

ЛЕКСИКОЛОГИЈА И ЛЕКСИКОГРАФИЈА
У СВЕТЛУ САВРЕМЕНИХ ПРИСТУПА

Зборник научних радова

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ИНСТИТУТ ЗА СРПСКИ ЈЕЗИК САНУ

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A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE PERFORMATIVE *APPOINT* AND ITS SERBIAN CORRESPONDENTS

The collocational method enables marshalling definitions of lexemes, grammar words and categories. The article for the first time compares lexical correspondents of two languages defined in this way. The English verb *appoint* with its synonyms *nominate* and *name* has been chosen and contrasted with the Serbian *postaviti* and *(na)imenovati*. The meanings of grammar words (usually prepositions) and patterns that agree with these English verbs do not always match the meanings of the corresponding grammar items in Serbian, so that these differences bring about slight differences in the definitions of these verbs, which in turn might correlate with the social and psychological differences between the speakers of the two languages.

Key words: lexical definition, semantics, collocation, contrastive linguistics, English, Serbian, *appoint*, *nominate*, *postaviti*, *naimenovati*.

The aim of the article

The collocational method as developed by the present author (Hlebec 2008a, b, c, 2011a, b, 2012, 2015a, b) is conducive to the meanings of lexemes and grammatical categories in the form of semantic definitions. Semantic definitions serve as a solid base for lexicographical definitions and also as a source of metalinguistic formulations used for the comparison of languages. Stages in the procedure are as follows: (1) find collocates of the target lexeme (“collocators”); (2) delineate polysemy within the lexeme if there is any; (3) establish the common meaning of the particular sememe’s collocators. The present paper for the first time compares lexemes of two languages

by means of semantic definitions. To this aim, the English verb *appoint* in its performative sense and its synonyms have been chosen, matched by their Serbian correspondents.

Contrastive investigations into the semantic structure of lexemes have been carried out before but they used a different method. “For example, Pottier (1965) analysed the French equivalents of the English words *chair*, *sofa*, *stool*, *poof*, and *armchair* in terms of the following questionnaire: With or without legs? With or without back support? For one person or for more than one person? With or without rigid material? But this kind of analysis imposes structure instead of revealing structure. It assumes at the outset that the same ‘features’ are going to be relevant to all the words within a given domain” (Wierzbicka 1985: 333).

Performative verbs

Research into speech acts belongs in pragmatics, text-linguistics and conversational analysis, but since there are performatives, i.e. verbs used exclusively or typically to perform speech acts, this class of verbs comes within the scope of semantics as well. In Hlebec 2015b, the common meaning of four speech act verbs (*appoint*, *pronounce*, *declare* and *excommunicate*) has been found to be ‘#sb_x with social power¹# by using language makes sby experience a state’. In other words, they mean ‘by using words do something to affect sb’, which echoes the famous Austin’s title. Their semantic definitions show that performativeness is a matter of degree. *Appoint* is a performative of the first degree, having ‘sb_{with social power}’ both in the subject and in one of two objects. *Pronounce*₁ and *declare*₁ are with ‘sb_{with social power}’ in the subject position, while *pronounce*₂ and *declare*₂ are with ‘sb_x’ instead of ‘sb_{with power}’ in the subject slot.

Dixon (2005: 129, 144) classifies *appoint* as a “social contract” and “deciding” verb of the “choose” subtype.

Lexical corespondence

Meanings of lexemes are often language specific, and when different languages are contrasted, they usually partially overlap and seldom manifest a one-to-one correspondence. When performative verbs are at issue, Milorad Radovanović, the social linguist who translated Austin’s *How to Do Things with Words* into Serbian, states: “[...] In addition to difficulty, sometimes

¹ ‘The seme ‘with social power’ is a hyponym of ‘strong’, while the latter is an all-permeating category in the English (cf. Hlebec 2012), perhaps also in the Serbian metalanguage. That is why they are subscript.

even impossibility, to translate things (since in fact they are not real things) from one language to another, because this is to be done by rendering from one culture to another, to say the least, there are also a number of specific terms here which we should be able to deal with in a special way when translating from English to Serbo-Croat” (Ostin 1994: 193; translated by B. H.). So, at the very start, the lack of total equivalence between the meaning of a verb such as *appoint* and its Serbian correspondent(s) is to be expected and it may be interesting to probe into the nature and the degree of the predicted discrepancy.

The following English-Serbian dictionaries have provided material to choose among candidates for the Serbian correspondents of the *appoint*'s performative sememe: Benson, Drvodelić, Enciklopediski, ESMS, ESSE, and Savremeni kolokvijalni.

APPOINT = *postaviti* (Benson a); *imenovati, postaviti* (Drvodelić a); *postaviti, postavljati, naimenovati* (Enciklopediski); *imenovati, postaviti, odrediti* (ESMS); *postaviti, naimenovati* (ESSE); *postaviti, izabrati* (Savremeni kolokvijalni)

Obviously, there are two Serbian correspondents of *appoint*: *postaviti* (which has an imperfective aspectual variant *postavljati*), appearing in all of the six dictionaries, and *imenovati* with a doublet *naimenovati*, in four dictionaries. In order to check this conclusion, the following Serbian-English dictionaries have been consulted: Benson a, Drvodelić b, ESSE, Savremeni kolokvijalni, and SEMS.

POSTAVITI = *appoint, name* (Benson b); *appoint* (SEMS); *appoint, nominate, institute, constitute* (Drvodelić b); *appoint, nominate* (ESSE); *nominate, appoint, assign, install, make* (Savremeni kolokvijalni)

IMENOVATI = *appoint* (Benson b); *nominate, appoint, institute* (Drvodelić b); *appoint, nominate* (ESSE); *appoint* (SEMS). Drvodelić b and Benson b direct from *naimenovati* to *imenovati*. In Savremeni kolokvijalni and SEMS there is no entry for *(na)imenovati*.

NAIMENOVATI = *nominate, appoint, assign* (ESSE)

So the Serbian-English dictionaries confirm the correspondence *appoint, nominate* : *postaviti, (na)imenovati*.

