otkrexna na pušeneto*. 'He taught me to smoke.' We are grateful to one of the reviewers for pointing this out to us.

example, *odnaroditi se*<sup>17</sup> 'lose ethnic identity' in BCS and *otreka se* 'renounce' in Blg.

Some of the verbs of abstract separation are listed in Table 4 on the following page. A number of them were also listed in Table 3 with their concrete meanings. For example, BCS/Blg. *odvući/otvleka* occur both in concrete contexts meaning 'kidnap' (BCS also: 'drag away') and in constructions with abstract meaning such as BCS/Blg. *odvući pažnju/otvleka vnanie* 'distract (one's attention)'. As shown in Table 4, again, we distinguish several subtypes of abstract separation:

- Temporal movement away; for example, BCS/Blg. *odgoditi/otloža* 'postpone';
- Taking away; for example, BCS/Blg. *odnijeti nadu/otnema nadežda* 'take away hope', Blg. *otkradna ideja* 'steal an idea';
- Pushing away; for example, BCS/Blg. *otпустiti/otstranja (ot rabota/post)* 'fire (from a job, position)';
- Giving up or rejecting; for example, BCS/Blg. *odustati (od)/otkaža se ot* 'refuse, give up'; BCS/Blg. *odbaciti and odbiti/otxvārlja* 'reject (an idea, a proposal)';
- Separating or differentiating; for example, BCS/Blg. *odskakati (od)/otliča se ot* 'stand out, be different from';
- Losing or weakening; for example, Blg. *otslabna* 'lose weight';<sup>18</sup>
- Getting distracted; for example, Blg. *otplesna se* 'get distracted/carried away';
- Cancellation (state change); for example, BCS/Blg. *odviknuti se/otvikna* 'lose a habit'.

We now look at some of these sub-categories in greater detail. Movement away from source/separation in space transfers to movement away from a temporal point/separation in time (e.g., BCS/Blg. *odgoditi ispit/otloža izpit* 'postpone an exam') via the metaphors TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT OR TIME IS STATIONARY AND WE MOVE THROUGH IT (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 42-43); (Lakoff et al. 1989, 76).<sup>19</sup> BCS *odmaknuti* 'pass' (e.g., *vrijeme je odmaklo* 'time passed') and Blg. *otletja* 'fly' (e.g., *vremeto otletja* 'time flew') are used in constructions with time as a TR.

Blg. *otdrāpna se* 'move away', in addition to its concrete meaning, can be used in abstract contexts meaning 'retreat, stay away from, live in isolation'.

BCS *odmamiti* and *odvabiti*<sup>20</sup> 'draw away' are used in both concrete and abstract contexts. The base verb *vabiti* implies calling and using sounds to (typically) cause an animal to move towards an agent. In its abstract meaning, *odvabiti* implies convincing humans to abandon a certain concrete or metaphorical position. The same meaning could be expressed by Blg. *otpādjā*, although this verb is used mostly about shooing away animals.

[17] From *narod*; the derivation pattern is circumfixation.

[18] BCS uses the prefix *o-* with the verb *oslabiti* 'lose weight or strength'.

[19] These metaphors are realized, for example, in expressions *The time has come to change our approach*; *We are still approaching the future of data protection*.

[20] Blg. would use a verb with the prefix *pri-* or *pod-*, or a phrase (e.g., *primamja, podmamja, otveda s podmamvane*) to express this meaning.

TABLE 4: Verbs of abstract separation prefixed with *od-/ot-* in BCS and Blg.

