

**PART IV:**  
**DIACHRONIC STUDIES**



## CHAPTER FIFTEEN

# THE CONCEPTUAL CATEGORY OF 'LIGHT' IN CROATIAN: A DIACHRONIC PERSPECTIVE

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### 1. Introduction

Within current research in Cognitive Linguistics (CL), the concept of 'light' is considered to be one of the most basic human concepts. Being a part of human external experience, the concept of 'light' shows a systematic metaphorical connection with vocabulary items referring to human mental activities. (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff and Turner 1989; Gibbs 1994) The conceptual metaphor UNDERSTANDING/KNOWING IS SEEING (as in the Croatian phrase *Vidim da imaš problema* 'I see you have some problems' where the verb *vidjeti* 'to see' is used with the meaning 'to know'), as a part of the more general metaphor MIND AS BODY, is one of the most common if not universal conceptual metaphor in Indo-European languages (IE languages).

As Sweetser (1990) points out, the MIND AS BODY metaphor is very probably motivated by correlations between our external experience and our internal emotional and cognitive states. Mapping of the mental/intellectual domain onto the domain of 'light' is linguistically articulated in all IE languages. Perhaps the most prominent example cited by Sweetser and other scholars is the example of the verb *to see*, which in all IE languages regularly acquires the meaning of 'know'/'understand.' Within the CL theoretical framework, this kind of frequent and regular semantic change in IE languages is explained in terms of conceptual metaphors, i.e. the MIND AS BODY metaphor, which subsumes the tendency in IE languages to borrow concepts and vocabulary from the more accessible physical and social world to refer to the less accessible worlds of reasoning, emotions, and so on.

The aim of this paper is to show the significant diachronic semantic shifts of Croatian vocabulary etymologically/prototypically related to the

domain of 'light' towards the domain of 'mental activities' on the one hand, which should be obvious considering the frequency and regularity of the above-mentioned conceptual metaphor, and 'excellence' and 'respect' on the other.

Aside from showing a diachronic tendency to significantly extend the semantic structure related to 'light' towards abstract domains, this paper focuses on some language-specific patterns of the Croatian language which highlight the importance of the domain of 'light' in the organisation of the lexical and conceptual structures of the Croatian language from a diachronic perspective.

This paper stresses the fact that Croatian, a Slavic language with a rich morphology, belong to the category of so-called *grammatically motivated languages*.<sup>1</sup> This means that the role that morphology, i.e. word formation and derivation, has in diachronic semantic research should not be neglected, since in such languages the coupling of *form* and *meaning* or

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Saussure (1916, 1986) and Ullmann (1969). In the *Course*, Saussure classifies languages into **lexicological** and **grammatical** on the basis of their arbitrariness and motivation.

There exists no language in which nothing at all is motivated. Even to conceive of such a language is an impossibility by definition. Between the two extremes—minimum of organisation and minimum of arbitrariness—all possible varieties are found. Languages always exhibit features of both kinds—intrinsically arbitrary and relatively motivated—but in very varying proportions. This is an important characteristic, which may have to be taken into account in classifying languages. (Saussure 1916, 1986:131)

This section of the *Course* is crucial for the understanding of this classification. In lexicological languages motivation is at a minimum, and in grammatical languages it has reached the maximum. As pointed out by Saussure, this does not imply that lexis and arbitrariness are on one side and grammar and relative motivation are on the other. These are two poles or two opposite points, classifying languages into those with a tendency of creating unmotivated linguistic signs and those with a tendency of applying grammatical processes to create the linguistic sign, thus making it relatively motivated. Following Saussure, Ullman (1969: 126) bases many of his explanations of lexico-semantic issues on the relationship between absolute and relative arbitrariness or motivation in lexical structures of particular languages. Thus, he points out that contemporary French vocabulary is characterized by "a great increase in arbitrariness" in relation to the Latin vocabulary from which it developed. While Latin *inimicus* (in+amicus) "enemy" is a motivated lexeme, the French *ennemi* is arbitrary. This Saussurean distinction is of great importance for the better description and understanding of the organization of lexical structures in Croatian as a Slavic language.

