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■ DEFINING ENGLISH AND SERBIAN VERBS OF DAMAGE

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Leksičko polje koje čine osnovni glagola oštećenja u srpskom i engleskom jeziku semantički je definisano autorovom kolokacijskom metodom kako bi se što objektivnije zaključilo o sličnostima i razlikama dva jezika. Utvrđeno je znatno češće pojavljivanje klaseme „pojava stvorena/doživljena u srpskom“, a „priroda“ i „mentalna pojava o nekome“ u engleskom. (Po)kvariti i upset imaju najveću polisemiju. Izneseni su i drugi podaci o distribuciji značenjskih elemenata ovog polja.

Ključne reči: kontrastivna analiza, kolokacijski metod, glagoli, semantičko polje, engleski, srpski.

1. INTRODUCTION

“Verbs of damage” comprise a small set of verbs that share the definition “cause to get in bad state”. In terms of a semantic definition, which tends towards semantic atoms, this becomes <#sb/sth# makes #sth# come to not be good> (‘not good’ = ‘bad’), where the seme “come to be” reflects perfective aspect/aspectuality (= sudden change of state) and therefore implies that something was previously good (so that ‘[any longer]’ can be added redundantly) or evaluatively neutral (neither good nor bad). The evaluative connotation of the object noun #sth_y# flanked by ‘make’ and ‘come to not be good’ is ‘not bad’ even if ‘good’ is not already present in its definition. For instance, *economy* is evaluatively neutral, unlike *prestige* or *peace* with their invariantly positive connotation, but *damage economy* implies that the previous state of economy was not bad. Owing to ‘make ... come to not be good’, the nouns in the subject slot <#sth_x# are understood to connote ‘bad’ even if their definitions do not contain ‘bad’, as *shoe* in *The shoe hurt my toes*.

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Why the formulation 'not good' rather than 'bad'? GOOD is a semantic atom, having wider application than 'bad', though in Goddard and Wierzbicka (1994) BAD also appears on the list. GOOD rather than 'bad' was one of six metaphysical terms posed by the English philosopher William Occam. *Good* can be both marked and unmarked, while *bad* is only marked. (Cf. – *How good is your car?* – *It's very good/bad* vs. – *How bad is your car?* – *It's very bad/*good*.) The antonyms *good* and *bad* belong to Cruse's Group II (1986: 207), the positive member behaving with a default value. Thus, *Your car is bad, but it is better than mine* vs.? *Your car is good, but it is worse than mine*. Whereas *not good* is equivalent to *bad*, *not bad* may refer to 'neither good nor bad', in addition to '{slightly}good' (braces enclose 'typical senses'). The same differences hold in Serbian.

The meaning of *dobar* and *good* is quite vague and varies according to the context (Nida 1975: 13).

"Verbs of damage" are distinguished from "verbs of destroyal" (Cruse 2004: 73, 83, and Greenbaum 1970: 73; such as *destroy*, *ruin*, *shatter*; *uništiti*, *razoriti*, *skršiti*), defined as <#sb/sth_x# makes #sth_y# not exist any longer>.

In this article, specialized and dated usage have not been treated.

2. AIMS AND PROCEDURE

In order to compare the semantic content of the verbs examined, the present author will employ his collocational method (CM), also applied in Hlebec 2008c, 2011, 2012, 2015a, 2016 and other works. It is a variant of the distributional semantics, according to which if two words tend to have a similar distribution (i.e. if they both co-occur with a third word), they belong to the same language class (stated by the pioneer of the distributional method Zellig Harris, e.g. Harris 1954, 1968). Both CM and Patrick Hanks' Corpus Pattern Analysis (CPA; 2013) are grounded in exploring the meanings of verbs by their patterns of use. CM is more rigorous and ambitious in being applied to all parts of speech including function words (cf. Hlebec 2015b). Unlike CPA, CM proceeds from verbal collocations to uncovering semantic noun categories, not merely enlisting noun sets.

The tenets of CM are the following. As a first step, investigators provide for a list of collocators of a particular verb, adjective, adverb, or preposition, which is called "collocating node (pivot)". In order to establish a semantic definition of these parts of speech, the investigator should proceed to search for the common content of collocators for each sememe. This content is essentially the condition for felicitous co-occurrence with the node, and at the same time it generates a lexical category (a "classeme"). A definition is necessarily tentative before at least 20,000 most frequent words have been defined and the whole basic lexical net got interconnected.

To quote Roos: "What Bierwisch (1970: 184) suggests for semantic analysis applies to contrastive collocational analysis, too: it must "start with small, clear subsystems, developing thereby the necessary basic concepts. Such islands might then be extended to larger complexes..." (Roos 1976: 75).

This second stage of the procedure uses the paradigmatic axis of language and follows the distributional semantics thesis about linguistic items with similar distribution having similar meanings (Rubenstein/Goodenough 1965).

The part of an adjective's or verb's definition that establishes the link with the collocating nouns is called "directive" (Wiggins 1971: 26). It is a slot signalled by a pair of

hashes # #, in Serbian couched in the accusative. Oblique cases other than the accusative are indicated by double-angle quotation marks « ». The additional information on a particular oblique case is acquired from the "analysis", the rest of the definition outside the directive (labelled so in Wiggins 1971: 26).

In the third step polysemy is determined. An auxiliary test of non-humorous zeugma can be applied to settle the question of monosemy vs. polysemy, *Paljenje plavog svetla pokvarilo je izgled prostorije* (8) *i raspoloženje gostiju* (5). 'Switching on blue light marred the look of the room (1) and the guests' mood (2)' is acceptable, unlike **Tragična vest pokvarila je izgled prostorije i raspoloženje gostiju*. "**The tragic news marred the look of the room and the guests' mood*". But in science fiction one can imagine a device which could react to thoughts and change the ambient because in the long run "what is a distinct meaning is not fixed but appears to depend on the context (as represented by the various polysemy tests)" (Geeraerts 1992: 230).

The realization of particular collocations depends on the situation in reality. Some of them will be unlikely, but linguistically acceptable and not impossible, like *Branches disturbed my dream* when a sleeper is lying outdoors close to branches that rustle or touch him/her.

The present tense in semantic definitions is employed as a canonical form standing for all tenses.

If an entity in the first slot can also be used in the role of INSTRUMENT, its role as an AGENT is mediated through the indirect connection. To take an example, *Running damaged her muscled* is tantamount to *She damaged her muscles by running* as distinct from **Running damaged her muscles by her/running*. A double bar || indicates the indirect connection, and a treble bar ||| stands for the doubly indirect connection. Round brackets within a directive enclose its expansion via indirect connection (Hlebec 2003). Indirect connection conjoining subjects or objects within a clause produces a stylistically rather than semantically awkward effect. ? *The athlete damaged her spine and hearing*. ?? *Ann and John's words hurt my feelings*. *Ann hurt my feelings, and so did John's words* (hurt 2). Such borderline cases of polysemy have been traditionally marked in dictionaries by subscripts (like 1a, b).

A slant or a comma within the directive separate alternate senses and do not contribute to the proliferation of sememes; e.g. *Smoking injured her lungs and her health in general* (injure 1).

