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## The preposition and prefix *nad* in South Slavic languages with emphasis on Macedonian

This paper examines the senses of the preposition and prefix *nad* in Macedonian and the relation to its equivalents in other South Slavic languages: Croatian, Serbian, and Bulgarian. The main goal of the paper is to establish the network of spatial and non-spatial senses of the preposition *nad* and explain how each sense is linked to the meanings of the prefix *nad-*. By discovering the semantic components distinguishing one sense from another, the authors propose a conceptual network of senses based on the analysis of Macedonian *nad*, a preposition that subsumes the senses of Croatian and Serbian *iznad* and *nad*. The analysis is based on the classification of corpus examples collected from various texts that reflect contemporary language usage.

Traditional treatments of the preposition *nad* fail to provide a unitary account for all its instances and to explain the relation to the prefix *nad-*. In cognitive-based studies, Slavic prepositions and prefixes are treated within the same conceptual network, and so the semantic derivation of prefixes does not seem to be explained in a systematic way. We apply an alternative approach by positing the same cognitive network, but at two different levels of abstraction. The network of the prefix *nad-* shows that each meaning of a prefix represents an extension from a particular corresponding spatial or non-spatial sense of the preposition *nad*. The proposed network could be applied to the isofunctional prepositions in the languages considered because it determines common derivational pathways of the prefix *nad-* in the South Slavic languages.

**Key words:** South Slavic languages; prepositions; prefixes; verticality; superposition; polysemy.



## 1. Introduction

This paper examines the meanings of the preposition *nad* and verbal prefix *nad-* in Macedonian (M) in relation to corresponding elements in other South Slavic languages—Bulgarian (B), Croatian (C), and Serbian (S)—employing a cognitive approach. Cognitive linguistics holds that the meaning of a particular lexical item derives from its conceptual structure (Tyler & Evans 2003: 20). However, meaning is not an independent concept because cognitive processing and the organization of perception are instrumental in meaning construction.<sup>1</sup> Linguistic units usually exhibit multiple meanings, and prepositions and prefixes are no exception. This is the main reason why the description of prepositions has always been problematic for both linguists and lexicographers. Any preposition has a wide application because it can express a number of relations ranging from spatial to abstract. Cognitive linguistics offers a framework that can unify different, often disparate meanings into a single system by determining the relations among them. In accordance with the main tenets of cognitive grammar, the unitary character of this category is based on two principles (Langacker 1991; Taylor 2002): a certain abstract conceptual representation or image schema underlies the meaning of linguistic units, and the related meanings are organized as categories that develop from the prototypical meaning through extension. The extension of meanings proceeds from concrete to abstract as a result of the processes of pragmatic strengthening, metaphorization, and metonymization. As new senses develop into more sub-schemas at a different level of abstraction, the distance between them and the prototypical meaning increases, resulting in a complex map of schemas.

Prepositions express atemporal relations (Taylor 2002: 221). From a topological perspective, they encode a spatial asymmetric relation between two objects: a foregrounded figure or trajector (TR) and a backgrounded ground or landmark (LM) that serves as the reference point for the former. However, prepositions cannot be described only by topological relations. Two more configurations participate in the spatial construal of a relation coded by a preposition: dynamic, through (body) movement, and functional. The force-dynamic configuration refers to the kinetic aspects (i.e., the motion of the participants in space). However, the use of a preposition is underdetermined by geometrical or kinetic relations alone and needs to be supplemented by the knowledge of how objects in-

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<sup>1</sup> Authors such as Langacker (1987), Turner (1991), and Tyler and Evans (2003: 17) treat words not just as reflections of real-world objects or a bundle of semantic features, but rather as linguistic prompts that trigger complex conceptualizations.



teract with each other (Coventry 1998, 2003). A spatial configuration typically has meaningful consequences for the participants. The functional meaning expresses the non-spatial, extralinguistic information that reflects the functional potential of the two participants in a given spatial relation. In other words, the very geometrical positioning of participants in space has “experiential significance” (Pekar 2001: 67) for them because this topology enables their mutual interaction. It is this interplay of topological, force-dynamic, and functional properties of a spatial relation that determines the semantics of the preposition coding this relation. This analysis of the preposition *nad* shows that all three aspects must be considered for a thorough account of its semantics.

Investigating the prefix together with the corresponding preposition is justified by the fact that prepositions and prefixes are related with respect to their origin and meaning.<sup>2</sup> The present typologically-oriented analysis seeks to establish functional and conceptual links between the preposition *nad* and the prefix *nad-* employing a cognitive approach. Within a cognitive framework they have been treated as members of the same semantic category (Lakoff 1987; Tyler & Evans 2003). Traditional grammars, on the other hand, mostly focus on the distribution of meaning within each form separately, either as a preposition or a prefix. Although the historical origin of prefixes from prepositions is unequivocally asserted, the pathways of this derivation have not been fully explored.<sup>3</sup> The common view in traditional grammars is that some prefixes are lexical and some are purely grammatical or “empty,” but all of them change the aspect of a verb if added to an imperfective stem.<sup>4</sup> In the same vein, Bybee et al. (1994: 87–90)

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<sup>2</sup> In order to capture the typological “commonality” between such forms and their functional correlates in various languages, Talmy introduces the cover term “satellite” (Talmy 1985/2007: 138). A satellite creates a complex predicate with the verb root and represents its semantically dependent modifier. Within Indo-European languages, this category comprises German particles and Slavic or Latin verb prefixes.

<sup>3</sup> Prefixation diachronically gave rise to Aktionsart, or Slavic prefixed verbs whose prefixes contribute to the event’s spatial, temporal, or manner modification, such as degree (majorative, diminutive), distribution, saturation, and so on (Ugrinova-Skalovska 1960). Historically, prefixes originate from free particles that used to specify the meaning of an adjacent lexeme (Ugrinova-Skalovska 1960: 9, referring to Meillet 1934). Upon their coalescence, the spatial meaning of the resultant prefix gradually became associated with part of an event (instead of the whole event) or with the manner in which the event occurred.

<sup>4</sup> Timberlake (1985/2007: 295–297) explains that the addition of prefixes to imperfective stems imposes spatial or abstract limits on the activity. The event obtains its natural end, causing the prefixed verb to become telic, which often entails perfectivity. Dahl (1985: 84) argues



consider verbal prefixes of the Slavic type as one of the sources for development of perfective aspect via lexical derivation.

Although it is now generally accepted that verbal prefixes in Slavic, in spite of their derivational nature, play a considerable role in the aspectual system of verbs, some studies point out that their role is not uniform (Filip 2003; Dickey 2005; Janda 2007). A number of recent studies in various frameworks provide a functional classification of verbal prefixes in Slavic (e.g., Romanova 2004; Svenonius 2004; Gehrke 2008), distinguishing between “lexical,” “super-lexical,” and “perfectivizing” prefixes. It seems that lexical prefixes retain their original prepositional meaning whereas super-lexical prefixes quantify the event by focusing on some part of it.

The cognitive approach considers Slavic verbal prefixes as polysemous units that exhibit prototype effects (Janda 1984; Dickey 2007). The diverse meanings of each prefix constitute a network organized as a family resemblance category; thus the problem of “unity and diversity” of prefixal semantics can easily be solved (Janda 1984: 68). In some Slavic studies, following the Anglo-American tradition (Lakoff 1987; Tyler & Evans 2001, 2003), prefixes and prepositions are treated as part of a unified network without distinguishing two levels of abstraction, and so it is difficult to perceive the exact relation between the prefix and its source preposition. Taking into consideration the more abstract nature of prefixes, we propose an alternative approach: prefixes and prepositions should be treated at a different level of abstraction; that is, separately. It would be more revealing to look at each meaning of a prefix as an extension from a particular meaning of a preposition, be it spatial or non-spatial.

The main goal of this paper is to establish the network of spatial senses expressed by the Macedonian preposition *nad*, defining both its individual senses and their relations, to explain how these senses relate to their non-spatial meanings, and, finally, to explain how each sense is linked to the meanings of the prefix *nad-*. In discussing the spatial senses, we consider which features separate them; that is, we try to isolate the factor(s) that determine the change of scene (Brala 2005, referring to Talmy 2000). It is shown that the established network could be applied to the corresponding preposition(s) in the languages analyzed, focusing especially on the distribution of *nad* and *iznad* in Croatian and Serbian. We also investigate two related features of prefixal semantics: the relationship

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that prefixes originally had locative meanings, but accepts the existence of “empty” perfectivizers. Dickey (this issue) calls such grammaticalized prefixes “orphan.”



of the spatial prefix *nad-* in Macedonian to its counterparts in other South Slavic languages (B, C, and S) and its functional load in these languages. In this way we hope to establish common derivational pathways for the prefix *nad-* applicable to all these languages.

The remainder of this paper is divided into two major sections: Section 2 is devoted to the preposition *nad*, and Section 3 to the prefix *nad-*. Each section starts with an overview of the literature and then proceeds to an analysis of the spatial and metaphorical senses of the corresponding item.

## 2. The preposition *nad*

### 2.1. *Traditional vs. cognitive treatments of nad*

The *Dictionary of the Macedonian Language* (Koneski et al. 2006: 218) lists six meanings for the preposition *nad*, distinguishing spatial meanings from “figurative” ones, but the meanings given represent a random collection of intuitions rather than an organized polysemic system.<sup>5</sup> Other dictionaries provide the same meanings with slight modifications, whereas in Murgoski (2005) a “covering” sense is added.

The preposition *nad* is discussed by Koneski (1987: 523) in his short overview of Macedonian prepositions. He distinguishes two meanings of *nad*: locative (when some object is situated higher than another) and metaphorical (when *nad* expresses a higher degree or excess, as in *čekam nad eden čas* ‘I’ve been waiting for over an hour’). He made an important observation that the metaphorical meanings had developed from spatial ones.

Tchizmarova (2005: 104–107; this issue), who provides a thorough overview of the treatment of the preposition *nad* in traditional Bulgarian literature, found the following meanings listed in various sources: ‘higher than’, ‘on top of’, ‘more than’, ‘the best/most’, ‘superior’, ‘better/above’, ‘relative to’, and ‘near the top’. She found that these sources do not all distinguish the same number of

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<sup>5</sup> 1. Location; 2. Quantifying property, more than something; 3. Something that should be given advantage; 4. A property in the highest degree when comparing two equal nouns; 5. An object to which the activity is directed; 6. Power/control over something/someone (Koneski et al. 2006: 218).



meanings and, although some try to group certain meanings, there is little explanation. Brala (2005) also reports unsatisfactory treatment of the meanings given for the corresponding Croatian prepositions *nad* and *iznad* in monolingual and bilingual dictionaries, characterizing them as “intuitive, arbitrary, ranging between the underexploration and the overexploration” [sic].

