

## METAPHORIC AND EXTENDED USES OF THE HYPONYMS OF THE VERBS *LOOK* IN ENGLISH AND *GLEDATI* IN SERBIAN \*

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**Abstract.** *The paper is a contrastive study that tries to explore various metaphoric and extended uses of the verbs that are considered to be hyponyms of the generic vision verbs gledati in Serbian and look in English. These verbs, being classified as verbs of basic bodily perception, are a very likely source domain in the process of metaphORIZATION and other forms of extended usage. The main goal of the paper is to compare the ways in which verbs denoting various kinds of visual perception shift or have shifted their primary meanings, as well as the ways in which they get joined by other, 'non-visual' meanings in Serbian and English. It will also explore a number of typically non-visual verbs which attain visual meaning in the process of metaphORIZATION. The verbs are divided into semantic groups and analysed one by one. Finally, the paper also tries to provide solutions to the problems which may emerge in the process of translating various meanings of these verbs from Serbian into English.*

**Key words:** *Lexicology, contrastive analysis, semantic features, translation, vision verbs, metaphORIZATION.*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The introductory section describes the main aims of the paper and presents the theoretical background relevant to the semantic division in the third section and the analysis in the fourth section.

#### 1.1. Aims

The main aim of this paper is to compare the ways in which verbs denoting various kinds of visual perception (1) shift or have shifted their primary meanings and (2) how they get joined by other, 'non-visual' meanings in Serbian and English. It will also deal

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with (3) how non-visual verbs metaphorically attain visual meaning. This comparison may lead towards creating links between particular verbs in two languages, which can, in turn, result in creating a better 'environment' for translation. This is based on the presumption that possible correspondents are likely to emerge in the process of analysis. The secondary goal may be seen in the fact that the results of the analysis might be used in bilingual dictionaries. Along with this, the analysis may make the division of the semantic field of vision verbs in Serbian and English clearer to some extent.

## 1.2. Vision verbs

Vision verbs can be seen as the **hyponyms** of the two 'generic' verbs denoting vision in the two languages – *gledati* and *look*. More precisely, these verbs are called troponyms<sup>1</sup> – verbs that indicate more accurately the manner of doing something by replacing a verb of a more generalized meaning. As the relations existing between different troponyms of these two verbs do not allow us to arrange or classify them into scales and ranks (as described in Lehrer 1974, Lyons 1977 and Prčić 2008a: 141), we can consider them to be **clusters** gathered around the two verbs with generic meaning. Furthermore, within these clusters, we can subsequently still group them into several semantic **sub-clusters** and this division will aid the analysis in the fourth section of this paper. The relation that exists among the troponyms of *look* and *gledati* can be called **co-hyponymy** (Dragičević 2007: 291, after Lyons 1977).

Being one of the basic modes of human perception, vision is very likely to be a common source domain in metaphors. According to Saeed (2003: 49), metaphors usually use a more concrete source to describe a more abstract target, so we can say that, in both languages, the common everyday experience of seeing is used to characterize a number of more complex cognitive, conative or emotional processes happening in our mind.

This was confirmed within a diachronic frame as well – the studies performed by Sweetser (1990: 28-34) reveal that the most common target domains for vision verbs are those of knowledge, intellection and mental 'vision'. Sweetser uses examples from English, Greek, Latin and Irish to illustrate that the transfer of vision verbs into abstract domains is not limited to English, but is in spanning many languages. This kind of transfer belongs to a larger system that can be called **the Mind-as-Body Metaphor** (Sweetser 1990: 28). The source of this idea can be traced all the way back to Kurath (1921), who noted that Indo-European words for emotions are frequently derived from words denoting physical actions or sensations accompanying the relevant emotions. Sweetser claims that the Mind-as-Body Metaphor is probably motivated by the correlations between our external experience and our internal emotional and cognitive states, but that the correlations alone cannot explain the observed patterns of polysemy and semantic change. In order to explain the fact that the mappings are much fuller and complex than the correlations, we need to mention that the mappings are unidirectional (Sweetser 1990: 30) or asymmetrical (Saeed 2003: 349). This basically means that bodily experience is a source of vocabulary for our psychological (cognitive, conative and emotional) states, but not the other way around.

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<sup>1</sup> the term taken from *WordNet*.

### 1.3. Lexical amalgamation

Along these lines, this paper will try to trace such meaning shifts in comparing vision verbs in Serbian and English and exploring different realizations of what Sweetser labels as knowledge, intellection and mental 'vision'. These three labels hide numerous extensions into the fields of emotions and will, so we can expect that this ought to be reflected in the examples from both languages.

The result of these diachronic changes is the situation in which vision verbs still 'active' nowadays rarely denote just a way of looking – they are very often accompanied by a mental process which, in most cases, defines the looker's plans, desires or their attitude towards the object of looking. For instance, English *peep* is defined as '*to look through a narrow aperture, as through the half-shut eyelids or through a crevice, chink, or small opening into a larger space; hence, to look furtively, slyly, or pryingly*' (ODE 2005). It clearly denotes a physical manner of looking as well as other cognitive, conative or emotional elements that go together with the physical action of looking or receiving and processing visual signal.