As Drvodelić, ESSE and Savremeni kolokvijalni suggest, *nominate* can be a synonym of *appoint*. This verb is followed by the same grammatical words (*as, to*), the *to*-infinitive and by a name of somebody with a rank or profession as a direct object, just like *appoint*. However, this meaning of *nominate* is coming out of use, ousted by the primary meaning ‘officially

suggest somebody to receive an important post or prize', which is followed by *for*, often in passive. In one of its meanings, the verb *name* is also a synonym of *appoint*, as recorded in Benson b. This has been confirmed in English monolingual dictionaries. However, at least a modicum of difference lies in *nominate*'s path to obsolescence and a different shadow meaning² for *name*.

Whether there are further dissimilarities between *nominate*, *name* and *appoint* is to be ascertained in the article.

Defining *appoint*, *name* and *nominate* by means of collocations

Now we are going to provide for a semantic definition of the performative *appoint* and its synonyms as it was done in Hlebec (2015b). First of all, for this purpose we need a corpus of lexical and grammatical collocations with *appoint*, gathered from dictionaries and various texts. Since we are interested in collocations, nouns will be mentioned in their citation forms, leaving out articles, plural forms and other modifiers met in the actual use. Occasional exceptions to this practise have been made in order to conduct the reader to the actual meaning. Unacceptable collocations are also indicative of content and therefore they have been sporadically mentioned.

In defining *appoint*, *name* and *nominate* the following lexemes and grammar categories, as well as a formula, have been found useful: *as*, *by*, *to* (prep.), *to*-infinitive, *I hereby...*, *??seriously*. Here are their own definitions:

as <being in social role of «sb»> examples: *I wanted to use him as an agent* (= 'to use him when he is in the role of an agent'). *As managing director, I am expected to provide effective leadership. Tom refused to recognize him as his son.* MEDAL and Horby's define the preposition *as* in the relevant sense by the wording 'sb has a particular job' (MEDAL and Horby's) 'or function' (Horby's).

to 1 <sb_x coming to be in «role of social power»> *He was recently promoted to the rank of colonel. The government was returned to office by a large majority. She rose to the level of manager.* 2 <sb_x coming to be «sb-with social power»> *He was recently promoted to senior group manager.* 3 <sb coming to be/being part of «group of sb with social power»> *She was elected to Parliament. He is actor to a theatre company.*³

² The primary meaning that influences another sense of the same lexeme is called "shadow meaning" (Chafe 2000).

³ Zeugma in *They appointed him to the company and the post of manager proves that to is employed here in two lexical meanings.

to-infinitive <sb !wanting! phenomenon> *I'm in a hurry to catch a train* ('...wanting train-catching'). *I'm afraid to cross the street.* (= 'I have the mental state of fright while wanting my crossing the street'). *He wants to sell his car.*

to be Some verb complements may drop *to* plus the following copula *be* (Dixon 2005: 53, 251–254). The tendency to leave or drop *to be* is ruled by the relationship between the person in the subject and the person in the object.

(1) When the influence of the subject is considerable, as in official decisions and judgements, *to be* is omitted, as in *They voted him (*to be) president*, where 'sb_{strong}' is realized as 'sb_{more than one with power of voting}', *prove sb (*to be) wrong* or *find sb (*to be) guilty* [in court]; *Meat exports must be certified (*to be) free of disease.*

(2) When there is no influence, *to be* is activated, as in: *He saw her to be honest. *He saw her honest; I know/assume Mark to be happy. *I know/assume Mark happy. We found him to be very unsure of himself; It was thought to be a fraud. They declared Fred to be insane.*

(3) If the connection is equivocal between (1) and (2), *to be* is optional: if the speaker wants the subject to figure as a highly influential person, *to be* will be left out, otherwise *to be* will be used. Thus: *I consider Mary (to be) cleverer than Fred. They believe him (to be) dead. He seems (to be) good/an idiot. I deem him (to be) an honest man. I want the house (to be) clean when I return. She ordered the floor (to be) cleaned.*

The Imperative is allowed of with verbs that contain 'intentionally'. *Come back! Let me read!*

I hereby + Present Simple Tense <sb_{sp} uses sb_{sp}'s social - moral power (illocutionary act) and language (locutionary act) to make phenomenon be experienced as true (perlocutionary act)> *H.*

I confirm that the signature is authentic. I h. declare a holiday. I h. promise to come. H. I appoint you as authorized proxy to represent me as manager.

seriously <do - experience {mental} phenomenon [as important - true]> *argue/believe/damage s.; s. ill/concerned* (cf. Hlebec 2012: 9).

Collocations with *appoint*, *name* and *nominate*

sb_x with social power⁴ + a./n.⁵ + sb_{with social power}⁶
company/congregation/government/they/Tsar + a. + *administration/ambassador/attorney/clerk/commission/committee/director/governor/manager/party member/officer/outsider* to the leading party/*president/prime minister/principal/printer/secretary* /*successor/superintendent/teacher/treasurer*⁷.

we/president + *name* + *board of six/candidate/player of the year/secretary* /*his successor of state*

Caliph/clan/Royal Council/court/governor/everyone/judge + *nominate* + *arbiter/bishop/body of members/the chief cad/chaplain/chief/commissioner of education/council/members/oversman/sheriff*

sb_x with social power + a./name/nominate + sb_y (+ to be)⁸ + sb_{with social power}:

Castro/they + a. + *John Smith/him/himself* + *ambassador/captain/chairman/chief of department/coach/governor/judge/leader/president/full professor*; *They appointed him captain of the English team. They appointed him to be the coach.*

president + *name* + *her/Mark Davies* (+ to be) + *captain/head of the company secretary of state*

⁴ The seme 'sb with social power' covers a whole range of varying degrees of power, from class president and debtor (if it is a VIP, a company or a country) to President of the Republic and emperor.

⁵ The abbreviation *n* stands for *name/nominate*.

