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Prefixes and prototypes: Contrasting the English verbal prefix *UN-* and Bosnian *raz-*

Prefixation is traditionally studied and regarded as the process of word formation. However, in this paper we try to approach the issue of prefixation from a different perspective. This paper describes the semantic structure of the verbal prefix UN- in English and one of its Bosnian counterparts RAZ- within the theoretical and methodological framework of cognitive linguistics. The first part of the paper gives a brief theoretical account of relevant issues: categorization, prototype theory, and polysemy. The second part of the paper presents the analysis of semantic structure of the verbal prefix UN- in English and the verbal prefix RAZ- in Bosnian. In this paper, we will try to provide a cognitively based account of the meanings of the prefixes mentioned. The sub-meanings will also be given within a cognitive prototype model together with the meaning extensions which are achieved through the mechanisms of conceptual metaphor and metonymy.

Key words: prefixes; English; Bosnian; prototype theory; category; polysemy; meaning; sub-meaning; meaning extensions; metaphor; metonymy.

1. Introduction

The paper deals with the analysis of verbal prefixes UN- in English and one of its counterparts¹ in Bosnian the prefix RAZ-. These two prefixes are interesting for the analysis because they have complex semantic structure and show a great deal of congruence in meaning. They are also both highly productive in their respec-

¹ There are several translational equivalents for the English prefix UN- in Bosnian: DE-, DIS-, OD-, S-, IZ-.

tive languages. Their semantic complexity is represented schematically for each prefix separately and explained in part 5 below. The prefix UN- is classified as both negative and reversative prefix (together with prefixes DE- and DIS-) but its negative meaning is not discussed in the paper as it is not central to the analysis. The analysis is limited to verbal prefixes for practical reasons, i.e. due to the large number of prefixed verbs that corpus search yielded.

Part 2 of the paper gives a brief theoretical account of relevant issues: categorization, prototype theory, and polysemy. Parts 3 and 4 present the analysis of the semantic structure of the verbal prefix UN- in English and the verbal prefix RAZ- in Bosnian, providing meanings and sub-meanings of the prefixes with numerous examples and also meaning extensions arising through the mechanisms of conceptual metaphor and metonymy. Part 5, which compares and contrasts the prefixes analyzed, is followed by a brief conclusion.

1.1. Methodology

The analytical procedure applied in this study is based on the paper *O značenju glagolskog prefiksa RAZ-*, by Klikovac (2004). She claims (2004: 169) that verbs with the prefix RAZ- involve two situations or states of the entity the prefix refers to: initial and final. The initial state is the one before the action takes place, and the final state is the one after the action. The prefix actually expresses what happens with the entity in the meantime. Some meanings of the prefix are prototypical and more productive and others are less typical and less productive. The central meanings are physical, concrete and they serve as the basis for various extensions. Abstract meanings are explained through metaphorical and metonymic extensions. Another important thing that needs to be mentioned is that sub-meanings are connected through certain common properties. These connections are mentioned in the text and can be read off the schematic representations given after the analysis of a prefix. Meanings (and sub-meanings) of the prefix are presented starting with the most prototypical meaning (the most frequent) and descending toward the least prototypical one (according to the number of examples found in the corpus).

2. Theoretical background

The theoretical framework I use in this paper is cognitive linguistics, more precisely the prototype theory and the theory of conceptual metaphor and metonymy. One of the central issues of cognitive linguistics is the issue of categoriza-

tion of objects and concepts. Cognitive linguistics builds categories around one central, prototypical member which is the best example of a cognitive category (Lakoff 1987). According to the prototype theory, the meaning of lexical units is viewed as a category with its own structure, organized through prototypes and family resemblances and accordingly different meanings are connected to the prototypical ones or other meanings within the category (assuming that prefixes are polysemous) (Taylor 1989; Cruse 2000: 118, 125). This can be applied to affixes as well, since, according to Langacker (1987), affixes have semantic content which enables them to be categorized as any other lexical unit. Having more than one meaning, words, i.e. lexical units in general including affixes, are considered polysemous and polysemy is linked to figurative transfer. The central mechanism that connects the meanings is conceptual metaphor, defined as understanding one concept/conceptual domain (usually abstract) in terms of other concept/conceptual domain (usually concrete/physical). Metaphor is regarded as the most important factor in semantic extension. Besides conceptual metaphor, the mechanism of metonymy is also used.

In cognitive theory, some categories have clear boundaries, while some others have fuzzy boundaries. Their members need not exhibit common properties, but be related to one another or located in the fuzzy boundary area. They bear family resemblances and so do their meanings. Some categories exhibit gradation of membership, while others do not. The categories with gradation of membership have no clear boundaries. Their membership degree is defined by their position in the boundary area. Fuzzy boundaries can overlap having elements as members of the adjacent graded categories. Zadeh (cited in Lakoff 1987) introduced a fuzzy set theory for such categories. Not having clear boundaries, such categories can be extended. Wittgenstein (1953) gives an example of the category *game* trying to define it. He says that games are like families. They are similar to one another in a wide variety of ways but do not have a well-defined collection of common properties. He notes that many members of the category *game* do not share the same common properties that separate this category from other categories and the boundaries are not fixed, which means that categories can be extended. As new games are introduced they become the members of the category *game* providing they share certain properties (family resemblance) with the other games. A significant category extension occurred with the introduction of the video games.

Most words and morphemes in the lexicon are polysemous—with a multitude of related meanings. Their meanings form a radial category: with a central meaning and other non-central meanings which are linked to and motivated by the central meaning. Radial categories are first introduced by Lakoff (1987: 65f, 91). They are exemplified by the category *mother*, which is structured radially:

one subcategory is central with other non-central extensions which are variants of the central subcategory. These variants are extended by convention and motivated by the central model. All the senses of one prefix are members of one category. Polysemy is one of the reasons prefixes are difficult to analyze. Metaphor and metonymy are central concepts in explaining polysemy as they are two types of meaning extensions. Different meanings (or sub-meanings) are related by metaphorical and metonymic relationships. The mechanism of conceptual metaphor is used to understand the abstract concepts (target domains) in terms of more concrete, physical ones (source domains). In addition to conceptual metaphor, which is the central mechanism discussed in this paper, metonymy is also made use of.

3. The prefix UN-

The prefix UN- is the most productive English prefix for two reasons: a. it does not involve so much lexicalization² as other prefixes (Quirk et al. 1985), and b. it is deeply rooted in the linguistic consciousness of English people (Zandvoort 1960) as it is a native prefix. Being of native origin (Old English), the prefix UN- occurs mainly with native English words, and to a lesser extent with words of Latin or Greek origin. UN- is also used for the formation of new words on the spur of the moment (ad hoc formations). UN- can occur with most adjectives (*unmarked, unstable, unskillful, unsociable*) and verbs (*unleash, unship, unpri-son*), though not to all verbs, and it can be attached to only a few nouns: *unjust-ness, unsafety, unsatisfactoriness*, etc. In other words, it is subject to syntactic restriction with respect to its productivity.

Certain morphemes are productive only with bases of a specific semantic or phonological structure. The verbal prefix UN- can thus be combined only with verbs which denote a reversible process: *uncover, undress, undo*, but not **unwrite, *uncook*, because these processes cannot be reversed. So UN- cannot be used with any verb, but only verbs that denote actions that can be reversed. This kind of restriction works for the verbs like *peel and thaw* as forms like **unpeel and *unthaw* are not possible because what is done cannot be undone. The use of UN- is limited to verbs with covering or surface-attaching meanings (Plag 2003). Because of these special restrictions deverbal UN- prefix can be considered a separate prefix (in comparison to the adjectival and denominal UN- prefix). However, speakers are not aware of this. Even with these semantic re-

² Lexicalisation is a change a word undergoes in order to become a member of the lexicon. In our case it refers to a change in which a word with a prefix comes to be thought of as a word on its own.

strictions, the prefix UN- is quite productive because it can be attached to many verbs with appropriate semantics.

Plag (2003) offers two alternative explanations for the prefix UN-. One explanation is that there are 3 UN- prefixes:

1. adjectival meaning 'not';
2. denominal meaning 'lack of' and
3. verbal having reversative or privative meaning.