ABSTRACT SEPARATION			
BCS	BLG.	ENGLISH GLOSS	
<i>odgoditi</i>	<i>otloža</i>	'postpone'	Temporal movement away
<i>odnijeti</i>	<i>otnema</i>	'take away'	Taking away
-	<i>otkradna</i>	'steal'	
<i>oduzeti</i>	<i>otnema</i>	'take away'	Pushing away
<i>odgurati, odbiti, odbaciti</i>	<i>otblāsna</i>	'push someone away'	
<i>odbiti (od sise)</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>otbija</i>	'wean'	
<i>odmamiti</i> <sup>2</sup>	-	'draw away'	
<i>otпустiti</i>	<i>otstranja</i>	'fire (from a job)'	
<i>odbiti</i>	<i>otkaža</i>	'refuse'	Giving up/rejecting
<i>odustati</i>	<i>otkaža se</i>	'give up, surrender'	
<i>odbaciti, odbiti</i>	<i>otxvārļa</i>	'reject'	
<i>otrgnuti se</i>	<i>otkāsna se</i>	'get away from'	
<i>odsjeći</i>	<i>otseka</i>	'tell bluntly, categorically'	
<i>odvući</i>	<i>otvleka</i>	'distract'	
-	<i>otplesna se</i>	'get distracted/carried away' <sup>3</sup>	
<i>odudarati/odskakati (impf.)</i>	<i>otliča se</i>	'stand out, be different'	Differentiating
-	<i>otslabna</i>	'lose weight, weaken' <sup>4</sup>	Losing/weakening
<i>otпустiti</i>	<i>otpusna</i>	'loosen, weaken'	
<i>odmetnuti se</i>	<i>otmetna se</i>	'become an outlaw; back out of, renounce'	Cancellation/change of state
<i>odnaroditi se</i>	<i>otreka se (ot narod)</i> <sup>5</sup>	'lose ethnic identity'	
<i>odvrgnuti se</i> <sup>6</sup>	<i>otkaža se, otreka se</i>	'abandon, renounce'	
<i>odreći (se)</i>	<i>otreka (se)</i>	[non-reflexive] 'reject, deny'; [reflexive] 'withdraw, renounce'	
<i>otkazati</i> <sup>7</sup>	<i>otmenja</i>	'annul'	
<i>odučiti</i>	<i>otuča</i>	'unlearn'	Cancellation/change of state
<i>odljutiti se</i>	-	'calm down'	
<i>odmoći</i>	-	'do nothing to help, hinder'	
<i>odmoriti se</i>	<i>otmorja (se), otdāxna si</i>	'rest'	
<i>odmrsiti</i>	-	'unravel'	
<i>odviknuti se</i>	<i>otvikna</i>	'lose a habit'	
-	<i>otreža</i>	'say "no"; refuse (bluntly)'	

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of the Blg. verb is more specialized ('wean a baby'). There is also an idiomatic expression *otbija nomera* 'pretend to do something well'. BCS *odbiti* has several meanings: *odbiti ponudu* 'reject (a proposal)'; *odbiti (od plaće)* 'deduct'; knock off, *odbiti (od sise)*: 'wean' (an entire construction is needed for this meaning to be realized).

<sup>2</sup> In some BCS verbs, a regular antonymic relation between *od-* and *do-* can be observed; for instance, *odmamiti* 'draw away' versus *domamiti* 'lure'. For these meanings, Blg. uses the prefix *pri-*, *primanja* 'lure', and *iz-*, *izmamja*

‘cheat, lie’. A dialectal Blg. near-equivalent of the BCS *odmamiti* could be the verb with the same stem, *otmamja* ‘distract somebody’s attention’ (we owe this comment to a reviewer).

<sup>3</sup> BCS uses verbs with other spatial prefixes (*za-*, *s-*) to express a similar meaning (*zaluatati*, *skrenuti*, *zanijeti se u mislima*) ‘get distracted’.

<sup>4</sup> A similar BCS verb, *oslabiti*, contains the prefix *o(b)-* (see HJP, <http://hjp.srce.hr/index.php?show=search>).

<sup>5</sup> Or *otrodja se* ‘alienate from relatives/kin/origin/ethnicity’ (as suggested to us by a reviewer).

<sup>6</sup> For example, BCS *odvrgnuti se od vjere* ‘renounce faith’.

<sup>7</sup> We owe this suggestion to a reviewer. BCS also uses *poništiti*, and *anulirati* ‘annul’ in some contexts; for example, *poništiti narudžbu* ‘cancel an order’.

Verbs of cutting also acquire abstract meanings. Both BCS and Blg. *odcijepiti se/otcepja se ot* ‘chop off, cut out; separate’ can be used for metaphorical separation; for example, in political contexts implying ‘go one’s own way, choose another option, leave a party/group’. In addition, Blg. *otcepja* has developed another abstract meaning, ‘to take a short-cut, usually when running away from something unpleasant’ (Armjanov 2002, 1166). It can be used with a dative enclitic personal pronoun in the 3rd person singular to mean ‘to fall into a deep sleep’; for example, *otcepix mu edin san* ‘I had a good, sound sleep’ (Armjanov 2002, 1166). There is a synonymous verb in Blg., *otkãrtja* which is used in the same way: *otkãrtix mu edin san*. In all cases, the idea of separation is moving away from a (normal) state (i.e., staying with the members of your group, or being awake) into a new state.

Blg. *otrježa* ‘cut’ extends into a metaphorical domain conveying the meaning ‘say “no” to someone/something’. BCS *odrezati*, *odsjeći*, and *odbrusiti*<sup>21</sup> mean ‘tell (anything) bluntly’. Incidentally, another Blg. verb of cutting, *otseka*, is used to mean ‘tell bluntly/categorically’.<sup>22</sup> In addition, BCS *odrezati* and *odsjeći* are metaphorically extended in contexts such as *noge su mi se odrezale/odsjekle* ‘my knees turned to jelly’,<sup>23</sup> in which a negative event or emotion such as fear affects a person or parts of the person’s body, just like cutting something off would affect an object in a spatial scenario.