The common perception is that the shortcomings of the existing descriptions of *nad* lie in their presentation of different meanings in isolation. What is lacking is a structured approach that treats all the preposition’s meanings within an organized system. Although the spatial and figurative meanings are delineated in previous treatments, spatial meanings do not seem to be related and it is impossible to see how they gave rise to abstract ones. The traditional accounts, unlike the cognitive-based ones, disregard the fact that the construction of meaning results from integration of lexical meaning, context, and background knowledge.

Following Tyler and Evans (2003: 7–8), our polysemy model of *nad* aims to discover the principles underlying the network of the meaning of *nad* (a) by determining the linguistic information lexically coded in the concept of *nad* and the extra-linguistic information provided from context, world knowledge, and cognitive processing, and (b) by uncovering the systematic processes responsible for creating contextual and new meanings. This approach makes it possible to discover the semantic links among distinct senses, as well as their extensions. The structure of this category may be graphically represented in the form of a radial network that helps clarify the links between the members. The links visually indicate the conceptual distance between senses and, most importantly, indicate the pathways of semantic derivation because they show the creation of each meaning extension from a particular sense.

Principles of the cognitive approach have already been applied in several studies on the preposition *nad* in some South Slavic languages (see Šarić (2001) and Brala (2005) for Croatian, Rasulić (2004) for Serbian, and Tchizmarova (2005) for Bulgarian). We refer to them in our discussion of particular problems, pointing out where our approaches converge and diverge.

## **2.2. A conceptual map of spatial meanings of the preposition *nad***

Our classification of the meanings of *nad* is based on an analysis of corpus examples collected from texts reflecting the contemporary standard language: lit-



erary prose, journals, newspapers, and internet blogs. As mentioned above, *nad* demonstrates a number of different meanings. In order to conduct a classification that is both constrained and comprehensive, we use the methodology of “principled polysemy” proposed by Tyler and Evans (2001: 731–733, 2003: 42–45), which tries to minimize the subjectivity in linguistic analysis. Assuming that prepositions primarily code a spatial relation, they propose two criteria to delineate a new sense of a preposition from its contextual variant: (a) a new sense should involve a meaning that is not purely spatial and/or it should express a changed configurational relation vs. other senses of that preposition, and (b) the new sense should be context-independent and not inferable from another sense.

We follow these two principles in our description of the preposition *nad* assuming that *nad* represents a polysemous category whose members are united by a basic conceptual schema that reflects the primary spatial relation (see Figure 1). We presume that the basic conceptual schema of Macedonian *nad* encodes a two-dimensional spatial relation between two objects with the following configuration: the figure object is located higher than the ground object (non-contact superposition). This schema serves as a conceptual basis for the two primary spatial senses of *nad*, which further develop into other spatial and/or non-spatial senses (as shown in Figure 1). This derivation is caused by gradual changes in the configuration of the primary schema and by functional implications while the basic “higher than” relation is preserved.

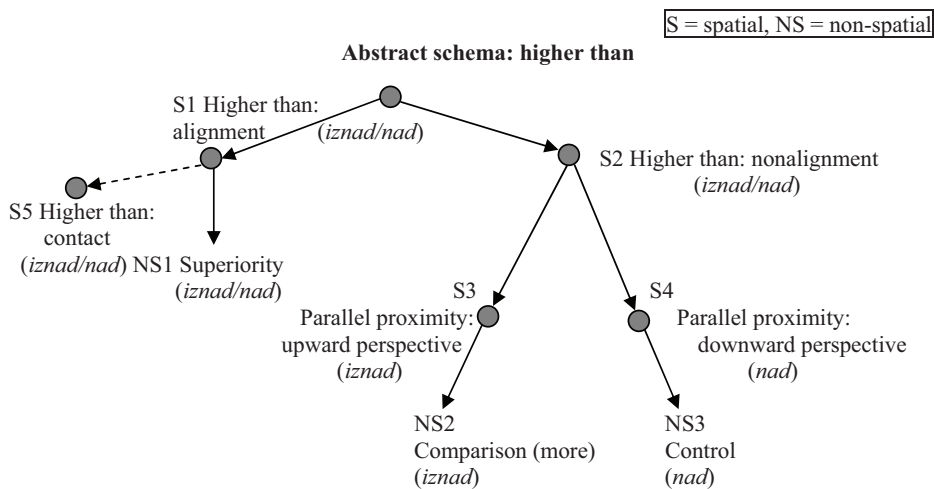


Figure 1. Conceptual map of senses of *nad*.





The same network can be applied to explain the meanings of the prepositions in the South Slavic languages that code the spatial domain of non-contact superposition and the non-spatial meanings extended from it. This relation, lexicalized by the preposition *nad* in Macedonian, as well as in Bulgarian, is expressed by two prepositions in Croatian and Serbian: *iznad* and *nad*, which are only partially synonymous. This is indicative of deeper semantic distinctions presumably due to the presence of a functional meaning in *nad*, a subject addressed later in the discussion.

The proposed graphic representation of the senses of a relational lexeme, in our case *nad*, may explain not only the meaning interrelations of *nad*, but also of *nad* and *iznad*. Two related questions arise: what is the scope of synonymy between the prepositions that share the upper vertical domain in a language (such as *iznad* vs. *nad*) and what is the polysemy network of each preposition? In other words, we would like to single out the conceptual features that differentiate these prepositions and discover the semantic components distinguishing one sense from another. To achieve this goal, we start with a conceptual network of senses based on the analysis of Macedonian *nad*, a preposition that subsumes the senses of Croatian and Serbian *iznad* and *nad*. Such a conceptual network structure accounts for semantic similarity and for aspects of polysemy.

Our classification of senses is based on the presence or absence of several conceptual features that constitute the spatial primitives of the vertical dimension: alignment vs. non-alignment of participants, detached superposition vs. attached superposition (contact), and downward vs. upward perspective. These features are distributed differently in the prepositions and/or prepositional senses of the lexeme coding the superposition domain and represent the factors that determine change of scene. We believe that the clustered distribution of the spatial primitives is crucial for construal of the topological senses of *nad*. The list of spatial conceptual features of *nad* includes the following:

- a) The feature of alignment is present when one of the participants in the verticality relation is located completely or partially within all of the projected boundaries of the other, so that an imaginary vertical axis connects them. In the non-alignment relationship the projections of the participants do not overlap because their imaginary vertical axes are parallel to each other.
- b) The feature of detached superposition or the presence of the vertical distance between the participants is required for the construal of the prototype.





In this scene, the TR entity is located higher than the LM, and so the objects are separated. The distance may vary, and so proximity between the participants has functional consequences for them. Attached superposition results in contact between the participants responsible for the development of the ‘covering’ sense.

- c) An additional feature of perspective encodes the direction of the viewer’s gaze in conceptualizing the spatial scene; the choice of downward or upward perspective may influence the functional meaning.

In the next section we look at the two aspects of each sub-schema of *nad*: a spatial configuration between two entities and a functional aspect of that relation. The latter involves the creation of non-spatial inferences that arise from the configurational relation between these entities. Such inferences can lead to the development of non-spatial meanings of spatial *nad* (cf. Tyler & Evans 2003: 27) and the paths of such extensions are also discussed below. The properties of Macedonian *nad* are compared to those of the equivalent prepositions in the South Slavic languages considered, with special emphasis on the *iznad* vs. *nad* distinction.

### 2.2.1. *Schema 1: Higher than, at a certain distance*

The basic spatial configuration of the preposition *nad* (M) expresses the notion that some object is positioned higher than another so that the vertical projections (or boundaries) of both objects overlap. Apart from alignment, other requirements such as absence of contact must be satisfied, although close proximity is not excluded. Therefore verbs that imply contact with the ground are generally not semantically compatible with *nad*, unless some supernatural force is involved.<sup>6</sup>

The functional aspect of the primary sense of *nad* involves some non-spatial inferences that derive from spatio-physical experience. Although *nad* is somewhat neutral to proximity, it may be argued that speakers tend to interpret *nad* as denoting a proximal rather than distal relationship between the TR and LM, es-

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<sup>6</sup> Compare the following examples with verbs of motion:

(i) Nešto leta/\*odi/\*polzi *nad* masata. (M)

‘Something is flying/\*walking/\*crawling above the table.’



pecially if the LM is bounded. This is probably due to the nature of human perceptual abilities: we see things close to us more clearly; hence we can determine the location of a proximal TR more precisely. Presumably the functional meaning component in Macedonian *nad* implies that the distance between the TR and LM is not unbridgeable and potential contact is not precluded. We assume that this is similar in Bulgarian; however, further investigation is required. The basic topological configuration of the Croatian and Serbian equivalents *iznad* and *nad* also construe a scene in which a smaller mobile object is located at a certain distance higher than a larger static object. Authors that have analyzed the semantic contrast of *iznad* and *nad* argue that *iznad* is more distal than *nad*. Rasulić (2004: 102) notes that *iznad* indicates separation, whereas *nad* implies that the TR is positioned in the maneuvering space of the LM and hence may indicate potential impact on the TR. Thus in the phrase *svetlost iznad šume* (S) ‘light above the forest’ *iznad* refers to location, whereas in *svetlost nad šumom* (S) ‘light over the forest’ *nad* expresses an additional functional meaning: the forest is lit. Brala (2005) also finds that dimensionality plays a role in the lexicalization pattern of Croatian equivalents, a claim based on a pilot study showing that most native speakers “feel” *iznad* to be “higher” than *nad*.

That *nad* is more proximal is clear, but it would be inaccurate to claim that this distinction is maintained in all spatial configurations of superposition (which is discussed below at each individual schema). We think that the major distinction between *nad* and *iznad* is that *nad*, in addition to a topological meaning, has a functional meaning of influence or affectedness as well. The topological meaning of vertical proximity is responsible for the creation of this functional meaning in *nad*: the LM is affected by the proximal superposition of the TR.

*Nad* is neutral with respect to oriented motion; it is the semantics of a motion verb associated with *nad* that conveys movement of the figure object along a path above the ground object. Thus the basic schema can be construed with Path (Fig. 3) or without it (Fig 2), where Path represents a factive or fictive movement of the figure object.

#### A. Static configuration of *nad*

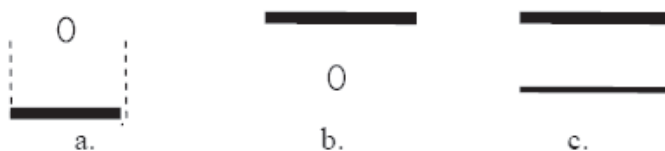


Figure 2. Schema 1A: Prototypical spatial configuration.