This would explain certain restrictions the prefix has on certain word classes. It can be concluded that the prefix UN- has different meanings when combined with the bases of different parts of speech but they are all negative in their broadest sense. The other explanation is that there are two UN- prefixes with different meanings. One UN- prefix means 'not' as in *unsatisfied* and it is mainly used with adjectival bases and the other is used with verbal bases expressing removal (*unveil*), reversal (*untie*) and deprivation (*unnerve*). On the other hand, the prefix UN- could be considered a polysemous morpheme rather than representing several homonymous ones because all the meanings are closely related, 'with a very general negative meaning that interacts with the meaning of the base word' (Plag 2003). The second explanation, that the prefixes analyzed are polysemous, is taken as the ground for this analysis.

The prefix UN- is extremely versatile and very rich regarding its meanings. It is used with verbs, adjectives, adverbs and abstract nouns (but not concrete nouns). The most usual meaning of this prefix is 'the opposite of,' 'negation' with nouns (*uncertainty, unwillingness*), adjectives (*unemployed, unclear*), and adverbs (*unwillingly, unkindly*). It forms nouns with the meaning 'lack of,' 'non-X,' and 'not having proper characteristics of X' (*unbelief, unkindness, untruth*). With abstract nouns it has the following interpretation: lack of what is denoted by the noun. Nouns prefixed by UN- and related to adjectives are usually backformations: *uninvolvement*.

With verbs the prefix indicates an action contrary to the action expressed by the base verbs, for example, *tie, zip, do* i.e. reversing or annulling the action of the simple verb: *untie, unzip, undo*. It is very productive with verbs and besides reversal it has other meanings as well: 'depriving of': *unarm, uncharm*; 'to release, to free from': *untie, unscrew, unburden*; 'degrading': *unbalance, unfrock*. Verbs with prefix UN- do not mean 'not' (as in *unfasten, unzip, etc*); they denote reversal or deprivation and this is called reversative meaning. It forms privative verbs with the meaning of removal e.g. *unleash*. *Unearth* is ambiguous because it can have two meanings: to remove something from the earth (reversative

meaning) or to remove the earth from something (privative meaning) (Plag 2003).

There are a very large number of adjectives beginning with the negative prefix UN-: *unsung, untold, unwarranted, unstopable*. UN- adjectives are derivatives with the following interpretation—the absence of the property denoted by the adjective. Adjectival bases are always positive: *unhappy, untrue, and unfaithful* but can be of all kinds, especially verbal bases suffixed by -ABLE, -ING, -ED and nominal bases in -ED: *uncountable, un compelling, unpublicized* (Adams 2001). With adjectives and participles it means ‘not’ or ‘the converse of’: *unbelievable, unhappy, unarmed, unannounced*, etc. When added to past participles of verbs (functioning as adjectives) UN- means that the process expressed by the participle does not occur. It can even have two different meanings in one word e.g. *unlocked*: 1. denoting the reversal of the action (reversative prefix) and 2. denoting state—not locked (negative prefix).

The prefix UN- can denote contrary and contradictory opposition. *Uncomfortable* is a contrary opposite of *comfortable*, for example. *Unpersuaded* is a contradictory opposite of *persuaded*. *Uninspired* is also only contradictory (and not contrary) opposite of *inspired*. However, these categories do not have clear boundaries and many items can be both contrary and contradictory. DIS- and UN- occur much more often with a contrary meaning (Adams 2001). Colour adjectives do not take UN- because it expresses a contrary contrast with gradable adjectives. It cannot combine with certain adjectives because it also expresses contradiction and complementarity—one expression stands in a complementary contrast to a set of other expressions³ (Plag 2003).

UN- can also be used in the place of other negative prefixes (DIS- and IN-) for ad hoc uses but there are certain consequences regarding the semantics, e.g. *disbelief* (‘a feeling that something is not true or does not exist’) and *unbelief* (‘a lack of religious belief, or a refusal to believe in a religious faith’); *non-military* (‘not a member of army, navy or air force’) and *unmilitary* (‘being but not behaving like a member of army, navy or air force’).

UN- adverbs are a type of derivational adverbs. They are often derived from non-prefixed verbs and there are only a limited number of them: *unsuspectedly, unlimitedly, unknowingly*. This is privative UN- (in contrast to negative UN- with adjectives) which gives adverbs and UN- verbs a contrary sense. UN- adverbs are more often derived from adjectives where along with the prefixation the process of suffixation occurs—the addition of the -LY suffix: *unnaturally, unselfcons-*

³ This applies only to simple adjectives, not derived ones.

ciously, unreligiously, etc. With adjectives and participles UN- is usually negative while with verbs it is reversative or privative (Quirk et al. 1985).

Everything said above includes only some general preliminaries regarding the prefix UN-. We shall now present a different type of analysis of this prefix showing its semantic complexity.

(1) The central and prototypical meaning of the prefix UN- with a large group of verbs is the ablative meaning 'to separate.' Separation involves a movement: parts that separate move from the centre to periphery. This sense has several sub-senses formed according to the number of parts the entity is separated in and the nature of the entity itself.

(1a) The entity consists of threads interwoven in the initial state which are separated in the final state. This group of verbs implies that the entity is separated into several components: *unweave, unkink, untwine, unwreathe, unlay, unplait, unbraid, unravel*. The last verb has another meaning: 'to free from complication or difficulty.' Complications or problems are abstract burdens and can be explained through the PROBLEMS ARE BURDENS metaphor.

(1b) A group of entities is clustered together and UN- means the separation of that cluster into several components. The entities can be in a messy cluster in the initial state and they are separated in the final state: *unpile, unbundle, unmesh, unmix, unclutter, unstuck, unsnarl, untangle, unthread, unwind* (figuratively to relax, to relieve the tension). They can also be nicely separated which is implied by the verbs *untruss* and *unbundle*.

An entirely opposite action is expressed in the verb *unbuild*. It can be said that UN- here implies the separation but the separation into several parts and in the form of a disruption. There is an external force that has an effect on an entity. In the initial state, the entity is erect and in the final state it is destroyed, demolished with a downward movement. So it implies that disruption and an external force are involved.

(1c) Two entities are connected and UN- means that they are separated so whatever keeps them together is removed: *undock, unjoint, unreeve, unpaste, unstuck, unstaple, unmortise, unglue, unhitch* (two or more). The verb *undraw* implies moving aside or separating (drapes) in two, but the focus is on the result (to draw open). One thing separated from the other *unlimbers*. Most of these verbs denote the separation in two: *uncouple, unmate, unjoin, unmerge, untack*.

The removal of what is keeping things together can be seen in the following group of verbs: *unseal, untack, unseam, unsew, unstuck*. The relationship in this case is metonymic because the point is that, by removing the connection between the two parts, the entity remains separated. This sense is related to the meaning 1a since all these verbs denote separation which occurs with the movement from the centre to periphery. The same type of movement is implied in the verb *unclench* when talking about fists (*to unclench your fist*) while in the phrase *to unclench your teeth* separation in two is implied. This sub-meaning is related to the meaning 1, because the result of this action (removal of what is keeping objects together) is that the objects are separated.

The removal can be of bonds or connection of any kind: *unbind, unknot, unlink*. The bond can be such that it restricts the entity's movement. There is a group of verbs where UN- denotes the removal of what is restricting an animal's freedom, or makes the animal unable to move freely, the removal of something that represents a tie (or rather a restriction): *unlash, unleash, uncord, untether, uncinch, unbit, uncurb, unyoke*. Verbs that presuppose human arguments are *unhandcuff* and *unhitch* (remove the marriage bonds) and the one that refers to objects (ships) is *unmoor*. This same meaning can be found with prefixes DE- and DIS- and represents a marginal sense between separation and removal.

(2) The entity is partially or completely covered with or wrapped in something in the initial state which is then removed with an arch-like downward movement so that in the final state the entity remains free or 'naked.' This is a general sense which has two sub-senses.