Verbs of detachment such as Blg. *otkãсна se* ‘pick (e.g., a flower)’ also have an abstract meaning in addition to their concrete one: ‘split off from (e.g., a group), stop following (e.g., news), stay away from, live in isolation’; for instance, *otkãсна se (ot problemite)* ‘get away from problems’. This verb can also be used with the dative clitic in Blg., *otkusna mi se ot surtzero* ‘I gave (someone) something reluctantly’.

[21] The BCS base *brusiti* means ‘grind off’.

[22] We are simply providing here what we believe are good translations of these verbs in English. However, we do not claim that such pseudo-verbs of saying incorporate the meanings of their possible complements (such as negation or bluntness) into themselves. The important point is that these verbs represent a case of a metaphorical extension of “movement away” (i.e., cutting), where the entity being cut is an abstract one (the conversation) and is usually cut out entirely, without leaving open the possibility to resume it.

[23] In Blg., a similar meaning is expressed with *podkosihа mi se krakata* ([literally] my feet were cut off) I lost the ground under my feet’; for example, due to fear or excitement (e.g., when one is in love).

Without *se*, this verb typically applies to concrete contexts such as *otkāsna* (*cvete*) ‘pick (a flower)’. BCS *otrgnuti* (*se*) has a similar meaning. In addition to its concrete meaning, ‘pluck; tear/wrench/pull/rip off’, it is also used in abstract contexts (e.g., *ne može se otrgnuti od te ideje* ‘([literally] (s)he cannot tear herself/himself from that idea) (s)he can’t get that idea out of her/his head’).

Some verbs in the last part of Table 4 indicate cancellation or annulment. Abstract separation in general, and annulment as one of its subtypes, are both changes of state. We consider cancellation of a previous state – which necessarily implies state change – to be abstract separation. Abstract separation is thus a movement from a previous state A (or a source state A) into another state B, as illustrated by BCS/Blg. *odviknuti se / otvikna* ‘lose a habit’. BCS seems to be more productive with *od-* verbs indicating annulment. For example, Blg. does not have an equivalent with the prefix *ot-* to BCS *odljutiti se* ‘calm down’ (although Blg. has *ljutja se* and *razljutja se* ‘become angry’), and it uses the prefix *u-* (as does BCS in *uspokojiti*) or a prefix combination *po-u-*, (*po*)*uspokoja se* ‘calm down’.

*Od-/ot-* verbs in this group often have antonyms in verbs prefixed with *na-*, *do-*, and *s-* (e.g., BCS/Blg. *odučiti/otuča* ‘unlearn’ vs. *naučiti/nauča* ‘learn’; BCS/Blg. *odviknuti (se)/otvikna* vs. *naviknuti (se)/svikna* ‘get used to’). Among verbs indicating annulment, there is also a regular antonymic relation between *od-* and *za-*; for example, BCS *odmršiti* ‘unravel’ versus *zamršiti* ‘tangle’, and Blg. *otreka* ‘renounce’ versus *zareka* ‘vow’.

Table 4 on page 20 also shows that some verbs with similar meanings have different stems in BCS and Blg. (e.g., BCS *odnaroditi se* and Blg. *otreka se* (*ot rod, rodina* ‘lose ethnic identity’)).

#### [4] COMPLETION OF AN ACTION

##### [4.1] *Completion of an action from the beginning to the end is emphasized*

The completion of a path in motion verbs is often reanalyzed as a completion of an action via the conventional metaphor AN ACTIVITY IS A JOURNEY, i.e., LONG-TERM PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS A JOURNEY, see, e.g., (Lakoff et al. 1991, 36).<sup>24</sup> Instead of emphasizing concrete spatial sources (which inevitably imply paths), *od-/ot-* verbs in this group emphasize the initial sequences of processes and actions conceptualized as sources.

The verbs in this section (see the examples in Table 5 on page 24) highlight the completion of an action from its beginning to its final stage or to the end. Given that *od-/ot-* usually emphasizes the initial point of a process, it may seem odd that this prefix indicates completion. However, this meaning can be seen as an instance of metonymy: the source stands for the entire path.