The static configuration allows variation in the shape and size of the figure and the ground (compare examples 1a–b and 1c), although a small figure over an extended ground seems to reflect the prototype meaning of *nad*. In line with the previous discussion, *iznad* in (1b) renders distant location, whereas *nad* in (1c) enhances the poetic atmosphere.

- (1) a. *Ozonskata dupka nad Antarktikot se smaluva.* (M)  
 b. *Ozonska rupa iznad Antarktika se smanjuje.* (S)  
 ‘The ozone hole above the Antarctic is getting smaller’  
 c. *Mesečina nad Moravom kao nekad sja.* (S)  
 ‘The moon shines over the Morava River as it has in the past’

## B. Factive or fictive Path

The superposition configuration can express a dynamic relation with verbs of motion when an object moves above an expanded LM traversing a real or imaginary path, either directional or non-directional (Fig 3). The path element introduces only a minor change in the conceptualization of the figure object without changing the topological relation between the two participants. The motion meaning is rendered by a verb: verbs such as *preleta* ‘fly’ express a factive Path of a dynamic figure (Fig. 3a, example 2), as opposed to the fictive Path of a static figure implied by the verb *se protega* ‘extend’ (Fig. 3b, example 3). The path is fictive when the TR moves along an imagined line that a conceiver mentally traverses along a static figure, as in (3).<sup>7</sup> The contour of the path may vary; it need not be straight (Fig. 3c, example 4).

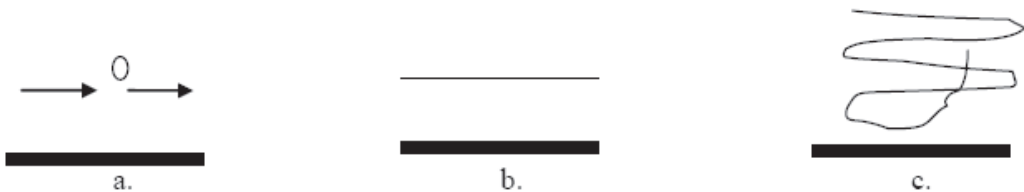


Figure 3. Schema 1B. Factive or fictive path.

- (2) a. *Avionot ni preleta nad glavata.* (M)

<sup>7</sup> Langacker (1991: 215–220) and Taylor (2002: 516–517) call this phenomenon subjectification.



b. *Avion je preletio/preleto iznad naših glava.* (C/S)  
'The plane flew over our heads'

(3) a. *Žicata se protega nad kukata.* (M)

b. *Žica se proteže iznad kuće.* (C/S)  
'The cable extends over the house'

(4) a. *Čavkite kružat nad ploštadot.* (M)

b. *Nad trgov/iznad trga kruže vrane.* (S/C)  
'The crows circle above the square'

In C and S we find both *nad* and *iznad* for dynamic relations, but with certain restrictions. Because it is static, *nad* is compatible with verbs of indeterminate movement (*kružiti* 'to circle') or directional but atelic movement (*letjeti/leteti* 'to fly'). *Iznad* is also possible (4b), but *nad* creates an implicature of proximity and potential influence on the LM, as in (5).

(5) *Mort je podigao pogled, osjetivši kako mu nešto leti nad glavom.* (C)  
'Morton looked up, sensing that something was flying above his head'

(6) *Plaža na kojoj vam avioni preleću iznad glave/preko glave/\*nad glavom.*  
(S)  
'A beach where planes fly above/over your head'

When the movement is telic, *iznad* is predominantly used (6). This is probably because directional verbs reinforce the faded ablative semantics of the first fused component (*iz-*) in *iznad*. If we compare the combinability of a motion verb with *nad/iznad* in *Avion je preletio iznad grada/\*nad gradom* 'The plane flew over the city' vs. '*Avion leti nad gradom/iznad grada* 'The plane is flying over the city' (S), the verb *preletiti* 'to fly over' is felicitous with *iznad*. It seems that in general *iznad* is also static like *nad*, but when used with perfective goal verbs it implies directionality.

As pointed out above, *nad* suggests influence by the TR over the LM in Croatian and Serbian. Distance seems to be irrelevant for the creation of a functional meaning by *nad*. This is illustrated by two sentences in the same text in example



(7), with *nad* in the title and *iznad* in the body of the text. *Nad* suggests danger and serves to capture readers' attention.

- (7) a. *Avion zbog neispravnosti kružio dva sata nad Beogradom.* (S)  
'The plane circled over Belgrade for two hours because of a technical problem'
- b. *Avion tipa ATP 72 juče je oko dva sata kružio iznad Beograda.* (S)  
'Yesterday an airplane, an ATP 72, circled over Belgrade for nearly two hours'

In both variants of Schema 1, the figure participant may also refer to abstract entities (8); this applies to all the languages considered here.

- (8) *Dzvezden polen što se roni nad božjite dela.* (M)  
'The star dust that sprinkles over the Lord's deeds'

### C. Vertical support

Another variation of Schema 1 involves the introduction of a common vertical support that "holds" the participants at some distance from each other: the figure object is positioned at some distance above the ground object on some surface as a support for both. Common support serves as a secondary reference point (Talmy 2000: 204) in the sense that the relation between the TR and LM is viewed within a certain frame (*Slikata nad ogledaloto na dzidot* 'The painting above the mirror on the wall').<sup>8</sup> It occurs in situations in which the TR and LM have no independent power to resist gravity, but are attached on a stable surface. Typically, the TR is located higher than the LM, and so the basic configuration remains unchanged (9). The same topological relation is maintained in cases with a change of reference frame orientation: perpendicular to the ground (e.g., a building) or parallel (e.g., a table), as in (10). Layered structures such as shelves, piles of books, floors of buildings, charts or the human body, and so on may serve as common support. The relation between figure and ground is perceived as superposition even if this frame changes orientation: example (11) would be acceptable even if the person were lying down. The metrical properties of the participants are irrelevant and permit variation as long as there is a (partial) overlap of their projections. The distance is usually interpreted as proximal; in

<sup>8</sup> The example is in Macedonian, but this also applies to the other languages analyzed.



some cases the objects can be close enough to enable mutual contact, as in (12) and (13). This illustrates the transition from Schema 1 to Schema 5.



Figure 4. Schema 1C: Common support.

- (9) *Stavili su nam i zvono iznad vrata, da nitko ne bi mogao izaći.* (C)  
'They put a bell above our door so that nobody could go out'
- (10) *U sredini se postavlja tanjir i salveta i čaša iznad noža.* (S)  
'The plate is set in the middle, and the napkin and the glass above the knife'
- (11) *Se dopre nad veǧite.* (M)  
'She touched herself above the eyebrows'
- (12) *Imaše nastrešnica nad dvata perona na stolbovi.* (M)  
'There was an awning supported by columns above the two train platforms'
- (13) *Nad glavnim portalom je u reljefu izvedena predstava hramovne posvete.* (S)  
'An illustration of the church's dedication is engraved above the main entrance'

*Nad* and *iznad* (C/S) convey the same relation of vertical distal or proximal separation between the two objects located on a vertical support. However, the neutral *iznad* is preferred because *nad* carries some emotional weight; constructions such as *ime iznad naslova* 'name above the title' (from Rasulić 2004: 100)





convey only position. On the other hand, *nad* may imply some effect on the LM beneath it, rather than proximity, as in (13).<sup>9</sup>

In our view, the configuration of stacking is a contextual variant of the Common Support sense (Fig. 4b, example 14), where *nad* locates an object in a vertical sequence of items. This “sequence” is supported by the ground and vertical structure. The correct interpretation of the location of the apartment in (14) stems from our general knowledge of buildings and not from the meaning of *nad*.

- (14) *Marko živee nad Ivan.* (M)  
‘Marko lives above Ivan’

*Nad* here does not specify whether Marko lives in the apartment right above Ivan or in an apartment several floors higher. If it is interpreted as right above, then it invokes the contact schema (Figure 5a), but greater separation requires a frame construction of Common Support Schema (Figure 4b). This is a good example of transition between schemas.

### 2.2.2. Schema 5. Contact between the TR and LM

This schema differs from the prototype due to the absence of the feature of vertical distance between the participants, whereas the alignment feature is preserved. Namely, the distance requirement is suspended, and thus the objects are so close to each other that contact is imminent. This relation can be manifested in several variants presented in Figure 5.

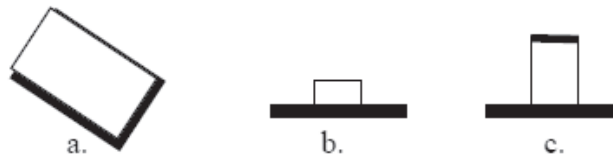


Figure 5. Schema 5: Contact.

<sup>9</sup> Thus Rasulić (2004: 115) suggests that in *svetitelj naslikan nad crkvenim portalom* ‘a saint painted over the church entrance’ the preposition *nad* suggests that *svetitelj* ‘saint’ contributes to the outlook of the entrance.



Sub-schema (a) indicates that the TR is immediately above the LM in such a way that it covers the latter completely, as in (15), or partially, as in (16). Thus a new covering sense arises because the TR covers the LM with its entire bottom part just to the point of contact. It seems that orientation is irrelevant in this case: the participants in the relation do not have to be aligned along the vertical axis (17). It is indicative that *nad* in C/S is used less in such contexts in spite of its proximal semantics, and therefore *iznad* may also imply contact, as in (15).

(15) *U smjesu dodati čokoladu i pažljivo razviti iznad (preko) prvog sloja.*  
(C)  
'Add chocolate to the mixture and carefully spread it over the first layer'

(16) a. *Ja navleče kapata nad (vrz, preku) očite.*<sup>10</sup> (M)

b. *Nahlupi shapkata si nad (vārxu, prez) očite.* (B)  
'(S)he pulled the cap over his/her eyes'

(17) *Sastavni dio muškog odjela je i prsluk, koji frajeri oblače iznad (preko) košulje.* (C)  
'This suit comes with a vest that popular young men wear over their shirt'

In all the languages considered, the covering sense of *nad* overlaps with the uses of other prepositions coding relations in the area of superposition: *na* as well as *vrz* and *preku* in M, *vārxu* and *prez* in B, and *preko* in C and S.<sup>11</sup> Even though there are contexts in which these prepositions are interchangeable, we argue that each of them profiles a different aspect of the TR–LM relation and presents the situation from a slightly different perspective: *na*: contiguity/coincidence and support; *vrz*, *vārxu*: contact, thus covering and/or pressure; *preku*, *prez*, *preko*:<sup>12</sup> contact and covering similar to *vrz*, but the latter also implies weight-bearing pressure.

<sup>10</sup> Note that *nad* does not imply that the person cannot see, as is the case with *vrz*, *na*, and *preku*.

