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Tijana Vesić Pavlović

University of Belgrade

Faculty of Mechanical Engineering

THE ENTAILMENTS OF MOVING THROUGH SPACE IN MEANING EXTENSION OF DEPARTURE AND ARRIVAL VERBS IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN – A CORPUS-BASED INVESTIGATION

Abstract: The paper deals with meaning extension of a set of departure and arrival verbs in English and Serbian using the framework of cognitive linguistics, which proposes that meaning extension is motivated by the links established between more accessible forms of experience, in this case, moving through space, and less tangible abstract concepts. The verbs under investigation involve *depart*, *go away*, *come* and *arrive* in English and *otići*, *krenuti*, *doći* and *stići* in Serbian. Meaning extension is studied using corpus-based examples. Since departure verbs denote moving away from the starting point of a spatial path and arrival verbs denote moving towards and reaching a destination, the aim is to explore whether there are parallels in their extended meanings across abstract domains that reflect the complementary basic meanings, as well as to determine the aspects of the abstract experience structured in this way in both languages. It is shown that in their extended meaning departure verbs dominantly denote either cessation or beginning, while arrival verbs denote either occurrence or completion, with sporadic parallels in their use. The concluding part discusses the obtained findings in the light of the cognitive linguistics paradigm.

Key words: meaning extension, cognitive linguistics, departure verbs, arrival verbs, English, Serbian

1. Introduction

Spatial concepts are considered vitally important in the development of abstract thinking and this has been attested by a variety of studies (e.g. Bowerman 1996a, 1996b; Cannon and Cohen 2010; Mandler 2004). The closely connected experience of moving through space figures as one of the primary experiential domains in human life and as such has been explored to a great extent in various linguistic frameworks, especially within cognitive linguistics. This linguistic approach focuses on the link between language and conceptualisation and studies meaning as grounded in various kinds of experience, predominantly bodily experience (e.g. Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff and Johnson 1999). The authors in this field dealt with motion and space from a variety of viewpoints, putting conceptual metaphors into the spotlight (e.g. Özçalışkan 2003a; Radden 1996), encoding manner of motion (e.g. Filipović 2007; Özçalışkan 2005; Talmy 1985), fictive motion (e.g. Matlock 2004a, 2004b; Talmy 1996), or doing contrastive analyses on the material of different languages (e.g. Choi and Bowerman 1991; Özçalışkan 2003b; Slobin 1996; Stamenković 2017; Vesić Pavlović 2015) etc.

The focus of the present paper is on the entailments of moving through space observed through the meaning extension of a set of English and Serbian verbs denoting

departure and arrival, which have been proven to be highly polysemous (Özçalışkan 2003b; Radden 1996; Vesić Pavlović 2015; etc). Since departure verbs denote moving away from the starting point of a spatial path and arrival verbs denote moving towards and reaching a destination, the aims of the study are the following: (1) to explore whether there are parallels in their extended meanings across abstract domains that reflect complementary basic meanings, (2) to determine the aspects of abstract experience structured in this way in both languages, and (3) to briefly reflect on the similarities and differences between the languages with this respect. The paper is organised in the following way – Section 2 provides a brief overview of the theoretical framework used to carry out the research and explains the scope of the study more thoroughly, Section 3 presents research results, while Section 4 includes a discussion and the suggestions for further research.

2. Theoretical framework and the scope of the present study

As stated above, this study is performed in the theoretical and methodological framework of cognitive linguistics, which proposes that meaning extension is motivated by the links established between more accessible forms of experience, in this case, moving through space, and less tangible abstract concepts. Vital in this process are conceptual mechanisms, most notably, metaphor, which underlies the mappings established between the elements of a more concrete experiential domain, the source domain, and the target domain, which is more abstract (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). The “perceptual saliency of motion” (Radden 1996: 424) leads to a number of correspondences established between experience with motion and various abstract notions, which are mostly subsumed under the EVENT STRUCTURE METAPHOR (Lakoff 1993; Lakoff and Johnson 1999). Since an event unfolds in a linear manner, departing from the source is mapped onto beginning (STARTING AN ACTION IS STARTING OUT ON A PATH), and end of motion corresponds to achieving the goal/the purpose (PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS) (Lakoff 1993; Lakoff and Johnson 1999). Further correspondences involve conceptualising change of state, in keeping with the mappings STATES ARE LOCATIONS and CHANGE IS MOTION, as in the case of the verb *to come*, which may refer to entry into a normal state and departure from an abnormal state (Radden 1996: 432). When it comes to the extension of meaning of the verbs denoting the components of motion along the path, the focus in previous studies within the cognitive linguistic paradigm has mainly been on the opposition of motion from the centre and towards a certain point, i.e. on the investigations of the meaning of the deictic verbs *come* and *go* (e.g. Fillmore 1971; Wilkins and Hill 1995; Radden 1996; Nakazawa 2009; etc.).