(2a) The entity is wrapped in something and the prefix implies the removal of the 'wrapping' as in: *unhusk, unhood, ungirdle, unswathe, unshroud, unshell, unwrap*. (*Unwrap* also means 'to open').

(2b) A group of verbs with UN- denotes the act of 'uncovering' the entity. The entity is partially or completely covered with something: *unsling, unbandage, unswaddle, uncurtain, unclose, uncase*. (The last two verbs have another, figurative meaning which is mentioned below.) The entity might be a human being and the object removed a piece of clothing: *uncloathe, undress, uncloak, unfrock,⁴ untilt, unrobe, undrape*. This sub-sense could be categorized as a sub-sense of meaning 3 as it is connected to it for one simple reason: although these pieces of clothing cover the entity at least partially they are also on the entity. For the first two verbs the base is a verb, so they are reversative, while for the last four verbs the base is a noun, and they are privative.

⁴ This is one of the meanings. It also means 'to deprive of, or remove from a position.'

People can cover a two-dimensional space in the initial state and in the final state they are moved (removed) as in *unpeople*. In this case the movement is from the centre to periphery (and not a downward movement).

Some verbs like *unbosom* are figurative. This is a metaphorical extension of the THOUGHTS ARE OBJECTS metaphor. In the initial state thoughts are covered and in the initial state ‘uncovered’, disclosed. The verb *unearth* is a marginal member belonging to both of these sub-senses as it has two related meanings: ‘to dig something out of the earth’ (so to uncover it in a way) and ‘to bring something to light’ which would mean to uncover it figuratively. Together with *unearth*, verbs *unveil*, *unmask*, *unclose* and *uncase* can also be placed in this group through a metaphorical extension based on two metaphors MYSTERIOUS IS COVERED and UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING. The unknown is conceptualized as darkness, and what is known as exposed (to light). The unknown is dark, not exposed to light and cannot be seen while the known is exposed to light and therefore can be seen. To ‘uncover’ an entity means to reveal its true character, to expose it.

What covers the entity might be undesirable and its removal a desirable consequence as in *unrust*. In this case only the surface of the entity is influenced and by its removal the surface remains ‘clean.’ The entity does not have to be the whole human body but only a part of it, for example a hand. In *unglove* initially the glove covers a hand (or hands) but the action of the verb implies that it is being removed. There is a group of verbs with UN- denoting the removal of a cover from a person’s head: *unbonnet*, *uncover*, *uncap*, *unwig*, *ungarland*. In the last set of verbs UN- can also be understood as removing an object that is on the top of the entity. This interpretation of UN- is present in the verb *unsaddle* which can be interpreted in two ways:

- to remove a saddle from a horse (privative meaning) and
- to remove a rider from a saddle (ablative meaning).

Verbs *unhedge* and *unfence* also belong to this group even though the hedge and fence do not actually wrap the entity but rather ‘surround’ it.

(3) The entity can be on another object without necessarily covering it or being wrapped around it. The prefix UN- refers to the removal of the entity denoted by the noun usually with a downward movement. The following verbs have this meaning: *unarm*, *unbroach*, *undecorate*, *unfrill*, *unfringe*, *unpin*, *unmuffle*, *unhand* and *unnailed*. *Unmuffle* is very specific because it only implies that in the initial state there is something on the object and it makes the sound quieter and in

the final state it is removed. A group of verbs is used of animals only: *unmuzzle*, *ungear*, *unharness*, *unbridle*.

What is on the entity can also be a burden for the entity. UN- therefore has the meaning 'to remove a burden or something that is a burden for someone (or something)': *unburden*, *unlade*, *unload*. Tax can also be a burden so the verb *un-tax* fits into this category. Category is extended through a metaphor because *unburden* and *unload* can be understood figuratively through the THOUGHT IS A BURDEN metaphor as certain thoughts can be a burden, something that brings worries and causes stress.

Attributes can be understood as being on an object through the metaphor QUALITY/ATTRIBUTE IS AN OBJECT THAT IS LOCATED ON (or BY) THE ENTITY THAT POSSESSES IT.⁵ The following group of verbs expresses the sense of deprivation (of certain characteristics, attributes): *unhallow*, *uncharm*, *unsex*, *unlabialize*, *unhumanize*, *unbarbarize*, *unfeminize*, *unvoice*, *uncanonize*, *unmoisten*, *unneutralize*, *unsensitize*, *unmysticize*, *unmarbelize* = *unmarbleize*, *unman*, *uncivilize*, *unprop*, *unstate*. The last verb also means to deprive of rank, position.

(4) There is a large group of verbs whose meaning is the following—'to remove any kind of obstruction.' In the initial position the entity is blocked and in the final position it is free of the obstruction. This is considered a separate sense because for most of the verbs the obstruction is somewhere inside the entity. In this sense UN- refers to what happens with the entity after the action takes place and the outcome is actually important. The following group of verbs has a verbal base and they are reversative: *unstop*, *unstopper*, *unclog*, *unchoke*, *unsnap*, *uncork*, *unplug* (at least one of its meanings), *unblock*, *unjam*, *unlock*, *unclamp*, *unhasp*, *unsnap*. *Unhasp* can be interpreted in two ways:

- to remove the hasp – privative and
- to unfasten something hasped, to reverse the process – reversative.

For some of these verbs (*unclog*, *unchoke* and *uncork*) the entity is long and tube-like. *Undamn*, *uncork*, *unbolt* and *unbrace* have nominal bases and are privative. The noun actually presents an obstruction that is removed. All these verbs have the sense of 'unblocking.' An object that serves as an obstruction is removed and the entity is able to function normally as in *unclog*. The verb *unlock* represents an extension of this meaning as the obstruction is not physically

⁵ Klikovac (2004). SVOJSTVO JE PREDMET KOJI SE NALAZI NA ONOME (ili UZ ONOG) [T]KO POSJEDUJE TO SVOJSTVO.

removed from the lock, it still remains part of the lock but it is moved so that it no longer serves as an obstruction but allows the lock to be open.

The verb *unbarricade* can have two different interpretations:

- to remove the barricade—privative, and
- to reverse the process of building a barricade—reversative.

In both of these interpretations the outcome is the same: the entity is unblocked and can function normally. The verb *unbrace* provides an extension of the category. What blocks the entity does not have to be physical but can be abstract in terms of worries or any kind of tension. This meaning is developed through the EMOTIONAL DIFFICULTIES ARE PHYSICAL OBSTACLES metaphor.

Unbar means to remove the bars but the focus is on the outcome i.e. that the object from which the bars are being removed is finally free in the final state. The same is true of the following verbs related to clothes: *unbelt*, *unbuckle*, *ungird*, *ungarter*, *unclasp*, *unstrap*, *unlace*, *unbutton*. They are all privative verbs with nominal bases. Their meaning is to remove what is denoted by the base noun.

(5) The object removed can be a part of the entity. This sense is closely related to the sense number 3 and might even be considered its extension. The nature of the entity can be of various kinds:

- buildings: *unroof*, *unthatch*, *unfloor*, *unglazed*;
- plants: *unleaf*, *unthorn*, *uncore*, *unbud*;
- animals: *unbud*, *unscale*;
- clothes: *unsole*, *unline*, *uncalk*;
- objects: *unblade*, *unbottom*, *unedge*, *unfuse*, *unframe*, *unhoop*, *unstring*, *unmast*, *unhaft*, *untread*, *unhelm*, *uncurd*.

Verb *uncurd* is just another among the numerous examples that manifest two different meanings:

- to remove the curd - privative and
- to reverse the process of forming the curd - reversative.