<sup>11</sup> In Bužarovska and Mitkovska (in press) we discuss the distinctions between these prepositions in Macedonian in greater detail. See Brala (2005) and Šarić (2001) on Croatian, Rasulić (2004) on Serbian, and Tchizmarova (2005) on Bulgarian.

<sup>12</sup> The main sense of the prepositions *preku* (M), *prez* (B), *preko* (C/S) involves a path and overcoming a vertical obstacle; in such cases, it is not interchangeable with *nad*.



Thus all the examples in (15)–(17) above would be possible with the preposition given in parenthesis. Whereas the other prepositions assert contact, *nad/iznad* seem to be neutral in this respect. In fact, they express superposition (i.e., the figure is positioned at what is considered the upper part of the ground). However, they allow situations that imply contact as in *Nok nad gradot* ‘Night over the city’ (M). When saying *svetot nad zemjata* ‘life on Earth’ we contrast it with ‘under the ground’ without invoking any detachment or attachment.<sup>13</sup> For this reason, the status of the cover sense of *nad/iznad* as a separate sense could be challenged.<sup>14</sup>

Sub-schemas 5b and 5c also involve backgrounded contact. In such situations the LM is a natural horizontal line (usually a ground or water surface).<sup>15</sup> The TR extends from this surface and the preposition (*nad* in M/B, *iznad* in C/S) codes a vertical distance, small (18) or much larger (19).

(18) *Ostatak mosta još štrči/strši iznad vode.* (S/C)  
‘The remains of the bridge still protrude above the water’

(19) *Kulata štrči nad gradot.* (M)  
‘The high-rise rises up above the city’

The preference for *iznad* in C and S for coding the meanings described seems to be connected to the original ablative meaning of the preposition *iz*, which has fused with *nad*. It was probably first used with a dynamic sense, coding the figure’s upward path from the ground (*izdizati se* ‘to rise’; e.g., *izdizati se iz zemlje* (C) ‘to rise up from the ground’), but later spread to static situations in which the focus moved to the upper part of the figure. In such cases it can be replaced with *nad*, creating some functional overtones (e.g., domination in *katedrala koja strši nad gradom* ‘the cathedral dominating the city’). This is yet another example of transition between the schemas.

<sup>13</sup> The sentences *magla nad gradot* (M) ‘fog above the town’, *magla iznad jezera* (C/S) ‘fog above the lake’ could be understood as location with or without contact due to the nature of fog, which may linger low or hover high.

<sup>14</sup> See the discussion in Van der Gucht et al. (2007) regarding the proposal of a cover sense in English *over* in Tyler and Evans (2001).

<sup>15</sup> This has been noticed by Rasulić (2004: 113): *iznad nivoa mora* ‘above sea level’, *pozornica podignuta jedan metar iznad tla* ‘a stage rising one meter above the ground’.



### 2.2.3. Schema 2. Non-alignment schema (topographical distance)

This schema is conceptually linked with Schema 1 in sharing the same parameter of vertical distance. However, the second schema differs with respect to alignment: the participants are not connected by the same vertical axis because the TR is located higher than the LM on an elevated ground. It supports both participants and serves as a secondary reference frame. Actually, the difference in vertical distance stems from their position at a different level of elevation so the imaginary vertical axis of the TR does not coincide with the LM axis, but they are parallel. Because the schema describes a topographical relation in the real world, the participants refer to static objects in nature (mountains, rivers) or man-made constructions (buildings, towns). Schema 2 is a simplified presentation of a sideways view of the spatial scene, which can be static, as in (20), or dynamic with a real or imaginary path, as in (21) and (22). The attention of the conceptualizer is directed upwards, and so the upward perspective is important for the distinctiveness of this sense.

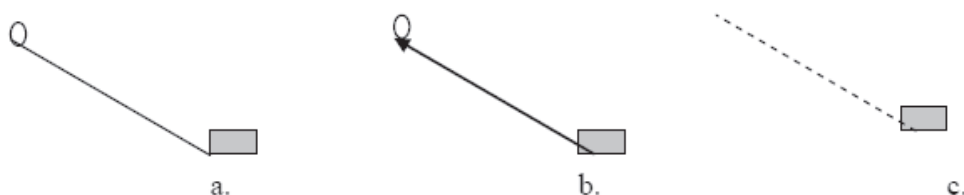


Figure 6. Schema 2: Non-alignment: topographic distance.

- (20) a. *Prodavam plac nad ezeroto.* (M)  
b. *Prodajem plac iznad jezera.* (C)  
c. *Prodavam parcel nad ezeroto.* (B)  
'Plot above the lake for sale'
- (21) *Nakon pola sata vožnje smo se popeli iznad Ploča.* (C)  
'After half an hour's drive we were above Ploče'
- (22) *Biokovo koje se okomito izdiže iznad cijele Makarske rivijere* (C)  
'Biokovo, which rises sharply above the entire Makarska seashore'



In C and S we find both *nad* and *iznad* encoding the topographical relation in which the TR rises above the LM, remaining within the visual field of the viewer. However, we can detect certain differences: whereas *iznad* is typical for this sense, *nad* is found in the same contexts to express an additional functional meaning (e.g., influence, threat, emotional weight). This distinction is illustrated in (23) and (24).

(23) *Brdo iznad grada bilo je naseljeno još u brončano doba.* (S)  
'The hill above the town was already inhabited in the Bronze Age'

(24) *Dok su gledali u preteća brda nad gradom ...* (S)  
'While they were looking at the threatening hills above the city ...'

Our treatment of "topographical distance" is different from what is usual in the literature (e.g., Lindstromberg 1998; Tyler & Evans 2003; Rasulić 2004; Tchizmarova 2005). Unlike the common view that treats it as either a "side sense" (Tyler & Evans 2003: 116) or a variant of the central schema (Tchizmarova 2005: 116), we believe that alignment is an important factor in delineating the superposition domain. The non-aligned sense constitutes a separate configuration involving elevated ground as a secondary reference point on which the TR and LM are positioned.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, this sense gives rise to other spatial senses that, as we try to prove in our further discussion, have motivated the most productive metaphorical meanings of the preposition *nad* (cf. Figure 1) and the prefix *nad-* (cf. Figure 9) in all the languages considered here.

#### 2.2.4. Schema 3. Parallel proximity: upward perspective

Schemas 3 and 4 have developed from Schema 2, and so they share the property of having the ground as a support for both participants, but the support is horizontal rather than slanted. In addition, the TR and LM are positioned in close proximity and their vertical axes are parallel. Actually, Schemas 3 and 4 differ in perspective: in 3 the viewer's attention is directed upwards, and in 4 downwards. Thus it may be argued that these two schemas are in fact two variants of the same sense. The reason why we claim that they should be distinguished is

<sup>16</sup> They are neither restricted to river flow nor to great distance (which is obvious from the examples above), as claimed by Tyler and Evans (2003: 121) and Rasulić (2004: 120).



that the metaphorical meanings of *nad/iznad* clearly point to two different paths of extension.

In Schema 3 the figure and ground objects are located proximally to each other on the same horizontal ground that naturally supports them. As a result, the two participants end up “standing” next to each other in a parallel fashion and their respective boundaries do not overlap. The figure element extends higher than the ground, with factive or fictive paths alike (25 vs. 26). It may not be explicitly stated that the common support is the ground, but the TR may be situated at a higher level than the LM on some parallel structures, which may also be a human body (27). This schema is characterized by an upward perspective because the viewer’s attention is directed towards the top parts of the TR and LM. The sense of vertical proximity may acquire the functional implication of comparison because the two proximal objects rise to a different degree. This fact emphasizes the importance of an upward perspective for its development into a comparison sense.

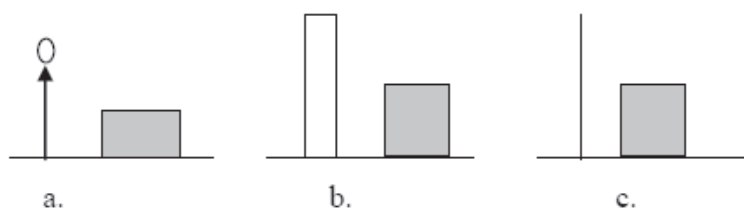


Figure 7. Schema 3: Parallel configuration.

(25) a. *Mora da skokneš nad ogradata.* (M)

b. *Moraš skočiti iznad ograde.* (S)  
‘You must jump above the fence’

(26) a. *Drvoto se izdiga nad kućata.* (M)

b. *Dārvoto se izvishava nad kāshtata.* (B)  
‘The tree rises above the house’

(27) *Dignite ruke iznad glave tako da vam ramena dodiruju zid.* (S)  
‘Raise your arms above your head so that your shoulders touch the wall’





### 2.2.5. Schema 4. Parallel proximity: downward perspective

Schema 4 is derived from Schema 2 via two transformations: the ground becomes horizontal support for both participants and the orientation is downward. It shares the same topological configuration with the previous schema in that it requires support for both participants. We encounter several variants, but they can be subsumed under two sub-schemas, represented in Figures 8a and 8b. In 8a the two objects are located in physical proximity so that the LM extends vertically next to a depressed or expanded LM (e.g., a cavity in the ground such as a river or well). The scene is conceptualized from the TR's point of view: being higher, it is ascribed a dominating position, as in (28).



Figure 8. Schema 4: Downward perspective.

(28) a. *Svishtov vo onova vreme e bil tsvetusht grad nad rekata.* (B)  
'Svishtov was a flourishing city on the river at that time'

b. *U jednom delu nad dugom plažom se nadvija blago šumovito brdo.* (S)  
'At one part of the long beach a low forested hill looms over it'

In sub-schema b (Figure 8b), two objects extend in vertical proximity so that the projections of the taller TR, which Taylor (2002) calls the "focal zone," may or may not fall within the boundaries of the LM. The functional implications created by this spatial configuration depend on the nature of the TR: an object rising next to a flat object or depression implies domination of the scene (28), whereas a person standing over an object or another person implies control or affectedness (29).

(29) *Majka i stoeše nad nea i ja slušaše zanemena.* (M)  
'Her mother stood above her and listened to her, dumbfounded.'



*Nad* is preferred in C and S when the preposition implies more than a mere topological specification, also including domination. It can be associated with both upward and downward perspective, whereas *iznad* imposes an upward perspective: the observer directs his or her gaze up. It seems that the functional meaning of influence in *nad* associated with Schema 1 is strengthened here.