Another important concept when discussing motion through space is that of a path, which may be described as “a directed stretch of space, typically the trajectory or orbit along which an object moves” (Zwarts 2005: 743). In cognitive linguistics, the path is observed as a pervasive, well-structured and well-understood image schema¹, with a source, a goal and a sequence of intermediate points connecting the source and the goal (Johnson 1987). In line with this, it may be said that “motion originates at some point and

¹ Image schema is defined as “a recurring, dynamic pattern of our perceptual interactions and motor programs that gives coherence and structure to our experience” (Johnson 1987: xiv); other important image schemas include CONTAINMENT, FORCE, LINKS, SCALES, PART-WHOLE, CENTRE-PERIPHERY etc.

ends at another point, follows a given trajectory and has certain directionality” (Radden 1996: 423). Motion verbs typically focus on the parts of the PATH schema – certain verbs inherently profile the source of movement (e.g. *to go, to leave, to depart*) and other profile the goal of movement (e.g. *to come, to arrive, to reach*) (Radden 1996: 426). In this paper, we refer to the former type as departure verbs and to the latter as arrival verbs.

The present study explores meaning extension of the following departure and arrival verbs: *depart, go away, come* and *arrive* in English, and *otići, krenuti, doći* and *stići* in Serbian. For the most part, these verbs may be considered translation equivalents. In their basic meanings there are parallels both within and between languages, which implies that a departure verb is used for the onset of motion and an arrival verb for reaching a particular destination, cf. *The aircraft departed from Bristol Airport. / Maud went away to make supper.* vs. *The Americans came to London. / We arrived at the French Riviera town of Frejus* (BNC); the same can be observed in Serbian: *Posle je otišao u Englesku. / Pre trideset godina krenuo je u Egipat.* vs. *I odatle došao u Beograd. / U deset i trideset stigao je Wolfgang* (SrpKor2013). Since “we tend to preserve the topology of space even if it does not apply to the target domain” (Radden and Dirven 2007: 304) when spatial notions are projected on abstract domains, it may be expected that the afore-mentioned parallels will occur in some of the extended meanings of the departure and arrival verbs under observation.

Meaning extension was studied on the examples excerpted randomly from the representative corpora of the two languages (BNC for English, SrpKor2013 for Serbian) because the use of such corpus data may provide insight into the typical context and the frequency of use of conceptual metaphors (Deignan 1999). This is the subset of examples extracted from the above-stated corpora for the purposes of a more extensive study dealing with the metaphorical mappings of the PATH schema in English and Serbian (Vesić Pavlović 2015). For each of the analysed verbs, 10% of the examples found in the corpora were selected randomly (out of the total number of examples for different verb forms). Those instances where the verbs extended their meaning were taken into account for further analysis, which included 1,739 examples for English and 2,762 for Serbian in total. Bearing in mind the vast number of the collected examples and the limited space, only representative examples will be provided throughout the text to illustrate the obtained findings.

3. Research results

Upon analysing the collected corpora examples, it was established that the abstract concepts structured as metaphorically moving entities or landmarks on the metaphorical path may be subsumed under these conceptual domains: TIME, ACTIVITY, EVENT, STATE, COGNITION, LIFE, COMMUNICATION, POWER RELATIONS and SOCIETY. Within these domains of abstract experience, it was examined in closer detail what particular aspects of the abstract entities were profiled in the extended meanings of the analysed verbs. For instance, not only are life and death conceptualised as arriving and departing, but, on a higher level, it is the occurrence of life and its cessation that is actually structured as arrival and departure, respectively.