The seme 'sth' comprises 'non-living thing', 'substance' and 'phenomenon'. 'Thing' comprises 'non-living thing' and 'living thing'. The latter covers 'sb', 'animal' and 'plant'. 'Sb' and 'animal' are living things that can move (= change place on its own). The seme 'phenomenon' includes 'event', 'state', 'process', 'habitualness', 'energy', and even 'living thing invisible to the naked eye'. A state "is conceived of as existing, rather than happening, and as being homogenous, continuous and unchanging throughout its duration" (Lyons 1977: 483). An 'event' is a happening, with a dynamic change during its duration. For Jackendoff (1991) a super-category uniting semantic primes 'state' and 'event' is called "situation".

We present some other rules of inclusion ("redundancy rules" in generative linguistics).

'body part' → (is included in) 'non-living thing'

'emotion' → 'mental phenomenon'

'man-made thing using energy to function' → 'man-made thing' → 'non-living thing'

'mental phenomenon' → 'psychological phenomenon'

'perception' → 'psychological phenomenon'

'perceptual ability' → 'body phenomenon'

'thought' → 'mental state' → 'mental phenomenon'

'thought of sb_x a lot more than one about sb_y' → 'social phenomenon'

'time' → 'state'

Based on its definition, a noun can be attached to various verb collocators via their directives. Thus, *red* 'order' can be 'psychological state' in (po)kvariti (7) or 'social state' in (po)kvariti (6).

3. DEFINITIONS

drmati impf., **uzdrmati** pf.

1. *epidemija* 'epidemic', *klimakterijum* 'menopause', *kriza* 'crisis', *naučnik* 'scientist', *opozicija* 'opposition', *pubertet* 'puberty', *revolucionar* 'revolutionary' || *rat* 'war', *revolucija* 'revolution'

+ *ekonomiju* 'economy', *evro* 'euro', *finansije* 'finances', *konkurenciju* 'competition', *presto* 'throne (figuratively)', *temelje* 'foundations of economy', *valutu* 'monetary currency' || *državu* 'state, country', *javnost* 'the public', *svet* 'world', *tim* 'team', *vladu* 'government'

<#(social event made by) sb_x, bodily and psychological state# makes #(sb_x/y making/ experiencing) social state# come to not be good [socially]>

kaljati impf., **ukaljati** pf. (literary)

1. *nitkov* 'rascal' || *greh* 'sin', *krađa* 'theft', *strah* 'fear'

+ *čast* 'honour', *ime* 'name', *obraz* 'face' || *roditelja* 'parent'

<#(event made by) sb_x# makes #social state of sb_x made by thought of sb_y a lot more than one about sb_{x/z}# come to not be good [in minds of sb_y as regards sb_{x/z}]>

krnjiti impf., **okrnjiti** pf.

1. *predsednik* 'president' || *afeta* 'affair', *napad* 'attack', *politika* 'policy', *skandal* 'scandal' + *bratstvo* 'brotherhood', *imidž* 'image', *duhovno nasleđe* 'spiritual heritage', *položaj države* 'country's position', *pravo* 'right', *renome* 'renown', *slavu* 'glory, fame', *status* 'status'

#(social phenomenon_x made by) sb_x# makes #social state_y of sb_{x/y} {a lot more than one}# come to slightly not be good [socially]>

2. *proneveritelj* 'embezzler', *sin* 'son' || *krađa* 'theft', *rastrošnost* 'prodigality'

+ *budžet* 'budget', *darove* 'gifts', *dobro* 'landed property', *gotovinu* 'cash money', *imanje*

'estate', *interes* 'profit', *kapital* 'capital', *nasledstvo* 'heritage'

<#(phenomenon made by) sb# makes #property# come to slightly not be good [as regards financial value]#>

3. *pisac* 'author' || *agresija* 'aggression', *ironija* 'irony'

+ *autoritet* 'authority', *celovitost* 'integrity', *egzistenciju* 'existence', *ideju* 'idea', *istinu* 'truth', *punoću* 'fullness of life', *sadržaj* 'content', *slobodu* 'freedom', *spoznaju* 'cognition', *talenat* 'talent', *značaj* 'importance' <#(phenomenon_x made/experienced by) sb_x# makes #mental state made/experienced by sb_{x/y}# come to slightly not be good [mentally]#>

kvariti *impf.*, **pokvariti** *pf.*

1. *bakterije* 'bacteria', *buđ* 'mould', *loša prerada* 'bad processing', *toplota* 'warmth'

+ *hranu* 'food', *jabuke* 'apples', *masline* 'olives', *ribu* 'fish' || *ručak* 'lunch'

<#phenomenon# makes #(event of eating) food# come to not be good irreparably [in terms of eating]>.

2. *Marko* 'Mark', *gljivice* 'fungi', *pasulj* 'beans', *ujed pauka* 'bite of a spider', *oticanje žlezda* 'swelling of glands' || *doručak* 'breakfast', *pogrešna ishrana* 'wrong nutrition', *kiselost* 'acidity'

+ *stomak* 'stomach', *zube* 'teeth', *želudac* 'stomach'; ? *jednjak* 'oesophagus'

<#(phenomenon made by) sth/sb# makes #body part for processing food# become not good [functionally] {and not easily repaired}>.

3. *bol* 'pain', *korona* 'corona virus', *jaka svetlost* 'strong light'

+ *njuh* 'sense of smell', *sluh* 'hearing', *ukus* 'sense of taste', *vid* 'sight' || *oči* 'eyes' **nos* 'nose', **uši* 'ears'

<#phenomenon_x# makes #phenomenon_y experienced through perceptual ability, (eyes used for) perceptual ability# come to not be good [in terms of perception] {and not easily repaired}>

4. *hladnoća* 'cold', *nedostatak snega* 'lack of snow', *radijacija* 'radiation', *zagađenje* 'pollution'

+ *leto* 'summer', *vazduh* 'air', *vreme* 'weather'

<#sth {event in nature}# makes #weather# come to not be good [experientially]>

5. *gaf* 'gaffe', *gradonačelnik* 'lord mayor', *kišni dan* 'rainy day', *korov* 'weeds (plant)', *jutarnje novine* 'morning paper', *pas* 'dog', *podrigivanje* 'belching', *polen* 'pollen (causing allergy)', *loše vesti* 'bad news', *voda* 'water'

+ *apetit* 'appetite', *atmosfera* 'atmosphere', *budućnost* 'future', *iznenađenje* 'surprise', *mir* 'peace of mind', *odmor* 'rest', *osećaj* 'feeling', *plan* 'plan', *raspoloženje* 'mood', *red* na polici 'shelf order', *san* 'dream', *savršenstvo* 'perfect state', *šansu* 'chance', *teoriju* 'theory', *utisak* 'impression', *zadovoljstvo* 'pleasure', *život* 'life' || *Božić* 'Christmas', *festival* 'festival', *gozbu* 'feast', *igru* 'game', *izlet* 'outing', *olimpijadu* 'Olympiad', *red* reči 'word order', *ručak* 'lunch', *slavlje* 'festivity', *vašar* 'fair', *zabavu* 'entertainment' || *dan* 'day', *rođendan* 'birthday'

<#sth# makes #(time of ({social} phenomenon that makes)) psychological state# come to not be good [psychologically] {and not easily repaired}>

6. *đak* 'pupil', *vlada* 'government'

+ *dobre mere* 'good measures', *harmoniju* 'harmony', *ocenu* 'mark in school', *odnose*

'relations', *posao* 'business', *prijateljstvo* 'friendship', *račun(e)* 'calculation(s)', *red* 'social order', *sliku o nekome* 'image of sb', *ugled* 'reputation', *uspeh* 'success'