The spatial meaning of *nad* weakens when the LM is not understood literally, as an object, but for what it represents. Typically *nad* is used in such metonymical extensions of this spatial sense with Macedonian verbs such as *stoi* ‘stand’, *se navedne* ‘lean over’, *zboruva* ‘speak’, and *raboti* ‘work’ to prompt a scene in which the TR subject performs an activity related to the LM object, often triggered by its functional potential. In (30) *nad* is on the verge of developing a metaphorical sense. The verb *ponder* may receive a dual interpretation depending on the function of the LM (*the books*), which may be conceived of as a physical object or an object that causes the activity of thinking. In the first case, the verb describes a body position of a figure agent (the TR) who is located above the open books (the LM), and in the second case it foregrounds the agent’s intellectual activity triggered by or directed toward the open books. Similarly, in (31) *nad* conveys that the activity performed was dedicated to the deceased. In all the languages considered here, *nad* is used in contexts that link this sense to the metaphorical sense of control (discussed later).

(30) *Koga tatko mi vo dlabokite noći razmisluvaše nad otvorenite knigi ...* (M)  
‘Late at night when my father was pondering over his open books ...’

(31) a. *Žene plaču nad grobom poginulih.* (S)  
‘Women are crying on/over the graves of those who were killed’

b. *Ubiets chel molitva nad groba na zhertvata si.* (B)  
‘The killer said a prayer at the grave of his victim’

### 2.3. Development of metaphorical senses of the preposition *nad*

The spatial schemas discussed above prompted the derivation of the following three non-spatial senses of *nad*: (a) the “superiority” or “higher quality” sense that developed from Schema 1, based on the metaphor HIGHER IS BETTER; (b) the “domination” and “control” sense developed from Schema 4, based on the met-



aphor HIGHER IS STRONGER, and (c) the “comparison/excess” sense derived from Schema 3, based on the metaphor HIGHER IS MORE.

### 2.3.1. *Superiority or higher quality*

The “higher quality” meaning is based on the metaphor GOOD IS UP (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 15) and its more concrete interpretation HIGHER IS BETTER (Tchizmarova 2005: 129). Croatian and Serbian *iznad*, but not *nad* (except for set phrases, see below), and Macedonian and Bulgarian *nad* express the meaning of priority and/or supremacy of some entity over a set of entities. It develops from spatial Schema 1: the TR is conceptualized as located on the same vertical axis but higher than the LM without contact between them. Such a configuration implies that the TR is beyond comparison because its superiority is based on merit, as (32–34) illustrate. Tyler and Evans (2003: 118) note that physical height is associated with superiority, similar to elevation with an advantageous position. In this sense, *nad* typically expresses the superiority of an abstract entity, but human referents are also possible. In such cases the person is conceptualized as unaffected by the LM, as in (34). It seems that *nad* (M/B) here designates greater vertical distance between the participants, which creates functional inferences that the participants are not within each other’s sphere of influence. This sense of distance seems to be the reason why *iznad* (C/S) is preferred for expressing superiority in the examples below.<sup>17</sup>

(32) a. *Ekološkite aspekti treba da bidat nad ekonomskite.* (M)  
‘The ecological aspects need to be above the economic ones’

b. *Režim ne može da bude iznad naroda.* (S)  
‘The regime cannot be above its people’

<sup>17</sup> The use of *nad* in *To pokazuje prevashodstvo ljubavi nad zakonom* ‘This demonstrates a preference for love over law’ (S) is difficult to explain. It involves comparison, a relation coded by *iznad* in Serbian and Croatian; cf. *Menadžer znači biti... osoba koja osigurava da tvrtka ima prednost nad konkurentima* ‘Being a manager means being a person who makes sure that the firm has an advantage over the competitors’(C). However, it is possible that the comparison implicature here results in the “preference sense” (see Tyler & Evans 2003: 103). This sense arises in situations in which states associated with positions of vertical elevation are preferred to those associated with lower ones.



(33) a. *Ljubav je iznad svega.* (C/S)

b. *Ljubovta stoi nad vsichko drugo.* (B)  
'Love is above everything'

(34) *Vidi se ... da si dama i da si ti iznad tih stvari.* (C)

'It is obvious ... that you are a lady and that you are above such things'

The metaphor GOOD IS UP is present in idiomatized phrases of the type *pesna nad pesnite* (M) 'the song of songs', *kniga nad knjigite* (M/B) 'the book of books'. The TR entity has a certain quality that exceeds all the other members of the set. This is a rather productive construction that spreads across the lexicon recruiting novel constituents (*prioritet nad prioritetite* (M) 'the priority of priorities) in all the languages analyzed. Given the idiomatic status of such expressions, *nad*, as an older preposition, is used in C/S (*pesma nad pesmama* 'the song of songs').

### 2.3.2. *Domination and control*

The sense of domination was created as a result of the metaphor CONTROL IS UP (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 15), which derives from HIGHER IS STRONGER. The knowledge that higher objects are in a privileged position is rooted in human experience because this enables control over lower objects. The positioning of the TR above the LM creates the implicature of the TR's supremacy and the LM being in the sphere of the TR's influence. We hypothesize that this meaning is directly connected to Schema 4, which involves a downward perspective. Consequently, the preposition used in C and S is *nad*, not *iznad*. This is also related to the strong functional meaning of affectedness present even in the spatial senses of *nad*.

The sense of control has two related but different variants. First, conceptualizations with a downward orientation trigger the rise of implicature of focused attention that a human TR directs towards the LM, the object of the activity. Depending on the lexical meaning of the verb, this attention may be interpreted in a variety of ways, mainly as an intellectual or mental activity (*se zadlaboči nad* 'get engulfed in', *raboti nad* 'work on', *se zamisli nad* 'think over' in M) illustrated in (35). This use of *nad* is not distributed equally in the languages considered: each language seems to impose restrictions on the types of activities. Šarić



(2001: 14) observes that in Croatian mental and emotional activities as topics are expressed with *nad* (*zamisliti se nad problemom* ‘to ponder over a problem’), but physical activities require *na* (*radim na rječniku* ‘I’m working on a dictionary’). It seems that Serbian and Macedonian are less restrictive because we find examples such as *radim nad slikom* (S) ‘I’m working on a painting’, with *nad* “intensifying” the activity and *na* being more neutral. In Bulgarian, on the other hand, apart from mental and intellectual activities, this construction is common with physical activities as well (e.g., *rabota nad tjaloto* ‘work on your body’, *rabota nad nov album* ‘work on the new album’) and has spread to some verbal acts (*diskutirame nad veche minatata tema* ‘we’re arguing over a matter that’s already old’).<sup>18</sup>

- (35) *Veќе mnogu godini raboti nad ova a problematika.* (M)  
‘(S)he has already been working on this problem for many years’

The other frequent variants of this sense involve social or legal control (*ima kontrola, vlijanie, vlast, nadzor, staratelstvo, sopstvenost nad* (M) ‘has control, influence, supervision, guardianship over’) as in (36); as well as power and domination (*preovlada nad* ‘prevail over’, *ima pobeda nad* ‘win over’, *vrši diskriminacija nad* ‘discriminate against’). In M and B these meanings seem to be getting extended to verbs that are more common with *vrz/vārxu*, as illustrated in (36) and (37). Control may be considered positive when it denotes care and protection (*treperi nad deteto* (M) ‘be overprotective towards one’s child’).<sup>19</sup>

- (36) *Opštinata dokaža sopstvenost nad zgradata.* (M)  
‘The municipality proved ownership over the building’

- (37) *Nikakvo nasilie nad detsa njama opravdanie.* (B)  
‘No violence against children can be justified’

The importance of perspective in the creation of the metaphorical senses can be illustrated by the example *Marko e nad site* ‘Marko is above everybody’, which may have two interpretations. Downward orientation imposes the “con-

<sup>18</sup> The prepositions expressing relations in the spatial superposition domain (*na, nad,* and *vrz/vārxu*) overlap in this non-spatial sense as well; the distinctions between them are beyond the scope of this paper.

<sup>19</sup> A considerable number of idioms in connection with this meaning of *nad* are based on the lexeme ‘head’; for instance ‘roof over one’s head’. They are found in all South Slavic languages: *pokriv nad glavata* (M/B), *krov nad glavom* (C/S).



trol” meaning: ‘Marko has control over other people because of his higher status.’ In the absence of such a perspective, the expression receives the “superiority” meaning: ‘Marko is better than anyone else because of his personal merits.’

### 2.3.3. *Comparison/excess*

As previously mentioned, the vertical proximity sense (Schema 3) has extended into comparison because the two proximal objects rise upward to a different degree, creating the implicature of comparison. The meaning of excess/comparison is based on the orientation “experiential correlation”; that is, a causal correlation between two entities that humans acquire from their experience with the spatio-physical world.<sup>20</sup>

We presume that this sense has derived from spatial Schema 3, parallel configuration, in which the TR stands in close proximity to the LM, representing the standard of comparison against which some property of the TR is measured. This difference in size or amount of the compared property in two participants may be numerically expressed as in (38), or may be implied as in (39). The *tertium comparationis* can equally refer to some other abstract property such as ability, expectations, and so on (40). In C/S the preposition *iznad* is used to express comparison in both variants. This is expected because *iznad* is also used for coding the spatial sense of parallel configuration. In fact, *nad* (in M/B) and *iznad* (in C/S) are highly productive in this function, especially in journalistic style, which was confirmed in our corpus material.

(38) *Nivoto na ezeroto e 11 santimetri nad maksimalno dozvoleno.* (M)  
‘The level of the lake is 11 centimeters above the maximum allowed’

(39) *Tozi mach beshe nad nashite standarti.* (B)  
‘That match was beyond our standards’

(40) a. *Mi u Hrvatskoj trošimo iznad mogućnosti.* (C)  
‘In Croatia, we spend above our means’

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<sup>20</sup> Vertical elevation correlates with greater quantity in our experience: a higher stack of some objects signifies their greater number. Through pragmatic strengthening, the inference becomes conventionally associated with the preposition.





- b. *No tozi udar se okazva nad sposobnostite na mladata i neopitna dvojka.* (B)  
'But this blow proved to be above the abilities of the young and inexperienced couple'

#### 2.4. Concluding remarks on the preposition *nad*

This overview of the spatial and non-spatial senses of the Macedonian preposition *nad* and its equivalents in several South Slavic languages has illustrated the complexity of relations that it expresses and the links between them. The prototype contains the combination of [+aligned, -contact] features producing the primary spatial sense of non-contact superposition in a 2D space (the “higher than” sense). It further develops into the non-spatial sense of superiority.

The secondary spatial sense (“topographical distance”) is derived from the primary sense when the alignment feature is relaxed [-aligned, -contact] due to inclusion of the ground as a secondary reference point. The scene is construed in a 3D space. Sense 2 gives rise to two similar spatial senses (Schemas 3 and 4). They construe a scene in which the earth’s surface serves as the common ground that “holds” the participants on two imaginary parallel vertical axes. These spatial senses differ in perspective: the parallel proximity sense (S3) with an upward perspective extends further to the metaphorical comparison, whereas parallel proximity with a downward perspective (S4) develops into a non-spatial sense of control.