This kind of analysis has yielded the following results: there are two dominant sets of aspects structured via meaning extension of the selected motion verbs, which occur in

the largest number of analysed examples. In Case 1, departure verbs profile beginning, and arrival verbs profile completion. In Case 2, arrival verbs profile occurrence, and departure verbs profile cessation.

Other registered cases are less present in the corpora examples, i.e. can be found in one language only or/and are characteristic of only one or two domains of abstract experience. Thus, in Case 3, both departure and arrival verbs may be used to structure extent, but this was only recorded in Serbian examples. A similar dimension of intensity is profiled in Case 4, by different types of verbs, namely, departure verbs in Serbian and arrival verbs in English. In Case 5, the profiled aspect is change, with departure verbs used in English, and arrival verbs in Serbian. Finally, in Case 6, arrival verbs in both English and Serbian may be used to profile an aspect we labelled as continuation. A detailed description of all of these cases will be given below.

3.1. Case 1: BEGINNING/COMPLETION

In this subset of examples, beginning is structured by departure verbs and completion by arrival verbs. Although there is evidence of the conceptualisation of these aspects in both languages in different abstract domains, along with some parallels between the languages, this case proved to be more prominent in Serbian – i.e. more examples for more various domains were found in Serbian. Table 1 provides an overview of the list of examples found in the corpora for the extended meanings of the observed verbs according to the aspect of beginning/completion in different abstract domains in English and Serbian.

Table 1 Structuring of BEGINNING and COMPLETION in the corpus examples

Domain	BEGINNING	COMPLETION
TIME	E: /	E: /
	S: zemlja može da <i>krene</i> u budućnost	S: <i>stigao</i> sam u bolju budućnost
ACTIVITY	E: /	E: /
	S: Vim-Bil-Dan <i>krenuo</i> u novi posao; posao je <i>krenuo</i>	S: <i>došlo</i> se do željenog cilja; do uspeha nismo <i>stigli</i> preko noći
EVENT	E: /	E: /
	S: uskoro će <i>krenuti</i> rat	S: /
COGNITION	E: /	E: <i>come</i> to the conclusion; <i>arrive</i> at the following paradox
	S: osnova od koje će <i>krenuti</i> u istraživanje	S: Martin <i>dođe</i> do zaključka [...]; <i>stigao</i> je do paradoksalnog zaključka
COMMUNICATION	E: speech <i>departed</i> from me	E: the answer <i>comes</i> quickly; bad news <i>arrived</i>
	S: po čaršiji <i>krenula</i> priča [...]; u svet <i>ode</i> više stotina informacija	S: do mene je <i>došla</i> vest, <i>stići</i> će još gora vest
LIFE	E: I <i>went away</i> to university	E: she <i>comes</i> near to death; to <i>arrive</i> at the end to which God is leading him
	S: kada dete <i>krene</i> u školu [...]; <i>otići</i> na koledž	S: <i>došavši</i> do kraja života

The structuring of beginning via departure verbs was found in both languages in the domain of COMMUNICATION (the beginning of communication being conceptualised as communication units' departure from the sender, as in the examples *speech departed from me*, *krenula [je] priča*) and the domain of LIFE, where beginning a new phase of life is structured as setting out from a certain point of the path of life (e.g. *go away to university*, *otići na koledž*). In other domains, the examples for structuring beginning as departure were found only in Serbian. In the domain of TIME, within the MOVING OBSERVER METAPHOR (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999), the beginning of a time interval is construed as the departure of the observer towards a time point as a metaphorical landmark (*krenuti u budućnost*). In the domains of ACTIVITY, COGNITION and EVENT, the beginning of an activity/mental activity or an event is structured as setting out from the starting point of the path (e.g. *krenuti u posao*, *uskoro će krenuti rat*).

In the case of structuring completion as arrival, we found examples in both languages in the domains of COGNITION (in keeping with the metaphor PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS), COMMUNICATION, where completion of communication is communication units' arrival at the receiver's destination, and LIFE, with death, i.e. completion of life, being structured as arrival at the final point on the path of life. Additionally, only in the analysed Serbian examples, completion was construed as arrival in the domains of TIME, with the completion of a time interval being conceptualised as arrival at a time point as a location (*stići u budućnost*), and ACTIVITY, within the metaphor PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS (e.g. *doći/stići do cilja*).