*grammar (morphology)* and *semantics* represent a coherent union of processes participating in the formation of new lexical categories.

Therefore, I introduce the **model of morphosemantic fields** developed by Guiraud (1967) and elaborated by Raffaelli and Kerovec (2008), which enables the description of lexico-semantic structures of the Croatian language, emphasizing the connection between lexical and grammatical structures. The model of morphosemantic fields, unlike the model of semantic fields developed by Trier, stresses the relation between grammar and semantics as two inseparable processes in the formation of the vocabulary. As will be demonstrated in this paper, the model of morphosemantic fields could be integrated into the CL theoretical framework highlighting the influence that the changes within the conceptual category could have on the formation of the vocabulary.

In the following sections I will (i) introduce Guiraud's morphosemantic fields as a model which could be integrated into the CL theoretical framework, (ii) present some basic theoretical and methodological tenets for the analysis, and (iii) give the analysis of several Croatian morphosemantic fields with base lexeme related to the domain of 'light' which reflect the prominence of some conceptual metaphors: UNDERSTANDING/KNOWING IS SEEING, RESPECT IS LIGHT, and EXCELLENCE IS LIGHT.

## 2. The integration of Guiraud's morphosemantic fields into the CL theoretical framework<sup>2</sup>

In the introductory chapter of his book *Structures étymologiques du lexique français* (1967), P. Guiraud says that the aim of his book is, if not to reconcile, then at least to bring closer together two (at that time) different and disparate areas of lexicological research.<sup>3</sup> On one hand, he mentions *historical* lexicology, which corresponds to etymology and is interested in the origin and development of words, and on the other hand, there is *structural* lexicology, the aim of which is to look into the internal structure of the vocabulary, primarily by studying so-called semantic or lexical fields. Guiraud's main idea was that historical and structural lexicology should not be viewed as separate, but rather as complementary, so that his-

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<sup>2</sup> For more details, especially regarding the relation of Guiraud's morphosemantic fields to Mounin's derivational fields, which was an elaborated model of lexical description in structuralist semantics as well, see Raffaelli and Kerovec (2008).

<sup>3</sup> Guiraud (1967: 8).

torical lexicology may profit from structuralist methods, and structural lexicology may recognize the need of incorporating historical insights.

Guiraud points out that lexical forms are historically connected and motivated by derivational, metaphorical, metonymic, and other linguistic processes. The coupling of the grammatical (derivation and word formation) and semantic processes (metaphor and metonymy in Guiraud's traditional perspective) results in the forming of various structures in the language system. A special attention is devoted to **morphosemantic fields** (*les champs morpho-sémantiques*).

According to Guiraud, **morphosemantic fields** are different from paradigmatically structured semantic fields, because they include lexemes which have not been formed according to the same lexicological pattern. Semantic fields modeled on Trier's lexical fields include lexemes which, in traditional terms, belong to the same parts of speech.<sup>4</sup> However, as Guiraud points out, semantic links connect lexemes belonging to the same parts of speech, as well as lexemes and their derived forms. In the latter case, the link is semantic as well as morphological. These lexemes are connected by virtue of their *meaning* and their *form*, hence Guiraud dubs such a structure a **morphosemantic field**.

