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Semantic and grammatical features of *o-/ob-* in verbs of emotion in Slovene¹

This paper examines how the prefix *o-/ob-* reflects the spatial bases of emotion events that comprise emotion scripts in Slovene. It is suggested that the prefix and emotion predicates form constructions. It is shown that the spatially based metaphorical meaning of the prefix in verbs of emotion blends with the prefix's temporal meaning (i.e., inchoative, resultative, and factitive). Thus, the prefix "cooperates" with the meanings of the emotion predicates in terms of the spatial and temporal conceptualization of an emotion event. The occurrences of *o-/ob-*verbs of emotion are analyzed in the context of the entire sentence; that is, nouns that are trajectors and landmarks of *o-/ob-*verbs of emotion.

Key words: Slovene prefix *o-/ob-*; emotion verbs; morphosyntactic analysis of emotion scripts; spatial bases of emotion concepts; folk theory of emotions

1. Introduction

Recent studies of emotions in psychology and philosophy prove that emotions are a complex phenomenon (Goldie 2000). Russel and Fehr (1994: 202) argue that to know emotional concepts is to know an abstract schema (prototype,

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script) in which antecedents, feelings, expressions, behaviors, physiological changes, and consequences are laid out in a causal and temporal sequence. Across languages, and even within one language, people make use of a number of metaphorical expressions to convey various elements of emotional experience. Studies of emotional language reveal the folk theory of emotions; that is, cultural beliefs about what emotions are and how they function, which to some extent is parallel to scientific theories (see the discussion in Kövecses 2000: 133–135; Radden 1998; Caluianu 2005).²

Both the scientific and folk scripts comprise at least three events that can be described more explicitly as an emotion-arousing event, an emotion state, and physiological and behavioral responses triggered by the emotion (see Russel & Fehr 1994; Radden 1998). However, as Caluianu (2005a) demonstrates, the differences among languages and the variety of emotion predicate types within the same language show that different languages divide emotion events in distinct ways and focus on different aspects of the script.

This paper suggests that prefixes in Slovene verbs of emotion reflect a different conceptualization of emotion events in this language. As an example, I study the verbal constructions formed by *o-/ob-* ‘round, around,’³ the meaning of which is related to the spatial notion of circularity. It is argued that the spatial meaning is metaphorically extended into the abstract domain of emotional experience in that both the person that is emotionally affected and the object of the emotion are conceptualized in terms of circularity. In addition, in the case of perfective verbs that indicate a change in people’s psychological state, the prefix’s meaning in the spatial domain blends with the inchoative, resultative, and factitive meaning in the temporal domain (see the metaphor CHANGE IS MOTION in Lakoff & Johnson 1999). I examine in detail the semantic and grammatical mechanisms that motivate the metaphorical extensions of *o-/ob-* ‘round, around’ in verbs of emotion.

This paper has the following structure: the theoretical framework of the analysis and the terminology are presented in Section 2. Section 3 presents the data

² In linguistics, the term *folk theory* of emotions is used synonymously with other terms: *folk model* or *folk understanding* of emotions (Kövecses 2000: 130), or *naive model of emotions* (Apresjan 1994). Emotion scripts (or scenarios) are part of the folk theory of emotions in a given culture (Kövecses 2000).

³ As in treatments of Slovene grammar (e.g., Toporišič 2000: 217), the prefixes *o-* and *ob-* are regarded as variants of the same prefix.



analysis. Because the *o-/ob-*verbs of emotion reflect all three stages of the emotion scripts, they are studied according to these stages; that is: 1) an emotion-arousing event, 2) an emotion state, and 3) physiological behavioral responses caused by the emotion. Conclusions are presented in Section 4.

2. State of the Art

2.1. *The spatial bases of emotion concepts*

Within the cognitive approach to language, it has been proven that mental states including emotions are conceptualized in terms of spatial relations (Kövecses 2000; Lakoff & Johnson 1999; Peña Cervel 2003; Rice 2004). Moreover, some aspects of spatial representations of mental states have been confirmed in experimental psychology (see Richardson et al. 2001; Craford et al. 2006). Linguistic research on spatial bases of emotions makes use of the theory of conceptual metaphor and spatially laid out “image schemas” that underlie both the spatial and abstract conceptual representations (Kövecses 2000; Peña Cervel 2003). Particularly challenging are studies that consider the grammatical construal of emotion events. They prove that every stage of the emotion scripts mentioned above can be expressed in spatial terms; that is, via prepositional phrases that express the causes of emotions, and emotions as causes of human behavior (see Radden 1998; Dirven 1995, 1997; Osmond 1997 for English, and Będkowska-Kopczyk 2011 for Slavic languages). Slavic languages, which have complex morphology, provide further evidence for the spatial structure of emotions. Mostovaja (1998), Janda and Solovyev (2009), and Będkowska-Kopczyk (2009), who examine combinations of emotion nouns with prepositions and cases, demonstrate that the emotion concepts can be interpreted in terms of the container metaphor. Finally, as is shown in this paper, the analysis of the prefixes in verbs of emotion can also account for the spatial conceptualization of emotional states (see also Belaj 2004: 8; Baydimirova et al. forthcoming: 19–23; Šarić, this issue).