The parallels in the metaphorical use of the analysed sets of verbs to denote both aspects, beginning and completion, can be observed in Serbian in the domains of TIME (*krenuti/stići u budućnost*), ACTIVITY and mental activity within COGNITION (*krenuti u novi posao/doći do cilja*). There is one parallel use recorded in both languages in the domain of COMMUNICATION (*speech departed from me/bad news arrived* and *krenula je priča/došla je vest*). In the domain of LIFE, there are seeming parallels in denoting beginning and completion in both languages, but they refer to different entities in both languages, beginning a new phase in life and ending life.

3.2. Case 2: CESSATION/OCCURRENCE

In Case 2, in both English and Serbian, occurrence is structured as the arrival at a particular location and cessation as the departure from that location (Table 2). In both languages, in the domains of TIME and EVENT, the occurrence of a time interval or an event is structured as its arrival at the point in the present where the stationary observer is located (e.g. *moment had come/doći će i naše vreme*, *then came the Gulf war/došao je rat*). The occurrence of a state is structured as its appearance at the point where a person experiencing the state is located (e.g. *love comes to a man*, *olakšanje je stiglo*). The occurrence of an activity is the appearance of its result at the point where the observer is located, while the occurrence of mental activity products is their appearance at the point where a person is located (e.g. *message was arriving in his brain*, *misao mu nije došla sama od sebe*). In the domain of LIFE, birth, i.e. the occurrence of life, is construed as person's arrival at the point signifying here and now (e.g. *babies come*, *stigli su blizanci*). In the domain of POWER RELATIONS, gaining a term of office, i.e. its occurrence, is construed as the arrival at a certain point on the path (e.g. *Mrs Thatcher came to office*, *ko će doći na vlast*).

Table 2 Structuring of OCCURRENCE and CESSATION in the corpus examples

Domain	OCCURRENCE	CESSATION
TIME	E: her moment had <i>come</i> ; the time for negotiation has <i>arrived</i>	E: this winter will never <i>go away</i> ; the <i>departing</i> decade of the 1980s
	S: <i>doći</i> će i naše vreme; <i>stigao</i> je trenutak naše svadbe	S: gde <i>odoše</i> svi ti dani, godine [...]
ACTIVITY	E: the astonishing attack <i>came</i> ; the revolution has already <i>arrived</i>	E: /
	S: zatim je <i>došla</i> nacionalizacija	S: /
EVENT	E: then <i>came</i> the Gulf war; a storm <i>arrives</i> from the west	E: /
	S: <i>došao</i> je i Drugi svetski rat; <i>stigao</i> je rat	S: /
STATE	E: love <i>comes</i> to a man; flu <i>arrives</i> much more suddenly	E: the headaches <i>went away</i> ; love had <i>departed</i>
	S: sreća koja će <i>doći</i> [...]; olakšanje je <i>stiglo</i>	S: ljubav je <i>otišla</i>
COGNITION	E: the thought that had <i>come</i> to mind; message was <i>arriving</i> in his brain	E: /
	S: misao mu nije <i>došla</i> sama od sebe	S: /
LIFE	E: babies <i>come</i> after the wedding; my first child <i>arrived</i>	E: she <i>departed</i> from our lives
	S: dete beše <i>došlo</i> ; <i>stigli</i> su blizanci	S: na taj način <i>otišli</i> [su] iz života
POWER RELATIONS	E: Mrs Thatcher <i>came</i> to office [...]	E: it was simply impossible to imagine how she would <i>depart</i> [...]
	S: ko će <i>doći</i> na vlast [...]	S: režim je <i>otišao</i>

In the domain of TIME, the cessation of a time interval is construed as its departure from the point in the present where the stationary observer is located, both in English and Serbian (e.g. *the departing decade*, *gde odoše svi ti dani*). The cessation of the state is structured as its departure from the point where the experiencer is located (e.g. *love had departed*, *ljubav je otišla*), while the cessation of life, i.e. death, is construed as person's departure from the temporal point which signifies here and now (*she departed from our lives*, *otišli [su] iz života*). In the domain of POWER RELATIONS, the cessation of the term of office is conceptualised as the departure from a point on the path which signifies holding the function. In all these domains, in both English and Serbian, there are parallels in the extended meanings of arrival verbs with the use of departure verbs which profile the occurrence of the abstract concepts in question. In other words, in the afore-stated domains, the metaphorically moving entities which occur by arriving cease by departure.