The key feature of a morphosemantic field is that each derived form is related to the *etymon* (the etymologically basic lexeme) in a different way. The *etymon* is the lexical basis (which can be the base word, the root, and the stem)<sup>5</sup> for various types of relations that are created between it and its

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<sup>4</sup> The traditional approach to semantic fields, whose different variants have been around since Trier, assumed that all lexemes were of equal importance in structuring a field; i.e. it was assumed that a lexical field covered and formed a unique conceptual field. A semantic field is composed of paradigmatically related lexemes, frequently parasyonyms, with a shared unique conceptual base. Therefore, analyses are limited to particular conceptual fields and lexical categories. For instance, verbs of cooking or movement and adjectives expressing sadness or joy are analyzed as coherent segments in the lexico-semantic structure of a language because they are related by the basic concept of 'cooking,' 'movement,' 'sadness,' or 'joy.' Fields consist of members belonging to the same lexical category, or, in more traditional terms, to the same parts of speech, such as verbs, adjectives, or nouns. Cf. Trier (1931), Ducháček (1959), Coseriu (1971), Lehrer (1974), Greimas (1988), Žic Fuchs (1991), Raffaelli (2001).

<sup>5</sup> Guiraud (1967: 125) points out that, in order to accurately define a morphosemantic field, it is necessary to define the semantic and/or formal element common to all lexical forms. Various common elements are possible, and what is taken as the common element (or the base lexeme) depends on the needs of the analysis. What will always result from this type of description (regardless of the type of the base lexeme) is some type of structure.

derived forms. For the purpose of this research, the term *etymon* will refer to the IE root as the lexical origin of the Croatian lexeme, and the core of the morphosemantic field would be designated by the term *base lexeme* as the morphosemantic basis of all derived lexemes within the field. The *base lexeme* is represented by a lexeme (or two lexemes in some cases—a noun and a verb)<sup>6</sup> which is first attested in the Croatian language with respect to its form and meaning. These lexemes are the only ones in the field that can be seen as *basic* or *unmotivated words*, which were the basis for the formation of all other words within the particular field.<sup>7</sup>

Guiraud regards the **morphosemantic field** as an etymological, i.e. diachronic, structure, which can reveal the semantic and derivational paths of development of related lexical and morphological structures.

The modernity of Guiraud's views is apparent from the fact that he recognizes the existence of semantic motivation between the lexical base and its derivatives; in other words the simultaneity of various semantic and grammatical processes connecting the lexemes belonging to a **morphosemantic field**.

Guiraud's morphosemantic fields consist of lexical units belonging to different grammatical categories semantically motivated in various ways. For example, the verb *ob-jasn-iti* "to explain" is related to the adjective *jasan* "clear." It is obvious that the two lexemes belong to different grammatical categories and have two different, but related, meanings. Lexemes within a morphosemantic field are not exclusively related to a single conceptual field. As could be seen from the previous example, the adjective *jasan* 'clear' belongs to the domain of 'light,' and the verb *objasniti* 'to explain' belongs to the domain of 'reasoning.' Morphosemantic fields are neither conceptually nor grammatically homogenous. The lexemes that are members of a morphosemantic field do not share all of their formal and semantic features. Mostly they share only some of them because they are related with respect to different grammatical and semantic patterns.

Only lexemes which are semantically and grammatically related can form a morphosemantic field. The issue of **grammatical and semantic motivation** is essential for explaining and defining the structure of a morphosemantic field.

As it was partly demonstrated using the examples of the adjective *jasan* "clear" and the verb *objasniti* "to explain," there is a grammatical and semantic motivation between the two lexemes as it is between other lexemes within a field such as *pojasniti* "to clarify," *izjasniti* "to utter or express

<sup>6</sup> The lexemes *sjaj* / *sjati* ('shine'/'to shine') *svjetlo* / *svijetliti* ('light'/'to light'), *vid* / *vidjeti* ('sight'/'to see'), *vedar* ('bright') and *jasan* ('clear').

<sup>7</sup> See Babić (2000: 25-33).

one's thoughts" and others. They are grammatically motivated because of the fact that they all derived from the base lexeme *jasan* (the stem is *jasn-*) and they are all semantically motivated via the conceptual metaphor UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING.