2.2. *The cognitive approach to prefixes in Slavic languages*

In line with linguists that explore Slavic morphology using a cognitive approach (Janda 1986; 2007; Twardzisz 1994; Baydimirova et al. forthcoming; Nessel



2010), I assume that prefixes, which are traditionally thought of as “semantically empty” aspectual markers, have semantic motivation. In addition, traditional grammars of Slovene (Toporošič 2000; Herrity 2000; Greenberg 2008) state that prefixes, besides their function as perfectivizers, contribute a meaning to a verb. However, textbooks differ in the number of senses ascribed to individual prefixes. Their authors list the meanings of prefixes and do not deliver a coherent description of the relationships among meanings. When referring to combinations of prefixes with abstract verbs, they usually limit the information to the prefixes’ aspectual function; that is, “beginning of an action or state” or “perfectivization of the verb” (see, e.g., Herrity 2000: 215). Within cognitive linguistics, in contrast, it is suggested that prefixes, like prepositions, are polysemous and form semantic networks based on the extension of their basic or prototypical meanings, which are spatial in nature. Cognitive approaches to prefixes in Slavic languages make use of a radial category, as introduced by Lakoff (1987), family resemblance derived from Wittgenstein’s philosophy (Wittgenstein 1953), Langacker’s conventional imagery (Langacker 1987, 1991), and, recently, construction grammar (Goldberg 1995). The analysis presented in this paper also assumes that the prefixes in question build a semantic network based on the extension of their basic or prototypical spatial meanings (see 3.2). The limited scope of this paper makes it impossible to discuss all of the prefixes’ uses and meanings. Therefore, I consider only their metaphorical extensions that are representative for verbs of emotion.

2.3. Terminology

Langacker (1987) states that an expression’s meaning is not just the conceptual content it evokes but the way the content is construed by a symbolic structure. According to construction grammar (Goldberg 1995), the relationship between the content and the content’s manner of construction can be defined as a conventionalized pairing of form and function (or form and meaning; see Janda & Solovyev 2009). Following Šarić (this issue) and Baydimirova et al. (forthcoming), I assume that the combinations of prefixes and verbs of emotions (e.g., *ob-* and *žalovati* in *obžalovati* ‘to regret’, ‘to feel sorry’) form constructions in which prefixes “cooperate” with the meanings of verbal constituents. As stated by Twardzisz (1994: 219) “the meaning of the whole formation is only a partial summation of the meanings of the two elements.” Thus, the semantic relationship between prefixes and verbs can be described via a comparison with the English verb-particle combinations characterized by Morgan (1997: 329).



Namely, as Tchizmarova (this issue) suggests, Slavic prefixed verbs resemble English verb-particle combinations in that the verb contributes the source domain (literally, metonymically, or metaphorically) and the prefix is the expression of a cognitive image schema, instantiated either literally or metaphorically. Moreover, regarding the fact that prefixes change the verbal aspect, I assume that a spatially motivated meaning of a prefix blends with its meaning in the temporal domain. Thus, a prefix “cooperates” with the meaning of the verbal constituents in two ways: in terms of the spatial and temporal conceptualization of an event. In this paper, I also take into consideration prefixed verbs that originate either in emotion state adjectives (e.g., *srečen* ‘happy’) or in emotion nouns (e.g., *sram* ‘shame’). I classify both types of formations as “change of state verbs” because they refer to change of emotional state of a person (see Wittek 2002 for German deadjectivals). The new state is expressed by the verb root, which is either the adjective—for example, *srečen* (‘happy’) → *osrečiti* (‘make happy’)—or the noun; for example, *sram* ‘shame’ in *osramotiti* (‘to shame’). In deadjectival and denominal verbal constructions, which are factitive or causative⁴ in nature, the prefix also contributes the spatial and temporal conceptualization of the change of emotional state.

