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The Croatian preposition *uz*: A cognitive approach

This article examines the semantics of the Croatian preposition *uz*. Its main aim is to establish a coherent semantic network of this preposition, an effort that implies elaborating how the preposition's spatial meanings of immediate proximity and upward motion are related to each other, and how these meanings are related to the meanings in non-spatial domains. The theoretical framework is cognitive linguistics and approaches to constructions that are compatible with cognitive approaches. The analysis follows a usage-based model of language description: therefore, the classification and interpretation of examples, as well as conclusions about relations of different meanings, are based on the corpus of Croatian texts *Hrvatska jezična riznica* available online.

Key words: spatial particles; prepositions; *uz* in Croatian; upward motion; proximity; elongation; extended duration.

1. Introduction¹

The spatial particle *uz(-)* functions as both a preposition and a prefix in Croatian.² This double usage is somewhat unusual in the Slavic context: Although

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² This prefix also has the allomorphs *uza-*, *us-*, *uš-*, and *u-*, depending on the following consonant: for example, *uzavreti*, *uspostaviti*, *uščavrljati se*, *ušetati se*. In Serbian, the allomorphs *vaz-* and *vas-* also exist (e.g., *vaskrsnuti*), and are due to the influence of the church language



the use of the equivalents of the prefix *uz-* is a common Slavic feature, the prepositional usage is attested in modern Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian³ only, apart from some East Bulgarian dialects (Herodes 1963: 364). However, the prepositional usage was attested in the broader area of Slavic in the past: in Old Church Slavic, Old Czech, and Old Russian. The etymology of this unit goes back to PIE **ūd* ‘up’. Derksen (2007: 533) relates the subsequent Old Church Slavic form *vъz* to the meanings ‘up; back’, stating that the particle’s meaning ‘up’ is common in all the Slavic languages, whereas the meaning ‘back’ is not common.⁴

I have chosen to consider both the preposition and the prefix in the framework of a single analysis (for formal reasons separated into two articles in this issue) for several reasons: the preposition and the prefix are etymologically the same unit and one can expect at least a close semantic affinity of their spatial meanings. Studying the preposition helps explain the semantic profile of the prefix, and makes possible predictions regarding the prefix’s semantic behavior. Moreover, the preposition and the prefix co-occur in many constructions and, when they do, they raise the question of what their individual semantic contribution to these constructions is and what distinguishes the constructions with co-occurring cognate units from constructions in which *uz(-)* occurs with other spatial units.

Uz(-) belongs to the inventory of spatial particles, and spatial semantics is central to this analysis. The reason for primarily concentrating on space is its universal character and the influence of spatial conceptualization on other domains of experience, as well as on the construction of meaning. In addition to their spatial usage, both the preposition and prefix *uz(-)* are used in non-spatial contexts, and the aim of this analysis is to show the underlying principles that establish coherent relations between the various meanings of these units.

or Russian (Klajn 2002: 285). *Vaz-* is also observable in Croatian *Vazam* ‘Easter’ and in a few other archaisms.

³ All of the main findings presented in this analysis, as well as in my analysis of the prefix *uz-* (this issue), apply to the entire territory of the language formerly called Serbo-Croatian. I use the term “Croatian” in both analyses because my conclusions are based on examples from a Croatian text corpus.

⁴ *Vъz* in OCS in its prepositional use was not common in the meaning ‘up, upwards’ (Herodes (1963: 364), although this meaning was common with the prefix. Damjanović et al. (2004: 48) do not mention this meaning in OCS at all: the preposition is ascribed meanings of replacement (*za*; *umjesto* ‘for; instead’) and proximity (*blizu*, *pokraj* ‘close to’). Herodes qualifies the proximity meaning as uncommon in OCS, and relates the meaning ‘instead’ to the original particle’s meaning ‘upward; against’.



The analysis follows the premises of cognitive linguistics, which has given particular attention to spatial particles for several reasons. On the one hand, spatial particles relate to universal human experiences and, on the other hand, they show immense diversity across languages, a fact that indicates that not only human orientation in space (which follows some general and universal principles) is relevant, but also the choice that a concrete language makes or allows for. Cognitive linguistics has also drawn particular attention to various conceptualizations or construals (see Langacker 2008: 43; Dirven & Radden 2007: 22–25) of events: it is possible to conceptualize one single spatial scene from several different perspectives, and a language may choose to emphasize one perspective among several possible ones and neglect the others. In a single language, a spatial scene may be construed differently, depending on the speaker's viewpoint and demands of communicative situations. Moreover, the spatial senses of prepositions and prefixes allow for different extensions. Different languages can make use of one extension type and neglect other types. This may seem unpredictable, but is less so if one takes the overall structure of a particular semantic category of a concrete language into consideration. For example, extensions that other units belonging to the same semantic field do or do not undergo in that language.

A crucial assumption of cognitive linguistics is that language units traditionally considered to be grammatical are not devoid of meaning. According to this view, for example, prefixes can never be mere aspectual markers. Even if prefixes in some combinations with base verbs seem to be only aspectual markers, there is usually more to them than that. The semantics of prepositions and prefixes is based on image schemas, basic spatial structures that have developed from our earliest spatial experiences and that provide a basis for metaphorical extensions of the central sense(s) to less central senses.

When describing its semantic profile, I try not to consider the particle *uz(-)* isolated from its contexts because it never occurs alone in natural language usage. I pay attention to the constructions the particle occurs in to determine its constructional preferences; that is, which elements it tends to combine with. My approach to the analysis of spatial particles is inspired by Construction Grammar in the sense that I assume that constructions as wholes have meaning that may go beyond the meaning of their constituent parts. Spatial particles are units with a relational meaning, but the exact nature of the relations they express is defined by the elements put into the relation. It is shown that the semantics of spatial and non-spatial constructions with *uz(-)* depends on the meanings of the specific



nominal and verbal constituents appearing in the respective constructions. Thus, various *uz*-constructions can be considered conventionalized pairings of form and function (see, e.g., Croft 2001; Fried & Boas 2005; Goldberg 1995, 2006; Michaelis 2004; Rakhilina & Tribushinina 2010). Many studies have shown that the geometric properties of common nouns play a crucial role in the semantics of prepositions (e.g., Brugman 1981; Herskovits 1986; Vandeloise 1994; Plungian & Rakhilina 2000; Talmy 2000). I therefore examine construction types with *uz* in relation to other relevant elements; for example, nouns serving as landmarks in these constructions.

Both cognitive linguistics and construction grammar are usage-based approaches to language. Thus, the most natural choice in analyzing constructions in which spatial particles occur is examining corpora of written and spoken language. In this analysis, I cite examples from the Croatian Language Repository (*Hrvatska jezična riznica*, hereinafter abbreviated as HJR), if not stated otherwise.⁵ The classification and interpretation of examples rely on the data in the HJR corpus. The evaluation of corpora examples is intended to show tendencies, not any absolute results: the reason for reservations is first of all a limited number of examples for some categories when the number does not allow generalizations. Second, reservations relate to search possibilities that the corpus offers in its publicly available version. The retrieved examples are not tagged. It is not possible to extract all the morphological forms of single verbs via one search only; instead, different morphological forms have to be searched for one by one. The selected examples and corpora samples are systematized manually.

2. The preposition *uz(a)*⁶

Uz has several near-equivalents in English that indicate the semantic complexity of this unit: the most frequent are *up*, *upwards*; *near*, *at*, *close to*, *beside*; *along(side)*, and *with*. *Uz* has its semantic opposite in the preposition *niz(a)* ‘down, downward’. However, *niz(a)* functions as an antonym of *uz* in some con-

⁵ <http://riznica.ihjj.hr/>. In some cases, when an insufficient number of examples was found in HJR, I also use and comment on examples gathered in Google searches.

⁶ The form with *-a* is used in front of words with an initial *z*, *ž*, *s*, and *š*, as well as in front of enclitic accusative forms of personal pronouns (*me*, *te*, *se*, *nj*, *nju*; e.g., *uza nj* ‘close to him’). The same applies to the final *-a* in the preposition *niz(a)*. In the remainder of this article, I use the form *uz* for both forms. In the searches of corpora examples, I considered both forms, *uz* and *uza*.



texts only; these are contexts with motion verbs when vertical motion or a gradient change in elevation of the moving trajector is implied. *Uz* combines with an accusative nominal in all its meanings and can appear in static and dynamic contexts. Alone in the spatial domain, *uz* relates to a few distinct usage contexts. A few typical dynamic contexts in which *uz* occurs in the HJR corpus are contexts indicating path or route of motion, but also contexts specifying endpoint of motion (see 1a–c). In static contexts, it indicates place, as in (1d). Overall, these examples suggest that *uz* is neutral with regard to motion.

- (1) a. *Podveče znala bi sama lutati uz obalu Karašice.* ‘In the evenings she used to wander alone along the bank of the Karašica River’ [route]
- b. *Opazi mrava, gdje ide uz deblo.* ‘(S)he spotted an ant going up the tree trunk’ [route]
- c. *Tada cvijeće i obje fotografije ... postavi uz krevet.* ‘(S)he then placed the flowers and both photographs beside the bed’ [endpoint, goal of motion]
- d. *Stajao je uz njegovu smrtnu postelju.* ‘He was standing by his deathbed’ [place]⁷

These examples already indicate the complexity of spatial images rendered in constructions with *uz*. *Uz* is frequently used in static spatial contexts as a proximity preposition, but also in a few distinct dynamic contexts. I depart from the idea that the spatial settings of *uz* will presumably give rise to its non-spatial senses, and that there is a conceptual link between the dynamic and static constructions in which *uz* occurs. In what follows, I examine whether this is plausible.