<#sb_x# makes #social state of sb_{x/y}# come to not be good [socially] {and not easily repaired}> (= *iskvariti*)

7. *Petar* 'Peter' || *doktrina* 'doctrine', *gramzivost* 'avarice' ||| *novac* 'money', *televizija* 'TV' + *dušu* 'soul', *moral* 'morality, morals', *um* 'mind' || *mladež* 'young people', *prijatelja* 'friend', *tim* 'team' (e.g. by letting them quarrel among themselves), *učenike* 'pupils'

<#((sth connected with) phenomenon made/experienced by) sb_x# makes #(sb_y experiencing) moral state# come to not be good [psychologically] {as regards morals} {and not easily repaired}>

8. *kiša* 'rain', *pisac* 'author', *violinista* 'violinist', *zgrada* 'building' || *buka* 'noise', *ljuta hrana* 'hot food', *nervozna* 'nervousness', *neznanje* 'ignorance', *promuklost* 'coarseness of voice', *škripa* 'screech'

+ *frizuru* 'hair-style', *izgled* 'appearance, look', *melodiju* 'melody', *odelo* nošenjem 'suit by wearing', *pesmu* 'song; poem', *recept* 'recipe', *rukopis* 'handwriting', *scenario* 'screenplay', *sliku* 'painting', *ukus* 'flavour'

<#(phenomenon made/experienced by) sb, event# makes #sth man-made intended to be experienced aesthetically/sensually# come to not be good [aesthetically/sensually] {and not easily repaired}>

***ljuljati* impf., *poljuljati* pf.**

1. *nastavnik* 'teacher' || *neznanje* 'ignorance', *ponašanje* 'behaviour'

+ *odlučnost* 'resoluteness', *poverenje* 'confidence', *sigurnost* 'sureness', *conviction* 'uverenje', *veru* 'faith'

<#(phenomenon made/experienced by) sb_x# makes #strong mental state made / experienced by sb_{x/y}# become slightly not good and weak [mentally]>

2. *novinar* 'journalist' || *afeta* 'affair', *informacija* 'information', *neznanje* 'ignorance'

+ *politički sistem* 'political system', *rezultate ankete* 'results of the poll', *ugled* 'reputation' || *ministra* 'minister', *Vladu* 'Government'

<#(phenomenon_x made/experienced by) sb_x# makes #(sb_{x/y} making) social state_y# come to slightly not be good [as regards social state_y]>

***mutiti* impf., *pomutiti* pf. (literary)**

1. *sudski pozivar* 'summoner', *zavičaj* 'homeland', *kanabis* 'cannabis', *zmija* 'snake' || *alergija* 'allergy', *konfuzija* 'confusion', *mržnja* 'hatred', *mučne misli* 'troubled thoughts', *strasna nežnost* 'passionate tenderness', *ekonomske informacije* 'economic information', *njene obline* 'curves of her body', *sastav vlasti* 'composition of authorities', *slike* 'images', *sumnja* 'doubt', *varka* 'guile', *verovatnost* 'probability'

+ *čistotu duše* 'purity of soul', *duh* 'spirit', *euforiju* 'euphoria', *izgled* za nečim 'prospects of sth', *izražavanje osećanja*, 'expression of feelings', *jasnost predodžbi* 'clarity of images', *koncentraciju* 'concentration', *lagodnost* 'ease', *mozak* 'brain', *osećanja* 'feelings', *pamćenje* 'memory', *planove* 'plans', *poverenje* 'confidence', *radost* 'joy', *razum* 'intellect', *dnevnu rutinu* 'daily routine', *sliku o čoveku* 'image of man', *spokoj* 'tranquility', *srce* 'heart', *sreću* 'happiness', *bistro suđenje* 'clear judgment', *tišinu* 'silence', *um* 'mind', *vedro raspoloženje* 'happy mood', *značenje* 'meaning' || *dane života* 'days of life', *kupca* 'buyer'

<#(phenomenon made/experienced by) living thing_x# makes #(sb_y experiencing, time of) psychological phenomenon# come to slightly not be good [psychologically]>

2. *izdajnik* 'traitor' || *izdaja* 'treason', *nedostatak* 'lack of unity', *ponašanje* 'behaviour', *primer* 'example of behaviour', *spin* 'spin'

+ *bratstvo* 'brotherhood', *četvrt veka države* 'a quarter of century of a state', *herojsko držanje* 'heroic bearing', *pobedu* 'victory', *prijateljstvo* 'friendship', *slavu* 'glory', *uspeh* 'success', *veselje* 'joy'

<#(phenomenon made/experienced by) sb_x# makes #social state of sb_{x/y}# come to strongly not be good [socially]>

3. *bol* 'pain', *tama* 'darkness', *oblaci* 'clouds', *suze* 'tears', *umor* 'fatigue' + *crte lica* 'features (of face)', *pogled* 'view', *sjaj* 'shine', *vid* 'sight', *vidike* 'perspective' || *oko* 'eye'

<#sth# makes #(body organ used for) state of seeing# become slightly not good [as regards vision]>

***narušiti* pf., *narušavati* impf.**

1. *galamdžija* 'noisy fellow', *soliter* 'high-rise building', *stanar* 'tenant', *uljez* 'intruder', *vuk* 'wolf' || *buka* 'noise', *hladnoća* 'distance towards sb', *korov* 'weed', *požar* 'fire', *rat* 'war', *sirena* 'alarm siren'

+ *čistoću* 'cleanliness', *disciplinu* 'discipline', *jedinstvo* 'unity', *mir* 'peace', *ravnotežu* 'balance', *red* 'order', *sklad* 'harmony', *stabilnost* 'stability', *tišinu* 'silence'

<#sth/sb# makes #state of order# come to not be good>

2. *bolest* 'illness', *droga* 'drug', *klice* 'germs', *komarac* 'mosquito', *sused* 'neighbour' || *buka* 'noise', *hladnoća* 'cold'

+ *funkcionisanje* 'functioning of organs', *san* 'dream', *zdravlje* 'health'

<#phenomenon made/experienced by sth# makes #bodily phenomenon# come to not be good [with regard to body]>

3. *kozmetičarka* 'beautician', *starost* 'old age' || *nesloga* 'discord', *ožiljak* 'scar', *podatak* 'data'

+ *bezbriznost* 'freedom from care', *duh sporazuma* 'spirit of agreement', *izgled* 'appearance, look', *kvalitet* 'quality', *lepotu* 'beauty', *mir* 'peace', *prijateljstvo* 'friendship', *samopouzdanje* 'self-assurance', *sigurnost* 'security', *sliku* 'image' || *teoriju* 'theory'

<#(phenomenon_x made by) sb_x, phenomenon_x experienced by sb_x# makes #(phenomenon_y making) psychological state of sb_{x/y}# come to not be good [psychologically]>

4. *direktor* 'manager', *kvar* 'fault', *nedostatak* 'lack', *nestašica* 'shortage', *poplava* 'flood' + *funkcionisanje* 'functioning', *tehnološki proces* 'technological process', *stanje proizvoda* 'state of product'

<#sth/sb# makes #process, state# come to not be good [functionally]>

5. *agresor* 'aggressor', *arhitekta* 'architect' || *gubitak* 'loss', *kriza* 'crisis', *napad* 'attack', *nedostatak* 'lack', *štampanje novca* 'printing money'

+ *autonomiju* 'autonomy', *autoritet* 'one's authority', *branu* 'protection against inflation', *arhitektonski dizajn* 'architectural design', *državu* 'state (country)', *funkcionisanje* 'functioning', *kontakt* 'social contact', *kredibilitet* 'credibility', *radne obaveze* 'labour duties', *odnose* 'relations', *ekonomsko ponašanje* 'economy policy', *poslovanje* 'business', *pravo* 'right', *prijateljstvo* 'friendship', *primirje* 'armistice',

samostalnost 'independence', *etnički sastav* 'ethnic composition', *tradiciju* 'tradition', *ugled* 'reputation', *veselje* 'merrymaking'
 <#(social phenomenon_x made/experienced by) sb# makes #social phenomenon_y# come to not be good [socially]>.

naškoditi pf., škoditi impf.