**The model of morphosemantic fields** fits into the CL theoretical framework by virtue of many of their features.

(i) The structure of morphosemantic fields broadly corresponds to the principles of prototype organization of categories and lexical structures. In other words, lexemes do not have an identical role in structuring the field: one of them is the center, or core, of the field, and others, depending on their characteristics, are positioned closer to it or further away from it. Therefore, **morphosemantic fields** are *heterogeneous*, as opposed to semantic fields in Trier's tradition, which are *homogeneous*. The heterogeneity of morphosemantic fields is evident in their asymmetric structure—the existence of a central lexeme (etymon or base lexeme) and other lexemes which are associated with it on the basis of various derivational and semantic processes.

(ii) The term **morphosemantic field** entails equal importance of grammatical and semantic processes in structuring the vocabulary, thus indicating a dynamic interplay and interdependence of grammatical and semantic structures, which is one of the basic theoretical tenets of CL.<sup>8</sup>

(iii) Cognitive processes such as *metaphor*, *metonymy*, *generalization*, and *specialization* effect changes in conceptual structures, which are reflected in the semantic structure of lexical categories.<sup>9</sup> As a rule, cognitive linguistics uses these concepts to show how conceptual changes are reflected in the semantic structure of a single lexical category.<sup>10</sup> The model of morphosemantic field stresses the importance of the onomasiological approach in the diachronic analysis of lexical structures, which has been less articulated within the CL theoretical framework than the semasiological approach.<sup>11</sup> The focus of morphosemantic analysis is on inter-lexical grammatical and semantic relations. Since the formation of new lexemes in the vocabulary of a grammatically motivated language such as Croatian is determined by grammatical processes as well as by different cognitive processes, the model of morphosemantic fields enables an insight into the structure of the Croatian vocabulary which could not be

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<sup>8</sup> See Langacker (1987 and 2000).

<sup>9</sup> See Geeraerts (1997), Blank and Koch (1999), Eckardt et al. (2003).

<sup>10</sup> Geeraerts (1997) emphasizes the role of these four cognitive processes in changing conceptual categories, which is later reflected in changes of particular lexical categories, which become polysemous lexical structures.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Geeraerts (1997).



described by other linguistic models. It reflects a very complex but regular pattern of lexical organization on the onomasiological level.

The integration of **the model of morphosemantic fields** into the CL theoretical framework and the application of its basic theoretical and methodological tenets is especially relevant for diachronic semantic research. It is important to stress that the structure of morphosemantic fields reflects changes that have affected certain conceptual categories within the diachronic perspective. Lexemes formed around the *base lexeme* diachronically indicate the course of extension of a conceptual category and its connections with other concepts, all of which could remain unnoticed by other types of semantic analyses. For example, the verb *sjati* 'to shine' did not undergo the same semantic shift as the adjective *sjajan* 'shiny.' The verb has preserved the meaning related to the domain of 'light,' whereas the adjective has developed a meaning related to the domain of 'excellence.'

The model of morphosemantic fields shows how the changes within a conceptual category could shape the word formation of lexical structures of grammatically motivated languages.

### 3. Some basic theoretical and methodological tenets

This paper will focus on several morphosemantic fields (or on their most prominent parts relevant to the explanation of the basic theoretical and methodological tenets as described in the paper) structured around five base lexemes. Four of them are etymologically related to the domain of 'light'/'vision,' i.e. their etymons (IE roots) are reconstructed with meanings related to 'light,' and one of them (*vedar* 'bright') had an etymon related to other domains, although their first attested meanings in Croatian reveal the shift to the domain of 'light.' Therefore, each one of the five base lexemes has had a prototypical meaning related to 'light'/'vision' since its first attestation. These are *svjetlo*/*svitlo* 'light'/'svijetliti' 'to light,' *vid* 'sight'/'*vidjeti* 'to see,' *sjaj* 'shine'/'*sjati* 'to shine,' *jasan*, *vedar* 'clear,' "bright."<sup>12</sup> All of them exhibit the following:

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<sup>12</sup> It should be pointed out that in Croatian, all of these five lexemes according to their first attestations have prototypical meanings related to the domain of 'light.' Some of them, such as *vid*, *svjetlo*, *jasan*, and *sjaj/sjati*, are etymologically related to IE roots: \*weid- for *vid/vidjeti* (sight/to see), \*kwoit- from \*kweit- for *svjetlo* (light), Old Slavic *jasnъ* for *jasan* (clear), and the IE root \*skij- for *sjati* (to shine) with the etymological meaning referring to 'light' or the reproduction of

- a. diachronic stability,
- b. frequent synchronic usage,
- c. grammatical productiveness—they enable the organisation of complex morphosemantic fields
- d. relation to some important sub-domains of ‘light,’ such as human sight, weather, and water, which play an important role in the conceptualization of ‘light’ and in the mapping of some abstract domains onto the domain of ‘light.’

The structure of the morphosemantic fields of these lexemes clearly highlights the importance of the domain of ‘light’ in semantic and grammatical organisation of the Croatian vocabulary. It also reflects mappings of the domains of ‘reasoning,’ ‘excellence,’ ‘reputation,’ and others onto the domain of ‘light’ within a diachronic perspective.

In Croatian, the basic conceptual metaphor UNDERSTANDING IS LIGHT is highly productive. This is evident not only with respect to the extension of the semantic structures of single lexemes, but also (which in my opinion is even more important) with respect to the organisation of the Croatian vocabulary. Apart from this metaphor, it is my claim that conceptual metaphors such as EXCELLENCE IS LIGHT and REPUTATION IS LIGHT play an important role in the formation of the Croatian vocabulary as well. As will be shown, some of the lexemes are semantically related exclusively or in a very high percentage of all usages to one of the above-mentioned abstract domains, although they have been derived from one of the lexemes meaning ‘light,’ ‘shine,’ ‘clear,’ or ‘sight.’

In most of cases, these examples clearly exhibit the interplay of metaphor and specialization. Thus, it will be argued that some of the lexemes, such as *izjasniti* ‘declare oneself’ and *objasniti* ‘to explain’ (from *jasan* ‘clear’) or *uvid* and *uvidjeti* ‘to realize’ (from *vid/vidjeti* ‘sight’ /‘to see’), *prosvijetliti* ‘to enlighten’ (from *svijetliti* ‘to light’) have very specialised

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light for the IE root \*skij-. The lexeme *vedar* exhibits a different pattern of diachronic changes from its etymological root. Although their first attestations according to Croatian dictionaries, such as Kačić’s dictionary (1599), confirm that their meanings are related to the domain of ‘light’ –*sereno* for *vedar*, their etymons were not related to the domain of ‘light.’ The lexeme *vedar* is related to the Proto Slavic \*vedrǫ, which is the reflection of the IE root \*wē- ‘to blow.’ The etymological origin of the lexeme *vedar* is the same as that of the English lexeme *weather*. It is evident that the Croatian lexeme *vedar* went through some significant semantic changes according to the semantic reconstruction of their IE or Proto Slavic roots. In Croatian its first attested meaning refers to ‘light,’ although etymologically it referred to ‘noise,’ ‘rapidity,’ ‘wind.’ This obvious metonymic shift has been diachronically preserved within its semantic structure. *Vedar* has been diachronically more related to the domain of ‘weather,’ referring to ‘clear sky.’

meanings exclusively related to the domain of 'mental activities.' Although they have been formed from base lexemes whose prototypical meanings are related to the domain of 'light,' none of these lexemes has a meaning related to the domain of 'light.' This kind of morphosemantic relationships and motivation between lexemes that belong to different parts of speech could remain unnoticed by other types of semantic models.

Therefore, I will argue for the diachronic prominence of **the interplay of metaphor → specialization ↔ word formation**<sup>13</sup> as a lexicalization pattern of the Croatian vocabulary. It is my claim that the interplay of two cognitive processes—*metaphor* and *specialization*—with different grammatical processes is of significant diachronic importance in the formation of lexemes in Croatian. Based on the research of other morphosemantic fields in Croatian, it has become obvious that the interplay of metaphor and specialization is a regular and frequent phenomenon that motivates the formation of the Croatian vocabulary items.<sup>14</sup>

The model of morphosemantic fields as an onomasiological approach enables to give a systematic insight into the structure of the Croatian lexicon.