⁷ Examples such as *Skakao je uz aut-liniju, vikao i vrištao* (internet) ‘He was jumping by the touchline, shouting and screaming’ depict a setting that partly resembles (d): a trajector is close to a landmark, but the TR is involved in a dynamic activity, it moves upward and downward. Different manner of motion verbs can contribute different details in the setting.



2.1. Approaches so far

To my knowledge, no extensive semantic analysis of the spatial particle *uz(-)* exists. Typical meaning descriptions in dictionaries, grammars, and word-formation manuals are brief. For example, the grammar by Barić et al. (1990: 184–186) pays little attention to prepositions: it mainly lists prepositions and the cases they combine with. The grammar by Raguž (1997: 119–156) reviews the prepositional meanings in a chapter devoted to case meanings and usages. In contrast to Barić et al., Raguž provides a relatively comprehensive overview, also offering useful information for learners. He identifies several meanings of *uz*. These are:

- Motion of an object from a lower level to a higher one, whereby the path can be vertical, or steep (i.e., inclined); that is, the motion can take place on a sloped surface;
- Motion of an object close to another object
- Location of an object in close proximity to another one.

In addition to these apparently spatial usages, Raguž lists some additional ones. These are: connection and non-separable relation (of two objects), circumstances, time (temporal usage is qualified as rare and regional), and manner. This last usage is illustrated by idiomatic expressions (e.g., *rame uz rame* ‘shoulder to shoulder’⁸).

According to a contemporary dictionary (Anić 1998: 1276), the preposition *uz* indicates (1) direction of motion “up, upward, uphill, upstream;” (2) direction of motion or a very close position of [two objects] standing still, close to each other⁹ (listed synonyms for this usage are *pored, pri, kraj*, all indicating physical proximity), and “a place immediately next to the accusative noun,” (e.g., *uz stol* ‘near the table’). In addition, (3) circumstances that accompany the verbal action (*uz piće* ‘while drinking’) and addition (*uz zdravlje ima i ljepotu* ‘(s)he is not only healthy but also beautiful’) are singled out as separate meanings. Idiomatic expressions mentioned include *biti uz koga* ‘to stand next to/support someone/be with someone’ and *ići uz dlaku* ‘to go against the grain’. Grammars and handbooks usually do not provide any information on the hierarchy of meanings, or on how the various meanings of *uz* are related to each other.

⁸ On the development of the sense of contact and close proximity of English *to*, see Tyler et al. (2011: 193).

⁹ “... smjer kretanja ili sasvim blisko mjesto mirovanja jedan uz drugoga.”



In an analysis of the proximity prepositions *kod* and *pri* (Šarić 2008), some space is devoted to several proximity prepositions, among these also to the preposition *uz*. In the domain of spatial proximity, its distinctive meaning has been defined as “immediate proximity” (Šarić 2008: 153). In what follows, I pay particular attention to the degree of spatial proximity expressed by *uz*. Furthermore, I concentrate on the relation of different, apparently unrelated meanings of this preposition, and on meaning extensions and their motivation. On the basis of corpora examples, I address the most typical landmarks in *uz*-constructions, various spatial settings in which the preposition occurs, and related construction types with motion and other verbs. The constructional profile of the preposition *uz* in combinations with the prefix *uz-* is examined in Šarić (this issue).

2.2. Corpus analysis: Spatial scenes of *uz*

In the HJR corpus, there are 103,453 occurrences of *uz*.¹⁰ Because of this large number, I have selected a sub-corpus of HJR—the corpus of literary and school-book texts with a total of 19,623 occurrences¹¹—to examine the constructional behavior of *uz*.¹² Because of the constraints already mentioned related to search options, I have not examined all examples with *uz* in the sub-corpus: I focused instead on certain types of constructions, certain combinations of verbs and the preposition, and single lexical units occurring with *uz*. In Section 2.5, I look at a random selection of approximately 1,000 examples to examine frequency relations of individual sub-meanings of the preposition.

2.2.1. Proximity parameters and *uz*: Combinability preferences with verbs and particles

Uz is one among several frequently used proximity prepositions: It applies to a situation in which a trajector is situated close to a landmark, or moves next to it or in its vicinity. The meaning prototypically conveyed is the closest possible

¹⁰ Search performed 17 July 2011.

¹¹ 41 occurrences of the older form *nuz* were found in old literary texts.

¹² For comparison, in the same corpus, there are 251,168 occurrences of *na*, and 476,852 of *u*. The proximity preposition *kod* has 18,697 occurrences, and *pri* 7,298 occurrences. Search performed 20 July 2011.



proximity, and even sideways contact of a trajector and a landmark. In a geometrical abstraction of the dynamic situation, the trajector moves on an idealized line parallel to the landmark, whereas with static trajectors one of their planes is parallel to one plane of the landmarks. In various contexts, its near-synonyms are *kod*, *(po)kraj*, *pored*, *blizu*, *u blizini*, *do*, and *pri* ‘close to, next to, near, at, by’. Proximity prepositions in general do not specify many details of the spatial arrangement of the objects in the spatial setting: they focus on the kind of relation that holds between a trajector and a landmark (Radden & Dirven 2007: 311). Different construals of a spatial scene condition the choice of a lexical unit, and so different choices always indicate changes in construals of a situation. What distinguishes *uz* from other proximity prepositions, from its near-synonyms? My assumption is that the distinguishing features relate to the degree of proximity, and specific extensions to which that degree relates in spatial and non-spatial domains. Contexts in which *uz* typically or most frequently occurs can provide relevant hints regarding its distinct semantic profile. Beginning with some intuitive assumptions about the types of verbs in *uz*-constructions, I have examined some samples of corpus examples to discover combinability preferences of the preposition *uz* with regard to specific formal or semantic types of verbs. The analysis of constructions will help in determining the preposition’s semantic profile. A cursory examination of various groups of examples with *uz* has indicated that some verbs that *uz* frequently occurs with are verbs prefixed with *pri*-; for example, *priljubiti se* ‘to snuggle’, *pritisnuti* ‘to press’, and *priviti se* ‘to nestle’. In addition to these verbs, verbs with other prefixes, and non-prefixed verbs indicating approach and adhering are also represented fairly frequently; for example, *stisnuti se* ‘to squeeze’, *vezati* ‘to tie’. For an overview of some verbs (relatively) frequently combined with *uz* in the corpus, see Table 1.¹³

The construals with these verbs are static and dynamic, depending on the semantics of the verb; see (2):

- (2) a. *Stajaše uza zid prislonjen i blijed kao mrtvac*. ‘He was leaning against the wall, pale as a dead man’ (static construal)
- b. *Uz ove stepenice prislonio se Petar*. ‘Peter leaned against these steps’ (dynamic construal)

¹³ The examples were not manually filtered in detail after extracting. This implies the existence of some non-relevant examples.



In (2a) with the passive participle *prisonjen* ‘leaning’, the trajector is situated very close to the landmark (*zid* ‘wall’). The verb *stajaše* ‘stood’ defines the static nature of the situation. In (2b), the verb *prisoniti se* ‘to lean against/on’ expresses a dynamic process, self-imposed motion.

The types of landmarks in constructions with *prisoniti (se)* have not been examined in detail. However, among the examples with *prisoniti (se)* many constructions entailing tall vertical objects, or objects perceived as significantly vertically extended, have been observed (e.g., *zid* ‘wall’. *brijeg* ‘hill’. *deblo* ‘tree trunk’. *stup*, ‘column’): *zid* occurs in 37 out of 140 examples. When accusative landmarks are parts of larger three-dimensional objects that are not necessarily very tall (e.g., *prozor* ‘window’ being part of *kuća* ‘house’), the vertical extension of these landmarks is typically salient.¹⁴ Individual verbs show different tendencies in combining with specific types of landmarks, and so *prisoniti (se)* ‘to lean against/on’ combines more frequently with inanimate than animate landmarks, whereas *priljubiti se* ‘to nestle’ prefers animate landmarks, body parts, or the body as landmarks:

- (3) *Potom se tijesno priljubio uz baku.* ‘Then he pressed himself close to his grandmother’

Verbs that frequently combine with *uz* prefer other proximity prepositions much less. Constructions with *pri-* verbs preferring *uz* either cannot be found or can be found only infrequently with other proximity prepositions. For example, constructions such as *X pripijen kod/pokraj/blizu Y* ‘X skintight by/at Y’ cannot be found. Such a construction would not indicate that the trajector is very close, attached or almost attached to the landmark, but that the trajector X is in a close proximity relation to another object Z that is itself located close to the landmark Y.

¹⁴ The construal is different with spatial objects usually conceptualized as a line; for example, *obala* ‘shore’. With their parts (*riva*), the horizontal dimension is emphasized; for example, *Čak ih je i dovezla u Cavtat i pokazala brod privezan uz rivu* (internet) ‘She even drove them to Cavtat and showed them a boat moored to the waterfront.’



Table 1. Verbs frequently occurring with *uz*.