1. *roditelj* 'parent', *savez* 'union', *senator* 'senator' || *izbor* 'election of the president', *koncept* 'concept', *svađa* 'quarreling',
 + *braku* 'marriage', *reputaciji* 'reputation', *časti* 'honour', *karijeri* 'career', *nezavisnosti* 'independence', *projektu* 'project', *vezama* 'connections' || *društvenoj grupi* 'social group', *manastiru* 'monastery', *stranci* 'political party', *timu* 'team'

#(phenomenon made/experienced by) sb_x# makes «(sb_x/y making) social state» come to not be good [socially]>

2. *gljivice* 'fungi', *ishrana* 'nutrition', *brzo jedenje* 'eating fast', *kiselost* 'acidity', *oticanje žlezda* 'swelling of glands', *nerviranje* 'getting upset', *pušenje* 'smoking' || *doručak* 'breakfast', *papagaj* 'parrot', *pečurke* 'mushrooms',

+ *sluhu* 'hearing', *snu* 'sleep', *srcu* 'heart', *organizmu* 'organism', *varenju* 'digestion', *zdravlju* 'health', *zubima* 'teeth' || *detetu* 'child', *ženi* 'woman'

<#(sth making) phenomenon_x# makes «(sb_x experiencing) sb_x's body part(s)/bodily phenomenon_y» come to not be good [as regards state_x]>

3. *gaf* 'gaffe', *gradonačelnik* 'lord mayor', *jutarnje novine* 'morning paper', *pas* 'dog', *podrigivanje* 'belching', *polen* 'pollen (causing allergy)', *teroristi* 'terrorists', *loše vesti* 'bad news', *voda* 'water'

+ *apetitu* 'appetite', *atmosfera* 'atmosphere', *iznenađenju* 'surprise', *miru* 'peace of mind', *odmoru* 'rest', *planu* 'plan', *raspoloženju* 'mood', *savršenstvu* 'perfect state', *šansi* 'chance', *teoriji* 'theory', *utisku* 'impression', *užitku* 'enjoyment', *životu* 'life'

<#sth/sb# makes «psychological state» come to not be good [psychologically]>

4. *bakterije* 'bacteria', *buđ* 'mould', *kišni dan* 'rainy day', *korov* 'weeds (plant)', *loša prerada* 'bad processing', *sneg* 'snow', *vrućina* 'heat'

+ *hrani* 'food', *jabukama* 'apples', *maslinama* 'olives', *stablu* 'tree trunk', *usevima* 'crops', *voću* 'fruits'; **ručku* 'lunch'

<#phenomenon# makes «(plant {used as/to make food}, food)» come to not be good [in terms of food (production)]>

5. *bubnjar* 'drummer', *korona* 'corona virus', *reflektor* 'floodlight' || *bol* 'pain', *buka* 'noise', *ljuta hrana* 'hot food', *jaka svetlost* 'strong light', *škripa* 'screech', *zaraza* 'infection'

+ *njuhu* 'sense of smell', *osećaju dodira* 'sense of touch', *sluhu* 'hearing', *ukusu* 'taste' || *izgledu* 'appearance, look', *muzici* 'music', *snu* 'dream', *očima* 'eyes', *ušima* 'ears' || *starcu* 'old man'

<#(sth_x making) sth_y, sb# makes «((sb with) body part used for, phenomenon experienced through) perception» come to not be good [in terms of perception]>

ošteti pf., oštećivati impf.

primary meaning *grad* 'hail' *oluja* 'storm' *vandal* 'vandal' + *kola* 'car', *kuća* 'house', *slika* 'painting'

<sb/sth# makes # man-made thing_x# come to not be good [as regards function]>

1. *dečak* 'boy', *mačka* 'cat', *mraz* 'frost' || *aktivnost* 'activity', *zamor* 'fatigue'
+ *funkciju* 'function', *sistem* 'system', *mentalni sklop* 'mental framework', *vid* 'sight' |||
ligamente kolena 'knee ligaments', *oko* 'eye', *srce* 'heart', *um* 'mind', *želudac* 'stomach',
živce 'nerves'

<#(phenomenon made by) living thing, event in nature# makes #({inner} body part affected by) state of body# come to not be good [physically]>

2. *dabar* 'beaver', *mraz* 'frost', *oluja* 'tempest', *izletnik* 'holiday-maker'

+ *koru* 'bark', *lišće* 'leaves', *plod* 'fruit' || *jabuke* 'apple trees', *voćnjak* 'orchard'

<#sth/living thing# makes #(plant(s)_x with) part of plant_x# come to slightly not be good>

3. *ministar* 'minister', *prevarant* 'pretender', *sudija* 'judge, umpire' || *krađa* 'theft', *raspored* 'playing schedule'

+ *budžet* 'budget', *imanje* 'estate', *kasu* 'treasury', *pravo* 'right' || *državu* 'state (country)', *firmu* 'firm', *fudbalera* 'soccer player', *prijatelja* 'friend', *stranku* 'person making official request', *Švajcarsku* 'Switzerland's team', *učenika* 'friend'

<#(phenomenon made by) sb_x# makes #(sb_x{y} who possesses) thing possessed, right# come to not be good [financially/as regards right by having less of sth]>

poremetiti pf., remetiti impf.

1. *alergija* 'allergy', *gljivice* 'fungi', *huligan* 'hooligan' || *alkoholizam* 'alcoholism',
+ *imunitet* 'immunity against illness', *mir* 'peace', *rad srca* 'functioning of the heart',
ravnotežu 'poise; balance', *javni red* 'public order', *um* 'mind'

<#(phenomenon made by) living thing, phenomenon in nature# makes #state of order_x# come to not be good {temporarily}[by unsettling state of order_x]>

2. *devojčica* 'girl' || *hrana* 'food', *pečurke* 'mushrooms'

+ *creva* 'entrails', *stomak* 'stomach'

<#(food taken into body by) sb# makes #inner body part for processing food taken into body# come to {temporarily}not be good [functionally]>

3. *grmljavina* 'thunder', *muž* 'husband', *poreznik* 'tax-collector', *komarac* 'mosquito',
kaktus 'cactus', *nesanica* 'insomnia' || *izveštavanje* 'reporting', *varanje* 'cheating', *zujanje* 'buzzing'

+ *govor* 'speech', *duševni mir* 'peace of mind', *pamćenje* 'memory', *plan* 'plan', *san* 'dream',
sluh 'hearing', *sud* 'judgement', *tok ideja* 'train of thoughts', *um* 'mind' || *protivnika* 'opponent', *pukovnika* 'colonel'

<#(phenomenon_x made by) living thing_x, phenomenon_x without control# makes #(sb_x/y experiencing) mental phenomenon_y experienced/made by sb_x/y# come to not be good [mentally]>

4. *strah* 'fear', *kamiondžija* 'lorry driver', *odron* 'land-slide', *parlament* 'parliament', *stado ovaca* 'flock of sheep' || *sankcije* 'sanctions'

+ *novčane tokove* 'monetary circulation', *rečni tok* 'river flow', *rad creva* 'functioning of bowels', *saobraćaj* 'traffic', *snabdevanje strujom* 'supplying electric current', *srčani ritam* 'heart rhythm'

<#(phenomenon_x made/experienced by) sth_x/sb_x/y# makes #phenomenon_y made/experienced by sth_y/sb_{x/y} come to not be good [deviating from the usual]>

potresti pf./tresti impf.