The process may be seen as a combination of metaphorization and the principle of semantic growth. While metaphorization allows us to transfer various features from one domain into another, the principle of semantic growth enables words to build up their meaning by adding the transferred features to them. Words denoting mental processes are frequently derived from words reflecting physical activities or states, so that we get abstract meanings from the concrete ones (Buck 1949: VII; Grković-Mejdžor 2008: 312; Stamenković 2009: 73). As vision and thinking physically belong to the systems that are contiguous, we must take into consideration the idea that metonymy is at least partially responsible for the 'joint' meanings of vision verbs we find in English and Serbian (and in many other languages as well). The '**lexical amalgamation**' of vision and mental processes into the current meanings of vision verbs is at least partially a consequence of the fact that both metaphor and metonymy are not random, but coherent systems in which we can conceptualize our experience (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 41). Metaphors linked with vision verbs are either structural or ontological (in the classifications proposed by Lakoff and Johnson 1980 and Kövecses 2002); these metaphors are usually motivated by correlations in our experience or perceived structural similarity (Kövecses 2002: 69-72).

### 1.4. Metaphorization and polysemy

In order to account for various sorts of semantic transfer (both in its synchronic and diachronic sense) Lipka (1988: 337-345) proposes the term **dual categorization**, as he sees metaphorization as something that imposes a second way of categorizing extralinguistic reality (Lipka 1992: 124). This view can be applied in the analysis of some vision verbs. For instance, Serbian *zverati* means "to throw quick impatient looks; to look timidly," but it can also mean "to gaze or stare" (RMS 1967), depending on the context. This is a typical example of **polysemy** – the possession of multiple related meanings. This kind of polysemy for the purpose of the paper will be called **polysemy proper**. The context has a crucial role in determining lexical meaning, because semantic incompleteness frequently needs a pragmatic complement in order to provide enough information that makes us able to distinguish between different meanings of words (Prčić 2008b: 292-294) or to perform the adequate sense specification (Prčić 2008a: 54-55). With the help of etymology, in many cases we seem to be able to distinguish between primary and derived

meanings, but we must also bear in mind that derived meanings have the power of 'taking over' the primary position in the course of history. As Nida (1974: 3) notes, "synchronic functioning constantly 'remakes' the historical patterning."

However, the term dual categorization is not enough to explain what will be one of the central issues in this paper – namely, once the abovementioned amalgamation happens, in many cases we can no longer talk of 'the first' or 'the second' way of categorization – vision and mental vision are very frequently simultaneous, inseparable and none of them can be given a higher priority. As an example, this kind of indivisible meaning can be traced in Serbian *merkati* – this verb simultaneously denotes a whole set of actions in almost every context – 'to look, to observe, to measure, to look with pleasure' – none of these activities can be identified as being more important than the others. In the process of translation they are processes altogether and the context is not likely to change the way in which we perceive this verb. In this case, we are talking about '**regular polysemy**' – a set of particular semantic components which result in sets of words behaving lexicographically in a very similar way. Atkins and Rundell (2008: 139) note that "some polysemous words have a particular relationship with others in their 'lexical set', in that several of their meanings seem to parallel each other." Of course, this is more than applicable to the verbs which have this sort of 'multi-channelled' meanings.

Lipka suggests that in case of metaphorization, we cannot talk about a single semantic feature that can serve as **tertium comparationis** – here we have a complete situation or a **prototypical scene** (Lipka 1992: 124). This can be applied to the study of vision verbs as well – there is simply no single feature that can serve as the main element of comparison for the whole class – we will face very many different combinations of different semantic elements or diagnostic features (Prčić 2008a: 50-56) if we consider this group of verbs as a whole. This, however, means that our *tertium comparationis* remains in the field of semantics. In the analysis of each of the verbs we will have a different *tertium comparationis* with a special focus on the way in which vision verbs tend to extend themselves into other domains in the two languages. In many cases, we will also have to discuss some of the non-diagnostic features important for the proper understanding of vision verbs, which can be considered to be parts of the two cultures. They will have to be regarded mainly for the reason that they contribute to connotative meaning, which has the power of 'choosing' the acceptable correspondent or translation equivalent.

## 2. CORPUS AND METHODOLOGY

The English part of the corpus is compiled from *Oxford Dictionary of English* (ODE 2005) with the help of *WordNet* (2007), *WordWeb* (2008) and *Longman Language Activator* (2004). It includes 28 examples of vision verbs with the appropriate dictionary entries. The Serbian part of the corpus includes 31 examples of vision verbs compiled from *Rečnik srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika* (RMS 1967) and *Semantičko-derivacioni rečnik* (2003), with vision verbs filtered out 'manually', as there are no tools similar to *WordNet*, *WordWeb* or activators related to the lexicon of the Serbian language. Only single-word verbs from Serbian and English entered the corpus, but the exploration of correspondents and equivalents will naturally include other verbs and phrases as well.

As Serbian is rich in affixes, the prefixed, infix and suffixed verbs will be grouped with the verb they were derived from in all the cases in which they do not significantly

affect the verb's central meaning. Otherwise, if we treated each of these verbs as detached entries, the distribution of vision verbs in the two parts of the corpus would be disproportional. For instance, for the purpose of this paper's corpus, *bečati*, *zabečiti*, *izbečiti*, *ubečiti* are treated as a single entry. Moreover, reflexive verbs (containing the pronoun *se*) have also been grouped together with the main verb. This, however, does not mean that all of them would necessarily have to be grouped together into single entries in a dictionary, but it would be certainly advisable to make them refer one to another, as their meanings are closely connected.