Verbs with <i>uz</i>	No. of occurrences
<i>vezati uz</i> ¹⁵ 'to tie against'	527
<i>prisloniti (se) uz</i> ¹⁶ 'to lean (oneself) against'	140
<i>priviti/privinuti (se) uz</i> 'to cling to'	130
<i>priljubiti se uz</i> 'to press close to'	101
<i>stisnuti (se) uz</i> 'to squeeze (oneself) close to'	93
<i>privezati uz</i> 'to fasten against'	84
<i>prilijepiti (se) uz</i> 'to glue to' ¹⁷	68
<i>pripiti (se) uz</i> 'to cling to'	66
<i>nasloniti (se) uz</i> 'to rest (oneself) against'	51
<i>pritisnuti (se) uz</i> 'to press (oneself) against'	42

What is important in all the usage types outlined in Table 1 is that they imply contact in addition to proximity. Thus, constructions in which the preposition *uz* occurs convey the meaning of the closest possible proximity and sideways contact of a trajector and a landmark: one plane/side of the trajector is in contact with one plane of the landmark. For instance, (4) suggests that the two rooms share a wall:

(4) *Uz ovu sobu bila je još jedna.* 'Next to this room stood another one'

The combinability preferences of *uz* with certain types of verbs support the hypothesis suggesting that immediate/very close proximity is the core meaning component that distinguishes *uz* from other proximity prepositions (e.g., *kraj*,

¹⁵ The phrase *vezano uz* is frequently used as a means of text cohesion.

¹⁶ For comparison, *prisloniti se na* is attested in 17 examples.

¹⁷ The construction typically applies to situations in which the trajector is not significantly smaller than the landmark; for example, *Smeđa kosa bila mu prilijepljena uz vrat i uz lice* 'His brown hair was glued to his neck and face.' It is also typical with human trajectors and landmarks, when landmarks are capable of establishing close contact with trajectors, "embracing" them. With trajectors considerably smaller than landmarks, a construction with *na* tends to be used; for example, *Lojanica, prilijepljena na komadu daske* (internet) 'A candle glued to a piece of board.' This is only tendencies. A detailed study of the relation of *uz* and *na* in similar contexts should be carried out on a sufficient number of corpus examples, and cannot be undertaken here.



pokraj, kod), except for *do*, which also tends to be used for very close proximal relations; see Table 2. It is often suggested in grammatical descriptions that proximity prepositions are synonyms. However, although these prepositions seem to be very similar in isolation, their constructional preferences differ.

In order to achieve a better image of the constructional preferences of *uz*, I also examined some other elements. The presence of the intensifiers *tik, odmah,* and *sam (sama, samo)*¹⁸ supports the hypothesis that the basic sense of *uz* is close proximity and contact. These units occasionally occur with other proximity prepositions as well. However, as can be seen in Table 2, the frequencies of combinations differ. *Tik* does not occur with *kod* and *pokraj*, and it rarely occurs with *kraj*. Although *odmah* occurs with other proximity prepositions, it occurs with *uz* much more frequently than with *kod* and *(po)kraj*. *Sam/sama/samo* co-occurs with *kod* and *(po)kraj* only infrequently.

Table 2. Immediate proximity particles in contexts with proximity prepositions.

Phrases with <i>uz(a)</i>	No. of occurrences	Phrases with other proximity prepositions	No. of occurrences
<i>tik uz(a)</i> 'very close to'	74	<i>tik do</i> 'close by' <i>tik kod</i> 'right at' <i>tik pokraj</i> 'close beside' <i>tik kraj</i> 'close to'	98 0 0 6
<i>odmah uz(a)</i> 'right next to'	57	<i>odmah do</i> 'right by' <i>odmah kod</i> 'right at' <i>odmah pokraj</i> 'right beside/next to' <i>odmah kraj</i> 'right beside/next to'	149 16 9 27
<i>uz(a)</i> <i>sam/samu/samo</i> 'right by'	78	<i>do samog/sama/same</i> 'right by' <i>kod samog/sama/same</i> 'right at' <i>pokraj samog/sama/same</i> 'right beside/next to' <i>kraj samog/sama/same</i> 'right beside/next to'	96 6 2 3

Other proximity prepositions occur either less (or much less) frequently, or very rarely, with *tik, odmah,* and *sam*. The only exception is *do*, a proximity preposi-

¹⁸ Some of these units function differently in other types of usage contexts: *odmah* functions as a temporal adverb, and *sam (sama, samo)* as an adjective.



tion that occurs equally or even more often with these intensifiers than *uz* does. However, I do not consider the frequent combinations of *do* and these particles as a sign of even closer proximity than the one implied by *uz*. With *do*, there is a need to emphasize the meaning of very close proximity because the preposition prototypically implies ‘up to’ and is vague with respect to how close a trajector and a landmark really are when used in static spatial contexts. In addition, *do* generally does not imply contact. This is related to its central meaning in dynamic contexts: motion up to a border (see Šarić 2008; Brala & Memišević, this issue). This meaning restricts *do* in static proximity contexts implying contact of objects’ parts or planes as a maximal proximity degree, and this is exactly what *uz* frequently implies. With proximity prepositions such as (*po*)*kraj* and *kod*, emphasizing immediate proximity with intensifiers would be contradictory because they imply vague, indeterminate proximity.

2.2.2. Landmark types frequently occurring in *uz*-constructions

One of my aims when examining corpora examples was to identify the type of relation between two meanings that seem to be central in the semantics of *uz*: immediate proximity (a notion present in many usage examples, see Section 2.5) and motion upward (the original meaning of the spatial particle). An important factor explaining this relation seems to be types of landmarks occurring in static and dynamic contexts of *uz*, and so I tried to discover whether there are similarities regarding landmark preferences in different construction types.

When examining the landmark types frequently occurring with *uz*, I tried to discover any significant tendencies; for example, whether there are frequent landmarks that exhibit the same or similar features regarding their shapes and dimensions. I have noticed that some base vocabulary involving inanimate nouns repeatedly occurs, and I examined examples with those nouns. I identified something I would call a tendency: *uz* often occurs with long, “longish,” and tall landmarks. However, it does not seem to be very relevant whether the horizontal or vertical extension of these landmarks is salient. Among the nouns examined, those most frequently occurring are *zid* ‘wall’, *obala* ‘coast’, *more* ‘sea’, *cesta* ‘road’, *prozor* ‘window’, *tijelo* ‘body’, and *rub* ‘edge’; see Table 3.

Table 3. Types of landmarks occurring with *uz*.

Inanimate nouns	No. of occurrences
<i>uz zid/zidove</i> ‘against/up the wall(s)’	380
<i>uz obalu/obale</i> ‘by/along the coast(s)’	192
<i>uz more</i> ‘by/along the sea’	172
<i>uz cestu/ceste</i> ‘by/along the road(s)’	139
<i>uz prozor/prozore</i> ‘by the window(s)’	117
<i>uz tijelo/tijela</i> ‘next to the body(ies)’	101
<i>uz rub/rubove</i> ‘by/along the edge(s)’	123
<i>uz rijeku/rijeke</i> ‘by/along the river(s)’	92
<i>uz brdo/brda</i> ‘up the mountain(s)’	68
<i>uz brijeg/bregove</i> ‘up the hill(s)’	75
<i>uz kuću/kuće</i> ‘next to the house(s)’	49
<i>uz ogradu/ograde</i> ‘by the fence(s)’	52
<i>uz vodu/vode</i> ‘by/alongside the water’	43
<i>uz stablo/stabla/drvo/drveće</i> ‘up the tree(s)’	38
<i>uz vrata</i> ‘by the door’	27
<i>uz vrt/vrtove</i> ‘next to the garden(s)’	7
<i>uz grad/gradove</i> ‘near by/alongside the city(ies)’	3 ¹⁹
<i>uz selo/sela</i> ‘near by/alongside the village(s)’	3

Example (5) exemplifies contexts with the most frequent nouns:

- (5) *Uza zidove su plazile povijuše.* ‘Climbing plants were crawling up the walls’

Landmarks such as inhabited places (see 6) or landmarks with vaguely defined boundaries are not very frequent in *uz*-constructions:

- (6) *Uz selo pred njima ide željeznica.* ‘The railway goes alongside the village in front of them’

The probability of using *uz* increases if an object tends to be conceptualized as a line, which is not usually the case with villages and towns.

The phrases *uz vodu/rijeku*, which relate to topography, deserve some attention. Like *upriver* in English, the construction *uz vodu/rijeku* (the related adverb is *uzvodno*, the adjective *uzvodan*) in contexts with motion verbs refers to the direction leading to the source of the river. The source is against the direction of

¹⁹ Spatial contexts were searched for, not contexts implying ‘in addition to’.



flow, and one moving *uz vodu* is moving against the flow. The opposite phrases *niz vodu/rijeku* ('downriver' adv. *nizvodno*, adj. *nizvodan*) in contexts with motion verbs describe the direction in which the river flows; that is, towards the mouth of the river.

In contexts with some motion and locational verbs, only proximity is implied, not the precise direction of motion. If someone walks *uz rijeku/vodu* and the intended meaning is 'close to the river/water', he or she walks along the boundary, the waterline, in one of the two directions. Accordingly, in (7a) the moving object will probably increase elevation at some point in time, whereas the moving object in (7b) may increase or decrease elevation or remain at the same level:

- (7) a. *Vltavom plovio je uz vodu parobrod*. 'The steamboat was sailing up the Vltava River'
- b. *Kliziš ravnicom uz široku i plodnu vodu*. 'You're gliding through the lowlands alongside the wide and fertile water'

Just as rivers have their natural direction of flow, so do many other natural phenomena. I assume that these spatial contexts (see (8)) gave rise to the meaning 'against' that can be observed in phrases like *uz vjetar* 'against the wind', implying a movement against the natural stream of the wind. It also relates to some prefix meanings (see Šarić, this issue).

- (8) *Lisne uši, radije se u zraku kreću niz vjetar (vjetar ih nosi) nego uz vjetar*. 'Aphids prefer to move with the wind (let the wind carry them) than to move against the wind'

I also examined the frequency of some animate landmarks. Animate landmarks in *uz*-constructions are most often personal pronouns, notably, third-person singular pronouns. Nouns for family members occur relatively frequently, but far less frequently than pronouns; see Table 4.