3.3. Case 3: EXTENT

The profiling of extent via departure and arrival verbs was found in the collected examples only in Serbian, in the domains of ACTIVITY and EVENT. Extent is structured as the amount of the path traversed, i.e. distance moved on the path, and these verbs are often accompanied by adverbs which specify this amount of path covered (*daleko*, *najdalje*, *dokle*). The underlying conceptual metaphors in these cases are THE EXTENT OF

ACTIVITY PROGRESS IS DISTANCE MOVED and THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE EVENT HAPPENED IS DISTANCE MOVED, with the examples provided in Table 3.

Table 3 Structuring of EXTENT in the corpus examples

Domain	Departure verbs	Arrival verbs
ACTIVITY	Francuskinja Orlan <i>otišla</i> je najdalje u služenju umetnosti	dokle se <i>stiglo</i> u povezivanju naše zemlje sa međunarodnim organizacijama
EVENT	stvari su <i>otišle</i> tako daleko da su stanovnici Jerusalima omrzli srebrni novac	/

3.4. Case 4: INTENSITY

As can be seen in Table 4, the profiling of intensity was present in the examples in both languages, but only in two abstract domains: the domain of STATE in Serbian (STATE INTENSITY IS THE DISTANCE MOVED) and COMMUNICATION in English (INTENSITY OF A SPEECH ACT IS THE DISTANCE MOVED). Similar to EXTENT, INTENSITY is conceptualised as the distance moved on the path and profiled by departure verbs in Serbian and arrival verbs in English, with adverbs specifying the distance moved (*closest, predaleko*).

Table 4 Structuring of INTENSITY in the corpus examples

Domain	Departure verbs – Serbian	Arrival verbs - English
STATE	emocije su <i>otišle</i> predaleko	/
COMMUNICATION	/	we asked people which of four statements <i>came</i> closest to describing their own feelings about credit

3.5. Case 5: CHANGE

In the analysed examples, the change of state is conceptualised as a change of location, with state interpreted as a particular location, more specifically, a container, in both languages. In English, it is profiled through meaning extension of departure verbs, and in Serbian through arrival verbs² (see Table 5).

Table 5 Structuring of CHANGE in the corpus examples

Domain	Departure verbs – English	Arrival verbs - Serbian
STATE	at times he felt himself <i>departing</i> into hallucination	najzad je <i>došao</i> u stanje da više nije mogao da izdrži

3.6. Case 6: CONTINUATION

In both languages, this is a specific case which pertains to the conceptualisation of the successive generations as travellers which tread the road of life one after another (Table 6). The motion unfolds from the present into the future, and each generation occupies the temporal point of their own existence, with new travellers appearing successively on the path, which signifies continuation of the nation or mankind in general.

² For the elaboration on the differences between the conceptualisation of the change of state as a change of location in English and Serbian see Vesić Pavlović 2016.

Table 6 Structuring of CONTINUATION in the corpus examples

Domain	Arrival verbs – English	Arrival verbs - Serbian
SOCIETY	the generations to <i>come</i> after us	generacije koje će <i>doći</i> posle nas

4. Discussion and conclusion

Based on the above-presented findings derived from the set of used corpora examples, it may be concluded that when it comes to the extended meanings of departure and arrival verbs in English and Serbian, two dominant patterns emerge: the first one where beginning is related to departure, and completion to arrival, and the reverse, with occurrence related to arrival, and cessation to departure. Other cases (the profiling of extent, intensity, change and continuation) were found in one language only or were restricted to the entities in one or two domains of abstract experience. We may further conclude that Case 1 (the structuring of beginning and completion via departure and arrival verbs respectively) is considerably more prominent in Serbian, where it occurs in a number of abstract domains. However, there are still certain parallels between the analysed languages reflecting the use of a departure verb to denote beginning and the arrival verb to denote completion within the same domain of abstract experience. The fact that, generally speaking, beginning is structured as departure, and completion as arrival is in keeping with the spatial relations the departure and arrival verbs profile in their original meaning, more specifically, with the direction and temporal unfolding of the PATH schema, from the source towards the goal, from the past into the future. As for the profiling of occurrence and cessation (Case 2), occurrence is structured in the majority of domains for both languages, while cessation figures as complementary in the domains of TIME, STATE, LIFE and POWER RELATIONS for both languages. We may conclude that this is the reverse pattern to the first one, since arrival verbs denote occurrence as coming from the future to the location of the observer (serving as here and now), and departure verbs cessation as going away into the past.