For the purpose of this paper, I have limited my research to some basic issues of the diachronic development of morphosemantic fields derived from lexemes whose first attested (i.e. prototypical) meanings refer to the concept of 'light.' These are:

- i. To give an overview of the diachronic changes which have affected semantic structures of the five chosen lexemes. Some of the analyzed lexemes diachronically extended their structures towards the domains of 'reasoning,' 'excellence,' and 'respect,' although some of them have mostly preserved their etymological/first attested meaning. However, as was already demonstrated, these lexemes enabled the formation of some new lexemes with specialized metaphorical meanings exclusively related to one of the abstract domains mentioned above.

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<sup>13</sup> The arrows indicate the relationships between the three processes. The first arrow indicates the diachronic succession of two processes (metaphor and specialization), and the second arrow indicates the simultaneity of cognitive and grammatical processes in the formation of lexemes.

<sup>14</sup> For more details see Raffaelli and Kerovec (2008). In the book *Značenje kroz vrijeme* (Meaning through Time) (2009), I argue the diachronic importance of the interplay of these two processes with respect to the morphosemantic structures of the Croatian vocabulary and with respect to the semantic structure of single lexemes. In the book I also argue that metaphor as a cognitive process diachronically precedes specialization as a cognitive process.

- ii. To point to the importance of conceptual metaphors such as UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING, EXCELLENCE IS LIGHT, RESPECT IS LIGHT in the formation of Croatian vocabulary items.
- iii. To point to the fact that derived lexemes being formed by the strong interplay of certain grammatical and cognitive processes reflect some diachronically stable and prominent conceptual relations, which could remain unexplained by other types of semantic analysis.

For the purpose of this research I have compared three sub-corpora taken from the Croatian National Corpus and the Croatian Language Repository<sup>15</sup>:

- a. a classical literary corpus (CLC), based on literary texts from the fifteenth century to 1950;
- b. a literary corpus (LC), mostly based on literary texts from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with a large number of texts from 2000 to 2007;
- c. a newspaper corpus (NC) from 1990 to 2005.

To attain more precise and clear insight into the semantic and grammatical formation of the vocabulary related to the domain of 'light,' I compared the results obtained from my analysis of the three sub-corpora to lexicographical data from different Croatian dictionaries.

Based on my analysis of linguistic data, I will argue a diachronically significant increase in meanings and usages referring to abstract domains of lexical items etymologically or prototypically related to the domain of 'light.' This conceptual shift is reflected even more within the morphosemantic fields of the chosen lexemes. Each of the derived lexemes has a metaphorical meaning related to its morphosemantic *base lexeme*. This is the key argument for the explanation of how conceptual changes influence the formation of vocabulary in grammatically motivated languages. Diachronically, this means that there is a significant increase in new abstract concepts which reflect a human need to conceptualize new phenomena referring to a wide range of human mental activities, human roles in society, and so on. As will be shown, new abstract concepts are often borrowed from familiar and well-known concepts, such as 'light' or 'vision.'

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<sup>15</sup> The Croatian National Corpus was constructed at the Institute of Linguistics at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Zagreb (<http://www.hnk.ffzg.hr>). The Croatian Language Repository was constructed at the Institute of Croatian Language and Linguistics (<http://www.ihjj.hr>).