[24] Observable in expressions; for example, *A wind power project on Sable Island off Nova Scotia is over budget and remains at a standstill; Infrastructure work is going ahead as planned.*

The verbs in this section can also be understood as relating to a more general meaning of 'disassociation from an activity' that could be habitual or located at a given time, and conceived as a departure of the speaker from the activity or the activity from the speaker (and thus not connected with the physical needs or emotions associated with the activity).<sup>25</sup>

Some examples in Table 5 on the next page reveal a few interesting systematic differences between BCS and Blg. The first is related to Blg. examples such as *otigranja si* 'have enough of playing; play till one's heart is content' that represent a regular pattern. Unlike BCS and Blg. verbs in *na-[verb] se* structures meaning simply 'have enough of'; for example, BCS/Blg. *naigrati se/naigranja se* 'have enough of playing', Blg. *ot-[verb] si* structures carry additional implications. The standpoint of the speaker in the latter case is not neutral, and such Blg. verbs with *ot-* imply 'have enough of something, especially after you haven't been able to get it for a long time, and to have so much of it that you don't want/crave it any more' (e.g., *otspja si, otvzema si, otjam si na* mean respectively 'sleep/have/eat so much that you don't want it any more'). This specialized meaning in Blg. may be viewed as an abstract separation or change of state from an (abnormal) state of not having enough of something to a new state (of having enough of it, having it to full satisfaction, often having too much) – an explanation that does not contradict, but instead complements, the idea of completion. BCS lacks this 'have enough of' pattern with *od-* verbs.

Another systematic difference relates to the relation of *od-/ot-* and *iz-*. It seems that BCS is more productive in using *od-* in the meaning of completion, allowing many verbs of the *odškolorati* 'put through school' type. A regular matching pattern in Blg. includes *iz-* (e.g., for BCS *odškolorati*, Blg. would use *izuča (se)* 'get educated'). For BCS *odslušati* 'hear out', Blg. would use *izlušam* 'hear out', again with the prefix *iz-*. Also for *odsvirati* 'play through', Blg. uses *iz-*: *izsvirja* 'play out, play the entire piece'.<sup>26</sup> The relation of *od-* and *iz-* in BCS and Blg. illustrated by, for instance, *odsvirati/izsvirja* is interesting: the central spatial meanings of both prefixes, *iz-* and *od/ot-*, originally relates to leaving (spatial) sources, and so these prefixes share part of their semantic space. Obviously, there is a partial overlap of the meanings of the source prefixes *iz-* and *od/ot-*. This is consistent with the cognitive model, which allows fuzzy boundaries and overlapping concepts.

An interesting semantic opposition relates the BCS/Blg. verbs *odrastiti/otrasna* and *dorastiti/dorasna*: the meaning of the *od-/ot-* verbs is 'grow up', whereas the *do-* verbs imply 'become equal to, become able to cope, become big enough to do something'. One may note that the BCS/Blg. verb with *od-/ot-* is an activity, whereas the verb with *do-* is an accomplishment.

[25] We are grateful to one of the reviewers for pointing this out to us.

[26] The Blg. construction *da si otsvirja* exists, but it means 'play so much that you do not feel the need to play any more'.

TABLE 5: Verbs of completion prefixed with *od-/ot-* in BCS and Blg.

COMPLETION OF AN ACTION FROM BEGINNING TO END		
BCS	BLG.	ENGLISH GLOSS
<i>odbrojiti</i>	<i>otbroja</i>	'count off'
<i>o(d)čitati</i>	<i>otčeta</i>	'read off; consider, take into account' <sup>1</sup>
<i>odrastiti</i>	<i>otrasna</i>	'grow up'
<i>odgledati</i> <sup>2</sup>	-	'see all of'
<i>odgojiti</i>	<i>otgledam</i>	'bring up'
<i>odnjegovati</i>	<i>otgleža</i>	'cultivate' <sup>3</sup>
<i>odglumiti</i>	?	'act out'
<i>odigrati</i>	<i>otigraja (si)</i> <sup>4</sup>	'play through/finish a game' <sup>5</sup>
<i>odraditi</i>	<i>otrabotja</i> <sup>6</sup>	'work off; makeup for work'
<i>odrecitirati</i> <sup>7</sup>	-	'have done reciting'
<i>odslušati</i>	-	'hear out'
<i>odsvirati</i>	<i>otsvirja</i>	'play through; kick out a player (sports) <sup>8</sup>
<i>odšutjeti</i>	-	'refrain from replying'
<i>odškolorati</i>	-	'put through school'
-	<i>otmetna</i> <sup>9</sup>	'take attendance, check items on a list'
-	<i>otremontiram</i>	'renovate, fix'

<sup>1</sup> The BCS *o(d)čitati* does not mean 'consider, take into account'. In BCS, with some base verbs both *od-* and *do-* express a similar meaning (e.g., *odčitati* and *dočitati*). Interestingly, in Blg. *otčeta* also means 'take into account, consider; use somebody's own judgement; read off (device)', whereas *dočeta* means 'finish reading'.

<sup>2</sup> The Blg. near-equivalent is with *o-*, *ogledam* 'look from all sides, look at everything'.

<sup>3</sup> Both rearing (children) and cultivating (plants) can be rendered by *otgledam* in Blg.