⁶ The seme 'social power' is a hyponym of 'role'. Consequently the definitions of *as* and *to* with the seme 'role' automatically apply to *appoint*, *name* and *nominate* with 'social power'. The unacceptable **Brutus appointed (Marcus) slave*, where *slave* (= 'sb_x who is in state when sb_x is used...') denotes a social role, proves that *appoint* must contain 'sb_{with social power}' as a feature which is more specific than 'role'.

⁷ It is understood that due to extralinguistic factors some theoretically possible collocations are unlikely to occur, like e.g. *Tsar appointed manager*. The point is that even such sentences are linguistically well-formed.

Since collocations are syntagmatic connections of individual lexemes rather than of lexemes with compounds and phrases, although terminological phrases may have the status of a lexeme, we find it expedite to mark whatever words that do not constitute a collocate proper by a different type of letters. Thus "party member" is a kind of member. Besides, it can be important to get a view of the whole compound or phrase in order to grasp the meaning, as in the compound *party member*, where *party* provides this important information.

⁸ The construction *appoint/nominate* + *to be* is rare. SOED explicitly mentions that with *name* it is obsolete, which may hold good only for British English. This is predicted by the *to be* rule. *They nominated him to be their representative* should be interpreted as 'sb with social power who is not very strong...'.

president + nominate + me + his representative; They nominated him to be their representative.

sb_x with social power + *a./name/nominate + sby + as + sb* with social power:

they + a. + him/Jane Smith + as + chairman/heir /manager/member of police authorities/chief press officer/treasurer; They appointed him as captain of the team.

*President/they + name + him/Joseph Brown + as + captain of the team/guardian/his replacement*⁹

debtor/president/she + nominate + child/her/slave/wife + as + candidate/hostage /mancipium/his representative/spokesperson

sb_x with social power + *a./name/nominate + sby* (with social power) + *to*₁ + role of social power:

guardian/they + a. + friend/graduate/monk + to + command/job/office/ the order of Franciscans/senior police position/post/rank

Ministry/they + name + sb + to + bishopric/office/post

crown/Emperor/Pope + nominate + person/sb + to + benefice/bishopric

sb_x with social power + *a./name + sby + to*₂ + sb with social power

He was recently appointed to colonel.

sb + nominate + sb + to + the bishop (obsolete)

Name does not appear in our corpus.

sb_x with social power + *a./name/nominate + sby* (with social power) + *to*₃ + group of sb_z with social power:

*Sinn Fein/they + a. + delegate/her + to + committee; John Smith was appointed to the board by the manager's decision.*¹⁰

they + name + John Smith + to + committee; A consul general is named to St. Domingo.

sb + nominate + sb + to + board of managers; He has been nominated to the committee.

sb_x with social power + *nominate + role of social power:*

Sovereign + nominate + lower grade of officer

In our corpus there has been no evidence of *appoint* and *name* fitting into this pattern.

sb_x with social power + *a./name/nominate + sby* (with social power) + *to* do phenomenon of social power:

⁹ *Replacement* is not invariably 'sb with social power', but contextually it copies (iconically "replaces") the 'sb with social power' of *his*, which also contextually adopts this same in a chain of transfer starting from *secretary* of state or some other lexeme defined as such.

¹⁰ *Decision* is linked to *manager*, who is 'sb with social power' through metonymy.

manager/chief/council + a. + anyone/committee/other persons + to act for the clerk/to consider changes/to govern/to lead in her absence/to serve as secretary; A lawyer was appointed to represent the child.

President/sb + name + prosecutor + to + investigate

president + nominate + him/John/son + to be present at the meeting/to go to the meeting/to hold the benefice/to represent his country/to serve as chairperson

In the patterns above ‘social power’ seems to be the power of authority in the administrative, legal, religious, economic, political, military and educational rather than the medical or scientific sphere.

When the object is an abstract ‘sb’ without a subscript, no accompanying indefinite article surfaces.

The definitional pattern #SB_X# MAKES #SB_Y# ‘sb_Y’ requires the complement COME TO BE #SB#. This comes as a consequence of the causative ‘make’ which requires a complement here (*make sb what?*), as distinct from ‘make sb exist’ (*She was unable to conceive a child naturally*).

It is possible for a single definition with two object directives to accommodate both *appoint/name/nominate + director* and *appoint/name/nominate + him/John + director*, etc. Thence, if the speaker opts for *him, somebody* or *Mary* as an object, he or she has to use *director, teacher, candidate*, etc. as a (complement to the) object, and if he or she chooses to place *director, teacher*, etc. in the object slot, no other object is needed in the same construction. Thus, *They appointed him (to be) president*, but **They appointed him*.

The semantic definition of *appoint*, which is a compilation of the definitions for the items above, reads: <#sb_X with social power# using sb_X’s social power and language intentionally makes #sb_Y#¹¹ come to be ((part of group of) sb) with social power in order to **be in role** of #sb_{with social power}# when sb_X WANTS¹² sb_Y’s PHENOMENON and when STATE OF sb_Y’s SOCIAL POWER is experienced as true>.

The typographical devices visually link the semes to the meanings of the grammar items: *as*, *to*, TO-INFINITIVE, imperative, I hereby..., *s e r i o u s l y. For example, bold italics stand for the overlapping parts of the definitions of *as* and *to*.

¹¹ ‘Sb_Y’ is canonically a person, but exceptionally it can refer to non-humans, as in: *Caligula appointed his horse consul*. Such usage which Hanks (2013) calls “exploitation” is deviation from the norm, but it should not interfere with the semantic definition. Such marginal instances have been aptly lumped together as “rijetka pojedinačna značenja” (“rare individual meanings”) in JAZU.

¹² The present participle *wanting* in the *to*-infinitive’s definition has to be re-worded here as the Present Tense *wants*, but such alternations do not affect the meaning.

The *name*'s definition differs from that of *appoint* in the lack of 'come to be sb [without index, i.e. not a definite person] with social power', which means that *name* is less abstract than *appoint* in collocations with *to* + role of social power: <#sb_x with social power# using sb_x's social power and language intentionally makes #sby# be in role of #sbwith social power# (and *come to be part of group of sb with social power*) when sb_x WANTS sby's PHENOMENON and when STATE of sby's SOCIAL POWER is e x p e r i e n c e d a s t r u e>.