(6) One of the meanings of the prefix UN- is to remove the entity from the inside of an object: *unmold*,⁶ *unwomb*, *uncoffin*, *uncrib*, *unbottle*, *unpot*, *uncrate*,

⁶ *Unmold* also means to disrupt the surface which implies that an external force is involved.

uncask, unsheathe, unchair, unseat. *Unchair* and *unseat* besides this meaning also have another figurative meaning: 'to remove from a political position.' This extension would be a metonymic one accomplished through the INSTRUMENT OF POWER FOR POWER metonymy. Another extension can be found in verbs *unsphere* and *unzone*. The entity is removed from its usual, normal sphere. Emotional and mental states (be in trouble, in a dilemma, asleep, etc.) are understood metaphorically in terms of physical space, i.e. bounded regions or locations in space. Since these are not physical locations they are understood through the MENTAL SPACES ARE PHYSICAL SPACES metaphor. The conceptual metaphor STATES ARE LOCATIONS is found in the verb *unhypnotize*—'to bring out of a hypnotic state.' These metaphors can be found in verbs *ungloom* and *unisolate*. Verbs *unhouse, unhive* and *unchurch* denote the literal movement from an object but involving force. All three verbs mean to drive out of a place, location.

(7) *Uncoop* is a marginal member because it means 'to remove the bond' (which is the meaning number 1c). It also means 'to release a person from a restricted area' as well as the following verbs: *unpin, unprison, unmew, unkennel*. *Uncage* would also fit into this category. The cage, however, does not have to be a real one; it can be anything that causes confinement which can also be abstract, some kind of control, restraint. The entity is released from a certain location and free to move. Most of these verbs have a nominal base so UN- implies the removal of what is denoted by the noun.

(8) One of the senses of the prefix UN- involves a vertical dimension: movement from up to down. The verb *unpeg* implies that a piece of clothing is removed with a downward movement from a peg (and not from the human body). The removal of something—the action that involves a vertical movement is the sense that can be found in verbs: *unhook* and *unbait*. *Unhinge* belongs to this category but only as a marginal member because its other meaning is 'to remove the hinges from,' which would be meaning number 3.

The vertical movement can be abstract. The prefix once again gets its abstract meaning through the conceptual metaphor HIGH STATUS IS UP, LOW STATUS IS DOWN. It implies that the entity (a human being) moves down on a social scale which can be seen in the following examples: *unbishop, unpriest, unmiter, unthroned, uncrown, unfrock*. (This is one of the meanings of the verb *unfrock*. The other meaning of *unfrock* is 'to divest or strip of a frock.' This would make the verb *unfrock* a member of another category: the meaning number 3.) The last three verbs are understood through a metonymic relation: INSTRUMENT OF POWER FOR POWER.

(9) A less typical meaning of the prefix UN- is to move an entity from its fixed position. The entity consists of two parts: one is firmly fixed into the other and only one part is removed. In the initial position the entity is firmly fixed and the action involves rotation which sets the entity free as in *unscrew*, *untwist*. Verbs *unloose*, *unloosen*, *ufasten*, *untighten* also imply certain movement that sets the entity loose but the movement does not have to be rotatory.

The verb *unbalance* means ‘to throw or put out of balance.’ In the initial state the entity is fixed in a certain position and UN- in this case means to move the entity so that in the final state it is not firmly fixed or not in that position at all. Balance can be emotional or mental and the metaphor mechanism has to be used once again. It is a metaphorical extension achieved through two metaphors: MENTAL SPACES ARE PHYSICAL SPACES and EMOTIONAL STABILITY IS PHYSICAL STABILITY. The same metaphor could be applied in order to understand the verb *untune* (of emotions).

The verbs *unsettle* and *unfix* perfectly fit into this category because one of their meanings is to remove from a settled position physically and the other is to remove from a mentally or emotionally settled state.

(10) In verbs *uncoil*, *unbend*, *uncurl*, *unwrap*, *unfold*, *unroll*, UN- means increasing in volume but in two dimensions only (an entity expands in two dimensions but it decreases in the third dimension). In the final position the entity is longer and straight (*unbend*, *uncurl*, *uncoil*). These verbs also denote the change of position:

- from a coiled position: *uncoil*
- from a bent position: *unbend*
- from a curled position: *uncurl*
- from a folded position: *unfold* (also means to reveal, display)
- rolled state: *unroll*.

Uncongeal also belongs to this category. The entity is a solid matter in the initial state. UN- denotes that the entity changes its state, it becomes liquid. Since liquids tend to spread over a two-dimensional space, the volume of the entity increases but only in two dimensions while it decreases in the third dimension.

This group of verbs can be understood in two different ways:

- UN- denotes the reversal of the action expressed by the base verb. This means that there was an action that occurred at an earlier stage that put the entity in that particular state or position and

- UN- denotes only the reversal of the state of the entity assuming that no action caused it but that it is rather its normal state (position).

Verb *unfreeze* might be included in this category because when entities change their state and become liquid they also increase in two dimensions and decrease in the third one.

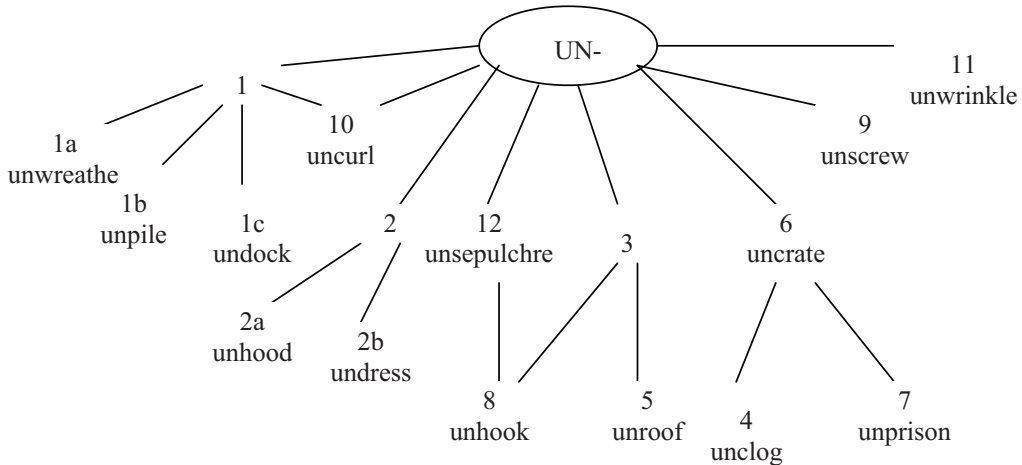


Figure 1. The semantic structure of the prefix UN-

4. The prefix RAZ-

The first analyses of an affix conducted from a cognitive aspect in any of the regional languages (Bosnian, Serbian, and Croatian) using the prototype theory and the theory of conceptual metaphor were done by Duška Klikovac (2004) and Branimir Belaj (2004). Their papers are on the verbal prefix RAZ-. Belaj (2008) discusses other Croatian verbal prefixes from the perspective of Langacker's Cognitive Grammar.

The prefix RAZ- is a verbal prefix which is very productive in the Bosnian language. Klikovac (2004) gives a net of ten different meanings and six sub-meanings from a cognitive point of view while Belaj (2004) offers 11 groups of verbs prefixed by RAZ-. The sense of dispersion of some sort is present in all 11 groups. However, some hints of these meanings can be noticed in the meanings

Stevanović (1970) offers for the prefix RAZ-. Stevanović gives a very detailed description of the semantic structure of the prefix RAZ- with five sub-meanings:

- 1) Combined with prefix RAZ-, complex verbs mean breaking something in two (*razdvojiti – separate in two, razvjenčati – divorce*) or several parts (*razletiti se – disperse, rasparčati – break apart*).
- 2) Certain verbs combined with RAZ- do not mean separating in parts but the action denotes the existence of some sort of centrifugal force working in different directions, as in: *raširiti* (spread), *razastrijeti* (spread, unfold), *razapeti* (stretch).
- 3) Another meaning is spreading a subject over a greater surface. The meaning of these verbs does not involve any kind of force that works in different directions but instead in only one direction which makes the subject larger in volume or surface: *razviti* (develop), *razmotati* (unwrap), etc.
- 4) The verbs with the prefix RAZ- also mean a reversal of the action, an action opposite of the action expressed by a base verb, for example *razmotati* (unwrap), *razvezati* (untie). Very close in meaning are verbs that mean returning into a condition, state before the action of the main verb, which would again be the reversal of the action – *razvjenčati* (divorce), *rašćiniti* (disassemble), *raspečatiti* (unseal), *raspremiti se* (unpack).
- 5) Examples like *rasplakati* (burst out crying), *razbuktati* (burst into flames) and so on convey another meaning of the prefix RAZ-. They do not only mean an active beginning of an action but they also mean going into the state marked by the base verb and they often mark the end of the action: *razljutiti se* (become angry), *raširiti* (spread). At the same time it expresses the intensity of the verb: *rasplamsati*, *razbjesniti se* (enrage), *razletjeti* (fly apart) (Stevanović 1970).