#### 4. The role of conceptual metaphors in the formation of Croatian vocabulary

As has been pointed out, mappings of one concept onto another are reflected in grammatically motivated languages in the formation of vocabulary. Thus, changes within the conceptual category in interplay with grammar influence the emergence of new lexemes. Based on the analysis of morphosemantic fields of the lexemes prototypically related to 'light,' it could be noticed that the concept of 'light' has diachronically evolved into a complex category consisting of concepts such as 'reasoning,' 'understanding,' 'explanation,' 'excellence,' 'respect,' 'honour,' and others. Therefore, the model of morphosemantic fields could shed light on some of the conceptual changes and their role in the formation of lexical structures of Croatian as well as any other grammatically motivated language.

Regarding this fact, the focus of my analysis will be on the two conceptual metaphors that have been diachronically most prominent in the formation of new lexemes morphosemantically related to the base lexeme whose first attested meaning is related to 'light'/'vision.' These are EXCELLENCE IS LIGHT and UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING. The influence of the conceptual metaphor RESPECT IS LIGHT will be described as one part of the more general metaphor EXCELLENCE IS LIGHT since, as will be stated, there is a strong connection between the concept of 'excellence,' which is more schematic, and the concept of 'respect,' which is more specified. Both concepts refer to good qualities, so they could be related to the more general metaphors GOOD IS UP and LIGHT IS UP (e.g. when the sun is up there is light; when the sun is down, there is darkness).

##### 4.1. The conceptual metaphor EXCELLENCE IS LIGHT

Although the conceptual metaphors UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING and IDEAS ARE LIGHT diachronically represent the most prominent metaphor with 'light' as a source domain, it is necessary to point to the diachronic relevance of the conceptual metaphor EXCELLENCE IS LIGHT as well. Except the lexeme *vid* 'sight' all other 4 lexemes in some period of their diachronic development extended their semantic structures towards the domain of 'excellence' or enabled the formation of lexemes with a specialised meaning related to this domain. The conceptual metaphor EXCELLENCE IS LIGHT is highly productive in the Croatian language. Lexemes with prototypical meaning referring to 'light' which extended their structures towards meanings referring to 'excellence' are mostly used to express

one's respect towards someone of higher social status or towards someone we honour, like a mother, son, or other kind of relative. Therefore, I claim that there is a strong connection between the concept of 'excellence' and the concept of 'respect.' On the other hand, I will demonstrate that there are some lexemes that have metaphorical meaning related to 'excellence'—not referring to respected persons but to some social and human phenomena that are performed or considered to be 'exquisite,' 'excellent,' or 'magnificent.' Since the concept of 'respect' is lexicalised exclusively in reference to persons someone respects or honours and the concept of 'excellence' is lexicalised in reference to a wider range of phenomena, I consider the conceptual metaphor RESPECT IS LIGHT to be part of the more general conceptual metaphor EXCELLENCE IS LIGHT.

#### 4.1.1. The prominence of the conceptual metaphor RESPECT IS LIGHT

Within the morphosemantic field of the lexeme *svjetlo/svitlo* (light), the adjective *svijetao/svitli* (shining) reflects the extension of its semantic structure towards the domain of 'excellence,' which is confirmed already in Kašić's dictionary (16<sup>th</sup> c.) and later in Habelić's and Mikalja's dictionaries (17<sup>th</sup> c.). In those dictionaries the adjective *svijetao/svitli* is considered as an equivalent of the Latin adjective *illustris*. According to Parčić's dictionary (1901), the adjective *svijetao* 'illustrious' mostly appears in constructions such as *sviēta kruno* (lit. 'bright crown'), used for addressing someone of higher social status, usually a sovereign.

In the CLC, similar usages of the lexeme *svijetao/svitli* can be found in NPs such as *svitli bane*, *svitli kneže*, or *svijetli care* 'my good lord.' These collocations are attested in literary texts from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. The adjective also appears with the prefix *pre-*, meaning 'highly,' 'extremely,' as in *presvitli/presvijetli* 'highly illustrious,' as in collocations with the nouns duke or lady: *presvijetli bane*, *presvijetli kneže*, *presvijetla gospo* 'my good lord,' 'honourable lady.' The adjective *presvijetao* exhibits the interplay of metaphor and specialization, since it is not attested with meanings other than 'respected,' or 'honourable.' Except the nouns referring to persons of higher status, the adjective *svijetao/svitli* could collocate with nouns referring to relatives we honour or respect, as in the collocation *svijetli rođak* 'illustrious cousin' (CLC; Šenoa, 19<sup>th</sup> c.).