Family members as landmarks point toward a frequent meaning association related to *uz*: emotional intimacy, loyalty, and commitment. The preposition tends to preferably be used in situations in which the emotional intimacy of two objects put into a relation is implied. The usage frequencies of some phrases suggest this tendency: an internet search revealed 6,900 attestations of *uz*



prijatelja ‘close to a friend’ and 756 of *uz neprijatelja* ‘close to an enemy’.²⁰ Closeness to an enemy will usually be conveyed with a preposition expressing indeterminate proximity. Indicating emotional intimacy is a regular pattern for spatial particles in various languages because that notion draws on the notion of physical proximity (Sweetser 1990; Tyler & Evans 2003).

Table 4. Animate landmarks with *uz*.

Personal pronouns	No. of occurrences
<i>uz mene/uza me</i> ‘by my side, next to me/beside me, with me’	261
<i>uz tebe/uza te</i> ²¹ ‘by your side’	154
<i>uz njega/uza nj</i> ‘by his side’	706
<i>uz nju</i> ‘by her side’	426
<i>uz nas</i> ‘by our side’	92
<i>uz vas</i> ‘by your side’	58
<i>uz njih</i> ‘by their side’	215
Nouns for family members: <i>uz oca</i> ‘by father’s side’, <i>uz majku</i> ‘by mother’s side’, <i>uz brata</i> ‘by brother’s side’	132

2.2.3. Types of verbal situations with *uz*

The preposition *uz* occurs with three types of motion verbs and with posture and position verbs. I outline its semantics in constructions with these verbs.

Motion verbs

The first group of motion verbs in constructions with *uz* relates to various manners of motion (on foot, using a vehicle, etc.) on a horizontal surface. These are:

A) Verbs such as *hodati* ‘to walk’. *trčati* ‘to run’. *stupati* ‘to march’. *bježati* ‘to run’.

The landmark in constructions with these verbs is either a static or moving object; compare (9a) and (9b–c), respectively. It can be implied that the object

²⁰ I am grateful to Maja Brala-Vukanović for pointing out this meaning dimension. Internet search performed 29 November 2011.

²¹ The translation variants for all the phrases are similar to those for *uz(a) mene*.



referred to by the accusative nominal (a human or non-human landmark) also moves, as does the agent in the subject position; compare (9b–c):

- (9) a. *Počeo je hodati uz zid sobe i smješkatati se.* ‘He began to walk along the wall of the room, smiling’
- b. *Dječak trči uza me.* ‘The boy is running beside me’
- c. *Jerko je stupao uz kola ko drven.* ‘Jerko was marching beside the wagon, numb’

Uz-constructions with verbs of motion on a horizontal surface show different frequencies in the corpus: for example, in the entire HJR corpus, there are only 17 occurrences of the construction *trčati uz*, and 20 occurrences of *stupati uz*. I have examined landmark types in constructions with the verb *hodati* because this verb has a fair number of occurrences²² that allow for observing some tendencies; see Table 5.

Table 5. Landmark types with *hodati uz*.

hodati uz ‘to walk beside/along’	69
Animate, human being	20
Long horizontal objects ²³	31
Tall vertical objects ²⁴ or objects extending upward	9
Other inanimate objects	5
Action nouns	4

In most typical settings with *hodati*, the landmarks are long objects or objects whose horizontal extension is salient, such as in (10):

- (10) *Mladić je s prijateljem hodao uz prugu.* ‘The young man was walking along the railway with his friend’

²² To collect a larger number of examples, *uz*-constructions in this section were searched for in the entire HJR corpus.

²³ The objects must not be objectively very long; however, their horizontal dimension is quite salient.

²⁴ The objects must not be objectively very tall; however, their vertical dimension is quite salient.



The path of the agent's motion is parallel to the landmark. In a smaller group of examples, the landmark is animate, as in (11):

(11) *Hodaj uz mene i budi mi prijatelj*. 'Walk beside me and be my friend'

In (11), both participants should move along a horizontal line.

The verbs in this group typically imply a certain manner of motion on a horizontal surface. However, the concrete surface may be steep, and in that case the entire construction implies a certain change of elevation of the moving objects on the different path segments, see (12):

(12) *Bježali su uz strmu cestu k crkvi sv. Roka*. 'They were running up the steep road to St. Roch's church'

The steep landmarks establish a transition between this group and the following group of constructions.

B) Verbs such as *penjati se*, *peti se*, *uspinjati se*, all: 'to climb'²⁵ *verati se* 'to scramble'. and so on apply to motion on a vertical surface whose path is directed upward. *Uz* applies to a path towards the upper plane of a landmark. The constructions with these verbs and *uz* exhibit different frequencies in the corpus: For instance, there are only 10 occurrences of *verati se uz* and only two occurrences of the verb *peti se uz*. The more specific the manner of motion upward, the less frequent the verb. *Uspinjati se uz* is found in 16 examples, and *penjati se uz* in 45 examples. The semantic content of accusative nouns following the preposition has been examined for *penjati se* in constructions with *uz*; see Table 6:

Table 6. Landmark types with *penjati se uz*.

penjati se uz 'to climb up/next to'	45
Animate, human being (noun or pronoun)	1
Long horizontal objects	6
Tall vertical objects or objects extending upward	36
Other inanimate objects	2

In the only example with a human being as a landmark, the landmark is not a static spatial orientation point: children are moving together with "him" in (13), and the resulting meaning is a blend of the spatial and comitative:

²⁵ The verbs with the prefix *uz-* are discussed in Šarić (this issue).



(13) *Penju se uza njega dica.* ‘The children climb next to/with him’

In the group with long horizontal objects, these objects are steep, with different degrees of steepness. Adjectives frequently used in similar constructions (e.g., *strm* ‘steep’) emphasize this:

(14) *Penjemo se uz blago-strmu Kolodvorsku ulicu.* ‘We are climbing up the somewhat steep Station Street’

In the majority of examples, the landmarks are tall vertical objects or objects stretching upward:

- (15) a. *Penje se uz ljestve.* ‘(S)he is climbing up the ladder’
b. *Penje se uz vrat do usnog kuta.* ‘It climbs up the neck to the corner of the lips’

Individual examples with other inanimate objects show that motion expressed by *penjati se* can be metaphorical:

(15) c. *Glasovi zvučnika penjali su se uz glatka pročelja zgrada.* ‘The sounds from the speaker were climbing up the smooth building fronts’

In these contexts, *uz* is a path/route preposition, and in some of these contexts the comitative meaning is additionally realized.

C) Change of posture verbs—for example, *sjesti* ‘to sit down’. *čučnuti* ‘to crouch’. *kleknuti* ‘to kneel down’, *legnuti* ‘to lie down’ and causative locative verbs, such as *položiti* ‘to lay down’. *staviti* ‘to put’. and *spustiti* ‘to lower’—frequently combine with *uz* in dynamic constructions. These perfective verbs imply volitional self-caused or caused motion of a human body or an object downward. The construal of the situation is dynamic. The accusative landmark is the spatial goal of the trajector’s motion. At the endpoint of the motion, the trajector is situated very close to the landmark, and may even touch it. In many cases the context reveals the degree of proximity, as in (16):

(16) *Sjeli jedno uz drugo, dodirujući se koljenima.* ‘They sat next to each other, their knees touching’



The frequency of the verbs belonging to this group and co-occurring with *uz* varies from case to case. For example, *čučnuti uz* occurs in four examples only. To examine the combination tendencies of this verb group in *uz*-constructions with regard to landmark types,²⁶ the construction *sjesti uz* was examined:

Table 7. Landmark preferences with *sjesti uz*.

sjesti uz ‘to sit down next to’	160
Animate, human being (noun or pronoun)	71
Long horizontal objects	13
Tall vertical objects, or objects extending upward	11
Other inanimate objects	59
Food/drinks	6

Most frequent landmarks are animate. Among objects whose horizontal extension is salient, nouns meaning ‘road’ frequently occur, as well as nouns for rivers and streams. In the group of tall vertical objects, the representative nouns are *zid* ‘wall’ and *vatra* ‘fire’. Frequent nouns within the group of inanimate objects refer to pieces of furniture; for example, *stol* ‘table’. The last category (food/drinks) includes examples with nouns such as *kapučino* ‘cappuchino’ and *večera* ‘dinner’; see (17):

(17) a. *Sjesti uz kapučino*. ‘To sit over a cappuccino’

b. *Sjedoše uz večeru*. ‘They sat over dinner’

Similar examples do not involve (or only secondarily involve) body posture, but are temporal: they emphasize the duration of an event (for further discussion, see Section 2.4.). Verbs of approaching and adhering prefixed with *pri-* (see Section 2.2.2.) belong to this group as well. Generally, with this group of verbs, *uz* is a goal preposition.