1. *kardinal* 'cardinal', *vlada* 'government' || *inflacija* 'inflation', *skandal* 'scandal'
+ *položaj* 'position', *školsvo* 'school system' || *državu* 'state, country', *javnost* 'the public',
krunu 'crown'

<#(social event made by) sb_x# makes #(sb_{x/y} making/experiencing) social state# come to not be good [socially]>

2. *nerviranje* 'irritation', *tragedija* 'tragedy'

+ *društvo* 'community' || *mozak* 'brain', *živce* 'nerves'

<<#phenomenon# makes #(body organ connected with) psychological state# come to strongly not be good [psychologically]>

povrediti pf., vrediti impf.

1. *bik* 'bull', *brat* 'brother', *grana* 'branch', *vrelina* 'heat' || *metak* 'bullet', *naporan rad* 'hard work', *žalfija* 'sage prepared as tea'

+ *mišić* 'muscle', *mozak* 'brain', *rebro* 'rib', *srce* 'heart', *stomak* 'stomach', *želudac* 'stomach',
živce 'nerves' || *sluh* 'hearing', *vid* 'sight'

<#(sth made by) living thing# makes #(perception made by) body part# become {slightly} not good [functionally]>

2. *sin* 'son' || *ponašanje* 'behaviour', *kritika* 'criticism'

+ *ego* 'ego', *osećanje* 'feeling', *ponos* 'pride', *emocionalnu ranu* 'emotional wound' ||
majku

<#(phenomenon_x made by) sb_x# makes (#)(sb_y experiencing) psychological event_y
{about sb_y}(#) come to not be good [when experiencing psychological event_y]>

pozlediti pf., pozleđivati impf.

1. *dečak* 'boy', *čičak* 'plant burr', *kamen* 'stone in the nature', *ovan* 'ram' || *kamen* 'stone
thrown', *udarac* 'blow'

+ *koleno* 'knee', *mišić* 'muscle', *ranu* 'wound', *ogrebotinu* 'scratch' || *sestru* 'sister'

<# event made/non-living thing_x used | by) living thing_y# makes #(sb with) {bad}outer
body part# slightly not good [physically]>

2. *nastavnik* 'teacher' || *primedba* 'remark'

+ *ego* 'ego', *osećanje* 'feeling', *ponos* 'pride', *ranu na srcu* 'emotional wound' || *drago biće*

<#(phenomenon_x made by) sb_x# makes (#)(sb_y experiencing) psychological event_y
{about sb_y}(#) come to not be good [when experiencing psychological event_y]>

raniti pf., ranjavati impf.

1. *bik* 'bull', *grad* (tuča) 'hail', *radnik* 'worker' || *metak* 'bullet', *udarac* 'blow'

+ *jelena* 'deer', *prolaznika* 'passer-by'

<# event made/non-living thing used | by) living thing_x that can move# makes #living
thing_{x/y} that can move#come to strongly not be good [physically] touching thing_{x/y}'s
body part>

2. *direktor* 'director', *šef* 'boss' || *pogled* 'look, glance', *primedba* 'remark', *uvreda* 'affront'

+ *osećanje* 'feeling', *ponos* 'pride' || *dušu* 'soul', *srce* 'heart' || *drago biće* 'dear creature'

<#(phenomenon made by) sb_x# makes (#)((sb_y with) body part connected with) mental
event about sb_{x/y} (#) come to strongly not be good [as experienced by sb_y]>

unakaziti *impf.* (informal)1. *premijer* 'prime minister' || *politika* 'policy'+ *ekonomiju* 'economy', *jezik* 'language', *ličnost* 'personality', *konkurenciju* 'competition', *poeziju* 'poetry', *ugled* 'prestige' || *državu* 'state', *pesnika* 'poet', *svet* običnog čoveka 'world of a man in the street'<#(social event made by) sb_x# makes #(sb_y {a lot more than one} experiencing) {social} /psychological state# become strongly strongly not good [socially/psychologically]>2. *eksplozija* 'blast', *male boginje* 'measles', *frizer* 'haircutter' || *šišanje* 'hair-cutting'+ *frizuru* 'hairdo', *lice* 'face' || *devojku* 'girl'<#(event made by) sb_x, event# makes #(sb_{x/y} with) sight of body# become strongly not good [visually]>**uzburkati** *pf.*, **uzburkavati** *impf.*1. *novinar* 'journalist', *Uran* 'Uranus' || *dogadjaj* 'event', *film* 'movie', *glas* 'rumour', *napis* 'written article', *revolucija* u umetnosti 'revolution in art'+ *duhove* 'tempers', *osećanja* 'feelings', *strasti* 'passions' || *administraciju* 'administration', *Balkan* 'the Balkans', *fudbal* '(world of) soccer', *javnost* 'the public', *palanku* 'small town', *svet* 'world'<#(psychological phenomenon made/experienced by) sb_x# makes #sb_y a lot of more than one making/experiencing) social events# become strongly not good [psychologically]>**uznemiriti** *pf.*, **uznemiravati** *impf.*1. (literary) *čamdžija* 'boatman', *vetar* 'wind' || *brod* 'ship', *izlivanje* 'pouring out', *veslo* 'oar' + *more* 'sea' || *površinu* jezera 'surface of the lake' || *sliku* u vodi 'image in the water'

<#(sth made by) living thing, sth in nature# makes #((image on) surface of) liquid substance# become not in spatial inactive state{for a while}>

2. *država* 'state, country', *potres* 'quake', *sin* 'son', *tigar* 'tiger' || *berza* 'stock-market', *briga* 'worry', *buka* 'noise', *dim* 'smoke', *izjava* 'statement', *miris* 'scent', *osmeh* 'smile', *snimak* 'snapshot'+ *duhove* 'tempers', *misao* 'thought', *san* 'dream' || *srce* 'heart', *um* 'mind' || *građane* 'citizens', *javnost* 'the public', *papagaja* 'parrot'<#(phenomenon made/experienced by) living thing_x# makes #(body part of (living thing_y that can move experiencing)) mental phenomenon of living thing_y# come to not be good [mentally] {for a while}>.

All these definitions can be optionally expanded with 'using sth', which surfaces as the instrumental case in Serbian and the preposition *with* or *by* in English. For instance, *Uznemirio si mi dete bukom* 'living thing_x (you) makes (made) living thing_y (baby) affecting «sb_z» (mine) come to not be good mentally (using «sth_x» with noise)'. Only one »sth« may be activated in such sentences and it functions as the indirect subject. For instance, **Buka je dete uznemirila bukom* = **Noise disturbed the child with noise*. Notice the Serbian dative of damage represented by 'affecting «sb_z»', which corresponds to the much broader category of the English possessive.