<sup>4</sup> The Blg. *otigraja (si)* means 'play to one's heart's content', and *otigraja* is occasionally used to mean 'dance to an end'. Interestingly, however, when *otigraja* is used in the third person singular form and is combined with the dative enclitic personal pronoun (e.g., *da mi se otigræ*), the verb means exactly the opposite: 'not to feel like dancing/playing any more' (e.g., *Kato čuh lošata novina, mi se otigra.*) 'On hearing the bad news, I suddenly didn't feel like dancing/playing any more' (we owe this insightful comment to a reviewer).

<sup>5</sup> The Blg. verb with the same stem and *ot-*, *otigraja* as a sports term means 'catch a flying ball and pass it precisely to a teammate'.

<sup>6</sup> BCS verb also implies 'finish all work'. Blg. *otrabotja* is used to express 'work late or during a weekend to compensate for previous time off'.

<sup>7</sup> The Blg. equivalents of *odrecitirati* and *odslušati* are prefixed with *iz-*: *izrecitiram* 'recite', *izslušam* 'hear out'.

<sup>8</sup> In Blg. sports slang, *otsvirja* means 'drive away/out', 'expel (from)', 'kick out' (reviewer comment).

<sup>9</sup> BCS does not have an *od-* equivalent and would use *zabilježiti*, *označiti* for 'check items on a list'.

TABLE 6: Verbs of emphasized duration prefixed with *od-/ot-* in BCS and Blg.

COMPLETION: EMPHASIZED DURATION		
BCS	BLG.	ENGLISH GLOSS
<i>odležati</i>	<i>otleža</i>	'spend a long time'
<i>odrobijati</i>	-	'do time in a penitentiary'
<i>odsjediti</i>	-	'sit through'
<i>odstajati</i>	-	'stand through'
<i>odslužiti</i>	<i>otsluža</i>	'do service'
<i>odsjesti</i>	<i>otsedna</i>	'stay'
<i>odsustvovati</i> (impf.)	<i>otsāstvam</i>	'be away'

[4.2] *Duration of an action is emphasized*

All verbs in this section (see the examples in Table 6) share an emphasis on the entirety of the time period needed for the completion of an action (a variant and implication of completion). Some verbs emphasize long duration. This meaning is possible because the prefix *od-/ot-* emphasizes a (spatial) source, the initial point of an action. This emphasis interacts with the meaning of the base verb, and an implication of a long duration may arise. Long duration is somehow a predictable sense in the combination of the semantics of *od/ot-* and that of certain base verbs. This sense arises, for instance, with posture verbs such as BCS/Blg. *ležati/leža* 'lie down' which refer to states and have no natural termination point (thus, the sense 'reach the point X' is excluded). However, *odsjesti/otsedna* 'stay' can be used even for a short, one-night stay, and *odsustvovati* (impf.)/*otsāstvam* 'be away' can refer to a short, crucial moment. There is a spatio-temporal metonymic relation between the archaic meaning of Blg. *otsedna* 'dismount (from a horse or similar)' (Armjanov 2002, 1146) and the meaning 'lodge'; one usually lodges when (and where) one dismounts.<sup>27</sup>

*Odležati/otleža* 'spend a long time' and *odslužiti/otsluža* 'do service' both take direct objects, often phrases referring to a prison term and a term of duty, respectively (e.g., BCS/Blg. *odležati tri godine/otleža trigodishna prisāda* 'do three years (a three-year sentence) in prison'; *otslužiti vojni rok/otsluža voenna služba* 'complete one's military service') and could thus be viewed as expressing that the subject moves away from their usual location for a given period in the time continuum.

Although both languages emphasize (long) duration by adding *od/ot-* to certain verbs (e.g., verbs of posture, verbs whose base form implies 'spend time'), such as with BCS/Blg. *odležati/otleža*, 'spend a long time in bed/prison/cellaring', BCS seems to be more productive as shown by examples such as *odrobijati 10 godina* 'do/serve ten years in a penitentiary', *morali smo odsjediti još jedno dosadno preda-*

[27] We are grateful to one of the reviewers for this suggestion.

*vanje* ‘we had to sit through another boring lecture’, *odstajati cijeli koncert* ‘stand all through the concert’.<sup>28</sup> Blg. uses other prefixes and/or verbs to express the same meaning; for example, *iz-* in *izleža* ‘spend time (in prison)’, *izslušam lekcija* ‘listen to a lecture’.

In a single verb, the meaning of *od-/ot-* is ‘be absent/away’: BCS/Blg. *odsustvovati/otsāstvam* ‘be away’. The link between this verb and other verbs is an emphasis on duration; although the duration of absence with *odsustvovati/otsāstvam* can be short and related to a limited, crucial moment only, the emphasis is on an entirety of the period of absence.