Contrary to *name*, *nominate* lays even greater stress on the abstract notion of role by promoting it to an object, adding 'make sby be in #role of social power#' to the definition of *appoint*: <#sb_x with social power# using sb_x's social power and language intentionally makes #sby# be in #role of social power# and be in role of #sbwith social power# (and *come to be part of group of sb with social power*) when sb_x WANTS sby's PHENOMENON and when STATE OF sby's SOCIAL POWER is e x p e r i e n c e d a s t r u e>. Consequently, *appoint* can choose between two objects in its definition (*a.* + (*him*) + *chief*), while *nominate* can have as many as three (*nominate* + (*him*) + *chief*, *nominate rank*). The same 'role of social power' also occurs as the object directive of the verbs *achieve*, *assign*, *attain*, *award*, *hold*, *reach*, and *take*.

The LLA offers lexicographic definitions that somewhat resemble our scholarly definitions:

appoint "If someone in a position of power, especially an employer, appoints someone, they officially choose someone for an important job or position in an organization".

name "to publicly say who has been chosen for an important job or position in an organization"

"If someone, especially a group of people, *nominates* someone, they officially choose that person for a particular job, piece of work to do etc, because they are the best person to do it."

Defining *postaviti* and *(na)imenovati* by means of collocations

kao Prepositions in Serbian are labelled as indeclinable words preceding nouns in oblique cases. A single preposition can govern more than one case, depending on its meaning. *Kao* is also followed by various forms of nominal cases, but the case, number and gender always echo the case, number and gender of the preceding noun (*Znam ga* (Accusative masculine) *kao poštenog* (Accusative of a nominalized adjective, masculine), *Oženio se njome* (Instrumental feminine) *kao udovicom* (Instrumental feminine), including the Nominative, which sets it apart from prepositions proper: *On*

(Nominative) *se pojavio kao predstavnik* (Nominative) *svoje grupacije*. Thus *kao* is not an ordinary preposition, but it is even less of an adverb. In Serbian grammar books the classification of *kao* is avoided, while in dictionaries it is treated as a conjunction rather than as a preposition, even when followed by a noun. SANU (as well as JAZU s.v. *postaviti* 2. b. a) bb) aaa)) classifies *kao* in the sense we are interested in as an adverb meaning ‘u svojstvu/zvanju (‘in capacity of’, ‘having social role of’): *Vuk i kao čovek i kao roditelj; lutati svetom kao glumac*. In MS this *kao*, as in *Izabrali su je kao svog predstavnika na takmičenju*, is defined less accurately as ‘u položaju/svojestvu (koga/čega)’ (‘in position/property of sb/sth’), covering what SANU treats as (b) u službi/nameni (‘serving the function of’, ‘for the purpose of’): *crkva ozidana kao spomenik, pećina upotrebljena kao grobnica*. Thus *kao* should be defined as <živo biće budući u društvenoj funkciji «nekoga»> (<living thing being in social function of «sb»>), which makes this sense of *kao* identical to the one expounded for *as*.¹³

na with intransitive verbs/verb phrases: <neko budući u «društvenoj ulozi»> (<sb being in «social role¹⁴»>) *Juče je stupio na dužnost* (= Juče je počeo vršiti dužnost [i.e. društvenu ulogu]). *Upinje se da dođe na položaj* (*doći* ‘početi činiti nešto posle nekog stanja’ ‘begin to do sth after a state’). *Dala je ostavku na mesto direktora* (*ostavka* = ‘pojava namernog nevršenja društvene uloge_x posle vršenja uloge_x’ ‘phenomenon of intentionally not being in social role_x after being in role_x’). SANU Vol. 13, 1988 offers the following analysis of the preposition *na* in the relevant sense: **2 đ:** »položaj, zadatak koji se nekome dodeljuje ili koji se zauzima, odn. obavlja« (position, task assigned to somebody, occupied or performed). Examples include *Svaki učitelj, kad dođe na svoju dužnost, na svoj rad...* ‘Every teacher, when coming to his duty, to his work...’ and *...treba da sam na dužnosti ...* ‘...I should be on duty...’

(b) with transitive verbs: <neko_x uzrokujući da nekoy bude u «društvenoj ulozi»> (<sb_x making sby be in «social role»>) *popeti/prebaciti/premestiti/smestiti/unaprediti + nekoga + na + dužnost/mesto/pijedestal/položaj/tron/funkciju*

Both the verbs and the preposition *na* above hinge on the primary meaning of *na*, which is ‘position in space’ viewed as a point (rather than as a 2D surface; Klikovac 2000: 88).

u 1 (a) with intransitive verbs < tako da se neko smatra «kategorijom nekoga sa društvenom moći»> (<so that sb is thought of as «category of sb with social power»>): *Ušla je u nižu administrativnu kategoriju. Stupio je*

¹³ This is not the same *kao* as in Hlebec 2008, where *kao* means ‘look like’.

*u opštinsku službu*¹⁴/*partizanske redove /franjevački red*. **1 (b)** with transitive verbs <neko_x uzrokujući da se neko_y smatra «kategorijom nekoga_sa društvenom moći»> (<sb_x making sb_y be thought of as «category of sb with social power»>): *popeti/prebaciti/premestiti/smestiti/unaprediti + nekoga + u + zvanje/kategoriju/klasu/razred/rang/red/službu/status/čin*. The collocating verbs here are the same that occur with *na*, but the nouns denote a more abstract notion of ‘category of social function’. **2** <tako da neko bude deo «skupine nekoga_sa društvenom moći» (<so that sb comes to be part of «group of sb with social power»>) *Izabrana je u odbor/savet/Skupštinu*.

za <neko_x namerno uzrokujući da neko_y bude «neko sa društvenom funkcijom»¹⁵> (<sb_x intentionally making sb_y be «sb with social function»>) In his survey of the basic semantic categories of Serbian cases, Berislav Nikolić classifies *za* as a complement to verbs such as *držati* ‘hold, believe’, *želeći* ‘wish’, *postaviti* ‘appoint’, *priznati* ‘recognize’, *primiti* ‘accept’. “With some verbs the Accusative with the preposition *za* comes as an integral part of the predicate” (Nikolić 1972: 233; translated by B. H.). His example is *Narod primi ono momče za cara*. ‘The people accepted that lad for tsar’. Other examples can be added: *Izabrali/Proglasili su ga za vođu*.