The main method of research in this paper will be parallel corpus analysis, based on using the existing dictionary entries and comparing them in order to establish links between similar verbs in the two languages. The links between the vision verbs from English and Serbian will be established using some of the existing bilingual dictionaries (Drvodelić 1983; Filipović 1989), but they will be revised and reconstructed if necessary.

L1 in this paper will be Serbian and L2 will be English. The analysis will be one-way, starting from Serbian. The semantic analysis will be performed in accordance with Nida's basic principles – (1) no word or semantic unit ever has exactly the same meaning in two different utterances; (2) there are no complete synonyms within a language and (3) there are not exact correspondences between related words in different languages (Nida 1974: 5). Having the third principle in mind, the **correspondents** in many cases will be treated as **partial correspondents**. In all the cases in which we have a different formal structure in the compared elements of English and Serbian, we will be talking about **functional-communicative (translation) equivalence** rather than correspondence (Đorđević 2004: 56; Prčić 2005: 170–171; Ivir 1981: 51–52).

### 3. SEMANTIC GROUPS

In order to facilitate the analysis, the verbs will be divided into six semantic groups. The division is rough and not all the features that will be used to define these groups can be attributed to all the verbs that belong to them. In each case, we will have to make a selection of diagnostic features depending on the verb which is analysed and its potential correspondents and equivalents.

- **Group A** includes those vision verbs whose 'performance' usually demands a longer period, during which the eyes are mostly wide open. These verbs are usually connected to surprise, perplexity, shock or unintelligibility and the actions they describe can be unpleasant for the object of looking (in case the object is human). In this way, some of the verbs belonging to Group A can be considered a part of Group E (*piljiti*, *zevati*, *stare*). The Serbian representatives of this group are *blenuti*, *buljiti* and *piljiti*, while representatives from English include *gape*, *gawk* and *goggle*.
- **Group B** features the verbs that most frequently describe short 'visual actions'; with some of them the eyes are partly shut or affected by some visual difficulty. These verbs can be connected to coyness, nervousness, secrecy, evil, malevolence or suspicion. Some of these verbs in certain contexts can denote some sort of erotic desire (*gviriti*, *podviriti*, *peep*), which means that this group, just like the previous one, borders Group E. Examples from Serbian are *gviriti*, *škiljiti* and *pripogledati*, while English representatives of this group are *glance*, *peep* and *scowl*.
- **Group C** includes those verbs that, along with denoting a manner of looking, involve a certain degree of anger, annoyance, hostility or aggression. In states and

actions described by these verbs, the eyebrows are usually furrowed or lowered. Serbian verbs that exemplify this group are *prestreliti*, *žičiti* and *bečiti*, while English verbs of this kind include *frown*, *glare* and *glower*.

- **Group D** comprises the vision verbs of considerable length that also involve one or more of the following features: systematicity, attentiveness, awareness, alertness, management and administration. The Serbian vision verbs of this kind are *motriti*, *nadgledati* and *osmotriti*, while the English verbs include *monitor*, *observe* and *oversee*.
- **Group E** – the vision verbs belonging to this group are those that reflect romantic, erotic or sexual interest or desire. The Serbian representatives of this group are *ždrakati*, *očijukati* and *merkati*, while the representatives from English include *leer* and *ogle*.
- **Group F** includes all the vision verbs that could not be classified into one of the first five groups. These verbs will be analysed separately.

For any further differentiations between verbs belonging to the same group, we may employ Nida's idea of componential analysis of individual terms. He claims that it is "more meaningful to analyse the various meanings from the standpoint of the glosses and the cultural components which are to be found in such uses of words" (Nida 1975: 19). However, the analysis of semantic components will be textual and specific for each verb rather than limited to creating diagrams and selecting fixed components that can be turned on and off. On the whole, the nature the semantic features of vision verbs is not binary in regard to these components – a better way to regard them would be on a more-less basis, characteristic of prototype studies.

#### 4. ANALYSIS

This section contains six sub-sections, each of which contains the analysis of one of the six semantic groups described in the previous section.

##### 4.1. Group A

This group includes eight examples from Serbian and five examples from English. The analysis in this and in the following six groups will be performed one-way, verb by verb, starting from the Serbian part of the corpus.

|   |                       |
|---|-----------------------|
| (S1) <i>bajiti</i>  | (E1) <i>gape</i>      |
| (S2) <i>blenuti, zablenuti, zablejati</i>                 | (E2) <i>gawk/gawp</i> |
| (S3) <i>buljiti, izbuljiti, ubuljiti, zbuljiti se</i>     | (E3) <i>gaze</i>      |
| (S4) <i>piljiti, zapiljiti, upileti se, upiljiti (se)</i> | (E4) <i>goggle</i>    |
| (S5) <i>ustakliti</i>                                     | (E5) <i>stare</i>     |
| (S6) <i>zevati, pozevati</i>                              |                       |
| (S7) <i>zuriti, zazuriti (se)</i>                         |                       |
| (S8) <i>zverati, prozverati, zviriti</i>                  |                       |

RMS defines ***bajiti*** (S1) as "to gape, look as if in wonder, to gaze", which makes its English correspondents more than obvious, *gaze* being a more precise solution in the process of translation (e.g. *Što bajiš u mene?* = *Why are you gazing at me?*). Out of the

features listed, it is mostly connected to perplexity, it involves a longer period of looking, but the eyes are not necessarily wide open.