The second meaning above refers to the spreading of the entity in all directions under the influence of a centrifugal force which is present in many of the verbs prefixed with RAZ-. More than 800 verbs prefixed with RAZ- have been analyzed and more than 300 verbs have the sense of movement from the centre to periphery which proves that this is the general meaning of the prefix RAZ- (as suggested by Klikovac 2004).

The prefix RAZ- as well as many other Slavic prefixes adds perfectivity to the construction. This is only one function of the prefix RAZ-, i.e. to perfectivize the verb when added to it. What is important for this function of RAZ- is that it can be added only to imperfective verbs. Although this is an important feature of

Slavic prefixes, it is not relevant for this paper and for that reason will not be discussed in great detail. There are several verbs with RAZ- that show this sense: *ražednjeti*, *razanalizirati*, *raznuriti*, etc. They all refer to the end point of a certain state or action.

Before the analysis of the semantic structure of the prefix RAZ- (to avoid any potential confusion) it is relevant to mention the variants of the prefix RAZ- once again. Besides its basic form, the prefix RAZ- has other forms which are: RAS-, RAŠ-, RAŽ-, RAZA-, and RA-.

The meanings of the prefix RAZ- are listed in the same way as for other prefixes: from the most typical to the least typical according to the number of category members.

(1) The increase of the volume is the central sense of prefix RAZ-. It is the most typical meaning because there is the largest number of verbs with this meaning. At this point our analysis differs from the one done by Klikovac. In her analysis the sense of the increase comes second as far as the prototypicality is concerned. The most typical meaning that she suggests is the sense of separation (the centre-to-periphery movement) which is in our analysis the second meaning, again according to the number of category members. To move from the centre to periphery is the general meaning of the prefix RAZ-, but the sense of the increase of the entity is the central sense. It also involves the movement from the centre to periphery. The increase of the entity's size might involve one, two or three dimensions.

(1a) The most numerous group of verbs shows the size increase in all three dimensions: *razbokoriti se*, *razgranati se*, *razbujati se*, *razdebljati se*, *razrasti*, *razračvati se*, *razrasti*, *raskrupnjati se*, *rastrbušati se*, *rashraniti se*, *razgojiti*. People who take a comfortable position ('feeling themselves at home') tend to 'spread,' take a lot of room for themselves: *razbašiti*, *razbaškariti se*, *razazuriti se*, *razuzuriti se*, *rasplastiti se*.

The following group of verbs would fit quite nicely into this category: *razvratiti*, *razjaziti*, *razjapiti*, *razjati*, *raskriliti*, *raspinjati*, *raspedljiti*. Some of these expressions require force like *razvaliti*, *razvilapiti*, *raspečiti*, etc. Some refer specifically to eyes: *razrogačiti*, *raskolačiti*, *razbečiti*; or to mouth: *razinuti*, *raščeljjustiti*, *rasceriti*. These verbs also imply that the opening increases its size in three dimensions.

The entity's increase in number as in *razmnožiti se*, *rasploditi se* can be assigned to this sense. These verbs are perhaps marginal, less typical members but

in these verbs RAZ- also means that the entity increases its volume. Verbs like *rasprostrijeti se* and *razastrijeti se* can be interpreted in two ways as one entity increasing its size or several entities spreading over a greater surface (both involving the centre-periphery orientation). These are then marginal examples belonging to two different meanings: the meaning number 1 and the meaning number 2.

This category is abundant in metaphorical extensions. The size of the entity increases not only physically but figuratively, and this is understood and explained through metaphor (abstract increase is understood as physical increase). There is a large group of verbs focused on the starting point of a process or an action. However, such processes or actions tend to increase their intensity so this is to be understood metaphorically as increasing the volume, size. The INTENSITY IS SIZE (QUANTITY) metaphor enables us to understand the following verbs in such a way: *razđipati se, razjevati se, razigrati se, razgestikulirati, raznjihati se, razmlatarati, razobadati se, raskakati se, raskopitati se, raskotrljati se, raskočoperiti, rasplesati se, rastalasati se, rastrčati se, rašetati se, razđipati se, razdžilitati se, razgegati se, razgmizati, razgibati, raspavati se*. RAZ- in this case refers to starting an activity and then to the increase of its intensity. A fairly large group refers to sounds: *razvoniti, razgrmjati, razlegnuti se, rasplakati, razjecati, razječati, razvrištati, razgakati, razgalamiti, razgrajati, razgrakati, razgrlatiti se, razdernjati se, razdraviti se, razdreljiti se, razderati se*, etc.⁷ The following verbs mean to begin to have a certain quality: *rasplandovati se, razljeniti se, razljepšati se, raskuražiti, razjunačiti*; or begin to expose certain behaviour: *razjoguniti se, razjužiti se*; or engage in a certain activity: *rasklizati se, raskaljati se*. They are also focused on the starting point but RAZ- refers to the afterward increase of the intensity of the quality.

A group of verbs refers specifically to talk, i.e. the intensity of talking: *raskodakati se, raspilaviti, razvesti, rastorokati, raskazati, razblebetati, raskokotati se, raščućoriti, razrakoliti se, raščavrljati, razglabati, razvezati, rasklopotati, raspripovijedati se*. Two metaphors are applied here: INTENSITY IS SIZE and WORDS ARE OBJECTS.

As previously mentioned, this category has many abstract extensions. A group of verbs refers to the intensity of fire and RAZ- refers to the increase of its intensity: *razbuktati, raziskriti, razjaglitati, rasklačinjati, rasplamsati, raspucketa-*

⁷ Other verbs in this group are: *razvikati se, razdrečati se, razlarmiti, raskikotati, raskliktati, rasklicati, rasklopotati, raskokodakati se, raskriviti se, raskukati se, raskukurikati se, rascičati, razridati, razrikati se, raspojati se, raspjevati se, rasmijati se, rashihštati se, razdžakati se and rashalakti*.

ti, raspiriti, razgorjeti, raždžarati, raščarati, razdimiti se. The last verb would be a less typical member of this category. Some verbs refer to the intensity of light and RAZ- implies the increase of the intensity of light: *razasjati, rasvijetliti, rasrebriti* (to glisten like silver); or colours: *razbijeliti* (become increasingly white), *rasplaviti* (become increasingly blue), *rasplamiti se* (become increasingly red).

The INTENSITY IS SIZE metaphor is applied to emotions as well. Human emotions being abstract in nature are largely understood and expressed in metaphorical terms. One of the central conceptual metaphors for emotions is EMOTIONS ARE FLUIDS IN A CONTAINER. The increasing intensity of the emotion is conceptualized as the rising level of the fluid in a container. Here are some examples with the prefix RAZ-: *razveseliti, razradovati, razdražiti, rastužiti, raspomamiti, raspuriti se, razdertiti se, ražaliti se, razgoropaditi se, razdragati, razjadati, raskajati, ražalostiti.* Anger is often conceptualized as a HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER which can be seen in the following verbs: *ražestiti, razbjesniti, razjediti, razljutiti, razgnjeviti, rasrditi, razjariti.* The intensity of the impact can also increase: *raspaliti, raspaučiti.*

Klikovac (2004) introduces some other metaphors to this category: *razgolicati*—CURIOSITY IS AN OBJECT, *razraditi*—PLANS, TOPICS, ETC. ARE OBJECTS, *razgovarati*—THE SUBJECT MATTER OF CONVERSATION IS AN OBJECT.⁸ *Raspravljati* is another example of this category where discussion is also identified with an object (DISCUSSION IS AN OBJECT metaphor).