I also follow the approach of Tabakowska (2001: 7–8), who stresses that grammatical categories should be considered holistically; that is, in terms of Langacker’s categories of “scene” or “event.” This approach then makes it possible to arrive at a complete analysis of the mechanisms involved: those that condition the speaker’s selection of a particular manner of constructing the scene. In the analysis of the material presented in Section 3, the semantics of the verb and prefix play a major role because it is the verbal construction that expresses the kind of emotional state. Because an emotional state is evoked in people under the influence of a given stimulus, its conceptualization is studied along with the conceptualization of both the cause and the person that is experiencing the emotion. At the grammatical level, *o-/ob-* in verbs of emotion is investigated within the context of the sentence; that is, with relation to nouns, which serve as trajectors and landmarks of the *o-/ob-*verbs of emotion. In other words, constructions formed by *o-/ob-* and the verbs of emotion are investigated within larger constructions (I list the types of constructions I analyze at the end of this section).

⁴ As stated in Kulikov (2001: 886), the terms “factitive” and “causative” are used in nearly the same sense; that is, they refer to the causative meaning ‘make Q’ (e.g., ‘make red’, ‘make angry’). Some grammars use the term “factitive” to denote deadjectival verbs and “causative” to denote denominal ones. In this paper I use the term “factitive” to denote both types of verbs.



The terms trajector (hereafter TR) and landmark (hereafter LM) relate to the process of scene construal in the domain of space and time. Both the TR and LM are the most salient elements within a scene portrayed by a construction; however, the former is considered the primary figure in the relationship, and the latter a secondary figure that serves as a reference point to situate the TR. Among other things, verbal predicates profile temporal relations between TRs and LMs.

Finally, one more terminological distinction must be made among verbs of emotion. Verbs of emotion belong to the category of verbs of mental experience, which comprises verbs of emotional experience (e.g., *to love*), verbs of perception (e.g., *to see*), and verbs of cognition (e.g., *to think*), as described in Croft (1991). Because the group of mental verbs itself is not homogeneous, following Croft (1991: 214–215) I differentiate between experiencer-subject and experiencer-object verbs.⁵ These occur in two kinds of constructions as regards subject and object assignment. In the first type, the role of Experiencer can be assigned to the subject of the clause, as in (1a), and in the second to its object, as in (1b):

- (1) a. *naj se Slovenija ne osramoti*
let REFL Slovenia-NOM NEG ob-disgrace-REFL
tako. (Nova beseda)
as much
'let Slovenia not disgrace itself as much'
- b. *ki lahko znova osramoti Slovenijo* (Nova beseda)
who can again ob-shame Slovenia-ACC
'who can again make Slovenia ashamed'

As Croft (1991: 215–219) suggests, the experiencer-object verbs are causative; that is, the Stimulus transmits a force that extends into the mental domain. As a result, the Stimulus causes the Experiencer to enter a mental state (e.g., *osrečiti koga* 'to make sb happy').⁶ In experiencer-subject verbs, the Experiencer is purely characterized as being in a mental state regarding the Stimulus. Experi-

⁵ "Experiencer" is defined as the endpoint of an act of affective causation, which is undertaken by the initiator of an act of affective causation (the "Stimulus").

⁶ According to other proposals (e.g., Dowty 1991), the experiencer-subject verbs differ from experiencer-object in that the former are states whereas the latter denote inchoative events consisting of two subevents; see the discussion in Klein and Kutscher (2005: 8). Due to the limited scope of this paper, I do not present the discussion here.



encer-subject verbs are either reflexive (e.g., *osramotiti se* ‘to disgrace oneself’) or non-reflexive (e.g., *obžalovati* ‘to regret’).

3. Analysis

3.1. Data

The data have been selected on the basis of the internet edition of *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika* (SSKJ),⁷ and from two corpora of written and spoken Slovene: *Nova beseda*⁸ and *Fida plus*.⁹ When the occurrence of *o-/ob-* verbs of emotion in the corpus data was not sufficient to make conclusions, I additionally used the *najdi.si* browser.¹⁰

3.2. The *o-* and *ob-* (‘round’, ‘around’) spatial notion

In textbooks, the prefixes *o-* and *ob-* are regarded as one (Toporišič 2000: 217; Herrity 2000: 208; Greenberg 2008: 82; see also studies on *o-/ob-/obe* in Russian in Baydimirova 2010 and on *ob(e)-* in Polish in Twardzisz 1994). The prefix *o-* and the corresponding preposition *o* are assumed to be derived from the prefix *ob-* and the preposition *ob*. From an etymological point of view, both the prefix *ob-* and the preposition *ob* have two basic spatial meanings: “away, from, without” expressing lack or absence (the abessive function), and directional “towards, round, around, at” (see Snoj 1997: 390–391). In this paper I focus on the directional meaning of *o-/ob-* (i.e., ‘round, around’) as being relevant to the meanings of the prefixes that combine with emotion verbs.