The second example (S2) involves three connected verbs - *blenuti*, *zablenuti*, *zablejati*. They are defined as (a) "to look in a dull, unconscious manner" and additionally (b) "to get surprised, bewildered," (c) "to get carried away" and (d) "to fall in love" (RMS 1967). In this case, polysemy makes the search for a suitable correspondent more difficult, as we can see that this vision verb extended itself into various mental processes – (b) cognitive, (c) cognitive and emotional and (d) emotional. Talking about the mentioned features, in its main sense, this verb is primarily linked with unintelligibility or stupidity and the length of looking and the closest English verbs in terms of meaning are *gaze*, *gawk* and *gawp* (e.g. *Moj otac ustuknu, pa blene u moju mater = My father flinched and started gazing at my mother*). If the verb is in the context in which the sense (b) is stressed, *gape* would be an acceptable solution (e.g. *Kada je video njenu novu, zelenu boju kose, jednostavno je zablenuo = When he saw her new, green hair colour, he simply gaped*), while in the sense (c) the most precise correspondent would be *gaze* (*Nakon nekog vremena, samo je zablenuo u daljinu = After some time, he just gazed into the distance*). The most difficult sense in terms of translation would be the one in which this verb is linked with love (d) – in this case, *gaze* would have to be translated with *to fall in love* (e.g. *Ja vrlo dobro znam da ste se zablenuli u njegovu kćer = I know very well that you have fallen in love with his daughter*). In this case, we have a translation equivalent instead of partial or full correspondents, as there is no formal correspondence between these elements of L1 and L2. The meaning of the prefix *za-* in the two prefixed verbs in this section (*zablenuti*, *zablejati*) can be equated with *to begin/start* (Novakov 2005: 70).

The third set of examples (S3) includes *buljiti*, *izbuljiti*, *ubuljiti*, *zabuljiti se*. These verbs are defined as: "to look with the eyes wide open" (RMS 1967). As we can see, in relation to the listed semantic features, the stress here is on the position of the eyes. The 'reason' and the length of action are, in this case, secondary. The English verb which best corresponds to Serbian *buljiti* is *goggle* (e.g. *Zašto tako buljiš u nju = Why are you goggling at her like that?*). In the contexts in which this verb is used to express an offensive action, *gawk* and *gawp* are possible translation solutions. The meaning of the prefix *iz-* in *izbuljiti* denotes the moment of realization (Novakov 2005: 71) and shortens the length of the action – a possible equivalent for *izbuljiti* would be *to pop one's eyes out*. *u-* in *ubuljiti* means *into*, while the meaning of the prefix *za-* in *zabuljiti se* can be equated and translated with *to begin/start* (Novakov 2005: 70, 90).

In the following set of examples (S4), we find four Serbian verbs, *piljiti*, *zapiljiti*, *upileti se*, *upiljiti (se)*, clustered around *piljiti*, the verb defined in the following manner: "to stare at someone fixedly, persistently" (RMS 1967). In the contexts in which the object of looking may be the object of sexual interest, this verb may be considered a member of Group E. Otherwise, it expresses the action that is usually long, but does not necessarily describe the position of the eyes or eyelids. In its most 'neutral' contexts, as well as in the contexts in which it reflects erotic desire, *piljiti* can be translated with *stare* (e.g. *Ona ostade da pilji u prozore = She kept staring at the windows*). Only in the neutral contexts, it can be translated with *gaze* as well. The meanings of the prefixes *za-* and *u-* in *zapiljiti*, *upileti se*, *upiljiti (se)* are the same as in the previous example.

The fifth example (S5) – *ustakliti* is defined as "to start looking at someone or something fixedly," which makes it similar to the previous example, except for the fact that the use of this verb can rarely be connected to sexual or erotic interest. Just like *piljiti*, it both

expresses the action that is usually long and does not necessarily describe the position of the eyes or eyelids. All this makes *gaze* a likely correspondent for *ustakliti* (e.g. *Potpuno je odlutao i ustaklio ka daljini = He totally wandered off and gazed into the distance*). *Stare* is a possible correspondent as well, although less precise due to its negative connotations.

The sixth example (S6), *zevati, pozevati*, literally means "to open one's mouth; to yawn" (RMS 1967). However, this verb got transferred into the realm of vision and it also means "to stare; to gaze with one's mouth wide open" (RMS 1967). Depending on the context, this verb can either express an extreme reaction caused by surprise, perplexity or shock or an offensive way of looking, in which case we can link it to Group E. The former meaning is likely to be translated with *gape* (e.g. *Zinuo je od iznenađenja = He gaped in surprise*), while *stare* seems to be more suitable for the latter (e.g. *U šta si zinuo? = What are you staring at?*). The prefix *po-* denotes repetition (Novakov 2005: 76; 94) and can be translated with *continually, a bit, a little, for some time or from time to time*, depending on the context.