The wording in English definitions cannot convey the Slavic verbal aspect. In order to evoke the meaning of the Serbian imperfective aspect, 'make' should be changed to 'is

making' for the progressive. 'Customary' or 'repeatedly' should be added at the end of the definitions for the habitual aspectuality. Thus, the definition of the imperfective *tresti* should read <#(social event made by) sb_x# is making #(sb_x/_y making/experiencing) social state# come to not be good [socially]> for the progressive meaning, and <... makes #(sb_x/_y making/experiencing) social state# come to not be good [socially] repeatedly> for habitual phenomena. Perfective *potresti* is <... comes to make (i.e. 'switch to a different state').#(sb_x/_y making /experiencing) social state# come to not be good [socially]>. (For a deeper insight into the relationship between aspects in English and Serbocroat see Hlebec 1990).

agitate

1. *journalist, manager* || *difficulty, movie, news + feeling* || *sister*

<#(phenomenon made/experienced by) sb_x# makes #(sb_y experiencing) emotion# become strongly not good [emotionally]>

bruise

boss || *defeat, encounter, event, experience, report*

+ *confidence, ego, hope, reputation* || *him, star*

<#(event experienced/made by) sb_x# makes #(sb_x/_y experiencing) psychological/social | state of sb_x# come to not be good [mentally/emotionally]>

damage

primary meaning *hail/storm/vandal + car/house/painting*

<sb/sth# makes # man-made thing_x# come to not be good [as regards function]>

1. *bull, sportsman* || *attack, inhaling, parsley*

+ *function of liver, health, hearing, sight* || *artery, eyes, kidney, muscle, nerve, organ, tissue, wing*

<#(event made/food used | by) living thing# makes #(body part_x affected by) state of body part_x# come to not be good [as regards function]>

2. *journalist, pandemic, student* || *failure, bad moves, scandal, strike, school system, virus, angry words*

+ *business, career, character, competitiveness, credibility, education, ego, image, marriage, morale, prestige, quality of knowledge, reputation, standing* || *child, country, university*

<#(social phenomenon_x made by) sb_x/phenomenon_x# makes #(sb_{yx}/_y{a lot more than one} experiencing) {social}/psychological state_y# come to not be good [socially / psychologically]>

3. *goat, miner, weed* || *pollution, radiation, scheme*

+ *ecology, ecosystem, habitat* || *wildlife*

<#(phenomenon made/experienced by) living thing# makes #(living things living in) state/space | of nature# come to not be good [existentially]>

dent

1. *defeat, gambling, news*

+ *hope, idea, pride, reputation*

<#phenomenon made/experienced by sb_x# makes #thought of sb_x a lot more than one about sb_x# come to not be good and not strong [psychologically]>

disturb

1. *noisy camper, camomile, owl, wind* || *gunshot, noise, rustling*
+ *calm, concentration, peace, repose, serenity, silence, sleep* || *night*
<#(event made by) living thing, phenomenon in nature# makes #(time of) inactive state# come to not be good [by activation]>
2. *branch, dog, smoke* || *allegations, arrival, barking, book, ideas, running*
+ *arrangements, dream, memory, plan, privacy, relations, train of thoughts* || *country, neighbour, oneself, robber*
<#(phenomenon_x made by) living thing_x, sth_y in nature# makes #(sb_{x/y} experiencing) mental phenomenon_y# come to not be good [mentally]>
3. *fox-glove, gang, stress, wolf* || *cough, howling, pepper, pork*
+ *abdominal muscles, heart, stomach*
<#(phenomenon made by/substance used by) living thing, phenomenon without control# makes #body part | for digesting food/connected with thoughts# become temporarily not good [functionally]>
4. *bees, catkin, drummer* || *noise, poverty, radiation*
+ *childhood, exam, growth, motion, work, reign* || *ruler*
<#(phenomenon_x made/experienced by) living thing_x, sth in nature# makes #(sb_y making) process_y# come to not be good [at making process_y]>

harm

1. *bully, tick* (insect) || *needle, reading* in poor light
+ *eye, health* || *baby, people, sister*
<#(event made/non-living thing_x used | by) living thing_y# makes #(sb_y with/ experiencing) body part/state of sb_y# come to not be good [physically]>
2. *insect, dam, factory, frost* || *chemical, gas, pollution, process*
+ *fabric, garden, ozone layer, plant, structure*
<#(sth_x made by) living thing# makes #sth_y in nature# come to not be good [for living]>
3. *parent, teacher* || *being away, quarrelling, watching* violence
+ *child's development* || *child, oneself*
<#(phenomenon_x made/experienced by) sb_x# makes #(sb_{x/y} experiencing) phenomenon_{x/y}# become not good [psychologically]>
4. *insider* || *gossip, publication, restrictions, revolution, scandal*
+ *career, chance of winning, economy, reputation* || *local community, minister*
<#(event made by) sb_x# makes #(sb_y making) {social}/psychological phenomenon# come to not be good [socially/psychologically]>

hurt

1. *horse, nettle, ram, shoes* || *rod, study, weeding, hard work*
+ *ankle, back, ear, foot, leg, lung, muscle* || *garden, lion, oneself*
<#(event made/non-living thing_x used | by) living thing_y# makes (#)(living thing_z with) {outer} body part(#) come to not be good [physically]>
2. *foe* || *allegation, criticism, remark, unkindness*
+ *dignity, feeling, pride* || *daughter*
<#(phenomenon made by) sb_x# makes (#)(sb_y experiencing) mental event about sb_y(#)

come to not be good [as experienced by sb_y] > The syntactic pattern It + Vs/is ADJ + sb + TO-INFINITIVE conveys the meaning 'make sb experience mental phenomenon'. As confirmed by *'It hurts me to see her ruin her life or It disturbed her to hear that...* (Hlebec 2019: 266).

3. *enemy, school mate || behaviour, loss, publication, statement, to admit that..., wearing a dress*

+ *dignity, name*

<#(event made by) sb_x# makes #thought of sb_{x/y} a lot more than one about sb_{x/z}# become not good [in minds of sb_y as regards sb_{x/z}] >

4. *losing game, adverse publicity, regulation*

+ *business, social cause, credibility, economy, government, morale, sales, tourism*

<#social phenomenon_x# unintentionally makes #social phenomenon_y# become slightly not good [socially] >

impair

1. *age, boiling, drink, illness, injury, lack of sleep, noise, drug, dim light, microbes*

+ *ability of trees to photosynthesize, appearance, beauty, character, circulation, concentration, digestion, driving, efficiency, flavour, liver function, health, hearing, immunity, judgement, mobility, quality, speech, structure, taste, visibility*

<#{phenomenon_x}, substance# makes #{body} phenomenon_y made/experienced# come to not be good [functionally] >

2. *heavy drinking, poverty || alcohol, prison*

+ *chance of getting a job, marriage prospect*

<#(sth that makes) phenomenon # makes #thought about sb's future/ # come to not be good [as regards possibility to become true] >

3. *fraudulence, scandal, weakness*

+ *fame, name, reputation*

<#phenomenon made by sb_x# makes #thought of sb_y a lot more than one about sb_{x/z}# come to not be good [in minds of sb_y as regards sb_{x/z}] >