The Predicative Instrumental <tako da se nešto_x doživljava u vidu »nečega_y> (<so that sth_x is experienced in the form of »sth_y>; cf. Hlebec 2008c): *nazvati nekoga lopovom, zamišljati sebe uspešnim, činiti se beznadežnim, držati nekoga divljakom*

The Imperative in Serbian has the same reactance as in English and is typically used with verbs that contain ‘intentional event’.

da (conjunction of purpose) + Present Tense <hoteći:> (<wanting:>) *Želim da već jednom svane. Seo je da se odmori* (= ... ‘hoteći: odmoriti se’)

Ovim + *nekoga* + Present Tense Imperfective *Ovim imenujem Petra Petrovića za svog naslednika. Ovim se odričem prava korišćenja pomoćnih prostorija*. The use of this pattern is the same as that of the corresponding English pattern: <neko_x upotrebljava društvenu moć/moralnu snagu nekoga_x da rečima namerno uzrokuje stanje koja se doživljava kao stvarnost>

¹⁴ In this collocation the noun *služba* is used in sense 3 (MS s.v. *služba*) ‘naročita grana, oblast, vrsta rada, zanimanje’ (a special branch, field, kind of work, profession): *blagajnička/vojna/sanitetska služba*.

¹⁵ Here *funkcija* seems to be a better choice than *uloga* because of collocations such as *priznati za sina* (‘recognize as son’), where *sin* denotes a social function rather than a social role; cf. **postaviti/(na)imenovati za sina*. ‘Sb in (with) social role’ is the hyperonym of ‘sb in (with) social role’, while, in turn, the latter is the hyperonym of ‘sb with social power’. This meaning of *funkcija*₁ ‘purpose, use’ should be distinguished from *funkcija*₂ ‘high social position’.

The adverb *ozbiljno*, corresponding to the English *seriously*, is as redundant with *p./i./n.* as the English adverb, which naturally emanates from its performative function.

Collocations of *postaviti*, (*na*)*imenovati*

neko_x sa društvenom moći + *p./i./n.* + nekoga sa društvenom ulogom({) sa društvenom moći({)

sb_x with social power (Nom.) *p./i./n.* sb with social role({)with social power({) (Acc.):

*Bog/narod/neko*¹⁶/*ti* + *p.* + *bana/branioca/vojvodu/govornika/direktora/kneza/kralja /nadzornika/oficira/poglavara/poglavicu/sveštenika/slugu/starešinu/sudiju/upravnika /cara/činovnika*

vojvoda/parlament/generalni sekretar/tribunal + *i.* + *ambasadora/vojvodu/emisara /izaslanika/načelnika/predsednika/pregovarača/rektora/saveznog sekretara/funkcionera*

grof/kralj/tribunal/šef države + *n.* + *brigadira/delegata/direktora/eksperta /punomoćnika/člana akademije*

Examples with ‘sb being in role without social power’, such as *Postavljen bi sluga* from the 13th c. are not obsolete and, although infrequent, can be found in modern texts. They indicate that ‘sa društvenom moći’ is a typical, not a diagnostic, feature of *postaviti*.

neko_x sa društvenom moći + *i./n.* + skupinu nekoga sa društvenom ulogom {sa društvenom moći}

sb_x with social power (Nom.) + *i./n.* + group of sb with social role {with social power} (Acc.):

poglavar/upravnik + *p.* + *osoblje/senat*

neko + *i.* + *namesništvo/telo*

vlada/komandant/neko + *n.* + *vlast/komitet/namesništvo/odbor/ratni savet*

The oddity of *p./i./n.* ?*stručni tim/*naučnu ekspediciju* shows that scientific role is not considered to imply social power. *Imenovati* is fairly tolerant of *stručni tim* due to the shadow meaning of *imenovati*.¹⁷

neko_x sa društvenom moći + *p./i./n.* + nekogay + *za* + nekoga ({)sa društvenom moći({)

¹⁶ ‘Neko’ also covers sentences in the Passive and the Middle Voice when the Agent is implicit (*Postavljen bi arhiepiskop/glavar. Naimenuje se ministar*).

¹⁷ Similarly in English, *launch/mount/organize/*appoint/*nominate* + scientific expedition ; name a tema of experts.

sb with social power (Nom.) + *p./i./n.* + *sb_y* (Acc.) + ‘for’ + *sb*{with social power} (Acc.):

Bog/neko/otac/ti + p. + ga/Josipa/mene + za + ambasadora/vojvodu/glavara /direktora /kneza/kralja/kuma/nastojnika/oca svomu sinu (tj. Isusu)/predsednika u sudu/slugu/cara/šefa urbanista; Knjaz postavi mene za serdara.

*knez/sud/sultan + i. + agenciju za privatizaciju/nekoga/Tekeliju + za + amabasadora/kneza/maršala/popečitelja/potpredsednika/člana kabineta/stečajnog upravnika/*čuvarku javnog toaleta (acceptable only jokingly)*

*knez/neko/on + n. + Bojovića/mene/Tornijelija/čoveka + za + diplomat-skog agenta/ ambasadora/vratara/ zapovednika/lorda rizničara/poslanika/narodnog predstavnika/učitelja/*čistača ulice (acceptable only jokingly)*

neko_x sa društvenom moći + p./i./n. + nekoga_y + nekim sa društvenom moći

*sb*with social power (Nom.) + *p./i./n.* + *sb_y* (Acc.) + *sb* with social power (Instr.)