In the following example (S7) we find *zuriti, zazuriti (se)*, which are defined as "to look at something unconsciously, continually" (RMS 1967). This verb can have negative connotations in certain contexts and in some other contexts it can be connected to perplexity or unintelligibility. In the former kind of contexts, the likely correspondent would be *stare* (e.g. *On nepristojno zuri u nju = He rudely stares at her*) and in the latter ones it would be either *stare* or *gaze* (e.g. *Učitelj je zurio u mapu i ništa nije shvatao = The teacher gazed at the map and understood nothing*). The prefix *za-* in *zazuriti (se)* can be equated and translated with *to begin/start* (Novakov 2005: 70, 90).

The last example in this group (S8), *zverati, prozverati, zviriti* is defined as (1) "to throw quick impatient looks; to look timidly" and (2) "to gaze or stare" (RMS 1967), which means that one of its meanings (1) borders Group B. In its first sense (1) this verb describes coyness or nervousness, while in the second one (2), it may reflect perplexity, shock or unintelligibility and can also have negative connotations. The equivalent which would fit the first sense would be *to glance nervously* (*Nije znao šta će sa sobom pa je samo zverao unaokolo = He did not know what to do with himself, so he just glanced around nervously*), while in the second case we would have a correspondent – *stare, gaze, gawk or gawp* (*Zašto tako zverate u nas? = Why are you staring at us like that?*). The prefix *pro-* in *prozverati* can be translated with *to begin/start* (Novakov 2005: 78, 96)

#### 4.2. Group B

Group B contains seven examples or groups of vision verbs from Serbian and eight vision verbs from English:

|  |                     |
|--|---------------------|
| (S9) <i>gleduc(k)ati</i>   | (E6) <i>eye</i>     |
| (S10) <i>gviriti</i>   | (E7) <i>glance</i>  |
| (S11) <i>podviriti</i>   | (E8) <i>glimpse</i> |
| (S12) <i>škiljiti, čkiljiti, začkiljiti, priškiljiti, pričkiljiti,</i> | (E9) <i>peek</i>    |
| <i>učkiljiti, proškiljiti</i>  | (E10) <i>peep</i>   |
| (S13) <i>viriti, zavirivati, naviriti, povirivati, proviriti</i>       | (E11) <i>peer</i>   |
| (S14) <i>zagledati</i>   | (E12) <i>spy</i>    |
| (S15) <i>žmiriti, požmiriti, prožmiriti</i>                            | (E13) <i>squint</i> |

The first example in this group (S9) contains the verb **gleduc(k)ati** (the diminutive form of *gledati*). This verb is defined as "to take short looks (at something)" (RMS 1967). Out of the aforementioned semantic features, it is mostly connected to coyness and it is comprised of a number (or series) of consecutive short actions. It is not necessarily connected to visual difficulties or to secrecy, evil, malevolence or suspicion. It can be translated with either *glance* and *glimpse*, but in the progressive aspect, as they have to reflect a series of actions. Another option is to use the phrases *to keep throwing/casting glances*. Probably the most precise solution would be using *to glance on and off* with *glance* in the progressive aspect (e.g. *Jutros me je samo gleduckao = This morning he was just glancing on and off at me*).

The second example (S10) is related to the verb **gviriti**. RMS defines this verb primarily as "to look furtively, stealthily, from a shelter, through some hole." We can see that it is linked with secrecy and that its duration is not limited in the way in which the duration of the verb from the previous example was. Although *peep* and *peek* seem to be more limited in terms of duration, they are still acceptable correspondents for *gviriti*, as they are both linked to secrecy. *Peep* is a better solution, as its meaning is connected with looking "through a narrow aperture" (ODE 2005).

The third example (S11), **podviriti**, is defined as: (1) "to throw a short look" or (2) "to look under something" (RMS 1967). In its first sense, *podviriti* can reflect nervousness, secrecy or suspicion and in that case it can be translated with *glance* (*Stidljivo je podvirio, pa smo ga videli = He glanced timidly, so we saw him*). In the second sense, this verb should be translated with *to look, peep or glance under*. When used in this sense, in some contexts it can have negative, mainly erotic connotations (e.g. *Podviruje joj pod suknju = He is peeping under her skirt*).

The following example (S12) includes seven vision verbs with similar meanings – **škiljiti, čkiljiti, začkiljiti, priškiljiti, pričkiljiti, učkiljiti, proškiljiti**. They are defined as "to look with the eyes half-shut." Their meaning can be grasped in two different ways. The first one would involve visual difficulties and in this case its correspondent is undoubtedly *squint* (e.g. *Škiljio je u novine, jer nije stavio naočare = He squinted at the newspaper as he did not have his glasses on*). In the second one, this verb can be related to secrecy, in which case it can be translated with *peep* or *peer* (e.g. *Škiljio je iz prikrajka = He peeped stealthily*). The prefix *pro-* in *proškiljiti* and *za-* in *začkiljiti* can be translated with *to begin/start* (Novakov 2005: 70, 78, 90, 96). The prefix *pri-* in *priškiljiti* and *pričkiljiti* can be translated with *a bit* or *a little*.