#### [4.3] Action in response (Reactive action)

A group of verbs with *od/ot-* (often communication verbs) expressing metaphorical rather than physical movement imply an action in response to some other action (see the examples in Table 7 on the next page); for instance, BCS/Blg. *odgovoriti/otgovorja* ‘reply’, and *otplatiti/otplatja* ‘pay back’. With these verbs, the completion of a path is conceptualized as the completion of an action, hence we have grouped them with the other completion verbs. In addition, there is an additional implication of a previous action that requires response. When the response is provided, as expressed by the verb with *od-/ot-*, the action can be considered completed.

These examples clearly show that meaning is construed not only by the verbal prefixes, but also by the verbal stem (and other contextual factors). Only by having a former action in mind can *od-/ot-* be seen as a “response” to something: the meaning of BCS/Blg. *odgovoriti/otgovorja* ‘reply’ is dependent on *pitati/pitam* ‘ask’.

This group of verbs also shows similarities with the subgroup referring to motion from a source state into another and the “cancellation/annulment” subgroup; for example, BCS/Blg. *odučiti/otuča* ‘unlearn’ (see Section [3.2], abstract separation). *Od-/ot-* verbs in the cancellation group semantically relate either to verbs prefixed with other prefixes or to some base verbs that refer to an earlier/preceding process or action. These verbs refer to a metaphorical motion or separation from a source. The source in the action-in-response group refers to both the former action (BCS/Blg. *pitati/pitam* ‘ask’ in relation to *odgovoriti/otgovorja* ‘respond’) and to the speaker. The trajector (the subject of the verb) is a metaphorical source from which the response departs.

The most common sense of BCS *otplatiti* is ‘pay the last installment, pay off, repay a loan’. This meaning is expressed by Blg. *izplatja* (*zaem, ipoteka*). It is possible

[28] In BCS, all three imperfective posture verbs (*sjediti* ‘sit’, *ležati* ‘lie’, *stajati* ‘stand’) take *od-* to refer to the completion of a long-lasting process of sitting, lying, and standing (*odsjediti* ‘sit through’, *odležati* ‘spend some time in bed/prison’, *odstajati* ‘stand through’). Blg. seems to lack an *ot-* equivalent for BCS *odsjediti* ‘sit through’ (this idea can be expressed with the phrase *sedja prez cjaloto vreme*); *ostoja* does exist, but it means ‘to defend an idea or place and not let anyone attack it.’

TABLE 7: Verbs expressing action in response with *od-/ot-* in BCS and Blg.

ACTION IN RESPONSE		
BCS	BLG.	ENGLISH GLOSS
<i>odazvati se</i>	<i>otzova se</i>	‘respond to’
<i>odgovoriti</i>	<i>otgovorja</i>	‘reply’
<i>odvratiti</i>	<i>otvărna</i>	‘retort, reply’
<i>odzdraviti</i>	<i>otvărna na pozdrav</i>	‘return a greeting, nod, wave back’
<i>odgovoriti, odazvati se</i>	<i>otklikna</i>	‘respond (e.g., to a call for help)’
<i>otplatiti</i>	<i>otplatja se</i>	‘pay back, return a favor’ <sup>1</sup>
<i>odmazditi</i>	<i>otmăštja (si)</i>	‘retaliate, take revenge’

<sup>1</sup> The BCS verb would normally not be used in the meaning ‘return a favor’ (*vratiti* and *uzvratiti (uslugu)* would be usual in this meaning).

in general for this BCS verb to mean ‘pay back’, but other more specific meaning components are foregrounded. BCS *odmazditi*, ‘retaliate, take a reprisal’ is not as frequent. The only related word is the noun *odmazda* ‘retaliation’ and, if *od-* is detached, the result is a nonexistent word (*\*mazditi*). However, if one detaches *ot-* from the Blg. perfective verb *otmăštja*, the result is a usual imperfective verb, *măštja* ‘revenge’.

#### [5] OVERVIEW OF THE MEANINGS OF OD-/OT-

The discussion in the previous sections has shown that the *od/ot-* verbs in BCS and Blg. are quite a homogenous semantic group. Both BCS and Blg. overall share the semantic network of the prefix *od/ot-*. In many examples, these languages use the same verbal stems prefixed with *od-/ot-*, whereas in some other cases the stems of the base verbs may differ, but the verbs’ meaning is equivalent and these verbs use *od-/ot-* in both BCS and Blg. The underlying spatial schema of verbs with *od-/ot-* in both BCS and Blg. relate to “move away from” (or the *from* schema): the concept of concrete or metaphorical motion away from a LM is inherent in all the *od-/ot-* verbs. We present the links between the various senses of *od-/ot-* in Figure 2 on the following page.