4. *fire, heat, pests, woodcutter*

+ *fauna, flora, garden, greenery, growth of trees, vegetation*

<#sth_x# makes #living things_y in nature# come to not be good [existentially] >

injure

1. *cactus, John, thorn || bomb, hatchet*

+ *arm, health, knee, tissue || child, himself, people, puppy*

<#(non-living thing_x used by) living thing_y# makes #(living thing_{y/z} with/experiencing) body | part/ state#{unintentionally} become{strongly}not good [physically] >

2. *I, Jane || folly, objection, angry words*

+ *feeling, pride, self-esteem || Mark, myself*

<#(phenomenon made by) sb_x# makes #(sb_y experiencing) mental event about sb_y#{unintentionally} become{strongly}not good [as experienced by sb_y] >

3. *journalist || gossip, libel*

+ *character, dignity, fame, honour, pride, reputation*

<#(social event made by) sb_x #makes #thought of sb_{x/y} a lot more than one/z about

$sb_x/z\#$ become {strongly}not good [in minds of sb_y as regards $sb_x/z\#$]

4. *dumped goods, dumping, recession*

+ *article of merchandise || industry*

<#sth# makes #(habitual phenomenon of making) sth man-made to be sold# {unintentionally} become {strongly}not good [as regards making]>

mar (usually emphatic and emotive, literary or slightly formal)

1. *age, blood, cables, graffiti, broken nose, scar, scratch, smudges*

+ *beauty, building, face, feature, footprints, landscape, torso*

<#sth_x# makes #sth_y# come to not be good [visually]>

2. *sister || accident, argument, behaviour, cruelty, envy, extravagance, government, noise, prejudice, violence*

+ *celebration, character, day, erudition, friendship, game, happiness, health, initiative, life, mind, race, reputation, style, test, victory*

<#(event made by) $sb_x/y\#$ makes #phenomenon made/experienced by $sb_x\#$ become slightly not good>

shake

1. *blogger, competitor || accident, affair, controversy, death, experience, news, report, telling that..., violation, virus*

+ *marriage, peace, relationship, reputation, self-confidence, standing || child, country, government, world*

<#(social) phenomenon_x/thing made/experienced by $sb_x\#$ makes #(sb_y experiencing/making) social/psychological phenomenon{state}_y# become suddenly strongly not good [when experiencing social/psychological phenomenon {state}_y]> The construction *It shook me that...* also fits in with the definition as "the meaning of [introductory] *it*₂ often combines with the meaning of a *that*-clause, which is < sb 's thought>" (Hlebec 2013: 39).

spoil

1. *frost, pepper, hot weather*

+ *food, meat, soup || crops, environment, fruit*

<#sth# makes #(plants used to make) food# come to not be good [as regards function] {and become useless}>

2. *frost, hiccupping, summoner, wife || accusation, divorce, walking*

+ *appetite, calculation, dinner, enjoyment, everything by rudeness, fun, health, holiday, sb's image, trip, vision, work || ballot paper, machine*

<#{event without control}, (event made by) $sb_x\#$ makes #(non-living thing_y used to make) phenomenon made/experienced by $sb_y\#$ {become irretrievably}not good [as experienced by sb_y]>

3. *tall building, company (business organization), fence, mould, sun, weeds || washing*

+ *carving, clothes, coastline, complexion, painting, view*

<#(event made by) thing_x# makes #{thing_y}/state | viewed aesthetically# come to not be good [aesthetically]>

4. *grandparent + child, the youth*

<# $sb_x\#$ makes # sb_y young# come to not be good as regards character>

stain (literary, formal)1. *daughter* || *scandal*+ *character, dignity, fame, honour*<#(event made by) sb_x# makes #social state of sb_x made by thought of sb_y a lot more than one about sb_{x/z}# come to not be good [in minds of sb_y as regards sb_{x/z}]>**tarnish**1. *media* || *embezzlement, incident, revelation, years of reign*+ *character, dignity, fame, image, pride*<#(event made by) sb_x# makes #mental phenomenon about sb_x, social state of sb_x# come to not be good [socially/psychologically]>**unsettle**1. *father, deep grass, hornet* || *changing schools, decision, news, noise, rumour, shock, talk of death*+ *aim, brain, conviction, issue, opinion, question, theory, wits* || *batsman, company, kid, market, opponent, shareholder*<#{phenomenon_x made by) living thing_x, phenomenon_x experienced by sb# makes #(sb_{x/y} experiencing) mental state_y# come to not be good [mentally]>2. *bacteria, beer, food, mushroom*+ *stomach* || *mother*

<#phenomenon, substance, food# makes #(sb with) body part for digesting food # become temporarily not good>

3. *rhinoceros, rowdy kid* || *fatigue, molesting*+ *discipline, harmony, peace, speed, stability, symmetry, unity* || *elevator, vehicle*<#(phenomenon experienced by) living thing_x# makes #(man-made thing_y functioning in) state of order# come to not be good [functionally]>4. *investigator* || *attack, book, protest, queues, satire*+ *authority, business, political scene*<#(social phenomenon_x made by) sb# makes #social phenomenon_y# become not good [socially]>**upset**1. *minister, parent* || *change, document, hatred, programme, quarrelling, speech*+ *atmosphere, incentive, leadership, relationship, union* || *government, world*<#(social/psychological phenomenon_x made by) sb_x# makes #(sb_{x/y} experiencing / making) social state_y# come to not be good [socially/psychologically]>2. *crowd, father, pests* || *accident, accusation, death, decision, disappointment, foolishness, violence*+ *arrangement, expectations, plan* || *heart, mind* || *dog, oneself, people*<#(phenomenon made/experienced by) living thing_x# makes #(body part of (living thing_y that can move experiencing)) mental phenomenon of living thing_y {of sb about future}# come to not be good [psychologically]>3. *boss, crowd, dam* || *incapacity, littering, rush*+ *daily activity, balance, ecology, practice, routine, schedule* || *mechanism, system*

<#(phenomenon_x made by) thing_x# makes #(thing_y functioning in) habitual phenomenon_y# come to not be good [functionally]>

4. *food, polluted air*

+ *bowels, liver, lungs*

<#substance taken into body# makes #body part {for processing food}# become slightly and temporarily not good [physically]>

5. *Arsenal*

+ *Chelsea*

#sb_x more than one# makes #sb_y more than one# become slightly and temporarily not good in sports event>

violate (literary)

baby, owl || gunshot, noise

+ *calm, peace, silence*

<#(event made by) living thing that can move# makes #inactive state without sound# come to not be good [by becoming active with strong sound]>

wound

1. *gunman, lion, owner || bullet, hitting, horn*

+ *arm, heart || lover*

<#(event made/non-living thing_x used | by) living thing_y that can move# makes #(sb_{x/y} with) body part# come to not be good physically>

2. *lover || criticism, curiosity, rejection, suggestion, words*

+ *affection, delicacy, feeling, manhood, pride, sense of decency, vanity || father*

<#event of using words by) sb_x# makes #(sb_y experiencing) mental event about sb_{x{y}}# become strongly not good [as experienced by sb_y]>

3. *noise, scene* (literary)

+ *sight || ear*

<#event# makes #(body part used for) perception# come to not be good [in terms of perception]>

Some of the classemes above have been testified in previous investigations as well: 'man-made thing' (Hlebec 2008a: 189), '(sb who makes)...' (Hlebec 2008a: 176, 184, 189), 'food' (Hlebec 2008a: 179, 187, 'thing in nature' (Hlebec 2008a: 187), '(event made by) sb' (Hlebec 2003: 115, 2008a: 186), 'psychological phenomenon' (Hlebec 2008b: 70).