The fifth set of examples (S13) includes six vision verbs: **viriti, zavirivati, naviriti, povirivati, proviriti**. They are clustered around the following definition: "to look while being hidden" (RMS 1967). Therefore, when we come to the listed semantic features, we can see that this group of verbs is mostly connected to secrecy. This leads us towards the conclusion that the matching correspondents for them are *peek, spy* or *peek* (*Uhvatili smo ga kako viri iza ormara = We caught him peeping from behind the cupboard*). *Zavirivati* and *povirivati* (having both a prefix and an infix) denote repeated actions and are likely to be always translated with a verb in its progressive aspect. The prefix *pro-* in *proviriti* can be translated with *to begin/start* (Novakov 2005: 78, 96).

In the next example (S14), we encounter the verb **zagledati**, which is defined as "to throw a short look; to peep" or "to start looking" (RMS 1967). In most cases, we can translate it with *peep* (the action is uninterrupted) (e.g. *Zagledao nas je iza ugla = He peeped at us from behind the corner*). This verb can also have two senses that could bring

it closer to Group E: when used with the reflexive pronoun *zagledati se*, this verb can mean *to fall in love*. Besides this, *zagledati* can reflect absentmindedness and in that case we translate it with *gaze* (e.g. *Zagledao se u daljinu* = *He gazed into the distance*).

The concluding example in this section (S15) is the one containing the verbs *žmiriti*, *požmiriti* and *prožmiriti*. These verbs are close to the ones from the example (S12), except for the fact that these cannot be related to secrecy. So, the sole meaning these verbs have is "to look with the eyes half-shut" (RMS 1967). This leaves us with only one possible correspondent – *squint* (e.g. *Sunčevi zraci su prejaki, pa moram da žmirim* = *Sun-rays are too strong, so I have to squint*). The prefix *pro-* in *prožmiriti* can be translated with *to begin/start* (Novakov 2005: 78, 96). The prefix *po-* in *požmiriti* can be translated with *a bit* or *a little*.

### 4.3. Group C

This group contains five Serbian examples and five English vision verbs:

|   |                     |
|---|---------------------|
| (S16) <i>bečati, zabečiti se, izbečiti, ubečiti</i> | (E14) <i>frown</i>  |
| (S17) <i>prestreliti</i>                            | (E15) <i>glare</i>  |
| (S18) <i>rogačiti</i>                               | (E16) <i>gloat</i>  |
| (S19) <i>žžiti, užžiti</i>                          | (E17) <i>glower</i> |
| (S20) <i>mrštiti</i>                                | (E18) <i>scowl</i>  |

The first example (S16) contains four vision verbs from Serbian – *bečati, zabečiti se, izbečiti, ubečiti*. These four verbs could equally be classified into Group A, as their main meaning is "to stare, to look fixedly" (RMS 1967). However, their implications make them a part of Group C – they are very frequently linked with anger. In the neutral contexts, they can be translated with *stare* (e.g. *Tri sata je juče bečio u mene* = *Yesterday, he stared at me for three hours*). However, if anger is stressed, this verb would have to be translated with *glare, glower* or *leer* (e.g. *Kad god me vidi, izbeći se na mene* = *Whenever he sees me, he glowers at me*). The prefixes *za-* and *iz-* in *zabečiti* and *izbečiti* can be translated with *to begin/start* (Novakov 2005: 70, 90), while *u-* in *ubečiti* can be translated with *into* or with *to begin/start*.

The second example (S17), which carries the verb *prestreliti*, undoubtedly belongs to Group C. This verb literally means "to penetrate with an arrow", but it is metaphorized into "to take a stern look; to look angrily" (RMS 1967), which means that it should be translated with either *glare, glower* or *scowl* (e.g. *Rekoh nešto loše, a on me prestrela* = *I said something wrong and he scowled at me*).

The third example in this group (S18), *rogačiti*, could be classified into Group A as well, because its main meaning is "to open one's eyes wide, to look as if in wonder, to gaze, to stare" (RMS 1967). In this case, it is obviously connected to semantic features such as surprise, perplexity or unintelligibility. In this case, this verb would be translated with *goggle, stare* or *gaze* (e.g. *Rogačila je u mene i rekla nešto čudno* = *She goggled at me and said something strange*). However, this verbs can also have negative connotations and be connected to an angry way of looking – in these contexts, the verb can be translated with either *glare, glower* or *leer* (e.g. *Ne rogači tako, to me plaši* = *Do not glare like that, it makes me scared*).

The fourth example in this group (S19), *žžiti, užžiti*, literally means "to burn; to torture" (RMS 1967). However, its literal meaning got transferred into the visual domain, so

that this verb now also means "to look constantly, with burning eyes" (RMS 1967). On the one hand, this verb can reflect passion and therefore it borders Group E – in this case we would translate it with *to look passionately* (e.g. *Žižio je u njene oči = He looked passionately into her eyes*). On the other hand, this verb can also be linked to anger, hostility or aggression and in the contexts which stress these semantic features, this verb will be translated with *glare*, *glower*, *leer* or *scowl* depending on the intensity (e.g. *Žižio je ka meni pun besa = He glared at me, full of anger*). The prefix *u-* in *užiti* can be translated with either *into* or *to begin/start*, depending on the context.