In Figure 2 on the next page, the shape in bold line, MOTION AWAY, is the prototype in the semantic network. Other shapes represent submeanings (that partially overlap). The solid lines connect the prototype and submeanings, as well as individual submeanings, indicating direct meaning relations. The dashed line indicates a less direct meaning relation. In addition to seven submeanings corresponding to the semantic subgroups explicitly mentioned in the (sub)titles of Sections [2]–[4], Figure 2 on the following page includes an eighth submeaning: cancellation, discussed in the context of abstract separation (see Section [3.2]).

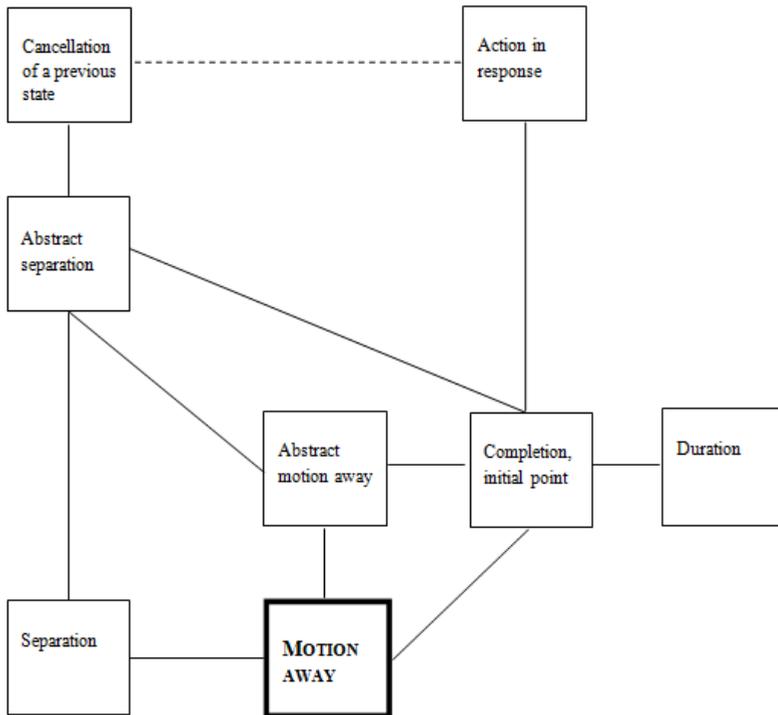


FIGURE 2: Links between the various senses of *od-/ot-* in BCS and Blg.

The first group of *od-/ot-* verbs discussed in Section [2] belongs to the central *from* schema, which is the prototype of the *od-/ot-* category that all the *od-/ot-* verbs relate to directly or indirectly. This group denotes motion in space away from a source and encompasses numerous verbs in both BCS and Blg. In addition to concrete verbs, there is a metaphorical subgroup of verbs within this group. Our examples have shown that concrete and abstract meanings most frequently coexist in one single lexical unit, suggesting that concrete and abstract or metaphorical (motion) are inseparable categories.

The separation meaning (Section [3]) arises naturally from the central meaning: physical movement away from a source is associated with separation or detachment of a TR from a LM. Among the separation verbs we identified, there are several subgroups that depend on the semantics of the base verbs; that is, the event types they express (e.g., verbs of moving and pushing away, cutting, breaking, etc.). Separation can be physical or metaphorical, implying that many separation verbs are used in both concrete and metaphorical meanings. The landmarks in constructions with separation verbs reveal the concrete versus metaphorical nature of the verbs’ meanings.

The meaning cancellation (or annulment) of a previous state expressed by a number of separation verbs can be seen as a special case of abstract separation: movement from a previous state A (or a source state A) into another state B (a goal state B).

A separate group of verbs denote completion. The completion of a path with motion verbs (see Section [4]) is metaphorically mapped onto completion of an action via the conventional metaphor AN ACTIVITY IS A JOURNEY. The completion meaning can be seen as a metonymic transfer: the beginning of the path stands for the entire path. The meaning of completion is linked to metaphorical movement of a TR away from the LM and also to metaphorical separation. In verbs that emphasize the (long) duration of an event, (long) duration can be seen as a variant and implication of completion. Long duration is a predictable sense arising in the combination of the semantics of *od-* and that of certain base verbs. This sense arises, for instance, with posture verbs that lack a natural terminus, as a result of the interaction of these verbs’ meaning and the emphasis on the source or beginning of the action implied by *od-/ot-*. The following abstract formula may account for this sense:

(1) Start + Process = Long duration

Here, “start” refers to the beginning of a process, “process” refers to the process expressed by posture verbs, and “long duration” refers to the resulting meaning.