4. CONCLUSIONS

The following observations have been made on the basis of a small domain, and pending further investigation into other similar verbs, should not be generalized too soon.

As an extension of the indirect connection in the subject position, the classeme 'phenomenon made/experienced by' occurs more often in Serbian (15 vs. 7 in English: *krnjiti* 3, *kvariti* 3, 7, 8, *ljuljati* 1, 2, *mutiti* 1, 2, *narušiti* 2, 3, *naškoditi* 1, *poremetiti* 3, 4, *uzburkati*, *uznemiriti* 2; *damage* 3, *dent*, *disturb* 4, *shake*, *unsettle* 1, 3, *upset* 2). This may be the reflection of the cognitive tendency to mix up humans and their acts as agents. Such indeterminacy will provoke one to emotionally react to damage unintentionally done by

human agents in the same way as if it was intentional. Nature is in the focus of interest of the Anglo-Saxons, as testified by: *agitate*, *bruise* 2, *damage* 3, *disturb* 1, 2, 4, *harm* 2, *impair* 4, (included in 'event without control') *spoil* 2; *kvariti* 4, *ošteti* 1, *poremetiti* 1, (included in 'event without control') 3. 'Mental phenomenon about sb' is present in 9 English sememes: *dent*, *hurt* 2, 3, *impair* 3, *injure* 2, 3, *stain*, *tarnish*, *wound* 2, against 3 Serbian: *povrediti* 2, *pozlediti* 2, and *raniti*. (Perhaps this has to do with importance attached to public opinion, and 'social state' has been recorded in one sememe more in English (10: 9)). 'Time' (as an extension of the indirect connection) occurs only in *kvariti* 5 and *mutiti* 1. Seeing seems to be more important in Serbian (*kvariti* 3 in indirect connection, *mutiti* 3). 'Property' and 'possession' emerge in *krnjiti* 2 and *ošteti* 3. Planning is a centre of attraction in English (*upset* 2 'thought about future'). 'Use of language' is systematically incorporated in *wound* 2. 'Substance' (*impair* 1, *unsettle* 2, *upset* 4) and 'habitual phenomenon' (*injure* 4, *upset* 3) are solely Anglo-Saxon concern. 'Food' has received an almost equal number of mentions, large for a small lexical field (*kvariti* 1, 2, *naškoditi* 4, *poremetiti* 2; *bruise* 2 (typically), *damage* 1, *disturb* 3, *unsettle* 2, *upset* 4, which is redolent of the indispensability of nutrition for all people.

Polysemy is most prolific for (po)*kvariti* (7 sememes), *upset* following with 5 sememes. *Damage*, *disturb*, *harm*, *hurt*, *impair*, *injure*, and (po)*remetiti* have 4 sememes each. There is regular polysemy exhibited in two cases. First, in both languages all verbs (*hurt* only in American English, e.g. *rain* + *hurt* + *dress*) with 'man-made thing' (or 'non-living thing' in *disturb* 3) also denote body parts in distinct sememes. The lexemes *drmati*, (o)*krnjiti*; *dent*, *shake*, *stain*, and *tarnish* join 'non-living/man-made thing' and 'body part' within a single sememe 'thing', and need not connote a 'not good' event, while the usage of *unsettle* with 'man-made thing' is dated. Second, 'social state' is always accompanied by, or conjoined with 'psychological phenomenon' or some other seme included in it.

Two pairs of absolute synonyms have been found – *pozlediti* 2: *povrediti* 2 and (uz)*drmati* : (po)*tresti*, and three pairs of absolute correspondents – (u)*kaljati* : *stain*, *narušiti* 5 : *unsettle* 4, and (po)*remetiti* 3 : *disturb* 2.

The primary sememes of (o)*krnjiti* 'chip', (po)*kvariti* 'break (a device)', (po)*ljuljati* 'rock', (po)*mutiti* 'make muddy by stirring', (po)*remetiti*, 'put out of gear', (po)*tresti* 'shake', *uprskati* 'spatter', *uzburka(va)ti* 'agitate', (uz)*drmati* 'shake, jolt'; *bruise*, *dent*, *disturb*, *shake*, *spoil*, *tarnish*, and *upset* 'knock over' denote concrete events affecting things or substances. Their definitions share 'not good' as association rather than as part of the semantic definition. For example, the primary sense of (o)*krnjiti* is defined as <#sth/sb# makes #hard thing_x# come to be without a part, which is not good> and of *bruise* <#(event made by) hard thing_x# makes #outer | body part/part of plant {used as food}# change colour by strong contact with thing_x, which is not good>.

This association comes to the fore in secondary meanings. It should be stressed that the "shadow" meaning, i.e. primary meaning which influences and "casts shadow" on another sense of a lexeme (Chafe 2000) plays a more important role in the choice of collocates than usually believed (Hlebec 2019: 493). Thus, Mackenzie and Mel'čuk (1988: 77) show that the connotation of pregnant ('X is very full of Y') is justified by the existence of pregnant's primary sense; they "share a non-trivial semantic component". The impact of the primary meanings accounts for the semantic difference between *poljuljati* 2 and *narušiti* 5. Their definitions are very much the same except that the former has #(sb_x/y

making) social state_y# in the object, as distinct from #social phenomenon_y# of the latter, with the addition of 'slightly' for *poljuljati*. The primary meaning of *poljuljati* is 'slightly upset balance of #sb#', so that 'sb' and 'slightly' reappear in *poljuljati* 2, and not in *narušiti* 5, which lacks both, being associated with the primary, physical sense of (s)*rušiti* 'demolish, pull down'. Also, the primary meanings of *uzburkati* and *agitate* share the definition <#(event made by) sb/sth in nature# makes #((image on) surface of) liquid substance, (thing containing) liquid substance# become strongly not in spatial inactive state>, as in: falling *leaves*, *hippopotamus*, *swimmer*, *wind* || pouring + *agitate* + *pool*, *solution*, *water* || smooth *surface* of the lake, *tank* ||| *image* in the lake. It seems that the majority of other verbs of damage also constitute absolute correspondents when their concrete meanings are involved. The inference is that semantic isomorphism tends to decrease in secondary, derived senses, which may be a universal phenomenon.

Mentioning adverbials like socially or when experiencing psychological event, which illuminates the aspect of goodness, usually appears to be redundant (as shown by square brackets) because they merely repeat information contained in the definitions.

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SUMMARY

DEFINING ENGLISH AND SERBIAN VERBS OF DAMAGE

Applying his own collocational method in line with the distributional semantics, the author provides definitions of causative “verbs of damage” in Serbian and English. In this way the two lexical subfields can be compared, and relevant conclusions drawn about their similarities and differences. “Verbs of damage” comprise a small set of verbs that share the definition ‘cause to get in bad state’, and they are to be distinguished from “verbs of destruction”. This common parlance definition is reduced to a semantic definition stated in terms of semantic atoms, and the graphic devices used in the definitions are explained. Its implications are commented on, as well as the evaluative connotation of the object nouns. Collocational method is a variant of distributional semantics, and the article expounds its main principles and states the three steps to be taken when applying the method. In connection with this matter, the acceptability of collocations is discussed. Implications are given of broad semantic categories like ‘sth’, and ‘phenomenon’ by offering narrower categories. Translations into English of the Serbian collocating nouns are provided throughout.

KEYWORDS: contrastive analysis, collocational method, verbs, semantic field, English, Serbian.

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