In the case of profiling extent and intensity, there is no specific reference to the source/goal of motion, since both types of verbs may be used, depending on the language, and it is the adverbs that express the amount of distance moved, which is consequently interpreted as the extent or intensity. In the case of change, no source/goal references seem to be vital as well; it is rather the notion of entering a path point as a container which is the goal of motion. When it comes to continuation construed as arrival, it is related to the conceptualisation of time as unfolding from the past towards the future and the perception of the path points as future events located ahead of the observer. Hence, it complies with the original pattern of the PATH schema as motion towards a certain destination located further in the future.

When it comes to using the departure verb to profile one aspect of the element of an abstract domain and the arrival verb to profile the complementary aspect, we may say that there is a certain degree of complementarity, within and among languages, but only when denoting the dimensions of occurrence/cessation and beginning/completion. In certain cases, the lack of complementarity may be explained by the fact that cessation, for instance, may be expressed by some other verb of motion, not subsumed under the categories of departure and arrival included in the present paper, such as the neutral verb *go* in English, or the verbs which denote traversing intermediate points on the path (most of all, *pass* in English and *proći* in Serbian).

In line with some previous studies which have demonstrated that, notwithstanding the ample evidence of the prolific nature of motion through space as a source domain, there are certain restrictions to using the lexemes related to motion in metaphorical meanings compared to using them in primary senses (Johansson Falck 2010), the present small-scale study also points towards the conclusion that there are restrictions within domains pertaining to the entities which may be metaphorically departing but not arriving and vice versa. However, the limitations lie in the fact that this is a study with a relatively small number of investigated verbs and relying solely on the examples from the representative corpora, which, although beneficial, carries certain restrictions on its own. The directions for future research hence may refer to both expanding the list of departure and arrival verbs, as well as expanding the number of components of motion through space and their lexical representatives. Additionally, a more detailed analysis of the presence/absence of parallels in the metaphorical use of departure and arrival verbs pertaining to the specific entities within the domains of abstract experience would be welcome.

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Tijana Vesić Pavlović

IMPLIKACIJE KRETANJA U PROSTORU U PROŠIRENJU ZNAČENJA GLAGOLA KOJI OZNAČAVAJU POLAZAK I DOLAZAK U ENGLESKOM I SRPSKOM JEZIKU – STUDIJA ZASNOVANA NA KORPUSU

Rezime

U radu se razmatra proširenje značenja jednog skupa engleskih i srpskih glagola koji označavaju polazak i dolazak. Korišćen je teorijski okvir kognitivne lingvistike u kome se tvrdi da je proširenje značenja motivisano vezama koje se uspostavljaju između pristupačnijih vidova iskustva, kao što je, u ovom slučaju, kretanje u prostoru, i manje opipljivih apstraktnih pojmova. Analizirana su proširena značenja engleskih glagola *depart*, *go away*, *come* i *arrive* i srpskih *otići*, *krenuti*, *doći* i *stići*. Građu korišćenu u istraživanju čine slučajno odabrani primeri iz reprezentativnih korpusa dva jezika. Ciljevi rada bili su da se ispita da li postoje paralele u proširenim značenjima ova dva skupa glagola u različitim apstraktnim domenima koje bi odražavale komplementarnost njihovih osnovnih značenja, kao i da se odrede aspekti apstraktnog iskustva koji se na ovaj način strukturiraju. Pokazuje se da u proširenim značenjima glagoli koji označavaju polazak dominantno strukturiraju prestanak ili početak, dok se glagolima koji označavaju dolazak strukturira nastanak ili završetak, kao i da postoje sporadične paralele u njihovoj upotrebi. U zaključku se dobijeni nalazi razmatraju iz ugla kognitivnolingvističke paradigme.

tvesic@mas.bg.ac.rs