Posture and position verbs

D) *Uz* occurs with some posture verbs that share their stems with the change-of-posture verbs in Group C, but are imperfective: *sjediti* ‘to sit’. *čučati* ‘to squat’. *klečati* ‘to kneel’. and *ležati* ‘to lie’. *Uz* occurs with a number of position

²⁶ The landmark type partly depends on the semantics of the verb; however, the close proximity notion and inferences it relates to also influence the types of landmarks in *uz*-constructions.



verbs, as well; for example, *stajati* ‘to stand’. *nalaziti se* ‘to be situated’. *boraviti* ‘to stay’. *stanovati* ‘to live’. *biti* ‘to be’. and so on. In *uz*-constructions with these verbs, the trajector is situated very close to the landmark. The contexts imply very close proximity, and the trajector or one of its planes touch the landmark:

(18) *Uz kovčeg je čučao pas.* ‘A dog was squatting by the suitcase’

The semantic profile of accusative nouns combining with the verb *stajati* has been examined; see Table 8. In the category of animate landmarks, the most frequent are personal pronouns followed by names of persons and family members. Among long horizontal objects, *cesta* ‘street, road’ and *kolnik* ‘pavement’ frequently occur, and among tall vertical objects, frequent occurrences of *zid* ‘wall’ and *stup* ‘column’ could be noticed. Among other inanimate objects, two groups are most significantly represented: nouns for buildings and building parts (among the most frequent are *vrata* ‘door’. *prozor* ‘window’. *stol* ‘table’. and *krevet* ‘bed’), and abstract nouns naming some kind of grouping, people, institutions, rules (*narod* ‘people’. *program* ‘program’), and clubs:

Table 8. Landmark types with *stajati uz*.

stajati uz ‘to stand next to’	701
Animate, human being (noun or pronoun)	241
Long horizontal objects	49
Tall vertical objects; objects extending upward	46
Other inanimate objects	140
Abstract objects	151
<i>rame uz rame</i> ‘shoulder to shoulder’, <i>uz bok</i> ‘side by side’, <i>uz ostalo/ino</i>	139

In constructions with static verbs and *uz* that predominantly convey proximity, the proximity meaning blends with the comitative and accompaniment meanings, especially in contexts in which verbs refer to having or carrying with. In these last contexts, the verbs *nositi* ‘to carry’, *imati* ‘to have’, and *držati* ‘to hold’ frequently occur; see (19):

(19) *Uza se nosi njezin list.* ‘He carries her letter with him’

Examples such as (19) also convey emotional attachment of *him* to *her letter*. This implication is stronger with *uza se* than it would be with *sa sobom* ‘with him’. The group of verbs with similar stems that appear in static and dynamic *uz*-constructions—that is, posture verbs and change of posture verbs—may have



contributed to broadening the original meaning of this particle (motion upward) to static proximity contexts.

2.3. *Spatial scenes of the preposition uz: A summary*

The two central spatial settings of the preposition *uz* relate to upward motion (the oldest attested sense according to etymological dictionaries; see, e.g. Derksen 2007) and close proximity (the sense observable in numerous contemporary examples). These two settings are not conceptually independent: human motion is central in people's understanding of all motion events, and in people's upward motion the feet, the body, or a body part are typically in contact with the vertical object or surface. Thus, the upward motion in typical spatial settings implies that the moving figure is not only very close to the surface of a vertical or steep object in all temporal segments of the motion event, but also in contact with it, as in (20):

(20) *Kao mačke, penjale su se žene uz stube.* 'Like cats, the women were climbing up the steps'

I assume that typical spatial settings related to human upward motion—that is, contexts in which a trajector moves upward along a vertical path and is at the same time in contact with the landmark and close to it—have given rise to the proximity sense of the spatial particle that is observable in static prepositional usages because the original meaning of upward motion blends with proximity and contact meanings.

The original relation to upward motion is observable in preposition's combinability preferences in static contexts: on the horizontal axis, *uz* preferably combines with long objects.

In dynamic spatial settings with *uz* and a verb implying horizontal motion, the vertical path of motion is only "overturned." Thus, horizontal motion is inverted vertical motion. The new setting has preserved some parameters of the original spatial image: long horizontal objects, or objects perceived as long, that a trajector preferably moves along equal "turned" tall vertical objects in this setting. Consequently, the typical landmark type establishes a relation between vertical and horizontal motion. With steep or horizontal paths, a trajector's manner of motion is different. The ground supports the moving object.

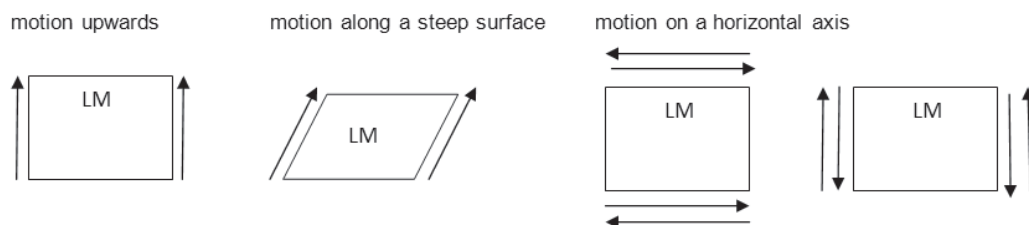


Figure 1. Dynamic spatial constellations of the preposition *uz* (arrows indicate a moving trajector).

Dirven and Radden (2007: 315) discuss the English particle *up*, which in its central usage (e.g., *to climb up the tree*) designates a vertical path, just like *uz* does. They highlight the extension of the vertical path designated by *up*: The path may extend as far as a near-horizontal orientation, and it may be at an angle of 45 degrees, but also almost or completely horizontal, as shown in Figure 2:

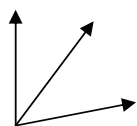


Figure 2. Extension of the vertical path of *up* along which a figure can move (adapted from Driven & Radden 2007: 315).

Uz exhibits the same varying degrees of verticality; that is, its vertical path extends to a completely horizontal path. Moreover, with extended, completely horizontal paths, *uz* designates a path in the vicinity of the landmark: a trajector's parallel movement along the (lateral) boundary of an extended landmark, and possibly the trajector's physical contact with the boundary. The orientation of the path/movement is irrelevant. In static situations, the trajector touches or almost touches the external boundary of the landmark (often along the entire length of the landmark). The shape of the landmark (rectangular vs. cylinder) does not constrain the usage of *uz*: It is used with objects such as *zid* 'wall', *stup* 'column', and *drvo/stablo* 'tree'. However, constructions with *zid* are much more frequent than constructions with *drvo* and *stablo* in the sub-corpus examined.

In a static setting, the trajector can be located on either side of a three-dimensional landmark (see Figure 3). However, the probability of coding the re-



lation with *uz* is higher with a trajector located either on the left or right side. Typically, the vertical orientation of the entire landmark or one of its planes is emphasized.

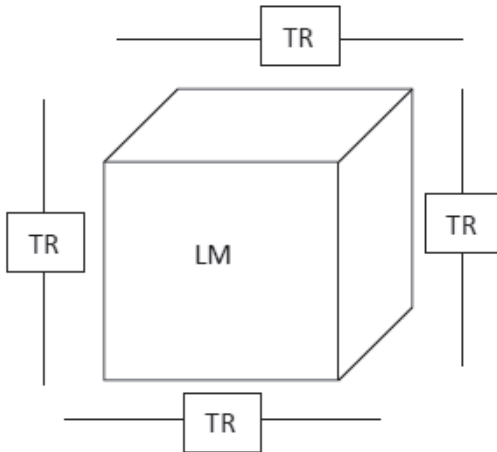


Figure 3. Static spatial constellation of the preposition *uz*: immediate proximity of a TR and a LM.

In directional contexts with motion verbs that do not express vertical motion, a trajector moves into the immediate proximity of a landmark. Typical trajectors' motion directions are from above (e.g., *čučnuti* 'to crouch') or from either side of the landmark (e.g., *priljubiti se* 'to nestle').

Accordingly, two meaning extensions are crucial for the meaning network of *uz* (see Figure 4):

1) Immediate proximity, latently present in spatial upward motion, extends to general immediate proximity and also applies to static/locational contexts.

2) Upward motion inverts its direction and turns into horizontal motion. In this process, long horizontal objects (landmarks) serve as the connecting factor: What happens is an image schematic transformation: a rotation of the vertical path to a horizontal bidirectional path (along horizontal objects schematized as two-dimensional, the path extends on both their sides and in both directions).

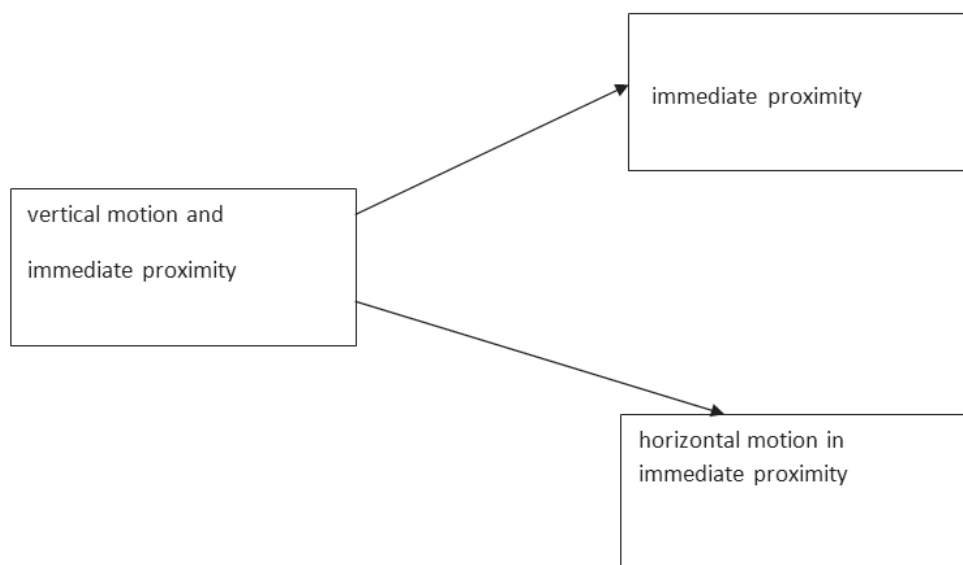


Figure 4. Meaning transformations of spatial *uz*.