The last example in this group (S20), *mrštiti*, primarily means "to wrinkle one's face; to express dissatisfaction, concern, pain" (RMS 1967). When related to vision, it mainly refers to the fact that the eyebrows are furrowed or lowered, which usually means that it can either reflect (1) anger and dissatisfaction and (2) perplexity and unintelligibility. In the former sense, it could be translated with *frown* or *scowl* (*scowl* being more intense) (e.g. *Namrštila se toliko da sam pomislio da će da me ubije = She scowled at me so much that I thought she would kill me*); in the latter sense, it may be translated with *frown* only (e.g. *Mrštio se dok je pokušavao da reši zagonetku = He frowned while trying to solve the riddle*).

#### 4.4. Group D

Group D includes five examples from Serbian and ten verbs from English:

|   |                        |
|---|------------------------|
| (S21) <i>motriti, pomotriti, posmatrati</i> | (E19) <i>browse</i>    |
| (S22) <i>nadgledati</i>                     | (E20) <i>check</i>     |
| (S23) <i>nadzirati</i>                      | (E21) <i>examine</i>   |
| (S24) <i>osmotriti, osmatrati</i>           | (E22) <i>monitor</i>   |
|   | (E23) <i>observe</i>   |
|   | (E24) <i>oversee</i>   |
|   | (E25) <i>supervise</i> |
|   | (E26) <i>watch</i>     |

The first set (S21) consist of three verbs, *motriti, pomotriti, posmatrati*, which are described as "to observe or watch (carefully, from many angles)" (RMS 1967). Their meaning is connected to systematicity, attentiveness and awareness, so the likely correspondents for these verbs are *observe*, *watch* or *view* (e.g. *Ne propusti nikoga da prođe a da ga ne posmotri = He did not let anyone pass through without observing him*). *Motriti* and *posmatrati* have similar meanings, while *po-* in *pomotriti* can be translated as *a bit, a little* or *for some time*.

In the second (S22) and the third example (S23), the verbs *nadgledati* and *nadzirati* are described as "to supervise, to watch (from above)" (RMS 1967). It also involves systematicity, attentiveness and awareness, but it also involves the fact that the subject has a higher status than the object of *nadgledati*, which means that it is also linked to management or administration. This verb can be translated with *supervise*, *monitor* or *oversee* (e.g. *Oni kopaju kanale, a ja ih nadgledam = They are digging the canals and I am supervising them*).

In the fourth example (S24), *osmotriti, osmatrati*, we face the verbs defined as "to encompass with one's look; to examine by looking; to view" (RMS 1967). As for the listed features, we can link *osmotriti* and *osmatrati* to attentiveness, awareness, alertness and partly to systematicity. Therefore, its correspondents in Serbian would be *view* for *osmo-*

*triti* and *observe* for *osmatrati*, as *osmatrati* has a higher degree of systematicity and demands more time (e.g. *Osmotrio je okolinu i krenuo dalje = He viewed the surroundings and went on; Pažljivo je osmatrao šta se dešava = He carefully observed what was happening*).

#### 4.5. Group E

Group E includes four vision verbs from Serbian and two from English:

|                        |                   |
|------------------------|-------------------|
| (S25) <i>merkati</i>   | (E27) <i>leer</i> |
| (S26) <i>očijukati</i> | (E28) <i>ogle</i> |
| (S27) <i>šacovati</i>  |                   |
| (S28) <i>ždrakati</i>  |                   |

This group of vision verbs seems to be the most challenging in terms of searching for appropriate correspondents. The reason for this is the reality in which both *leer* and *ogle* are quite offensive and as such they carry quite strong negative connotations and therefore cannot be used for translating three of four vision verbs in Serbian. The verbs belonging to this group were defined as those which reflect romantic or sexual interest or desire, but *ogle* and *leer* cannot be connected with romance in its pure, positive sense.

In the first (S25) and the third example (S27), the verbs *merkati* and *šacovati* are defined as "to watch, observe, weigh out, measure; to watch with pleasure" (RMS 1967). When used to denote vision, these verbs are usually connected to the male way of looking to females (towards whom they feel attraction). The verbs have neutral to negative connotations, but translating them with *leer* or *ogle* would not be acceptable as these two seem to be too offensive, so we have to find other translation equivalents. The closest we can get seems to be to translate these to verbs with *to eye up*. However, the English equivalent predominantly reflects sexual desire, while the two Serbian verbs have somewhat romantic overtones mixed with sexual desire (e.g. *Merkaao je tu mladu devojkku = He kept eyeing up the young girl*). The use of both Serbian verbs and their English equivalent is mostly informal.

We have a similar case in the second example (S26) – the verb *očijukati* is "to throw loving glances, to look as if in love, to flirt" (RMS 1967). Unlike *merkati*, *očijukati* can be used for both the male and female way of looking towards the opposite sex – its connotations are mainly positive, which again rules out the use of both *leer* and *ogle*. Its translation equivalents could be verb phrases such as *to glance lovingly* or *to throw/cast loving glances*. (e.g. *Njih dvoje se mesecima očijukaju = For months, the two of them have been lovingly glancing at each other*). We can use *flirt* as well, but it would include more non-visual components.