(1b) The entity can increase in two dimensions: *razvaljati, razmazati, razgaziti, razmjesiti, raspljeskati, rasplazati, rastanjiti, raširiti, razvaganiti se, ražabiti se, razapeti, raspljoštiti, razapeti, rastrljati, razmeljati.* This means that only its surface increases and not the volume. If the entity expands in one or two dimensions, it automatically decreases in the third dimension.

What can figuratively spread are words, news: *rastrubiti, razudarati, raspričati, razbubnjati, razvikati, razglasiti, raščuti se, razbrbljati, rastelaliti, rastreštati.* Words are understood as spreading over a greater surface/area and this is achieved through WORDS ARE OBJECTS metaphor.

(1c) There are not many verbs that imply the increase of the entity in only one dimension. Some of them are *raspružiti, rastegnuti, razvući.* Two verbs that refer to mouth only are *rasceriti, raskeziti.*

⁸ The metaphors Klikovac proposed in Serbian are RADOZNALOST JE PREDMET, PLAN, TEMA I SL. SU PREDMETI, TEMA RAZGOVORA JE PREDMET, respectively.

(2) The sense of separation is very close to the meaning number 1 because the centre-periphery movement is involved in this meaning as well. After the separation takes place, the parts move toward the periphery (away from the centre). In the final state the entity is not whole and it is sometimes disrupted, no longer functional. Klikovac (2004) suggests three sub-senses for this meaning depending on the nature of the entity: one entity, several entities or substance.

(2a) In this sub-sense there is only one entity in the initial state. The prefix implies its separation after which (in the final state) the parts move toward the periphery. There are many 'RAZ- verbs' that convey this meaning: *razmontirati, razgoditi, razjediniti, rasklopiti, rastvoriti, raščlaniti, razlučiti, rasparčati, raskvartati*. There are also many verbs with RAZ- that refer to a special way of separation:

- The following verbs mean that something sharp is used to separate the entity (or rather cut it in pieces): *raskriškati, raskrižati, raspiliti, razrezati, rasjeći, rasalatiti se, rastesati, raskaišati*.
- The following group of verbs denotes separation but with destruction and usually involving force or an outside being: *razlomiti, razlupati, razmecati, razmrskati, razmrcvariti, raskidati, raskomadati, razderati, raskombosati, rastrgati, rasitniti*.⁹
- An external force can come from above the entity and cause its destruction: *razrušiti, razurvati, rascopiti, razgoniti, razgruvati, rastreskati, rastresnuti, rastući*. There is a force coming from the outside of the entity negatively influencing it and causing its disruption so that the entity is torn in parts and consequently cannot function normally.
- The entity is separated in two parts: *raskoliti, raspoloviti, raspolutiti, rastaknuti*. *Rasporiti* might refer to separation in two but also several parts.
- The entity is separated in three parts: *rastrójiti*.
- Separation requires the removal of the physical connection between the entities: *raspečatiti, raspučiti*. The bond does not have to be physical, it is very frequently abstract. This is the metonymic relation ACTION FOR RESULT because the result is what is important with these verbs and not the action of removal. In the next group of verbs RAZ- means 'to remove the emotional, affectionate connection between two entities' (where entities are human beings): *rasprijateljiti, razvjenčati, razvjeriti, razručiti*,

⁹ Here are some more verbs that refer to this kind of separation: *raskršiti, raskupusati, raskasapiti, raskusati, raspandratiti, rapaklisati, raspršati, rastrgnuti, rastrupati, rastrinjati, rascijepati, rascjepkati, rapastrviti, rastrugati*.

raskumiti, rastaviti. A group of verbs refers to the removal of a family bond, blood bond: *razroditi, rasiniti, razbratiti, raznaroditi*.

(2b) Several entities are in a cluster in the initial position and then as a result of their separation they move from that position in different directions toward the periphery, where they are in the final state (in a mess): *razbacati, raspršiti, raskrčiti, razmjestiti, rasuti, razbrbašati, razbučiti, razbucati, razasuti, razbacati, razgrnuti* (from a pile). The cluster can be made of threads which are separated in the final position: *razaplesti, rasplesti, razaplitati, rasplitati, razverugati, raščesljati, razvlaknati, razvlasati, razmumuljiti, raskukljati, razmrsiti, rasperčinati, raskošljati, raspletljati, rasklupčati*. RAZ- can refer to making a mess out of such entity (consisting of threads): *raščupati, raščupaviti, raščuperiti, razbarušati, razbavkati, razbašuriti, raskostrušiti, raskuštrati*.

The entities are human for the following group of verbs, and RAZ- refers here to their movement from the centre to periphery in all directions: *razdružiti, rastjerati, rasplašiti*. The movement can be of other animate/living entities: *rastikati se, razagnati, rasplinuti, razmiletiti se, razrojiti se, raspužiti se*. For the last three the entities that disperse are usually insects.

Some verbs mean separation in two but of two entities as in *raspariti, raskračiti, raskoračiti, raskrevečiti, raskrečiti*. It means that two entities create a distance one from another. This is one of the reasons the sense of separation is closely related to distancing and that is why this is ablative meaning.

Separation of an individual from a cluster is implied in the verb *raskrditi*. The following verbs also have the sense of separation but of a group of entities from a cluster: *razbrojiti, razvrstati, raščetiti se*. In the initial stage there is a large group of entities which are divided into smaller groups in the final stage.

(2c) In this sub-sense the entity is substance. There are not many verbs where RAZ- expresses this meaning: *razdrobiti, razagnjiti se, razliti, rasplinuti (se), razvejati*, etc (Klikovac 2004: 173). Verbs *razvagati* and *razmeriti* mean to separate the substance into equal parts.

(3) The entity is covered with or wrapped in something in the initial state. In the final state that is removed: *raspovezati, raspoviti*. The objects covering the entity might be dangerous as mines, for example as in *razminirati*, or simply undesirable: *razušiti, raskužiti*, and their removal is preferable, desirable: *razmagliti, razotkriti, raskukuljiti, razakriti*. This category has metaphorical extensions used for better understanding of abstract meanings of verbs with RAZ-. An entity can be only figuratively uncovered as in *razotkriti, raskriti, raskrinkati*. The ab-

stract cover is removed in order to better understand something. For this purpose the metaphor MYSTERIOUS IS COVERED is used. The UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING metaphor is applied to some other verbs: *razjasniti*, *raspoznati*, *razaznati*, *razuznati*. Another metaphor is SHAPE IS A SHELL in verb *razobličiti*¹⁰.

A group of verbs refers to the removal of clothes. These verbs belong to this category because the clothes do cover the human body. However, another way to understand it is that clothes are placed on the body and their removal requires a downward movement which would then be meaning number 5: *razodjenuti*, *razgalatiti se*, *razgaćiti se*, *razgolišati*, *razgolititi*, *razgaliti*, *razgoliti se* (being polysemous this verb can also be understood figuratively through the MYSTERIOUS IS COVERED metaphor) and *razmantijati*. The last verb has another figurative meaning which belongs to meaning number 6 - 'to deprive of rank' or 'to remove from a position' where we find metaphorical and metonymic relations. The metaphor is HIGH STATUS IS UP, LOW STATUS IS DOWN, but underneath it there is the INSTRUMENT OF POWER FOR POWER metonymy. Only one verb that refers to the removal of shoes is found and that is *razuvati*. Klikovac (2004) categorises as examples of this sense the following verbs as well: *razvodniti*, *razblažiti*, *razrijediti*, *razmutiti*, etc. The explanation she provides is that certain parts (components) of the entity are understood as 'covering' the entity as RAZ-implies their removal of that part but only partially. Metaphors STATES ARE LOCATIONS and MENTAL SPACES ARE PHYSICAL SPACES allow us to understand verbs with prefix RAZ- as going into or coming out of states. With verbs like *razdrijemati*, *rasaniti*, *razbuditi*, *rasvijestiti* mental spaces are figuratively covered with something.

(4) The physical movement in all directions (not only centre-to-periphery movement) is another sense found with RAZ-. The number of the entities involved gives two sub-meanings of this meaning:

(4a) There is only one entity that is moving in different directions without any clear order or logic: *rashodati se*, *razletjeti (se)*, *razmijeniti*, *razmutiti*, *razmiješati*, *razvijoriti*, *ražnjati*. The abstract meaning can be found in the verb *rastrzati*. The entity (a person) feels like being figuratively moved to different directions in a short period of time due to many obligations and worries.