(“with the object and the predicative instrumental” JAZU)

Akačijo/Bajazit/Gospod/ja/Jakov/neko/car + p. + ga/kneza/Skendera/tebe + arhijerejom/arhimandritom/biskupom/vođem/vojvodom/glavom/knezom/pastrom crkve /pašom/sudijom/cesarom; Jer su Mlečići postavili ga serdarom nad Morlacima.

neko/on + i. + njega/pašu + vezirom/ministrom/profesorom/sucem vlada/Vsevolod/Napoleon + n. + brata/ga/Petra Čarnojevića/sebe + buljubašom /grofom/imperatorom/naslednikom

The construction is dated with all the three verbs.

neko_x sa društvenom moći + p./i./n. + nekoga_y + kao + nekoga sa društvenom ulogom{sa društvenom moći}

sb_x with social power (Nom.) *p./i./n.* + *sb_y* (Acc.) + ‘as’ + *sb* with social role {with social power} (Acc.):

neko + p. + nekoga + kao + ministra/slugu; Jugovići su postavljeni kao nastojnici i upravitelji zidanja.

Our example invented by introspection *Postavio je stražara da čuva kapiju, a psa kao/?za čuvara ambara* indicates two things: (1) that *postaviti* can be used without using words (there is no need to say anything to a dog), but this use is not performative and represents a distinct sememe of *postaviti* (*nekoga da čuva* ‘position sb to watch’, *vojnika na stražu* = ‘post a soldier’, *zasedu* set an ambush; *stražu* post the guard; cf. JAZU s.v. *postaviti* d. b)). For creatures even less intelligent than dogs, even *postaviti* is uncommon.

The saying goes: *Dati kozi da čuva kupus* ‘Let a goat guard cabbage’ rather than *Postaviti kozu da čuva kupus* ‘Set a goat guard cabbage’, and (2) that *kao* has a wider meaning of ‘living thing in a social function (dogs do perform a kind of social function), whereas *za* refers only to persons with a social function.

*Revizor je imenovao nekoga kao zamenika revizora. Imenovao je *psa kao čuvara/*dečaka kao slugu.*

*neko + n. + nekoga + kao + generalnog direktora/*izmečara*

neko_x sa društvenom moći + p./i./n. + nekoga_y + u + kategoriju nekoga_a sa društvenom moći

sb with social power (Nom.) p./i./n. + sby (Acc.) + ‘in’ + category (Acc.) of somebody with social power (Loc.):

neko + p. + nekoga + u + majstorski rang/advokatski red/masonsku službu; On je postavljen u zvanje redovnog profesora.

No examples have been found for (*na*)*imenovati* in this sense.

neko_x sa društvenom moći + p./i./n. + nekoga_y + u + skupinu nekoga_a sa društvenom moći

sb with social power (Nom.) p./i./n. + sby (Acc.) + ‘in’ + group of somebody with social power (Loc.):

Predsednik ga je postavio u vladu.

Imenovali su je u komitet/savezni organ.

Naimenovali su ga u komitet.

neko_x sa društvenom moći + p./i./n. + nekoga_y + na + društvenu ulogu

sb with social power (Nom.) + p./i./n. + sby (Acc.) + ‘on’ + social role

neko + p. + nekoga/papu + na + dostojanstvo/mesto/položaj/presto/funkciju; Postavio je prijatelja na položaj u državnu službu

neko + i. + nekoga + na + dužnost/zadatak/mesto/poziciju/položaj/generalnog sekretara /službu/funkciju

neko + n. + diplomatu. + na + mesto/položaj/funkciju specijalnog izaslanika

neko_x sa društvenom moći + p./i./n. + nekoga_y + da + čini pojavu {društvene moći}

sb_x with social power (Nom.) + p./i./n. + sby (Acc.) + so that + [sby] does (Present 3rd p.) phenomenon {of social power}

Ko je vas postavio, da mrtvijema sudite?

Imenovali su ga da nadzire gradnju.

UN su naimenovale poslanika da rukovodi organom. Gazda-Jova je naimenovao šegrta da izvadi mačku iz bunara.

The pattern “with two accusatives, of which one is the object and the other the predicative accusative” (JAZU s.v. *postaviti* 2b bbb; translated by B. H.), as in *Postavih + te (Acc.) + oca (Acc.) mnogijem narodima. Aleksandar + postavi+ im + cara(Acc.) + bratučeda svoga (Acc.)*, is obsolete. Therefore only one of the two object slots can be activated at a time for Serbian, while English tolerates two objects activated simultaneously.

Neither *p./i./n. + nekoga* nor *a./n. + sb* can be used without the support of context: **Postavili su Marka Stevanovića*, but – *Koga su postavili (za ambasadora u Francuskoj)?*

– (*Postavili su*) *Marka Stevanovića*. **They appointed Mark Stevens*, but – *Who did they appoint (ambassador to France)?* – (*They appointed*) *Mark Stevens*. The pattern NEKO_x sa društvenom moći + *p./i./n. + NEKOGA_y* can be employed on condition that the context speaks of sb_y as performing a social role with social power. Such context is provided by restrictive relative clauses or prepositional phrases with a preposition referring to power: *Nad mnogima će te postaviti* (Bible), *Imenovan je odlukom Vlade* and *Naimenuju se ljudi koji će ići u Rusiju*.

Definition of *postaviti* <#neko_x sa društvenom moći# upotrebljava društvenu moć nekoga_x da namerno rečima uzrokuje da se #neko_y# smatra kategorijom i bude u ulozi #nekoga{sa društvenom moći}# tako da se kao s t v a r n o s t doživljava stanje društvene uloge nekoga{sa društvenom moći}, kada se neko_y doživljava u vidu nekoga sa društvenom moći, HOTEĆI: neko_y čini POJAVU (i bude deo skupine nekoga sa društvenom moći)>

kao, *za*, *u*₁, *u*₂, DA + PRESENT TENSE, **Instrumental**, **Ovim...**, *o z b i l j n o

<#sb_x with social power# using language intentionally makes #sb_y# be thought of as category, and come to be in role, of #sb{with social power}# so that state of sb_y being experienced in the form of sb{with social power} is experienced as true, wanting: sb_y do phenomenon (and be part of group of sbwith social power)>

All the semes above are virtually copied from the pre-existent definitions of grammar (word) categories, which overlap as indicated by the various types of letters.