Although RMS defines the last example (S28), *ždrakati*, merely as "to look (at someone)," this verb, in its current usage, describes a much more intense way of looking. To prove this, we can note that this verb gets metaphorized and describes the emission of strong, even harsh light, usually by the Sun. When used to describe a way of looking, it is frequently understood as offensive, which makes it a likely counterpart for *leer* and *ogle* (e.g. *Ždrakao je u nju kao da nikada ženu nije video = He ogled at her as if he had never seen a woman before*). *Ogle* seems to be much closer to what *ždrakati* really means, as *leer* may reflect malevolence that is not connected to erotic or sexual desire. Translating it with *to eye up* is also acceptable. *Ždrakati* is considered to be informal and colloquial.

#### 4.6. Group F

The last group in the analysis includes three verbs, all of which are from Serbian:

(S29) *kolati*

(S30) *nagledati se, napromatrati se*

(S31) *uzveriti*

Among many meanings associated with its non-visual aspects, *kolati* (S29) means "to look around; to roll one's eyes" (RMS 1967). This verb is in most cases associated with boredom or irritation and cannot be translated with an one-word verb in English. *To look around*, seen as a possible translation equivalent, does not seem to reflect the negative connotations associated with the Serbian verb (in Serbian, it usually linked with boredom), so *to roll one's eyes* remains as the sole solution in this case (e.g. *Zašto kolaš? Ni sam valjda toliko dosadan!?* = *Why are you rolling your eyes? Am I that boring?*).

In (S30) we find the verbs *nagledati se* and *napromatrati se*, which are defined as "to be pleased with looking at something; to see enough of something" (RMS 1967). We can see that these two senses contradict each other – the former carries quite positive associations, while the latter is all but positive. They are both unlikely to be translated with an English correspondent. In its first, positive, sense, it can be translated with *to take pleasure from looking at something* or *to look at something galore* (e.g. *U ovoj ulici se možeš nagledati lepih devojaka* = *In this street, you can look at the pretty girls galore*). In some contexts it can be translated with *one cannot take one's eyes off something* (e.g. *On ne može da se nagleda naših kola* = *He can't take his eyes off our car*). In its negative sense, it can be translated with *to see enough of something* (*Nagledao sam se ratnih scena* = *I have seen too many war scenes*).

The third example in this section (S31), *uzveriti*, means "to look bewilderedly" (RMS 1967), which makes it close to Group A. However, it does not describe the position of the eyes and the eyelids, nor the length of the action. Therefore, the best way to translate it would be using the whole phrase – *to look bewilderedly* (e.g. *Potpuno smo je zbunili, pa je uzverila* = *We got her confused, so she started looking bewilderedly*).

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

In terms of translation, the level of compatibility between the vision verbs from Serbian and English seems to be quite high. In many cases we faced both polysemy proper and regular polysemy, the former of which proved to be more difficult for analysis, as it involved searching for more than one discrete meaning of a verb. This means that there are more correspondents that can serve as good solutions in the process of translation and the choice of the appropriate one is in most cases likely to be determined by the context the verb is in. Still there are some contexts in which these verbs seem to be interchangeable.

The most problematic group in the process of translation seems to be Group E (which consists of the verbs that reflect romantic or sexual interest or desire), as the single-word verbs from English completely fail to cover the meanings of three Serbian vision verbs. Even though this group of verbs lacks formal correspondence, we can still find quite acceptable translation equivalents for the Serbian verbs which do not have their one-word counterpart in English.

The analysis leads us to yet another conclusion. Namely, what seems to be one of the problems related to the used monolingual dictionaries of Serbian and bilingual Serbian-English and English-Serbian dictionaries is the fact that they pay too little attention to any associative, connotative components of meaning. We could see that in some cases, these components were crucial in the course of finding proper correspondents and equivalents.

Finally, a study performed in the other direction, with English as L1 and Serbian as L2, would certainly shed more light onto this issue and create more thorough links between the two languages in regard to vision verbs.

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## **METAFORIČKA I PROŠIRENA UPOTREBA HIPONIMA GLAGOLA *GLEDATI* U SRPSKOM I *LOOK* U ENGLESKOM JEZIKU**

**Dušan Stamenković**

*Ovaj rad je kontrastivna studija koja pokušava da istraži razne vrste metaforičke i proširene upotrebe glagola koje smatramo hiponimima generičkih vizuelnih glagola gledati u srpskom i look u engleskom jeziku. Ovi glagoli pripadaju glagolima osnovne telesne percepcije i samim tim se često koriste kao izvorni domen u procesu metaforizacije i ostalih vrsta proširene upotrebe. Osnovni cilj rada je da uporedi načine promene osnovnog značenja glagola vizuelne percepcije, kao i da ispita koja im se nevizuelna značenja pridodaju. Takođe, rad će se baviti i onim glagolima čije osnovno značenje nije nužno povezano sa vizuelnom percepcijom, ali koji vizuelno značenje stiču kroz proces metaforizacije. Glagoli su podeljeni u više semantičkih grupa i analiziraju se jedan po jedan. Na kraju, rad će ujedno da bude i pokušaj da se pronađu rešenja za probleme koji se javljaju pri prevođenju ove vrste glagola sa srpskog na engleski.*

**Ključne reči:** *leksikologija, kontrastivna analiza, semantičke osobine, prevođenje, glagoli vizuelne percepcije, metaforizacija*