The last group of *od-/ot-* verbs discussed in Section [4.3] indicates “action in response”, where the completion of a path is perceived as the completion of an action that occurs in response to a previous action. The action indicated by verb

with *od-/ot-* is complete when the required response is provided. This metaphorical subgroup is the reverse of the “cancellation of a previous state” group of verb, where the action indicated by the *od-/ot-* verb annuls an already completed action rather than initiating a new one.

At first glance, there seems to be no connection between meanings such as “movement away” (the prototypical meaning), and “action in response” (a secondary meaning). However, it can be argued that the two meanings are related. Some verbs discussed in Section [2] also indicate “action in response” in the realm of concrete motion; for example, BCS/Blg. *odskočiti/otskoča* ‘jump off’ is a physical response/reaction to something, and *odsijevati/otrazjavam* ‘reflect’ is also a response to light. Consequently, the “action in response” subgroup of verbs (at first glance purely “metaphorical” in relation to concrete motion) can be viewed as metaphorically extended from the first group of verbs with a clear spatial profile. This supports the idea of systematic relations among different senses of *od-/ot-* verbs.

Although BCS and Blg. share the overall semantic network of *od-/ot-* verbs, our analysis of some details revealed some systematic differences, such as:

(a) One language is lacking an equivalent prefixed with *od-/ot-* (but has a semantically similar equivalent prefixed with another prefix). For instance, *od-* is often used in BCS versus *iz-* in Blg.: *odslušati/izslušam* ‘hear out’; *odsvirati/izsvirja* ‘play through’. Other prefix variations observed are Blg. *ot-* versus BCS *u-* (e.g., *ukrasti/otkradna* ‘steal’) and *od-* versus *raz-*, (e.g., BCS *odmrznuti se* vs. Blg. *razmrazja* ‘defrost’).

(b) Both languages use verbs with the same stems to express similar (but not necessarily identical) meanings; the meaning networks of prefixed verbs may differ to some extent; for example, the metaphorical extensions of *od-/ot-* verbs differ, as with BCS *odskakati* ‘stand out/apart, be different from’ (impf.) versus Blg. *otskoča* ‘jump off’.

(c) A single verb prefixed with *od-/ot-* in one language may have several equivalents in the other language, as with Blg. *otblāsna* versus BCS *odgurati, odbiti, odbaciti* ‘push away’.

(d) Although the same stem often exists in both languages, the meaning of prefixed verbs in BCS and Blg. may significantly differ (in their concrete and/or metaphorical usages); for example, BCS *odstajati* ‘stay through’ and Blg. *otstoja* ‘stand (for one’s principles)’.

(e) Different stems in the two languages have the same or similar meanings, and *od-/ot-* attaches to different base verbs to convey the same meaning, as in *odjaviti se / otpiša se* ‘sign off (from a list)’.

When examining subgroups of *od/ot-* verbs, it seems important to see the prefix and the base verb as a unity, and not to neglect the semantic contribution of the base verbs to prefix-verb combinations. This is necessary in order to avoid at-

tributing semantic parameters of the base verbs to the prefix in isolation. Some semantic features of a prefix and verb combination are a unique blend whose characteristics cannot be attributed to any of the elements of the combination when these elements are considered in isolation (e.g., BCS/Blg. *od-/ot-* verbs expressing motion and the concomitant emission of the sound).

It is also important to consider the other elements regularly co-occurring in constructions with prefixed units, such as the reflexive particle and adverbs, and how they contribute to a specific meaning (e.g., in the case of Blg. constructions with *ot-* meaning 'have enough of').

In a comparison of BCS and Blg. verbs prefixed with *od-/ot-*, we have noticed some issues that need further research: for instance, an interesting relation of verbs prefixed with *od-/ot-* and *raz-*. In some cases, *od-/ot-* and *raz-* seem to be used near-synonymously. This variation occurs within the individual languages, as in (2) and between BCS and Blg., as in (3).

(2) BCS *odvezati/razvezati*; Blg. *otvărža/razvărža* 'untie'.

(3) BCS *odmrznuti* versus Blg. *razmrazja* 'thaw out, defrost'.

Different forms seem to imply differences in construal: *raz-* seems to indicate separation emphasizing the radial shape of the trajector's path, 'in all directions', whereas *od/ot-* indicates separation, but not the radial shape of the trajector's path.

Moreover, we have noticed that in some cases Blg. uses the prefix *iz-* in equivalents of BCS verbs prefixed with *od-*. The semantic relation of antonym pairs with *od-/do-* and *iz-/za-* in spatial and metaphorical contexts of moving away in BCS and Blg. is also an interesting topic for further research. To arrive at conclusions about these and some other issues that this analysis was merely able to mention, a corpus including a sufficient number of texts in both BCS and Blg. would need to be used. Our assumption is that syntactic patterns are inseparable from semantics, and so prepositions and adverbs that prefixed verbs combine with must be part of future studies.

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