The first section of the definition ‘#neko_x sa društvenom moći# upotrebljava društvenu moć nekoga_x da namerno rečima uzrokuje’ activates the imperfective version *postavljati*, as in the Present Tense imperfective *Postavljam/*Postavim te za svog zamenika*, while ‘da neko bude u kategoriji i funkciji nekoga sa društvenom ulogom’ highlights the perfective, semelfactive, instantaneous and resultative aspect of this verb, implying

a sudden change from one state to another (*Postavio/*Postavljao ga je za svog zamenika*). In both instances the whole definition (bar the bracketed parts) is effectuated, but with shifting emphasis. The imperfective member *postavljati* can, like other semelfactives, be used as simply denotative (*Da li su ga ikad postavljali za upravnika?* ‘Have they ever appointed him as a manager?’).¹⁸

Definition of *imenovati*

The definition of *imenovati* seems to be the same as that of *postaviti* with the only difference that (1) the Patient of *imenovati* is always a person with social power, and (2) ‘category’ should probably be omitted. *Imenovati* is used both as a perfective and imperfective verb, so that *Ovim te imenujem* is also possible. “Situations which are typically punctual [= instantaneous] (and pv.) may easily become durative (and ipv.) if they are viewed as non-distributive repetitive [...], as pre-arranged [...], progressing on a slow motion film, or for stylistic purposes [...].” (Hlebec 1990: 90). Therefore, *postavljati* and *imenovati* (impf.) can be used for intended activity (*Sutra ga imenuju/postavljaju za upravnika*, like *Sutra svakako gasim svetlo u hodniku* ‘Tomorrow I am switching off the light in the corridor for sure’), iterative (*Stalno imenuju/postavljaju nove službenike*. ‘They are appointing new clerks all the time’, like *Stalno gasim svetlo u hodniku* ‘I am switching off the light in the corridor all the time’). However, these two verbs cannot be progressive (??*Postepeno ga postavljaju za upravnika* !*Juče su ga postavljali za direktora* (‘Yesterday they were appointing him director’ can be accepted only if a number of other activities involved with and preceding the appointment is included).

Definition of *naimenovati*

The verb *naimenovati* is only perfective (**Ovim te naimenujem za guvernera* *‘Hereby I am appointing you governor’; *Naimenovao ga je za guvernera*. (‘He appointed him governor’). Due to this fact, the definition of *naimenovati* should read as follows:

¹⁸ Simple denotative aspectuality is the use of the Imperfective as a general-factual, particularly common with nonprefixed verbs (Comrie 1978: 118, 141; Rassudova 1968: 26-27). “This notion signifies that the communicator dwells on the content of a single situation without having in mind the way in which it occurred. Simple denotation is neutral as to completion or continuation and only contextually one or the other meaning may be understood” (Hlebec 1990: 95). The difference between *Da li su ga ikad postavili za upravnika?* and *Da li su ga ikad postavljali za upravnika?* seems to be in the interpretation ‘once’ for the former and ‘once or more times’ for the latter.

<#neko_x sa društvenom moći# namerno rečima uzrokuje da #neko_y# bude u ulozi #nekoga {sa društvenom moć}i#, kada se kao s t v a r n o s t neko_y doživljava u vidu nekoga sa društvenom moći, HOTEĆI: neko_y čini pojavu_x (i bude deo skupine nekoga sa društvenom moći)>

The inability of *naimenovati* to be used as a pure performative and imperfective verb is reflected in the deletion of ‘upotrebljava društvenu moć nekoga’ from the previous two definitions. The other semes of *postaviti* and *imenovati* are shared with *naimenovati*.

Senses a ‘appoint sb to a post’, b ‘choose for a job/task’, v (‘appoint a body’) and g ‘confer a title to sb’ of the sememe *naimenovati* in SANU are allosemes of a single sememe because no matter how somebody is “*naimenovan*”, whether officially or non-officially, the agent has to be a person of authority.

Comparison of the English and Serbian correspondents

Beside other numerous meanings, the preposition *to* means <influencing «sth» as good - bad>, as in *Trade is essential to economic interests. For ten years he was butler to Mike Johnson. Peter had acted as interpreter to the president. She is appointed/named/nominated personal assistant to the Managing Director.* This sememe will be called *to*₄. The preposition *to*₄ does not collocate directly with *appoint*, *name* and *nominate* but with nouns that contain ‘sb in function’, such as *king*, *milkmaid*, *policeman*, *servant*, while they, in turn, collocate with these verbs.¹⁹ Therefore, if a highly precise definitions of the verbs in question are required, we should expand the pattern SB_X WITH SOCIAL POWER + *a/n.* + SBWITH SOCIAL ROLE with ‘makes sb_z be in role to influence sb_z with social power’.

A similar construction in Serbian uses the Dative (*in*)*commodi* (Dative of benefit/harm) collocating with nouns that follow the verbs meaning <uzrokovati *da* »živo biće/grupa« *doživi dobru - lošu pojavu*> (make »living thing/group« *experience good – bad phenomenon*); e.g. *pomagati prijatelju, naći se čoveku u nevolji, ograničiti prava narodu, olakšati teret konjima, uništiti susedima imovinu.* As a correspondent of English *assistant to director*, Serbian has *asistent reditelju*, *butler to Mike Johnson* is *batler Majku Džonsonu* and *interpreter to the President* equals *tumač Predsedniku*. The Dative used in this sense highlights close relationship between two persons

¹⁹ “The ties between the case form and the verb may be stronger or weaker on a gradient scale” (Seiler 1983: 39, in Stojanović 1996: 394). “If a noun is in the predicative function, this implies a weaker link between the Dative and the verb” (Stojanović 1996: 366; translated by B. H.).

is ed, as in *Jovanović je reditelju Markoviću* (Dat.) *asistent* in contrast to *Jovanović je asistent reditelja Markovića* (Gen.). *Bog postavi naslednike roditeljima mojim. Jesi li postavljen caru za savjetnika? Skupština je Predsedniku (na)imenovala savetnika.* This dative can be used when directly collocating with verbs of giving, like *dodeliti, pokloniti, kupiti, odrediti*: *Postavljen/Dodeljen je predsedniku za savetnika* (= *He was assigned to President as counsellor*). *Vazal je sultanu poklonio sestru za harem.* (= *The vassal gave his sister to the Sultan for the harem*). The Serbian construction covers a wider meaning, permitting not only “directing” a subordinate to a senior, but also vice versa. English does not permit the preposition *to* to denote influencing a subordinate by a senior. Compare: *The court appointed a guardian for/*to the orphan. On je naimenovan za gospodara svim ostrvljanima* vs. *He was appointed the master of/*to all the islanders.*

When comparing *appoint* and *postaviti*, we can observe that the former strictly requires ‘sb with social power’ as an object, whereas the latter includes ‘sb with social role’, with ‘with power’ as a typical feature.