A comparative study of *ob-* (and *o-*) in Slovene and Polish (see Będkowska-Kopczyk and Lewandowski, forthcoming) shows that, within the *ob-* category, the meaning that stands at the center of the category is related to the spatial notion of circularity or roundness, as elaborated by Twardzisz (1994: 221) for Polish and by Shull (2003) for Czech and Russian. The notion is instantiated by

⁷ <http://bos.zrc-sazu.si/sskj.html>.

⁸ <http://bos.zrc-sazu.si>.

⁹ <http://www.fidaplus.net>.

¹⁰ <http://www.najdi.si>.



two LM/TR spatial configurations. In one configuration, the TR moves around a LM; for example, in *obhoditi* ‘to walk around’. In the other, the TR causes an LM to be surrounded by some entity, as in *obdati* ‘to surround’ (e.g., *z zidom* ‘with a wall’). Twardzisz (1994: 225) puts it as follows: the trajectory itself does not necessarily move around a landmark, but performs an action around it like in *obdarować* ‘to offer’. Note that in Slovene there are verbs that contain the name of the material or substance with which the LM is surrounded; for example, *obzidati* ‘to surround with a wall’ contains the word *zid* ‘wall’. In the latter configuration (i.e., in which the TR causes a LM to be surrounded by some entity) reflexive verbs occur; for example, *obleči se* ‘to get dressed’. The reflexive verbs instantiate a LM/TR configuration in which the TR surrounds itself by some entity.

Many types of abstract verbs combined with *o-/ob-* exhibit metaphorical extensions of these schematic meanings; however, I focus here only on the extensions relevant to the category of emotion verbs. In the following sections, I study the semantic and grammatical features of *o-/ob-* in combination with various types of verbs (i.e., experiencer-object and experiencer-subject, reflexive and non-reflexive). In (2), I list the types of construction formed by *o-/ob-* verbs of emotion that are investigated:

(2) a. Construction types with experiencer-subject verbs:

S (Experiencer) + [*o-/ob-*Emotion Verb-REFL]

Janez se je o-sramotil.
Janez-NOM REFL AUX o-shame-PST
‘Janez shamed himself’

S (Experiencer) + [*ob-čutiti*-Emotion Noun] + [preposition + Object (Stimulus)]

Janez je občutil ljubezen do Metke.
Janez-NOM AUX ob-feel-PST love-ACC towards Metka-GEN
‘Janez feels love towards Metka’

S (Experiencer) + [*o-/ob-*Emotion Verb] + [Object (Stimulus)]

Janez o-božuje Metko.
Janez-NOM o-admire Metka-ACC
‘Janez admires Metka’



S (Experiencer) + [*o*-Verb of Sensation] + [*od* + Object (Stimulus)]
(metonymical usage)

Janez je okamenel od strahu.
Janez-NOM AUX *o*-petrified-PAST out of fear-GEN
'Janez became petrified with fear'

b. Construction type with experiencer-object verbs:

S (Stimulus) + [*o*-Verb] + Object (Experiencer)

Janez je osrečil Metko.
Janez-NOM AUX *o*-make happy-PST Metka-ACC
'Janez made Metka happy'

The analysis of the data is carried out according to the stages of the emotion scripts that emerge from the constructions with the *o*-/*ob*-verbs of emotion, that is: 1) an emotion-arousing event, 2) the duration of an emotion, and 3) the physiological manifestations triggered by an emotion.

3.3. Stage 1: An emotion-arousing event

In this section, I study constructions with the following *o*-/*ob*-verbs of emotion: 1) experiencer-object (e.g., *osrečiti* 'make happy'), 2) experiencer-subject reflexive (e.g., *osramotiti se* 'to disgrace oneself'), and 3) the experiencer-subject *občutiti* 'to feel', which is metaphorically extended into the domain of emotions (e.g., *občutiti jezo* 'to feel anger'). The constructions formed by *o*-/*ob*- verbs of emotion listed here refer to the first stage of the emotion scripts; that is, to the emotion-arousing event.

3.3.1. Experiencer-object *o*-verbs of emotion

I begin the analysis with constructions that contain *o*-verbs that assign the Experiencer to object position (in the accusative case), as in (3):

- (3) *Ko je pred nekaj meseci [ameriški predsednik] osrečil s svojim obiskom Evropo* (Nova beseda)
'When he [the U.S. president] made Europe happy with his visit a couple of months ago'