There exists a third spatial sense with a dubious status between a distinct sense and a contextual variation. It is characterized by the presence of [+aligned, +contact] features, which means that *nad* denotes close proximity, even contact between the participants. It extends to the covering sense reaching into the domain of some neighboring “superpositional” prepositions.

Whereas Macedonian and Bulgarian use one preposition for all senses, Croatian and Serbian employ *nad* and *iznad*. Although conceptually similar, and thus difficult to differentiate in some contexts, they have different functional implications resulting in separate derivational paths. In short, *iznad* is characterized by a rather limited functional meaning: vertical distance giving rise to superiority: *on je iznad svih* ‘he is above everybody’, or upward extension leading to comparison: *temperatura je iznad nule* ‘the temperature is above zero’. In *nad* (C/S) the



functional component is very pronounced; overhanging implies influence that creates the meaning of control: *embargo nad uvozom* ‘embargo on import’, *controla nad deficitom* ‘control over deficit spending’. The specialization of *nad* and *iznad* for the metaphorical senses of control and comparison, respectively, in C/S lends support to our hypothesis that the spatial scenes involving common ground and opposite perspective (Schemas 4 and 3) represent distinct senses.

In the rest of this paper we show how these meanings of the preposition correlate with the meanings of the prefix *nad-* in order to prove our hypothesis that prefixes are linked to the preposition at another level and represent further abstraction.

### 3. The prefix *nad-*

#### 3.1. *Traditional accounts*

The most influential accounts of verbal prefixes in Macedonian are given by Ugrinova-Skalovska (1960), Blaže Koneski (1987), and Kiril Koneski (2003). In line with other traditional accounts, these authors consider prefixes both as derivational morphemes changing the lexical meaning of the verb and as grammatical morphemes inducing perfectivization. In general, they do not discuss the conceptual links between them and treat each meaning separately. They recognize the historical relation between prepositions and prefixes, but do not discuss the derivational paths (cf. Koneski (1987: 391).

Ugrinova-Skalovska (1960), who gives a thorough overview of Macedonian preverbal prefixes and the function of each prefix in the formation of Aktionsart, notes that, apart from changing aspect, verbal prefixes add some semantic meaning to the verb, specifying the locative, temporal, and other circumstances in which the event occurs. However, this dual “ability” is neither symmetrical nor balanced: some prefixes are more “lexical” or more “grammatical” than others. Even the same prefix does not have a uniform semantics and consequently displays a different proportion of lexical vs. aspectual meaning when attached to different verbs (e.g., *na-* in *napiše* ‘write’ marks perfectivity, in *natrupa* ‘pile up’ saturation, and in *navleče* ‘pull over’ superposition). It is worth noticing that the author perceives the semantic link between spatial and grammatical senses of a prefix; for example, *na-* in *napiše* ‘write’ reflects the meaning ‘write on a surface’ (Ugrinova-Skalovska 1960: 29).



In her semantically-oriented description of prefixes, Ugrinova-Skalovska (1960: 75–76) attributes two meanings to *nad-*: the “supercursive” spatial meaning denoting an activity happening above something (*se nadvie* ‘hang over’) and the “majorative” modal meaning, expressing that one activity surpasses another (*nadbega* ‘outrun’). The author also makes an attempt to relate the two meanings (Ugrinova-Skalovska 1960: 22), noting the conceptual relation between the two: the scene of an event taking place above some object is the base for developing a meaning that a human agent is above another entity in some activity: exceeding someone (*nadigra* ‘play more than’) or surpassing some standard (*natplati* ‘overpay’). Both Blaže Koneski (1987: 397) and Kiril Koneski (2003: 141) also mention these two submeanings: measure in relation to a standard and exceeding a competing participant.

In Bulgarian linguistic tradition, prefixes are also considered signals of lexical meaning that may additionally cause perfectivization. Pashov (2002: 135) claims that prefixes are primarily added to create a new verb with a different lexical meaning, rather than to change the aspect. The prefix *nad-* in the *Academy Grammar* (according to Tchizmarova 2005: 109) is categorized as having three senses: two spatial (*nadvesja* ‘hang over’, *nadstroja* ‘build on top’) and one comparative “better result” meaning. Ivanova (1974), on the other hand, treats verbal prefixes as exponents of Aktionsart and classifies them according to the meaning of each prefix.

In Croatian and Serbian only the preposition *nad* has developed into a prefix and can be attached to verbs, as well as nouns and adjectives, whereas *iznad*<sup>21</sup> never occurs in such functions. Similar to other traditional treatments in South Slavic literature, Croatian grammars (Silić & Pranjković 2005) distinguish a spatial meaning (*nadgraditi* ‘to build over’) and a majorative one (*nadmudriti* ‘to outsmart’). Serbian grammars (e.g., Mrazović & Vukadinović 1990: 69–81) attribute both a derivational and inflectional role to verbal prefixes. Similar to Macedonian grammars, *nad-* is defined as a productive prefix with two meanings: “surpassing the basic activity” often in competition (*nadglasati* ‘to out-vote’), and an “activity above something” (*nadletati* ‘to fly over’).

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<sup>21</sup> As an exception, the adjective *iznadprosječan* ‘above average’ is found in Croatian.



### 3.2. *The prefix nad- in relation to its prepositional sources*

Both traditional and cognitive grammars maintain that non-spatial meanings of prefixes have derived from the spatial ones. Cognitive linguistics additionally seeks to discover the conceptual links between them. Brugman and Lakoff (Lakoff 1987: 416–461) apply a model of analysis of *over* in which the meanings of a particle are integrated into the semantic network of its prepositional counterpart based on the conceptual similarity between the preposition and the particle. This approach was adopted in some accounts of Slavic prefixes (Tchizmarova 2005; Tabakowska 2003; among others).

We propose an alternative view regarding the semantic relation between a prefix and its corresponding preposition. Namely, we believe that prefixes, as more grammaticalized elements, represent a higher level of abstraction from their prepositional counterparts and so they should be treated separately. However, the same structure of a radial network should be maintained in order to make the conceptual links between these two categories transparent. By positing such a “parallel” network at different levels of abstraction, we aim to show that each meaning of a prefix has derived from a particular sense of the preposition: hence some meanings developed from spatial senses and some from non-spatial ones.

In the following analysis of the distinct senses of the prefix *nad-* in Macedonian, we refer to the network established above (repeated in Figure 9 below) of spatial and non-spatial senses of the preposition *nad* in order to show that the derivational path of each prefixal meaning represents an extension from a particular prepositional schema. The contribution of this approach is that it shows exactly from which spatial or non-spatial sense a particular prefixal sense arises. By doing this, we hope to answer the main question: what is the role of *nad-*, or how does it contribute to the lexical and aspectual semantics of the base verb? Our analysis mainly focuses on the semantic contribution of the prefix *nad-* and the systematic character of its derivation from prepositional senses.

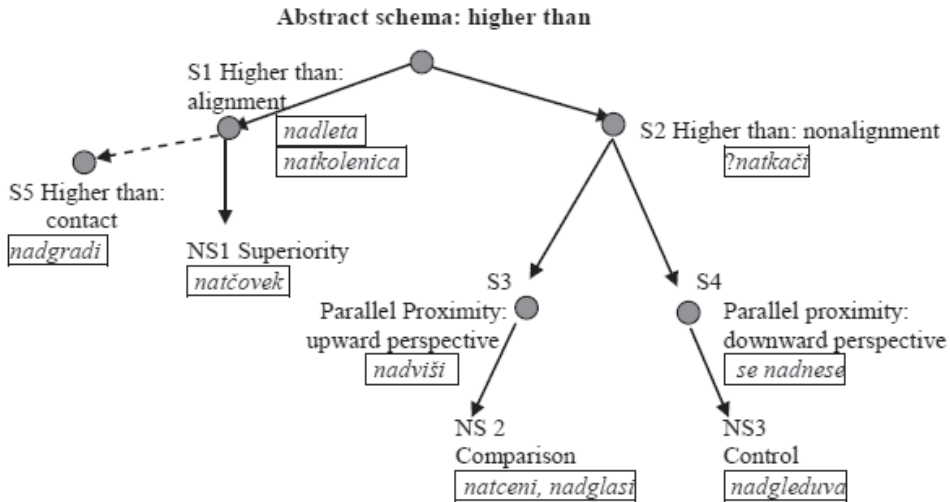


Figure 9. Conceptual map of senses of *nad-* and derived prefixed verbs.

### 3.2.1. Spatial senses

The prototypical meaning of the preposition *nad* (S1 “higher than,” alignment schema) develops into the basic locative meaning<sup>22</sup> of the prefix *nad-*. The verbs with this prefix express an activity in which the agent (the TR) performs the action at a distance above the second participant (the LM). Macedonian has a small number of verbs with such a meaning: *nadleta* ‘fly over’ and *natkrie* ‘build a roof over’, *se nadvie* ‘hang above’, and, less commonly, *natkrili* ‘spread wings over’ (41).

- (41) *Negoviot avtor misli deka pokrivnata terasa bi možela vniimatelno da se natkrie.* (M)  
‘Its author thinks that the roof terrace could be carefully covered’

Motion verbs are capable of building two constructions: (42a) intransitive, in which the prefixed verb is followed by a prepositional phrase with *nad*, and (42b) transitive, in which the prefixed verb is followed by a direct object.

<sup>22</sup> In some Croatian literature, the term *supralokativnost* is used (Belaj 2008).



(42) a. *Eden helikopter nadleta nad zgradata.*

b. *Eden helikopter ja nadleta zgradata.* (M)  
'A helicopter flew over the building'

In (b) the LM is construed as an affected locus in the activity that takes place above it. As a result, the prefix seems to strengthen the component Path of the TR inherent in the semantics of the verb *fly* because *fly* conflates Motion and Manner. Brala (1999) discusses these patterns with the verb *preletjeti* (C) 'to fly across', in which the prefix *pre-* incorporates Path. She argues that there is a semantic difference between the two syntactic patterns in that the prepositional pattern focuses on the physical aspect of the boundaries of the LM, whereas the transitive one focuses on the path and its endpoint. This same line of argument can be applied to Macedonian *nadleta* 'fly over'. Curiously, although the preposition *nad* is neutral with respect to motion, the prefix *nad-* implies Path with verbs of motion.

We suggest that this inconsistency may stem from the patient construal of the LM, which implies that the TR has reached the goal of motion (i.e., the boundary of the LM), and has, therefore, completed the activity of flying from one end of the LM to another. The comparison between the two patterns: the prepositional pattern *nadleta nad X* vs. prefixal *nadleta X* 'fly over X' shows that the preposition *nad* (M) does not lexicalize Path as opposed to the prefix in the transitive pattern. In the prepositional pattern, where the meaning is repeated by the preposition, the movement is confined to the boundaries of the LM and so the communicative focus falls on it (43). In the transitive pattern, an affected LM construal brings forth the path and goal component, and so the communicative focus is on the activity and its completion (44). In the other languages analyzed, this verb is predominantly found in transitive constructions (45).