(4b) Several entities move to different directions centrifugally: *razaslati*, *razdijeliti*, *raznijeti*, *rasedjati*, *raseliti*, *raspisati*, *rasposlati*, *rasprodati*, *raščeprkati*, *razdati*, *razjagmiti*, *rašćuškati*, *raštrkati*, *rastati se*, *rastjerati*, *razlijepiti*, *razvašariti*, *razvješati*, *razbrkati*, *raspljuvati*.

¹⁰ Klikovac (2004: 180) – OBLIK JE LJUSKA.

(5) The entity does not necessarily have to be covered with something; another object can only be placed on it. The removal of the object requires a downward movement as in the following verbs: *razobručati*, *razoružati*, *raskititi*, *ražvaliti*, *razoglaviti*, *razuzdati*, *rasedlati*, *raskovati*, *raspasati*. What is on top of the entity can be a burden for it and the prefix refers to its removal: *rasamariti*, *rasteretiti*, *rastovariti*. What represents a burden for people are not only physical objects but abstract entities as well. This is another extension of the basic meaning through different metaphors: DEBT IS A BURDEN – *razdužiti*, SIN IS A BURDEN – *razriješiti* (grijeha), CURSE IS A BURDEN – *rasklinjati*, SPELLS ARE BURDENS – *rašćarati*.

Attributes are also understood as being on an entity through the following metaphor: ATTRIBUTE IS AN OBJECT THAT IS LOCATED ON (or BY) THE ONE WHO POSSESSES IT: *razelektrisati*, *razmagnetisati*, *rasvetiti*, *rašćovječiti*, *razvrijedniti*. Valuable possessions or fortune are also considered to be with or on the entity, therefore the following two verbs fit into this category: *razvlastiti*, *razbaštiniti*.

(6) Klikovac (2004) suggests this as a separate sense which involves vertical dimension and different type of scales based on the MORE IS UP/LESS IS DOWN metaphor. She mentions the temperature scale found in verbs *razmlačiti*, *rashladiti*, *raskaliti* (2004: 181). Verbs that mean ‘to remove (a person) from a position’ are also placed in this category. To deprive a person of a rank, social position is one of the meanings of the prefix RAZ-. This is achieved through the metaphor HIGH STATUS IS UP, LOW STATUS IS DOWN and can be seen in the following group of verbs: *razdoktoriti*, *razigumaniti*, *razmonašiti*, *raskaluđeriti*, *ražalovati*, *raskandidovati se*, *raskapetaniti*, *raskmetiti*, *rasknežiti*, *raskraljiti*, *raspopiti*, *rasfratriti*, *rascariti*, *rašćiniti*. *Raskruniti* is not only metaphorical but also metonymic in nature. *Kruna* (crown) is an object which represents the social position.

(7) To disrupt or spoil the surface of the entity is another meaning of RAZ-. In the initial stage the surface is in a perfect (and normal) condition, but in the final stage it is spoiled as in *razvorati*, *razlokati*, *razgrepsti*, *razgužvati*, *razguliti*, *razdrapati*, *razjesti*, *raskljucati*, *rašćešati*, *razbosti*. In verbs like *razbosti*, *rasoliti*, *razgristi*, *rascrvotočiti*, *razgnječiti* and *razgnjaviti* an outside force influences the entity from all sides spoiling it. RAZ- again refers to disruption but this disruption might be of more than only surface.

(8) In the initial position the entity is in a firmly fixed position. A certain type of movement removes the entity from that position. Rotation is the type of movement used in the following verbs: *razvrnuti*, *razvrtjeti*, *rašrafiti*. Other verbs that imply loosening of the entity are: *razglaviti*, *razglobiti*, *razvezati*, *razlabaviti*, *raštimati*. These verbs mean that the entity is removed from its fixed

position while the following three verbs do not imply removal: *razljuljati*, *razmrdati*, *rasklimati*. Still they belong to this sense because in the initial position the entity is firmly fixed but in the final it is not fixed but loose.

(9) Following Klikovac (2004) we distinguish another sense of the prefix RAZ-. This sense involves movement in all directions which is present in the meaning number 4 and therefore they are closely related, but there is a slight difference between them. In verbs like *razvidjeti*, *razgledati*, it is the observer's focus that is moving to different directions and not the entity itself. These two verbs are exclusively visual (i.e. physical). The observer observes the entity from different sides in order to see and understand it better. Metaphorical observation can be found in verbs *rasvijetliti*, *raspitati se*, etc. This meaning is so closely related to meaning number 6 that it can even be considered as its extension—through the metaphor THINKING IS SEEING. Other verbs that belong to this sense are *razmisliti*, *rastumačiti* and *rasuditi* which represent abstract observations (the observer is only figuratively looking at the entity from different sides).

(10) Klikovac (2004) categorizes verbs that refer to the removal of a certain part of the entity as the removal of something that is on the entity. This, however, is considered as a separate meaning in this study (for other prefixes as well), though very connected to meaning number 5 since they both involve a downward movement and it is true that parts of the entities are *on* them. Verbs that convey such meaning are: *razadniti* (or *razdniti*), *razjedriti*, *razvršiti*.

(11) The entity moves from left to right (or vice versa). The movement is horizontal and the entity is long and thin. Only 1 verb expresses this movement *razmahnuti* (Klikovac 2004: 185).

The schematic representation of the meanings and the relations between them is given below:

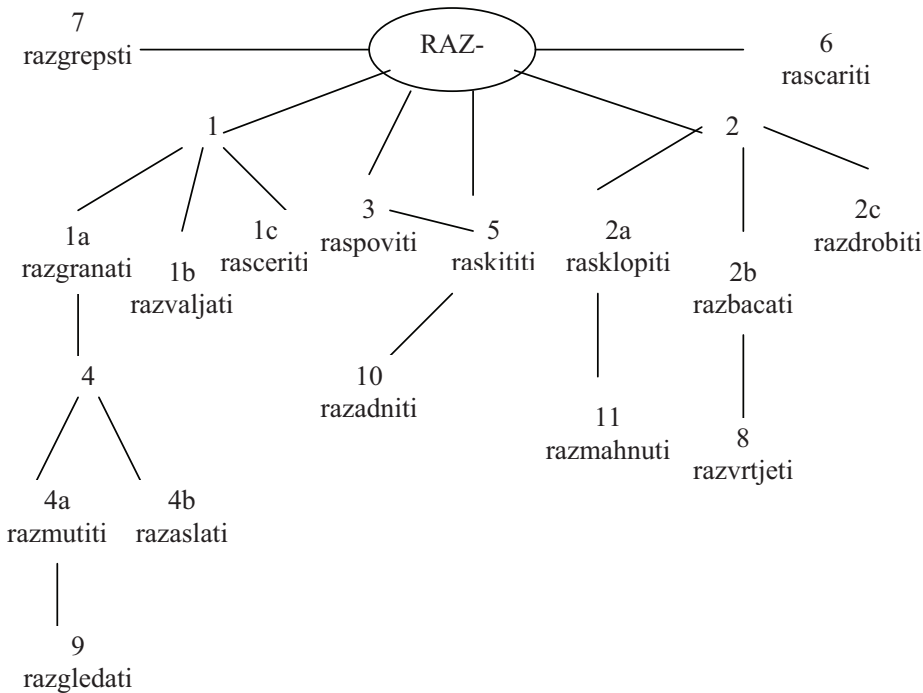


Figure 2. Semantic structure of the prefix RAZ-

5. UN- and RAZ- compared and contrasted

1. The sense of separation ('to separate entity in parts') seems to be one of the prototypical meanings of both UN- and RAZ-. The sense of separation which implies that entities (or parts of an entity) move from the centre to periphery can be found with both prefixes analyzed: *unwreath*, *unravel*, *razmontirati*, *razdrobiti*. They also have three sub-senses depending on the nature of the entity and the number of parts it separates into. One of the sub-senses that RAZ- and UN- share is 'to separate a cluster of entities from each other' (centre-to periphery movement).