In Slovene, there are nine verbs of this kind: *osramotiti* ‘to shame’, *ožalostiti* ‘to sadden’, *ostrašiti* and *oplašiti* ‘to frighten’, *osrečiti* ‘to make happy’, *ogorčiti* ‘to outrage’, *odobrovoljiti* ‘to cause a good mood’, and *ozlovoljiti* and *oznevoljiti* ‘to irritate’. Note that all these verbs combine only with *o-*, which metaphorically extends the spatial notion of circularity. In the spatial realm, the notion is instantiated by the TR/LM configuration, in which the TR is acting on a LM (cf. *obzidati* ‘to surround with a wall’ in 2.3). One can argue that, in the domain of emotions, the TR is perceived as performing a metaphorical action around the LM by surrounding the LM with the emotion. The meaning of *o-* “cooperates” here with the prototypical meaning of the accusative case, which as stated in Tabakowska (2001: 5) denotes that an agent (here the TR) “holistically” performs an action on the entity in the accusative (here the LM). In (3), the TR of the profiled relationship is elaborated by *ameriški predsednik* (‘the U.S. president’). The LM by *Evropa* (‘Europe’) metonymically stands for ‘citizens of Europe’, who become happy. The cause of the emotion-arousing event in (3) is coded by *s* + Inst ‘with’ (*s svojim obiskom* ‘with his visit’). It implies that the cause is metaphorically structured in terms of an instrument with which the TR’s action is performed. The TR’s action is perceived to be completed. As a result the TR brings about a new mental state in the LM: in (3) the entity that is the LM becomes happy ‘all over’. On this basis, one can assume that the spatially based meaning of *o-* in the experiencer-object verbs of emotion blends with the aspectual meanings of resultativeness and factitiveness of the verbs.

Like the verb *obzidati* (‘to surround with a wall’) introduced in 3.2, the verbs analyzed here contain a root morpheme that explicitly names the type of emotion with which the LM is surrounded; for example, *žal* (‘sadness’) in *ožalostiti* (‘to make sad’) or *sreča* (‘happiness’) in *osrečiti* (‘to make happy’).

3.3.2. *Experiencer-subject o-reflexive verbs*

Four of the nine verbs analyzed in 3.2.2 can also be used as reflexive verbs. These are: *ožalostiti se* ‘to become sad’, *osramotiti se* ‘to disgrace oneself’, and *ostrašiti se* and *oplašiti se* ‘to become frightened’. These verbs belong to the experiencer-subject group because the Experiencer is in subject position. Their object is the reflexive pronoun in the accusative case. In (4), the TR’s metaphorical action is conceptualized as acting around its own surface (cf. *obleči se* ‘to get dressed’ in 3.2). Thus, it is the TR that comes to be surrounded by the emotion and it is the TR that undergoes the change in mental state (the TR and LM coin-



cide and are ascribed to the same entity). Regarding aspect, *o-* in the experiencer-subject reflexive verbs analyzed here exhibits the same properties as in the verbs presented in 3.2.1.

- (4) *Jože Zagožen, ki se je osramotil s svojo "prisluškovalno afero"* (Nova beseda)
'Jože Zagožen, who disgraced himself with his bugging affair'

Similar to the construction in (3), the cause of the emotion-arousing event in (4) is also expressed by a prepositional phrase (*s svojo "prisluškovalno afero"* 'with his bugging affair'). This indicates that the cause of the emotion-arousing event is metaphorically structured in terms of an instrument in which the TR's action is performed.

3.3.2.1. *The experiencer-subject verb občutiti ('to feel')*

Among the experiencer-subject *ob-*verbs there is only one verb that is not reflexive; that is, *občutiti* ('to feel'). The meaning of the base verb *čutiti* is related to sensual experience ('to comprehend the properties of the material world with the senses', SSKJ). In the domain of physical sensations, *ob-* in *občutiti* indicates that the TR entity begins to feel physiological or physical sensations around his or her body; for example, heat (e.g., *občutiti vročino* 'to feel heat'). The verb *občutiti* complemented with abstract nouns is metaphorically extended into the domain of mental experience of any kind, including emotions,¹¹ as in (5) and (6).

- (5) *kako pesnik občuti resnično ljubezen do ženske* (Nova beseda).
'how a poet begins to feel real love towards a woman'
- (6) *Opisuje, kako ... je občutila dvojni bes – zaradi nezvestega moža* (Nova beseda).
'She describes ... how she felt double rage—because of her unfaithful husband'

¹¹ Compare the Slovene idiomatic expression *občutiti na lastni koži* 'to feel on one's skin' (e.g., *sem namreč na svoji koži občutil grozote vojne* (Nova beseda) 'I felt the terror of war on my own skin'), which indicates that mental states are metaphorically experienced all around the person's body.



In the emotional domain, *ob-* indicates that the TR entity begins to feel an emotion—for example, love in (5) and rage in (6)—all around his or her body.