(43) *Sirija deneska ne mu dozvoli na izraelski avion da nadleta nad nejzinata teritorija.* (M)  
'Syria did not allow an Israeli plane to fly over its territory today'

(44) *Pretsedatlot so helikopter go nadleta razurnation južen del na Liban.*  
(M)  
'The president flew by helicopter over the destroyed southern part of Lebanon'





- (45) *Američki predsjednik je zrakoplovom nadletio područje opustošeno tornadom.* (C)  
'The American president flew by plane over the region devastated by the tornado'

Another spatial meaning, contact (S5), may be differently lexicalized depending on the nature of the participants involved. The languages analyzed manifest a great deal of similarity in conceptual and lexical structure of the verbs involving the "contact" *nad-*. They all express that the TR is added to an LM of a similar kind.<sup>23</sup> In the prefix, the contact meaning of the preposition *nad* is further abstracted into the meaning of "addition of a TR on top of an LM," thus extending or augmenting it.<sup>24</sup> The concepts lexicalized with the help of this *nad-* in South Slavic languages comprise: add a part to an existing object in order to extend it (a building, nails/hair, internet services): *nadgradi* (M), *nadgraditi*, *nadograditi* (C/S); add a part by building it on top of an existing construction: *nadzida* (M), *nadzidati* (S), *nadstroja* (B); knit on top of: *natplete* (M), *nadplitam* (B); stitch on top: *natšie* (M), *nadshivam* (B).

The process of further abstraction of *nad-* with some verbs results in metaphorical uses. Thus *nadgradi* 'build over' is usually locative with body parts (extensions to nails, hair) and buildings, but with non-physical entities (profile, character, computer program, services, etc.) it has the meaning of improvement or upgrading. This is illustrated in the following examples.

- (46) *Folk-pejačkata T. L. nadgradi pletenki stari 30 godini.* (M)  
'The folk singer T. L. had her hair extended with 30-year-old braids'
- (47) *Trjabvalo uchilishmata sgrada da se nadstroji s edin etazh i da se postroi salon.* (B)  
'A top floor was supposed to be added to the school, and a hall to be built'

<sup>23</sup> Belaj (2008: 117) distinguishes similar submeanings, but the criterion is contextual (building material) and therefore the verbs *natkroviti*, *nadgraditi*, *natkriti* (C) 'to cover with a roof, build up, cover' are grouped together. However, *natkroviti* and *natkriti* express superlocation, but not necessarily contact, whereas *nadgraditi* implies extension and is not restricted to buildings.

<sup>24</sup> Šarić (2001: 15) notes that Polish, Russian, and Slovenian display a similar meaning of this prefix.



- (48) *Zagreb je ... nadgradio svoj vizualni identitet ... vrsnošću i brojnošću domaćih arhitekata.* (C)  
‘Zagreb has improved its visual identity because of the quality and number of its architects’

The “contact” *nad-* does not involve a path, and so these prefixed verbs are stative. Unlike Tchizmarova (2005: 124, 127) we attribute the dynamic sense of the Bulgarian *nadpisvam* ‘write above, inscribe’ to the motion component in the verb, not to the prefix. The prefix *nad-* can also be attached to nouns and adjectives to derive new lexemes by adding spatial meaning based on prototypical and contact relations. Consider the Macedonian examples: *nadvoznik* ‘overpass’, *nadlaktica* ‘place above the elbow’, *nadmorski* ‘above sea level’, *nadgroben* ‘headstone’, and so on.

No verbs with the meaning of “topographical distance” (S2, Non-alignment schema) were found in Macedonian except for the rarely used *natkači* ‘go uphill’, as in *Ja natkači kukata* ‘He climbed uphill above the house’, but this is a marginal example. The reason for this lies in the transitional nature of this sense: it has prompted the derivation of the two parallel proximity senses, S3 and S4, which in turn have given rise to the most productive metaphorical senses of the preposition and prefix *nad*.

Similarly to its prepositional source S3, the parallel proximity sense with an upward perspective, the prefix *nad-* conveys the meaning that the activity coded by the verb extends vertically upward (example 49). The following spatial meanings are lexicalized in a small number of verbs of the languages analyzed: ‘rise above the LM’ *nadviši* (M), *nadvisiti* (C/S); ‘throw above the LM’ *natfrla* (M); and ‘jump above’ *nadskacham* (B). Apart from spatial relation, all these verbs imply comparison.

- (49) *Čadot se krena u gi nadviši bukite.* (M)  
‘The smoke rose above the beech trees’

In both Serbian and Croatian, *nadvisiti* ‘to rise above’ has a similar spatial meaning, but it can further derive into the comparison sense realized in the transitive pattern. Compare the following examples: in (50) the spatial meaning is stronger because the entities compared are non-human, but in (51) both participants perform the same activity, and their engagement implies competition.



- (50) *Nad gradom već se uzdigao Sava city a njegova antena nadvisila je hotel Continental.* (S)  
‘Sava City has already been erected in the city and its TV aerial rises above the Intercontinental Hotel’
- (51) *Dinamo jedanaestercima nadvisio Espanyol.* (C)  
‘Dinamo overpowered Espanyol with penalties’

The seemingly corresponding Bulgarian verbs *nadvisha* and *nadhvǎrlja* ‘surpass’ seem to have lost their spatial meaning and are found with a derived comparison sense. The following example might be considered a blend of the spatial and comparative sense.

- (52) *Stǎbloto na Begonia Lucerna mozhe da nadvishi 1 m.* (B)  
‘The stalk of the Begonia Lucerna may grow over one meter in height’

The S4, downward perspective sense of the preposition *nad* has prompted the creation of the prefix *nad-* with the meaning that the activity is directed onto the LM from above (examples 53-54). From the preposition *nad* the prefix inherits its functional meaning of potential danger or protection. The following concepts are lexicalized by prefixal *nad-*verbs in the languages analyzed: ‘lean over / stand over’: *se na(d)vedne*, *se nadnese* (M), *nadneti se* (S), *nadviti se*, *nadnijeti (se)* (C), *nadvija se* (B); ‘hang over’: *se nadvisne* (M), *nadviti se*, *nadnositi se* (C/S), *nadvisvam*, *nadvesnam se* (B); ‘peek from above’: *nadviriti se* (C/S), *nadzǎrtam* (B). In all the languages treated here, these verbs are found in the prepositional pattern.

- (53) *Odjednom se probudila od toga što se neko nadneo nad njenim krevetom.* (S)  
‘She suddenly woke up because someone leaned over her bed’
- (54) *Izgnilo dǎrvo nadvisna nad ulitsa, shte ruhne vseki moment.* (B)  
‘A rotten tree leans over the street, threatening to fall at any moment’

The Bulgarian verb *nadzǎrtam* ‘peek, take a look at from above’ (Tchizmarova 2005: 143) and Croatian/Serbian *nadviriti se* are characterized by attenuative semantics (cf. example 55 and 56).

- (55) *Pochvam da pisha, a tja nadzǎrta v tetratkata mi.* (B)



‘I start writing and she peeks at my notebook.’

(56) *Sveta Marija ostade kod groba plačući, i nadviri se nad grob i vide dva anđela.* (S)

‘Mary stayed at the tomb crying, looked down, and saw two angels’

Tchizmarova (2005: 143) notes that another verb of seeing, *nadnikvam* ‘look at the surface of things casting a cursory glance’, has an additional delimitative meaning. In her discussion of the delimitative function of *nad-* in Russian and Polish, Šarić (2001: 17) points out that “the prefix indicates that the action does not take place to a full extent, but only partially.” Nevertheless, this Bulgarian example is isolated and it seems that the attenuative meaning of *nad-* is not productive in South Slavic.

The “downward” prefix *nad-*, similar to the “contact” *nad-*, is neutral with respect to the path component. The movement these verbs profile—for instance, in *nadvesvam se nad knjigite* ‘lean over the books’—stems from their lexical semantics, not the prefix (see Tchizmarova 2005: 120 for an opposing view). All the languages analyzed here have synonymous non-motion verbs coding the concept of hanging over: *nadvisne* (M), *nadvesvam* (B), *nadviti* (C/S). These verbs construe a scene in which an expanded TR spreads above the LM without contact as if suspended from above (57), similar to Schema 1, detached superposition. Thus they conceptually link the two schemas.

(57) *Ogromen cherven oblak nadvisna nad sofijските села.* (B)

‘A huge red cloud hung over the villages around Sofia.’

### 3.2.2. *Metaphorical senses*

The superiority (NS1) sense of the preposition *nad* is further schematized in the prefix: the TR is located so high above the LM that it is beyond comparison. The concept of superiority is more compatible with states and this is presumably why prefixation with *nad-* is unproductive with verbs. *Nad-* in Macedonian is found attached to nominal and adjectival stems: *natčovek* ‘superman’, *nadrealizam* ‘surrealism’, *natprosečen* ‘above-average’; compare also *nadstvaran* ‘supernatural’, *nadljudski* ‘superhuman’ (C/S), *nadšumar* ‘chief forester’, *nadbiskup* ‘archbishop’, and so on (C).



The non-spatial meaning of control and domination (NS3) of the preposition *nad* (derived from the Parallel proximity sense, downward perspective) has prompted the derivation of the “control” prefix *nad-* in which the prefix inherits the same schema based on the metaphor CONTROL IS UP (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 15). We consider the control sense to be distinct from the superiority sense because it is derived from a different schema of the preposition *nad* and has kept its functional meaning. The concept of control, inspection, or supervision usually over a human LM by a higher authority (the TR) is present in a small number of verbs with the prefix *nad-*: *nadgleduva* (M), *nadzirati*, *nadgledati* (C/S), *nadziravam* (B). The prefixed verb appears only in a transitive pattern (58) emphasizing the affectedness of the LM.

- (58) *Nakon Drugog svetskog rata, par je nadgledao građenje prvog francuskog atomskog reaktora.* (S)  
‘After WWII the couple oversaw the building of the first French nuclear reactor’

The comparison, NS2, sense of the preposition triggers the creation of the corresponding comparison sense of the prefix *nad-*. Just like the preposition, the prefix also renders the comparison meaning due to the mapping of a spatial image of two proximal parallel axes extending to different heights. The analysis of corpus examples helped us filter out two variants within the comparison sense: (a) excess in relation to a standard, and (b) a human agent exceeding a competing participant.<sup>25</sup>

#### A. Excess

The first submeaning of “excess” is quantificational and conceptually closer to its prepositional source. The prefix *nad-* profiles an exceeding measure of some activity: the agent (the TR) performs a higher degree of an activity than is normal or necessary. The correlation between the comparison sense of the preposition *nad* and the prefix is based on inferential mechanism: if the TR is higher and better than the LM, and the LM is the standard of comparison, then the TR is outside the borders of the LM. Analogously, the prefix *nad-* construes a scene “positioning” the participant (the TR) above the external boundary of the event (the LM). Comparison is implied between the actual event and the canonical one, with the latter serving as a standard of comparison. For instance, *nad-* in

<sup>25</sup> Our analysis has confirmed Koneski (1987) and Ugrinova-Skalovska’s (1960) intuition about the existence of two submeanings.