2. There are several senses of removal for both prefixes. One of them is 'to remove something that covers the entity.' UN- has two sub-senses of this type of removal: the entity is initially covered with something and the entity is wrapped in something. Both UN- and RAZ- have metaphorical extensions of this sense. In

verbs like *unbosom* ideas are conceptualized as objects (THOUGHTS ARE OBJECTS). Two metaphors MYSTERIOUS IS COVERED and UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING can be found in examples like *unveil*, *razjasniti*, *razaznati*, *rasyjetliti*,¹¹ etc. and metaphor is SHAPE IS A SHELL in verb *razobličiti*.¹²

3. Another sense that can be found with both prefixes analyzed is the removal of something that is on the entity: *unharness*, *raskititi*. Both prefixes, hence both languages, have the following metaphorical extension: QUALITY/ATTRIBUTE IS AN OBJECT THAT IS LOCATED ON (OR BY) THE ENTITY THAT POSSESSES IT: *unlabialize*, *razelektrisati*. Some other metaphors are related to this meaning but not for all the prefixes. The THOUGHTS ARE OBJECTS metaphor serves as a basis for other metaphors. Physical burden serves as a source domain for several metaphors in Bosnian and one in English:

- THOUGHT IS A BURDEN in figurative use of the verb *unburden*;
- DEBT IS A BURDEN in *razdužiti*;
- SIN /RESPONSIBILITY IS A BURDEN in *razriješiti*;
- CURSE IS A BURDEN in *rasklinjati*;
- SPELL IS A BURDEN in *rašćarati*.

4. Another meaning that UN- and RAZ- have in common is the meaning ‘to remove a part of the entity’, which can be found in both languages (with English UN- and Bosnian RAZ-): *unroof*, *razjedriti*.

5. Vertical movement, vertical dimension is suitable for metaphorical and metonymic extensions. The extension of this sense is achieved through the MORE IS UP, LESS IS DOWN metaphor for the Bosnian prefix RAZ-: *razmlačiti*. The social status scale is presented through the HIGH STATUS IS UP, LOW STATUS IS DOWN metaphor for both prefixes: *unbishop*, *raskraljiti*. Verbs like *unthrone* and *raskruniti* represent metonymic extensions through the SYMBOL OF POWER FOR POWER metonymy.

6. To increase the size of the entity is the central prototypical sense of the prefix RAZ- (*razgranati se*, *raskrupnjati se*, *razrasti se*, etc.) and is a part of the semantic structure of UN-: *uncurl* (the increase UN- implies is in two dimensions only). The prefix UN- does not show here any metaphorical or metonymical extensions, while RAZ- seems to be more ‘productive’ in terms of metaphors. The increase of the volume does not refer to concrete entities only but to abstract as

¹¹ Based on metaphors UNKNOWN IS DARK, KNOWN IS LIGHT and metonymy CAUSE FOR RESULT.

¹² Klikovac (2004: 180) – OBLIK JE LJUSKA.

well (emotions, intensity, etc) and in that case conceptual metaphors operate which can be seen from the list that follows:

- INTENSITY IS SIZE: *razđipati se*;
- INTENSITY IS SIZE and WORDS ARE OBJECTS: *raskazati, razblebetati*;
- EMOTIONS ARE FLUID IN A CONTAINER: *razveseliti, rastužiti*;
- ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER: *ražestiti, razbjesniti*;
- CURIOSITY IS AN OBJECT: *razgolicati*;
- PLANS, TOPICS, etc ARE OBJECTS: *razraditi*;
- SUBJECT OF THE CONVERSATION IS AN OBJECT: *razgovarati*.

7. Another sense that UN- and RAZ- share is the movement of an entity from its fixed position by rotation: *unscrew, untwist, razvrnuti, razvrtjeti*, etc. With UN- there is even a metaphorical extension through two metaphors: MENTAL SPACES ARE PHYSICAL SPACES and EMOTIONAL STABILITY IS PHYSICAL STABILITY, e.g. *untune* or *unbalance* (considering that balance can be mental or emotional).

8. 'To remove the entity from the inside of another object or area' is one of the senses of the prefixes UN-: *uncoffin, unwomb* while in Bosnian it is found with RAZ- in abstract sense only: *razbuditi, rasaniti, razdrijemati* through two metaphors STATES ARE LOCATIONS and MENTAL SPACES ARE PHYSICAL SPACES (which can be found with UN- as well: *unsphere*). UN- even has metonymical extension in verbs like *unchair, unseat* (INSTRUMENT OF POWER FOR POWER).

9. One of these is the sense 'to disrupt or spoil the surface' which is found with RAZ-: *razgresti, razlokati*. UN- shows a different type of influence an outside force might have on the surface of the entity. In verbs like *unwrinkle* and *unruffle* the surface is affected but in a positive sense.

These were the senses that the prefixes UN- and RAZ- share. However there are several other senses that can be found with UN- but not with RAZ- and vice versa. Some senses found with UN- (but not RAZ-) are more prototypical: 'to remove any kind of obstruction that is inside the entity': *uncork, unclog* (*unbrace* is a metaphorical extension of this meaning – EMOTIONAL DIFFICULTIES ARE PHYSICAL OBSTACLES), while some are less prototypical, marginal: to move, release a person from a restricted area: *unprison* or to (re)move an entity from inside to the outside of something with an upward movement: *unsepulcher*.

The prefix RAZ- has some meanings that are not part of the semantic structure of the prefix UN-:

- physical movement in all directions: *rashodati se, razdijeliti*;

- the movement of the observer's focus in all directions: *razgledati* and
- the movement of an entity from side to side (from left to right): *razmahnuti*.

The sense of separation is present in all groups of verbs given in the analysis. Some sort of distancing and dispersion can be found in all meanings of prefixes RAZ- and UN-, even in the senses which refer to the removal of an object or a part of the entity there is separation and distancing.

6. Conclusion

Verbs prefixed by RAZ- and UN- form radial categories and such categories have central members—prototypes. A prototype is the best instance, a model which shapes the entire category. Members closer to the prototype are considered more prototypical while other non-central members are less prototypical, even marginal and are related to central members on the basis of resemblance and meaning extensions.

After the analysis of the corpus a complex semantic network of the prefixes analyzed is given for both languages. Also a variety of literal senses is presented as well as the abstract ones which are metaphoric and metonymic extensions. One of the things that prefixes analyzed in this paper have in common is the fact that some of their meanings seem to have nothing in common with other meanings (other category members), especially regarding the marginal members. However, they are linked to one another on the basis of the family resemblance so that prototypical and marginal meanings only seem distant but they are connected through one or more features. Prefixes under investigation display a significant level of interlingual concordance in their prototypical semantic structure and interlingual differences can be found in marginal meanings of the prefixes.

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**PREFIKSI I PROTOTIPOVI:
KONTRASTIVNO PROUČAVANJE GLAGOLSKOG PREFIKSA
UN- U ENGLESKOM I RAZ- U BOSANSKOM**

Prefiksacija se tradicionalno proučava kao process tvorbe riječi. U ovom radu pokušavamo prefiksaciju proučavati iz druge perspektive. U prilogu se opisuje semantička struktura glagolskog prefiksa UN- u engleskom i njegovog bosanskog ekvivalenta RAZ- u okviru kognitivne lingvistike. U prvom se dijelu daje prikaz relevantnih teorijskih zasada: kategorizacije, teorije prototipova i polisemije. Drugi je dio analiza semantičke strukture engleskih glagola prefigiranih pomoću UN- i bosanskih glagola prefigiranih pomoću RAZ-. Uz korištenje prototipnog modela razlikuje se niz glavnih značenja i podznačenja te prikazuje značenjske ekstenzije koje se temelje na konceptualnim metaforama i metonimijama.

Ključne riječi: prefiksi; engleski jezik; bosanski jezik; teorija prototipova; kategorije; polisemija; značenje; podznačenje; značenjske ekstenzije; metafora; metonimija.