In English, a prepositional phrase consisting of *to*₃ and a group noun can be a complement to ‘sby’ as an object, while in Serbian instead of the corresponding Dative, the preposition *u*₂ ‘in’ has to be used: *She was elected to parliament. Izabrana je *skupštini/u skupštinu.* This is not a great difference because in cognitive terms, if we treat *to*₃ and *u*₂ ‘in’ as metaphoric derivatives of the primary spatial senses, “[w]e use *in* [...] when we have a mental image of a destination consisting of an enclosing boundary and an interior”, whereas “*to* is neutral about whether a path stops at the surface or edge of a landmark or whether it crosses this edge or boundary” (Lindstromberg 1997: 28). “In its prototypical meaning the construction *u* + Acc. signals a Container in which the Object Contained takes its place by entering it (if a living thing) or is taken into (if an inanimate thing)” (Klikovac 2000: 204; translated by B. H.).

The connection between ‘[make] sb’ and ‘sb with social power’ is stronger in English when they are both direct objects because no preposition or other word need intervene, whereas this is not possible in contemporary Serbian.

The English ‘role of social power’ (*position, job, rank...*) is divided in Serbian *postaviti* between ‘social role’ (*mesto, položaj, funkcija*₂ ..., collocating with *na*) and ‘category of sb with social power’ (*zvanje, rang, red...*, with *u* 1a’). As distinct from the Serbian *postaviti*, categorisation does not feature in the English correspondents.

English lacks ‘state of sb being experienced in the form of sb with social power’, so that it is the subjective aspect of appearance (something

that makes impression) that is in focus in Serbian. What is important is the impression the appointee makes on the society. However, this complex sense is coming out of date in Serbian. A close association between role and appearance manifests itself also in English, where *as* has an additional meaning 'having under particular appearance' (MEDAL) or is "used to describe sb/sth appearing to be sb/sth else" (Hornby's), e.g. *a portrait of a princess as a child*.

Summarizing the aforementioned statements, we can put it in a nutshell that in comparison to English, Serbian the notion of social role is slightly more prominent than the notion of social power.

Hoping that scewing by translating the Serbian into the English meta-language is not too great, we can conclude that the difference between *appoint*, *name* and *nominate* on the one hand and *postaviti* and (*na*)*imenovati* on the other hand is slight, and yet it may indicate specific social characters of the speakers of the two languages. A confirmation of this suggestion can be given only through insight into comparative studies of sociologists, anthropologists, historians, and psychologists and first and foremost by considerably widening the scope of linguistic research.

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Typographical conventions and abbreviations

- * anomalous or unacceptable connection of words
- ! an unacceptable connection of words in one meaning, but acceptable in another
- ‘ ’ meaning content
- < > a semantic definition
- { } a typical seme
- # # a directive (content of the subject or object noun slot within a verbal or adjectival definition)
- « » a prepositional object within a definition; e.g. *between*1 <connecting «two sth»>; e.g. *the distance between London and Paris* = ‘the distance connecting London and Paris’ *a link between diet and diabetes*
- !! meaning proper of an infinitive
- » « an oblique case

- [] meaning proper of an adverb
underlined content proper of a preposition or of an oblique case within its definition; e.g. *between*₂ <having to do with «two sth» in the same way> *Divide the cake b. the children* = ‘divide the cake involving two children in the same way’,
 ‘sb’, ‘neko’ somebody, a person; The seme ‘sb’ includes not only nouns like *liar, lietenant, fool, girl, son, admiral* (in Serbian *lažov, poručnik, budala, devojka, sin, admiral*), but also «group» nouns *institute, quarter, regime, hotel, corporation, jury, crew, abbey...* (*institut, kvartet, režim, hotel, korporacija, žiri, posada, opatija*), as well as personal pronouns and personal names. It is implied in passive sentences without an explicit Agent.
 ‘sth’, ‘nešto’ includes persons and things.
 ‘sb_x’, ‘sb_y’ different persons. As the need arises, indices in the definitions of main collocates may shift values in relation to definitions of collocators (cf. *to*₂ and *appoint*).
 ‘sp’ speaker

Борис Хлебџ

КОНТРАСТИВНИЙ АНАЛИЗ ПЕРФОРМАТИВА *APPOINT* И ЕГО СЕРВСКИХ КОРРЕСПОНДЕНТОВ

Резюме

Здесь впервые сравниваются методом коллокации определенные лексические корреспонденты двух языков. Избран английский глагол *appoint* со синонимами *nominate* и *name*, и противопоставлен с сербским *иџосиџавиџи* и *(на)иџеноваиџи*. Сравнение глаголов *appoint* и *иџосиџавиџи* указывает, что предыдущий для дополнения обязательно требует сему ‘кто-то с общественной властью’, а последни ‘кто-то с общественной ролью’, в то время как ‘с властью’ является типичным признаком. Связь между ‘[быть причиной] кого-то’ и ‘кого-то с общественной властью’ сильнее в английском. Сема ‘роль общественной власти’ английских глаголов разделяется в сербском на ‘общественная роль’ и ‘категория кого-то с общественной властью’. Архаичный сербский выделяет вид в котором появляется назначенное лицо в роли. Таким образом, в сербском языке понятие общественной роли является в известной мере более подчеркнутым от понятия общественной власти, чем в английском языке.

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