Note that in (5) and (6) the prefix and the base verb have different landmarks. The prefix and the base verb establish two different kinds of relationship. The prefix establishes the spatio-temporal relation between the person in the subject and his or her emotional experience. In (5), the LM of *ob-* is elaborated by *pesnik* ‘a poet’ who begins to feel love, and in (6) by a “she” that felt rage. Thus, the TR and LM are elaborated by the same entity as in the reflexive verbs described in the previous section. The verb *občutiti* with its noun complement—that is, *ljubezen* ‘love’ in (5), and *bes* ‘rage’ in (6)—establishes the relationship between the person in the subject (the TR) and the person coded by the prepositional phrase (the LM). The landmarks of *občutiti* with its noun complement are, respectively, *ženska* ‘a woman’ in (5) and ‘[her] unfaithful husband’ in (6). The *do*-phrase in (5) indicates that the object of the emotion is structured as a goal, and the *zaradi*-phrase in (6) indicates that the object of the emotion is structured as its cause.¹²

The preceding discussion can be concluded as follows: there are four types of constructions with *o-/ob-*verbs of emotion in which the verbs are used literally (see 3.3.1 and 3.3.2) or metaphorically (see 3.3.2.1). In all the constructions analyzed, the prefix *o-/ob-* metaphorically extends the spatial notion of circularity. Regardless of the construction type, the person that is emotionally affected is conceptualized as being surrounded by the emotion. Thus, it can be assumed that the prefix indicates the spatial conceptualization of the emotion-arousing event. Moreover, in *občutiti*, *o-/ob-* contributes a temporal meaning of resultativeness and factitiveness to the verbs of emotion analyzed in this section. In *občutiti*, the prefix has an inchoative meaning; that is, it denotes the beginning of an emotion.

3.4. Stage 2: An emotion state

This section presents an analysis of constructions with verbs in which *o-/ob-* does not trigger a change in aspect. Such constructions are formed by only three

¹² In addition to *do* + Gen ‘towards’ and *zaradi* + Gen ‘because of’, the verb *občutiti* denoting emotional experience also occurs with *nad* + Inst ‘over’, *na* + Acc ‘at’, and *pred* + Inst ‘in front of’. Due to the limited scope of this article, I limit my observations to *do-* and *zaradi-* phrases.



verbs: *obžalovati* ('to regret', and 'to be sorry'), *oboževati*¹³ ('to worship', 'to like strongly'), and *občudovati* 'to admire'. Due to the suffix *-ova-* (and *-eva-* after the consonants *č, ž, š, c, j*) the verbs denote imperfective processes and occur with durative adverbs; for example, *vedno* ('always'), as in (8). Thus, these verbs can be interpreted as referring to the second stage of the emotion script; that is, when a person experiences the emotion. Because the Experiencer is in subject position, the verbs are categorized as experiencer-subject. The Stimulus occupies the object position and is coded by the accusative case; see (7)–(9):

(7) *Svojo odločitev za to funkcijo sem sicer nemalokrat obžaloval* (Nova beseda).

'Not once did he regret his decision to take on this function.'

(8) *Agatha, ki je vedno oboževala heroje, se je takoj zaljubila vanj* (Fida).

'Agatha, who has always adored heroes, immediately fell for him.'

(9) *Občudoval je njeno samozavest* (Fida).

'He was admiring her self-confidence.'

In terms of scene construal, the TR is perceived as metaphorically moving around a LM in a circular motion. The verbs specify the manner in which the movement of the TR is performed. The TR is moving around the LM and has a mental experience of regret or sorrow in *obžalovati* (7), of adoring in *oboževati* (8), and of admiration in *občudovati* (9). In addition, in these examples, the spatially based meaning of *o-/ob-* "cooperates" with the meaning of the accusative case. The accusative indicates that the TR is moving mentally around the entire LM. The movement around the LM is not perceived as completed; on the contrary, it is continuous.

Moreover, the TR's action also involves a cognitive process; namely, evaluation. Note that a precondition to a feeling of regret is a negative evaluation of the object of the emotion; in the case of worshiping and admiration, it is a positive evaluation of the object. The cognitive element that occurs in the emotional process can be accounted for with the notion of intentionality of emotions introduced by Goldie (2000: 64), who claims that:

¹³ *Oboževati* is an example of denominal non-causative verb. The stem contains the morpheme *bog* 'god' and its etymological meaning is 'to worship as a god'. Snoj (1997: 395) explains the etymological motivation of the verb as follows: "to consider someone to be like a god."



... feeling towards is thinking of something with feeling, and that the feelings and thoughts are directed towards an object, typically the object of one's emotions: they are part of one's consciousness of the world with which one is emotionally engaged.