So far, I have been dealing with the preposition *uz* in spatial constructions with certain types of typical verbs and landmarks. The verb and landmark types make it possible to predict the semantic type of the construction. In a construction with an inanimate noun referring to a three-dimensional object (e.g., *kuća* ‘house’), the possible meanings of *uz*-accusatives are close proximity (e.g., *sjediti uz kuću* ‘to sit next to the house’), upward motion (e.g., *verati se uz kuću* ‘to scramble up the house’),²⁷ and horizontal motion close to (e.g., *hodati uz kuću* ‘to walk close to the house’). In constructions with animate landmarks, the probable meaning is again proximity. With motion verbs, the proximal relation is aimed at, whereas the proximal relation is realized with position verbs (e.g., *sjeda uz Ivana* ‘(s)he is sitting down next to Ivan’ vs. *sjedi uz Ivana* ‘(s)he is sitting next to Ivan’). Alternatively, simultaneous motion of two entities can be implied, whereas the motion of the first is seen as relative to the motion of the second (e.g., *Marija hoda uz Ivana* ‘Marija is walking next to Ivan’). The notion of a trajector’s upward motion is infrequently realized with human landmarks. In examples with animate landmarks, comitative meaning may arise (see the discussion below).

²⁷ There are examples with steep landmarks in which the direction of motion is ambiguous; for example, *Ideš uz rub padine* ‘You are walking near the edge of the slope’ (internet). It can be upward and downward. The dominant reading is ‘close to’.



The exact nature of spatial settings is defined by the verbs used in constructions: A setting is dynamic with verbs of upward motion designating the path (e.g., *penjati se uz* ‘to climb’), with directional change-of-location verbs (e.g., *pasti uz* ‘to fall next to’), and with directional verbs of approaching and adhering (e.g., *priljubiti se* ‘to nestle’). The setting is static with location verbs (e.g., *sjediti uz* ‘to sit next to’).

2.4. Other meanings and types of meaning extensions

2.4.1. Extensions from the spatial meaning

Some other meanings that emerge in *uz*-constructions and seem to have a less obvious spatial nature or be non-spatial are closely related to spatial meanings and strongly dependent on the meaning of the accusative nominal. For example, a special construction type occurs with action nouns and *uz*. An accusative action noun with *uz* often expresses a bi-action that is conceptualized as subordinated to another, foregrounded action. The foregrounded action is expressed by a tensed verb and receives the focus in the setting, as in (21a-b):

- (21) a. *Sofija ovinu joj se uz plač i smijeh oko vrata.* ‘Sofia threw herself around her neck, crying and laughing’
- b. *Potrči kući uz viku i dozivanje.* ‘(S)he started running home, accompanied by shouts and calls’
- c. *Pusti – šane uz veliki napor.* ‘Let go, (s)he whispered with great effort’

In (21a), the action expressed by the verb *ovinu se* is foregrounded. The two bi-actions are rendered by the nouns *plač* ‘cry’ and *smijeh* ‘laughter’. A near-synonymous construction in this case is a converb construction: *Sofija ovinu joj se plačući i smijući se oko vrata*, which modifies the manner of the foregrounded activity.²⁸ The frequent presence of examples with action nouns in contemporary and historical language use supports singling out the circumstantial meaning as one of the preposition’s meanings. As briefly outlined in Šarić (2008:

²⁸ A detailed analysis of the similarities and differences between these two constructions cannot be undertaken here.



148, 199–200) the proximity prepositions *kod* and *pri* can also very frequently be found in the domain of accompanying circumstances. In circumstantial phrases, *uz* develops connection and accompaniment senses. The first suggests a functional co-presence of two events, and the second that two events simultaneously occur and interact. These meanings tend to shade into one another, and the borderlines between the situations in which they are realized are often blurred.

In (21c), the *uz*-construction has a near-synonym in a converb construction (*vrlo se naprežući*), and also in manner adverbs or instrumental constructions; that is, *teško, s naporom* ‘with effort/difficulty’. When comparing the accusative and instrumental construction, two construals can be identified: in the accusative construction, the spatial meaning of proximity relates an action (*šanut* ‘to whisper’) and an abstract entity (*napor* ‘effort’), and in the construal with the instrumental case (*šanu s velikim naporom* ‘(s)he whispered with great effort’) an image of the effort as a metaphorical companion and thus comitative meaning is evoked.

Regarding contexts of accompanying circumstances in general and those related to *uz* in particular, one has to keep in mind that these contexts allow for a few readings: what is expressed in *uz*-constructions can be understood as accompanying circumstances, but the verbal nature of the nouns involved strongly brings about temporal readings. As with converbs (e.g., *plačući* ‘crying’, *smijući se* ‘laughing’) in many constructions, a manner reading of similar *uz*-constructions (*uz plač, uz smijeh*) is also plausible.

Uz in constructions with verbal nouns is fairly frequent in the HJR subcorpus: a search in which only direct strings were extracted found 391 occurrences of nouns ending in *-anje*, and 134 occurrences of nouns ending in *-enje*. Whereas the *-anje* group mainly reveals bi-actions expressed by the verbal noun (*dozivanje* ‘calls’ in (21b)), the *-enje* group is heterogeneous: some accusative nominals denote an addition, and some denote a precondition (see (22c)),²⁹ in

²⁹ In the following example, the condition is overtly expressed by *uz uvjet* ‘under the condition’: [Venecija] ponudi odmah mir uz uvjet, da će Ludoviku predati sve gradove. ‘Venice immediately offered peace, on the condition that it would surrender all the towns to Ludovic.’ However, this is still an example of accompaniment context: the offer is accompanied by the condition, and so the example is similar to (30a) and (b), in which two predicates have opposite meanings.



which the construction *osim uz dopuštenje* ‘except with permission’.³⁰ which also expresses accompaniment, can be paraphrased with a conditional clause (*osim ako dijete ne dopusti* ‘unless the child permits’).³¹

- (22) a. *Taj čovjek uz sažaljenje zaslužuje i najstrožu kaznu.* ‘That man, besides pity, deserves the harshest punishment’
- b. *Uz udivljenje pronosio se i mrmor sumnje.* ‘Together with admiration, a murmur of doubt was being carried through’
- c. *A podaci ... ne smiju se otkriti roditeljima ili zakonitim zastupnicima, osim uz dopuštenje djeteta.* ‘The information ... cannot be revealed to the parents or legal representatives, except with the child’s permission’

In (22a) and (b), a distinct construction can be identified at the formal level: *uz X ... i Y* ‘in addition to X ... also Y’. In this construction type, an implicature of contrast arises as a result of a juxtaposition of two events. The main event or state of affairs is in contrast with the content of the *uz*-phrase. The accusative nouns (*sažaljenje* ‘pity’ in (22a), *udivljenje* ‘admiration’ in (22b)) semantically contrast with the object and subject noun phrases (*najstroža kazna* ‘harshest punishment’, *mrmor sumnje* ‘murmur of doubt’), respectively, and thus function as their contextual antonyms.

Contrast and condition senses are identifiable at the constructional level. Some constructions exhibit distinct formal traits, and all of them have a clear spatial basis: In (22a), *sažaljenje* ‘pity’ is backgrounded, but it is semantically very “close” to what the rest of the clause expresses; the basis of this “closeness” is spatial. In the examples allowing for temporal readings, the constellation of two objects that are very close in space is transferred into the temporal realm: two actions are close in time. Spatial constellations of *uz*-constructions that imply that a trajector may touch or even partly overlap with a landmark extend to temporal settings implying coincidence of two actions. In a general met-

³⁰ The same construction is possible with other deverbal nouns and nominalizations; for example, *uz dopuštenje/dozvolu* ‘with permission’.

³¹ *Uz* also acquires a conditional meaning in a version without a negated verb: *A podaci ... smiju se otkriti roditeljima ... uz dopuštenje djeteta* ‘The information can be revealed to the parents with the child’s permission.’



aphorical transfer that can be traced in examples with temporal coincidence, proximity in space maps onto proximity in time.

There are also many corpora examples in which inanimate nouns refer to concrete objects regularly used in everyday life; see (23). In similar situations, a trajector is situated close to a landmark, but the proximity itself is not in focus: A proximity preposition would actually not normally be used to describe situations in which proximity is intended to be in focus. The situation in (23a) implies, for most sub-segments of the event's timeframe, that an agent holds the book in his hands; in some sub-segments of the timeframe the book can indeed only be close to the agent (e.g., on his desk) without him touching it. However, the proximity relation is not foregrounded in (23a). Instead, the action metonymically linked to the accusative noun *knjiga* 'book'—that is, *čitati* 'to read'—is foregrounded. The noun metonymically stands for the action; this is explicit in (23b):

- (23) a. *I sjedim uz knjigu čitavo popodne.* 'And I'm sitting over a book (with a book) the whole afternoon'
- b. *Tu bi, sjedeći uz čašu vina i kavu, putovali u mašti.* 'Here, sitting over a glass of wine and coffee, they would travel in their imagination'

Thus, the usage of accusative nouns in similar examples is based on metonymic links. These examples acquire temporal readings, implying the simultaneity of two or more actions. Their temporal meaning often blends with the functional meaning of accompaniment. Example (23a) is a typical example conveying an extended duration and a lasting action, in addition to proximity.

Corpus examples show a frequent usage of *uz*-constructions with musical instruments that metonymically represent activities: *Uz* is followed by their individual names, as in (24a), or by the accusative noun *pratnja* and the name of the instrument in the genitive case, as in (24b):

- (24) a. *Zatjeran u svoj tjesnac pjevao uz gitaru.* 'Driven to his narrow passage, he was singing accompanied by a guitar'
- b. *Takav stil pjevanja, uz pratnju instrumenata.* 'That style of singing, accompanied by instruments'



In (24a), the actor holds a guitar, and so the instrument is in his close vicinity and temporary possession. However, the construction *uz gitaru* should not be understood literally; the instrument stands for playing the guitar. The following example, (24b), also conveys the long-lasting duration of the process profiled.