*naddade* (M) ‘overbid’ conveys that the offer exceeds the expected amount, in *nadnosi* (M) ‘be pregnant beyond the due date’, and in *natfrli* (M) ‘achieve better results’ that the agent performs above the norm (59). Other common verbs in Macedonian include *nadbroy* ‘count more than what is expected’, *natplati* ‘overpay’, *natkaže* ‘the scales show more weight’, *natceni* ‘set a higher price’. We find similar verbs in Bulgarian: *nadvishavam*, *nadhvārlam*, *nadminavam* ‘surpass/exceed’; *nadtsenjavam*, ‘overestimate’; *nadplashtam* ‘overpay’ (example 60).

(59) *Toj ... bez da ni dade fiskalna smetka ni natplati.* (M)  
‘He ... overcharged us without giving us a receipt’

(60) *Kak moga da proverja dali sam nadplatil danātsi?* (B)  
‘How can I check whether I have overpaid my taxes?’

The prefixed verbs often occur in constructions in which part of the coded situation may not be overtly expressed, and so the content and the amount of the excess is implied. In *Toj ja natplati kukata* (M) ‘He overpaid on the house’ the standard price is part of shared knowledge and the exceeded amount is not important. The communicative focus falls on *nad-*, which profiles the “higher than the norm” meaning. The excess may be numerically specified: *natplati 10 evra* ‘overpaid 10 euros’.

Unlike Macedonian and Bulgarian, Croatian and Serbian prefer *pre-* when coding “excess” (*preplatiti* ‘to overpay’, *preceniti/precjeniti* ‘to overestimate’). It seems that the only verb with *nad-* (*nadmašiti* ‘to exceed’) is ambiguous: it also has the meaning ‘to overpower’, expressing competition (61). This is another example of transition between the two submeanings.

(61) a. *Dudaš je nadmašio normu za 56 bodova* (S)  
‘Dudash exceeded the norm by 56 points’

b. *Dečak loptom nadmašio RONALDA.* (S)  
‘[literally] A boy surpassed Ronaldo with a ball’  
(A boy demonstrated more skill with a ball than Ronaldo.)





## B. Competition

The second “comparison” submeaning represents an even greater departure from the original comparison sense of the preposition *nad*. The previous meaning that the activity is “higher than the norm” serves as an input for further metaphorization in situations with two agentive participants (human or personified) engaged in the same type of activity. The metaphor that causes such extension is ACTIVITY IS COMPETITION (Goatly 2007). In the verbs below, the prefix *nad-* profiles that one participant (TR) attains a higher degree in some activity than another (LM); actually the comparison relation foregrounds the assessment of the TR’s achievement with respect to the LM’s performance. As a result, the TR is conceived as an agentive winner in “competition” with the LM, an affected patient. This relation is coded by the transitive pattern. Although the prefix *nad-* demonstrates high productivity in this usage, it cannot be attached to all verbs, being semantically restricted to verbs that denote physical or mental abilities.<sup>26</sup> In addition, it can be attached to nominal and adjectival stems to form verbs; for instance, *nadmudriti* ‘to outsmart’ and *nadjunačiti* ‘to be stronger’. The following concepts with ‘competition’ semantics are common in Macedonian and other languages: ‘outrun’ *nadbega/nattrča* (M), *nadbjagam* (B); ‘outsing’ *natpee* (M), *nadpjavam* (B); ‘outvote’ *nadglasi* (M), *nadglasavati* (C/S); ‘to outshout, outvote’ *nadvika* (M), *nadvikam* (B), *nadvikati* (S/C); ‘to lie more than’ *nadlaže* (M), *nadlagati* (S/C); ‘to outsmart’ *nadmudri* (M), *nadmudriti* (S/C), ‘to outlive’ *nadživee* (M), *nadživjeti* (C), *nadživeti* (S), *nadzživjavam* (B); ‘prevail, outweigh’ *nadvladee* (M), *nadvladati* (S/C), *naddeljavam* (B), and so on. Apart from the common verbs, each language has its more or less typical formations; for instance, *nadjačati*, *nadjunačiti* ‘to be stronger’ (C); *nadzbori* ‘talk more than’, *natsmee* ‘laugh more than’ (M), *nadhitrja* ‘outsmart’, *nadzheni* ‘marry better’ (B), and so on. Depending on the nature of the participants, some verbs have both a competition sense and some other sense (cf. 63); also *nadplete* (M) ‘outknit’, *nadshivam* (B) ‘outstitch’ and ‘knit/stitch on top of’; *nadviši* (M) ‘be taller’.

Tchizmarova (2005: 133–134) classifies these verbs as instances of the “achievement schema,” metaphorically derived from the “over” schema. The prefix *nad-* conveys that someone “achieves better results than another subject

<sup>26</sup> Belaj (2008: 118–123) distinguishes several types depending on the nature of the type of activity: (a) involving sound (*nadvikati*, *nadglasiti* ‘to outvoice’) (b) activities involving skills (*nadmudriti* ‘to outsmart’, *nadigrati* ‘to outplay’), and (c) the verb *nadživjeti* ‘to outlive’. We think that such a classification does not take into account the shared schematic relations.





performing the same action” and is thus linked to the *superiority* schema of the preposition *nad*. She explains that “the *superiority* schema is an extension of the *higher* schema, while the *achievement* schema is an extension of the *over* schema.” We agree that there is an achievement component, but defining this *nad*-through a comparison relation reflects its semantics more accurately. Namely, the communicative focus of the prefixed verb in such situations falls on the comparison between two participants. Typically, the scene invoked is that two human participants “compete” in the same type of activity and one participant performs better (62, 63). When the participants are non-personal the relation of comparison is more pronounced at the expense of competition, as in (64).

- (62) *Pijanicata go naditri ġavolot i setnem űetase po neboto i zemjata.* (M)  
‘The drunk outwitted the devil and then walked in Heaven and on Earth.’
- (63) *Najbolji je bio ruski biznismen koji je jaĉinom glasa nadvikao sve ostale.*  
(S)  
‘The best was a Russian businessman who with the strength of his voice  
outshouted everybody’
- (64) *V Amazon brojat na kupuvanite elektronni knigi nadvishi hartienite knigi.* (B)  
‘The number of electronic books purchased exceeds the number of printed  
books at Amazon’

#### 4. Conclusion

In this paper we have proposed a classification of all senses of Macedonian and Bulgarian *nad* and Croatian and Serbian *nad* and *iznad* to show that the polysemy of these prepositions represents a system of interrelated senses consisting of five spatial and three non-spatial ones. This cognitive system is centered around a prototypical schema with the TR higher than the LM, which in turn gives rise to two basic senses. The change of parameters in configuration (i.e., overlap of vertical projected boundaries, distance, common support, and perspective) results in the creation of three more spatial senses. The spatial sources have prompted the derivation of three metaphorical senses, two of which turn out to be the most productive. Each has derived in a systematic way from a particular spatial sense due to conceptual similarity.



The analysis of the prefix *nad-* illustrates the predictable “regularized” extensions of a particular sense of the preposition *nad* into a corresponding prefixal sense. We have delineated spatial senses from non-spatial ones and showed that the latter are predominant. Of all senses of the prefix *nad-*, the comparison competitive sense is the most frequent, which indicates its high productivity. In addition, it was shown that the same prefixal verb may have two senses depending on the sense of its prepositional source. Moreover, the “borderlines” between the senses are not clear-cut, and so the same verb can have a transitional meaning (e.g., *nadmašiti* (C/S) ‘to surpass in height’ or ‘to outdo’).

The South Slavic *nad-* is stative because it lacks a path component and can construe dynamic activities with motion verbs (cf. *nadleta* ‘fly over’ vs. *nadvisne* ‘hang over’). With respect to its aspectual function, *nad-* behaves as a telicity marker when added to an imperfective verb stem, thereby perfectivizing it. Thus these verbs belong to the class of “Specialized Perfective” (Janda 2007) due to the lexical contribution of the prefix. Again, inference is at play here: because *nad-* expresses that the TR surpasses the upper boundary of the LM, we infer that the activity must have reached the boundary, which automatically signals completion.

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### PRIJEDLOG I PREFIKS *NAD* U JUŽNOSLAVENSKIM JEZICIMA S NAGLASKOM NA MAKEDONSKOM JEZIKU

U članku se razmatraju značenja prijedloga i prefiksa *nad* u makedonskom jeziku i istražuje njihov odnos prema istoznačnim prijedlozima i prefiksima u drugim južnoslavenskim jezicima: hrvatskom, srpskom i bugarskom. Glavni je cilj rada utvrditi mrežu prostornih i neprostornih značenja prijedloga *nad* i objasniti kako su ta značenja povezana sa značenjima prefiksa *nad-*. Otkrivajući značenjske komponente odgovorne za razliku među prijedložnim značenjima, autori predlažu konceptualnu mrežu značenja koja se temelji na analizi makedonskog *nad*, prijedloga koji obuhvaća značenja hrvatskog i srpskog *iznad* i *nad*. Analiza se temelji na klasifikaciji primjera iz korpusa različitih vrsta tekstova koji ilustriraju suvremenu upotrebu jezika.

Tradicionalni pristupi prijedlogu *nad* ne sadrže jedinstven opis svih pojava prijedloga niti objašnjavaju njegov odnos prema prefiksu *nad-*. Istraživanja koja se temelje na kognitivnom pristupu smještaju slavenske prijedloge i prefikse u istu konceptualnu mrežu te stoga prefiksalska značenja ne objašnjavaju sistematično. U ovom se radu primjenjuje alternativan pristup: koristi se ista kognitivna mreža, ali s dvije različite razine apstrakcije. Značenjska mreža prefiksa *nad-* pokazuje da je svako prefiksno značenje proširenje odgovarajućeg prostornog ili neprostornog značenja prijedloga *nad*. Predložena značenjska mreža može se primijeniti na istoznačne prijedloge u drugim promatranim jezicima s obzirom da utvrđuje zajedničke derivacijske puteve prefiksa *nad-* u južnoslavenskim jezicima.

**Ključne riječi:** južnoslavenski jezici; prijedlozi; prefiksi; vertikalnost; nadređenost; višeznačnost.