Goldie's argument corresponds with Wierzbicka's observation that emotions have a cognitive basis; that is, they are "caused by, or related to, certain thoughts" (Wierzbicka 1992: 399). Wierzbicka draws on Vendler's distinction between two kinds of thinking; that is, passive "thinking that X," which denotes a state of mind, and active "thinking about"; that is, a metaphorical process of connecting one's mind with the object of thinking (Vendler 1967: 110–111). Wierzbicka sees the connection between the two kinds of thinking and the conceptualization of emotions reflected in the emotion predicates that are experienter-subject. In Russian, many verbs of emotion combine with the preposition *o* (*ob*, *obo*) 'around', as "verbs of thinking do" (Wierzbicka 1992: 401). This combination, according to the author, suggests that emotion concepts involve the cognitive aspect. In Slovene, verbs of emotion do not combine with *o* 'around'. I assume that the function of the preposition *o* and *ob* mentioned by Wierzbicka is, at least partly, performed by *o-/ob-*, as in (7)–(9).¹⁴

It is worth stressing that in some contexts *obžalovati* is translated into English as 'to be sorry', 'to feel sadness'; for example:

- (10) *Zares obžalujem, kajti v zadnjem času smo popravili igro* (Nova beseda).
'I am really sorry because recently we improved our playing'

In the situation described in (10), the person manifests his sadness because his team lost a game (see the SSKJ explanation of *obžalovati* 'to feel emotional affection, sadness because of something'). I assume that *ob-* in *obžalovati* in (10) metaphorically extends a different spatial TR/LM configuration to that in (9). Namely, the TR is perceived here as metaphorically acting on itself and covering itself with an emotion (see *občutiti* in 3.3.3); I code the verb as *obžalovati*^S.

I conclude that *o-/ob-* in *obžalovati*, *oboževati*, and *občudovati* metaphorically extends the notion of circularity: the person metaphorically circles around the object of the emotion. Thus, the mental process is conceptualized in terms of a

¹⁴ Compare the explanation of the meaning of the preposition *o-* in combination with mental verbs in Old Polish in Kempf (1978: 112), who states that the content of the mental verb indicates that a person circles around the whole object of thoughts. Because verbs of emotion belong to the category of mental verbs, the content of the emotion verbs indicates that a person surrounds the entire object of the emotion.



dynamic spatial relation. In the case of *obžalovati*^S, it is the person that is covering himself or herself with the emotion. In all the cases, the process denoted by the verbs is continuous, and therefore the spatially motivated abstract meaning of a continuous circling blends with the temporal durative meaning of the imperfective verbs in question.

3.5. Stage 3: *Physiological responses triggered by an emotion*

The last group of verbs analyzed here comprises verbs of physiological responses that are triggered by emotions. These are, for instance: *odreveneti*, *otrpniti* ‘to become numb’; *ostrmeti* ‘to become stiffened’; *otrdeti* ‘to become solid’; *oledeneti* ‘to turn into ice’; and *okamneti* ‘to become petrified’ (literally, ‘to turn into stone’). The responses that they denote represent emotions due to the metonymical link between physiological processes and emotional states (see Radden 1998; Kövecses 2000; Będkowska-Kopczyk 2011). The verbs are experiencer-subject (the Experiencer is in subject position), as in (11):

- (11) *Straw je ... najprej okamenel od presenečenja* (Nova beseda).
‘Straw ... became petrified with astonishment’

The verbs occur in idiomatic expressions with *od* + Gen ‘from’ and *v* + Loc ‘in’ in conjunction with nominal complements, mostly *groza* (‘terror’), *strah* (‘fear’), and *začudenje* (‘astonishment’); for example, *okamneti od začudenja* (‘to become petrified with astonishment’) and *otrpniti v grozi* (‘to become numb with fear’), as in (11). All verbs in question are defined in SSKJ as ‘to become motionless, stiff’. In the folk model, fear and terror are associated with lack of life processes and temporary stiffness, which are brought about by psychosomatic disorders triggered by emotions. In addition, great astonishment (usually as a result of something negative) is associated with stiffness.¹⁵

The verbal constructions analyzed here are formed only with *o-*. The prefix extends the spatial notion of circularity into the domain of physiological reac-

¹⁵ Note, that in idiomatic expressions the emotion that causes the TR entity’s change of state is coded by *od* + Gen ‘out of’ or *v* + Loc ‘in’. Both prepositional phrases denote causes of uncontrollable behavior in people. In the case of *od*-phrases, the causes are conceptualized as physiological forces that influence people independently of their will (Będkowska-Kopczyk 2011). In *v*-phrases, the causes are conceptualized as containers that trigger a person’s psychological reactions (Będkowska-Kopczyk 2009; see Radden 1998 for English *in*-phrases).



tion: the TR entity is perceived as metaphorically changing the physical condition; that is, the TR is perceived as becoming motionless and stiff. The change is observable all over the body. The spatial conceptualization of the event blends with the temporal one: the verbs denote the entire change of physical state of the TR and as such they are resultative.