The constructional meaning of the examples discussed in this section is not directly predictable from their constituent parts. *Uz* in isolation has little to do with the notions of manner or accompanying circumstances; these senses arise at the constructional level. However, the proximity notion together with the sense of long-lasting duration observable in many spatial contexts—that is, typical spatial images related to *uz*—strengthen these senses (see the analyses of the proximity prepositions *pri* and *kod* in Šarić 2008). The temporal senses that arise in some *uz*-constructions closely relate to the spatial domain in that they frequently imply long-lasting duration and intimacy, and these notions are extensions from the spatial domain, in which typical landmarks are long or elongated objects. As many corpora examples show, the meaning facets of *uz*-constructions with this landmark type are interwoven (see Section 2.5.: many examples were difficult to classify because they may belong to more than one group). This supports the network approach to the (constructional) meanings of *uz*: the individual meanings are not only closely related to each other; they blend, and in many cases they are not clearly identifiable as separate meanings. For example, in some spatial constructions, a comitative meaning related to emotional intimacy is observable, and *uz*-constructions have near-synonyms in *s(a)*-instrumental constructions. It seems that the meaning of some constructions largely relies on the meanings of their specific nominal and verbal constituents, but that meaning is nonetheless not directly predictable from the general rules of morphology, syntax, and semantics: The construction as a whole also has a meaning.³²

The preposition *uz* always combines with an accusative, no matter whether a static or dynamic verb is used. Therefore, neither the dynamic nor the static meaning can be attributed to this preposition in isolation. As argued elsewhere (Šarić 2008), the opposition static/dynamic is, as a rule, expressed at the constructional level.³³ However, the original sense of *uz* relates to motion contexts.

³² For similar observations related to the Russian instrumental, see Rakhilina and Tribushinina (2000).

³³ Typically, it is motion verbs that contribute this meaning. Motion can be encoded in lexical units (such as in verbs; e.g., *ići*, *hodati* ‘to go, walk’), but it may be present in elliptical con-



Because of the accusative semantics in some of its typical usages (e.g., its usages with the prepositions *u* and *na* in goal constructions in which the accusative's central meaning of destination is realized³⁴), it seems that even static constructions with *uz* partly retain a certain dynamic meaning. This is a consequence of the accusative's destination and transformation sense, and its dynamic sense in constructions with motion verbs and prepositions that refer to the goal of the motion, and is also linked to the original meaning of *uz*.

Proximity prepositions depict the spatial coexistence of two objects, events, or states of affairs. This coexistence is generally spatio-temporal in its nature, but it can also produce various effects and give rise to new meanings that do not seem to be clearly spatial.³⁵ When entities introduced by *uz*-accusatives develop a contrasting relation with another entity or event, as in (25), this is a result of spatial coexistence. Two contrasted entities, events, or states of affairs either share the same concrete space, or are brought together into a common space of reference for an evaluation, and they are temporally coincident. The comparison of the two elements results in a fixed construction type (*uz (sve) X ... negV*)³⁶ with a highlighted contrast, as in (25):

- (25) *Ali uz najbolju volju nije joj to pošlo za rukom.* 'Even with all the will in the world, she didn't manage to do it'

structions without any overt units directly relating to motion (e.g., *Moram u Sarajevo* 'I have to [travel/go] to Sarajevo'; the motion verb is not expressed in the original sentence).

³⁴ I agree with Janda, who (e.g., 2001) has argued for this meaning as the central one in the accusative network.

³⁵ Some senses listed in the sources and illustrated by older language material (e.g., in the JAZU dictionary, 1971: 227) are present in the modern usages of *uz* only rarely; for example, causal and some temporal senses.

³⁶ This construction has a near-synonym in (*pored (svega) X . . . negV*): *I pored tako različnih zvukova nije bilo nesklada.* 'In spite of such different sounds, there was no discrepancy.' However, constructions of the type *i pored X* + an affirmative verb are much more frequent than the ones with negated verbs: *Gobe je bio, i pored svojih četrdeset godina, još neoženjen.* 'Gobe was, despite his forty years, still unmarried.' The construction with *uz* implies a smaller "distance." A detailed analysis requires a comparison of a fair number of corpora examples and is beyond the scope of this analysis.



2.4.2. Fixed expressions

I examined the frequency³⁷ of some common constructions with *uz* that are usually labeled “idiomatic.”

Table 9. Fixed expressions with *uz*.

Construction	Frequency
<i>uz (sve) to</i> ‘in addition to (all) that; on top of it all’	1,145
<i>uz put</i> ‘by the way/on the way’	104
<i>uz . . . niz</i> ‘up . . . down’	59
<i>uz nos</i> ‘against the grain’	17
<i>rame uz rame</i> ‘side by side’	15
<i>uz dlaku</i> ‘against the grain’	5

Uz (sve) to ‘besides, in addition, what is more’ makes up more than five percent of all the sub-corpus examples; see (26):

(26) *Jedva se miče, a uz to voli piti.* ‘(S)he is barely able to move, and in addition to that likes to drink’

The phrase *uz put* in some examples carries the concrete spatial meaning ‘near the road/path’. These examples illustrate the path of extensions into the abstract domain: The original meaning becomes conventionalized and is transformed into ‘by the way; additionally’. The spatial path is transformed into a path of an action: the main action is seen as a main path that can be accompanied, for example, by an additional action of any kind. The objects secondarily related to the main path are conceptualized in spatial terms as being close to the main path (*uz put*), but still not strictly belonging to it, being secondary matters. The phrase also occurs in the grammaticalized form *usput* ‘by the way’ with 493 occurrences in the sub-corpus.

In some spatial contexts, the prepositions *uz* and its antonym *niz* ‘down(wards)’ occur together:

³⁷ Some corpus examples occur more than once. The repetitions are not included in the total number.



- (27) a. *On pogledav uz orah, niz orah, uzme grudu zemlje.* ‘After looking up the walnut tree and down the walnut tree, he took a clod of earth’
- b. *Blaženik samo šetka uz stolić, niz stolić i oko stolića.* ‘The blessed one just walks up the little table, down the little table, and around the little table’

Typical spatial contexts with *uz* and *niz* depict the motion of an actor in different directions and the actor taking opposite paths, or moving without a goal, within a limited timeframe. The contexts with *uz ... niz* ‘up(ward) ... down(ward)’ employ either concrete motion verbs, such as *šetkati* ‘to stroll a little’, or verbs of fictive motion (e.g., vision verbs, such as *pogledati* ‘to glance at’ as in (27a)).

Uz in the idiomatic expression *rame uz rame* ‘shoulder to shoulder, side by side’ has an apparent spatial basis: it focuses on parts of human bodies that stand very close to each other and evokes a situation in which the shoulders of single participants are literally very close to each other. This image of spatial proximity has given rise to usage contexts implying ‘together’ or ‘in close cooperation’. Because the shoulder stands for a person, the usage is metonymic. This also applies to another fixed expression (*ići, hodati, raditi, udariti*) *uz nos* ‘to go/walk/work/strike against the grain’ (literally, ‘nose’). Some occurrences in the corpus are evidently spatial and contain the noun ‘nose’ in its literal meaning. These examples imply spatial proximity (see (28a)). In other contexts, *uz nos* implies ‘against one’s wishes/will’. The nose of a person is metonymic for a person or his or her attitude or will; see (28b).³⁸

- (28) a. [*Oči*] *su bile napadno široke uz nos.* ‘The eyes were strikingly wide next to the nose’
- b. *Svakomu nešto učini uz nos.* ‘(S)he antagonized everybody’

2.5. Frequency of different usage contexts of *uz*

After outlining the meanings of the preposition and contexts in which it occurs on the basis of usage examples in HJR, I examined the relation of frequencies for individual meanings; that is, which meaning(s) are dominant in usage exam-

³⁸ On the development of the meaning ‘against’, see Section 2.2.3.



ples in a sample of 1,028 sentences extracted from the literary texts sub-corpus of HJR. The last part of the concordance was taken into consideration. The selection includes texts by various authors, mainly prose, from various periods. In this sample, no significant meaning differences between the older and contemporary usage of *uz* could be identified.³⁹ Table 10 below shows the frequency distribution of contexts.

Table 10. Frequency distribution of a sample of *uz*-contexts.

Total	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)	1,028
Motion	vertical	horizontal-vertical: change in elevation	horizontal (A moves close to B)	change of posture/position (A arrives close to B)	approaching; bringing closer, attaching	306
	18	61	72	34	121	
Static proximity						230
Spatial/temp. overlap: Circumstances/ parallel actions						179
Comitative meaning (blends with proximity)						211
Other (fixed expression)	<i>uz to</i> (48), <i>uz pomoć</i> , <i>uz put</i> , <i>uz uvjet</i>					70
Ambiguous: spatial proximity blends with comitative						32

³⁹ A systematic investigation of the possible changes regarding the semantic network of *uz* and its usage contexts would require a detailed comparison of the older and modern texts and goes beyond the scope of this analysis.



The results show that motion contexts prevail in number over other contexts. However, the original meaning of the particle—motion on a vertical axis—is realized in a limited number of examples only. This is certainly related to the usage frequency of the verbs referring to upward motion, which is not high. In the subgroup of constructions referring to horizontal motion, motion on the horizontal axis blends with physical proximity. The majority of examples (E) in the motion subgroup involves self motion and caused motion of a trajector in the vicinity of a landmark. Constructions in which the constructional meaning of approaching and adhering is typically realized contain verbs prefixed with *pri-* (see Section 2.2.2).