It can be concluded that emotions are conceptualized as a force that causes changes all over the body of the person that experiences them. The changes (i.e., becoming motionless, stiff) are conveyed by the base verbs; in *oledeneti* 'to turn into ice' the new state is expressed by the adjective in the verb root *leden* 'icy', and in *okamneti* 'to become petrified' by the noun *kamen* 'stone'. *O-* indicates that the changes are being experienced and, sometimes, are also visible all over the body of the person affected. Thus, the constructions formed by *o-*verbs analyzed in this section embody tactile physiological reactions triggered by intensive emotions.

4. Conclusions

In Section 3 I examined six types of Slovene constructions with *o-/ob-*verbs of emotion: four with experiencer-subject verbs and two with experiencer-object verbs; the construction types are listed in (2). The data offer the following conclusions:

O-/ob- in Slovene verbs of emotion reflects three types of emotional events that comprise three stages of emotion scripts: an emotion-arousing event, an emotion state, and physiological responses caused by the emotion.

It is the spatial notion of circularity that underlies the metaphorical extensions of *o-/ob-* in the abstract domain of emotions. The constructions that refer to the first stage of the emotion scripts denote that the person that is emotionally affected is conceptualized as being surrounded by an emotion, be it due to the metaphorical action of the entity (concrete or abstract) that causes the emotion, as in (3), or due to the self, as in (4)–(6) and (10). The experiencer-subject constructions that refer to the second stage of the scripts denote that the person experiencing the emotion is conceptualized as metaphorically encircling the object, see (7)–(9). The semantics of the spatially based meaning *o-/ob-* corresponds with the prototypical meaning of the accusative case in which the object of emotions is coded (Tabakowska 2001: 5). It is suggested that the person's metaphor-



ical action also involves a cognitive process: namely, evaluation. The experiencer-subject constructions that refer to the third stage of the scripts denote that the person that undergoes the physical changes is conceptualized as being affected by the emotion all around his or her body, as in (11).

Finally, it can be concluded that, apart from the verbs mentioned above that refer to the second stage of the emotion scripts, and are imperfective, in all the other examples analyzed the spatially motivated meaning of *o-/ob-* blends with the temporal one: either inchoative (in the case of *občutiti*), when *ob-* indicates that the TR begins to feel physiological or physical sensations around his or her body, or both resultative and factitive (in the case of the other verbs), when *o-/ob-* indicates that the metaphorical action performed around the person is completed and causes a change in his or her psychological state.

In this paper I have suggested that *o-/ob-* in verbs of emotion contributes to the spatial conceptualization of emotion events. In addition, its spatially based meaning blends with its temporal function. I do not argue, however, that speakers of Slovene are aware of the processes of metaphorical and metonymical extensions that underlie their usage in the domain of emotions. Only studies in experimental psychology could confirm the cognitive value of the discussion presented in this paper. On the other hand, I believe that the conclusions drawn can be useful for teachers and students of Slovene as a foreign language, for whom it is a challenge to explain *o-/ob-* in verbs of emotions as something more than just an “empty” prefix.

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**SEMANTIČKA I GRAMATIČKA SVOJSTVA PREFIKSA *o-/ob-*
U SLOVENSKIM GLAGOLIMA ZA IZRAŽAVANJE EMOCIJA**

U ovom se radu analizira način na koji prefiks *o-/ob-* odražava prostornu sliku događaja koji opisuju emocije u slovenskom jeziku. Pretpostavka je da prefiksi zajedno s glagolima koji referiraju na emocije tvore konstrukcije. Pokazuje se da se na prostornoj konceptualizaciji temeljeno metaforično značenje prefiksa u glagolima za izražavanje emocija isprepleće s vremenskim značenjem prefiksa (npr. inhoativnim, rezultativnim, te faktitivnim). Dakle, prefiks „surađuje“ sa značenjem glagola u smislu prostorne i vremenske konceptualizacije emocijskog događaja. Primjeri slovenskih glagola za izražavanje emocija koji sadržavaju *o-/ob-* analiziraju se u kontekstu cijele rečenice, tj. imenica koje funkcioniraju kao trajektor i landmark tih glagola.

Ključne riječi: slovenski prefiks *o-/ob-*; glagoli za emocije; morfosintaktička analiza emocijskih događaja; prostorna utemeljenost izraza za emocije; kulturna teorija emocija.