In individual examples, the inference “to start something intensively/passionately” can be found, as in (29). Like many other examples already mentioned, (29) also relates to an intimate relation and implies extended duration:

- (29) *Ona brzina kojom je Melita prionula uz koturaški sport.* ‘The speed with which Melita applied herself to roller-skating’

The next largest number of constructions refers to physical proximity in static contexts. In some examples classified as “ambiguous,” spatial proximity blends with comitative meaning, and so part of the ambiguous group could have been classified here. Moreover, in some of the ambiguous examples, the *uz*-construction implies ‘beside’. ‘apart from’; these also include a few examples of the *uz X ... i Y* ‘in addition to X ... also Y’ construction.

In the subgroup of constructions labeled “spatial/temporal overlap,” many examples contain action nouns. In these constructions, two or more actions are either conceptualized as parallel or an action is seen as a circumstance for one or more other actions. This group contains individual examples in which a sub-sense “on the occasion of” is realized, as in (30):

- (30) *Sastavio sam nekoliko čestitaka uz novu godinu.* ‘I’ve put together a couple of New Year’s cards’

The causal sub-sense also arises in some constructions classified into this group; for example, in (31), in which a near-equivalent of *uz* would be the causal *zbog, radi* ‘because’:



- (31) *Uz njegove duševne i tjelesne vrline proricali mu lijepu budućnost.* 'Given his intellectual and physical virtues, people predicted a bright future for him'

3. The meaning network of *uz*: A conclusion

Figure 5 presents the semantic network of the preposition *uz*. The previous sections showed which contextual parameters are relevant in delineating the semantic profile of *uz*. It preferably combines with certain types of verbs, especially *pri*-verbs that either refer to self-motion or caused motion in which an agent brings itself or another object into the immediate proximity of another object. Accordingly, the resulting state implies physical proximity and even sideways contact of the moving object and the landmark.

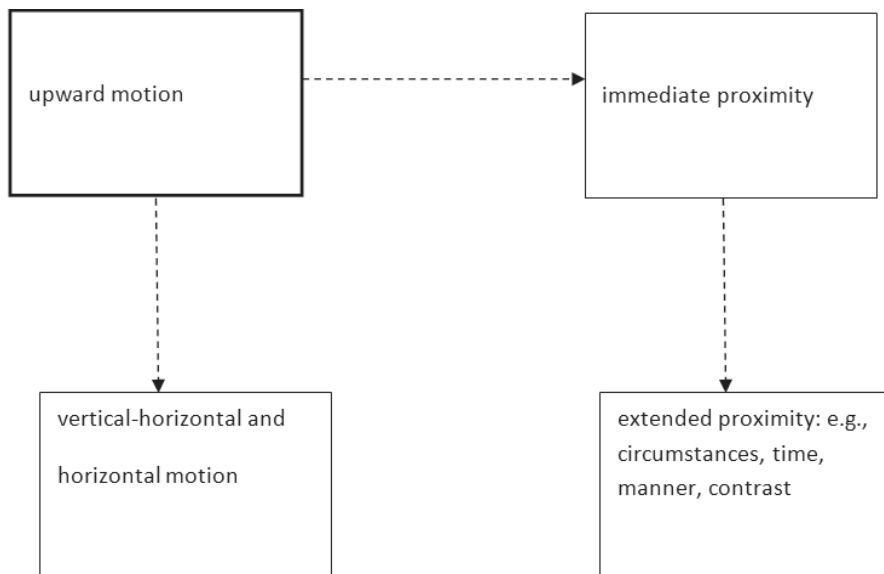


Figure 5. Semantic network of *uz*.

Verbs semantically similar to *pri*-verbs—that is, verbs that denote approaching the goal and contact with it—preferably combine with *uz*. The accusative landmark is the endpoint of motion, and *uz* defines the relation of the trajector and the landmark as a close proximal relation. The allative prefix *pri*- seems to be compatible with the non-cognate preposition *uz*, as in (32), and the construc-



tion is semantically related to (33), in which the particle *na(-)* occurs as a prefix and preposition. However, *na* has a functional meaning of support, whereas *uz* is neutral in this respect:

(32) *Moradoh se prisloniti uz prozor.* ‘I had to lean against the window’

(33) *Može ... se ljeti nasloniti na prozorčić.* ‘(S)he can lean on the little window in the summer’

This co-occurrence of *pri-* and *uz* can be related to the restricted use of the preposition *pri* in proximity contexts (see Šarić 2008), and the fact that *pri* does not combine with the accusative case (**Prisloniti se pri zid, ?Biti prislonjen pri zidu.*).

An examination of landmark types occurring with *uz* has shown its constructional preference for long vertical objects, and objects whose vertical extension is salient in the spatial construals. The frequency of animate landmarks suggests directions in which the spatial meaning of this particle has extended. The spatial proximity of humans and certain inanimate objects, according to common experience, implies that humans use these objects, whereas the spatial vicinity of humans and other humans typically implies their social interaction. Thus, in many contexts, the proximity meaning blends with the comitative and accompaniment meanings.⁴⁰ It is only sometimes possible to identify contexts in which one of these meanings is clearly foregrounded. The extension of the location to comitative meaning is a regular language pattern (see, e.g., Luraghi 2003: 29), and it especially arises in contexts describing the proximity of a trajector and a landmark when these are humans. The notion of very close proximity conveyed by *uz* gives rise to emotional intimacy in contexts with human landmarks. Other meaning parameters, such as circumstances, time (temporal overlap), cause, addition, contrast, and so on, arise on the basis of contextual inferences, and all emerge from a simple spatial setting in which two objects coexist close to each other within the same reference frame.

⁴⁰ The prototypical comitative construction involves an animate agent performing an action together with another animate entity, and the second animate entity being a kind of co-agent (e.g., *Mary goes to the movies with John*). The non-prototypical comitative construction, accompaniment, does not imply that the second entity is a co-agent (e.g., *Mary goes to school with her books*). See Luraghi (2003: 28).



Two apparently distinct spatial meanings of *uz*, upward motion and close proximity, are closely related in the meaning network. The meaning of close spatial proximity is realized more frequently (see Section 2.5), and thus one could expect its prominence in the contemporary meaning network. However, when confronted with typical corpus contexts of the preposition and asked about their acceptance, some native speakers tend to suggest that they would prefer other proximity prepositions in contexts of spatial vicinity, and identify the contexts with upward motion as the only “perfect” contexts of *uz*. That is, they tend to relate *uz* to its oldest attested meaning.

In Croatian, only a few specialized verbs referring to upward motion exist, the most frequent being *penjati se* ‘to climb’. and so the preposition does not occur very frequently in these contexts (see Table 10). Moreover, in these contexts, it can be substituted by another path preposition (*po*), or by a preposition referring to a surface-like goal of the motion (*na*). Interestingly enough, although *uz* can be replaced by another preposition in its most typical contexts, it seems almost necessary in contexts implying horizontal motion of an object very close to another one.⁴¹ These long horizontal objects resemble tall vertical objects (prototypically occurring with verbs of upward motion and *uz*) that are turned (see Section 2.3). Other proximity prepositions (e.g., *kod*, *pokraj*, *pored*) do not seem to contribute the same image regarding the landmark type, and the relation of horizontal and vertical dimensions.

In Šarić (2008), I argued for a neutral view on prepositions when it comes to their “static” vs. dynamic senses. As can be seen from various contexts with *uz*, other elements in constructions define whether a spatial scene is static or motion. However, it is reasonable to consider the original sense of the particle according to which *uz* is part of dynamic construals. In addition, native speakers tend to single out this sense as the most typical for this preposition. For other, by far more frequent, usage types (e.g., spatial proximity in static contexts, accompanying circumstances), native speakers tend to provide alternatives or even “better choices.” However, no “substitute” is preferred when it comes to upward motion, and especially not in the contexts labeled horizontal-vertical motion—that is, the motion type implying a gradual change of elevation.

Section 2.4.1. has shown the reasons and directions of extensions of the spatial meaning of *uz* into other domains, and how the spatial profile of *uz*

⁴¹ In these contexts, *uzduž* ‘along’ is its near equivalent; for example, *Dugo je šetao uzduž rijeke*. ‘He walked along the river for a long time.’



constructions makes them the most natural choice in contexts with, for instance, complementary, contrasting, or opposite categories. The landmarks in spatial contexts tend to be extended; that is, their horizontal or vertical extension is salient. This landmark feature is preserved in non-spatial *uz*-constructions: In temporal contexts, it transforms into salient duration of an activity. Section 2.4.2 has shown that several *uz*-constructions labeled as fixed or idiomatic expressions have a spatial basis.

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PRIJEDLOG UZ U HRVATSKOME: KOGNITIVNI PRISTUP

U članku se razmatra značenje hrvatskog prijedloga *uz*. Glavni je cilj rada razraditi koherentnu mrežu značenja ovog prijedloga, što podrazumijeva detaljnu analizu međusobnog odnosa dvaju osnovnih prostornih značenja prijedloga (neposredne blizine i kretanja uvis) te analizu njihove povezanosti s neprostornim značenjima prijedloga. Teorijski je okvir rada kognitivna lingvistika, te konstrukcijski pristup značenju u jeziku koji je sukladan s kognitivnim pristupom. Analiza slijedi model jezičnog opisa utemeljenog na uporabi: stoga su klasifikacija i tumačenje primjera, kao i zaključci o međusobnom odnosu pojedinačnih prijedložnih značenja temeljeni na korpusu hrvatskih tekstova *Hrvatska jezična riznica* koji je dostupan na internetu.

Ključne riječi: prostorne čestice; prijedlozi; *uz* u hrvatskom jeziku; kretanje uvis; blizina; izduženost i trajanje