The noun *svjetlost* (light) used in the construction *Vaša svjetlosti* "Your Excellency" is clearly related to the domain of 'respect' and according to the CLC this is its only usage with a meaning that could be related

to the conceptual metaphor RESPECT IS LIGHT. The morphosemantic relation between the noun *svjetlo/svitlo/svjetlost* and the adjective *svijetao/svitli* clearly reflects the semantic shift of the adjective towards the domain of 'respect,' although the noun as the base lexeme does not exhibit the same pattern, except in a very restricted and rare usage, as in the construction *Vaša svjetlosti* 'Your Excellency.' The diachronic prominence of the conceptual metaphor RESPECT IS LIGHT could be proven by the fact that the collocation *svitli obraz* (literally 'shining cheek,' metaphorically 'respectable') is first attested in Marulić's texts (15<sup>th</sup> c.) and still is being used in contemporary language, especially in a variation with a verb, as in: *osvijetlati obraz* (literally 'to illuminate [one's] cheek,' metaphorically 'to become respectable,' 'to make proud/respectable/honoured').

Two other lexemes exhibiting almost the same pattern as the adjective *svijetao/svitli* are the adjectives *jasan* (clear) and *vedar* (clear, bright) and some of the lexemes within their morphosemantic fields. The adjective *jasan* has extended its semantic structure towards the domain of 'respect,' as in NPs such as *jasna kuća* (respected house) and *jasno pleme* (respected tribe), attested in Kačić Miošić's texts (18<sup>th</sup> c.) The adjective *jasan* enabled the formation of the noun *prejasnost* and the adjective *prejasan*, both of which have meanings exclusively related to the domain of 'respect.' These two lexemes (as well as the adjective *prsvijetao*) exhibit very clearly **the interplay of metaphor → specialization** that has affected their semantic structure. These are the only two lexemes within the morphosemantic field of the lexeme *jasan* with meanings exclusively related to the domain of 'respect.' As will be demonstrated later in the paper, all other lexemes of this morphosemantic field extended their semantic structures toward the domain of 'reasoning' or 'understanding.' Thus, the adjective *prejasan* 'highly illustrious,' 'respectable' collocates with the same nouns as the adjective *prsvijetao*. These are the Croatian words for lady, sir, and duke. In the CLC we find the adjective *prejasan* in the collocation *prejasna majko* (respected mother) as well as in the collocation *prejasna republika* (illustrious republic).<sup>16</sup> The noun *prejasnost* appears in the same synonymous construction as *svjetlost*: *vaša prejasnosti*, used for addressing someone. The construction *vaša prejasnosti* (Your Excellency) is attested in literary texts from the nineteenth century, i.e. in Šenoa's novels.

The adjective *vedar* (clear, bright) enabled the formation of the adjective *privedar* "highly illustrious" (attested in the 18<sup>th</sup> c.), used in the same constructions as the adjectives *prsvijetao/prsvitli* and *prejasan*: *privedri kneže/dužde/bane* (my good lord) exhibiting the same metaphor—

<sup>16</sup> All of the collocations are limited to one novel by August Šenoa (19<sup>th</sup> c.).

specialization interplay. The lexeme *vedar*, like the other two lexemes *jasan* and *svjetlo/svitlo*, exhibits the shift towards the domain of 'respect' within its semantic structure, attested in texts from the eighteenth century: *kraľu vedri i slavni* (my respected and glorious king).

As could be noticed, the conceptual metaphor RESPECT IS LIGHT was highly productive in the diachronic development of the Croatian vocabulary in one period of time. The lexemes such as *presvijetao*, *prejasan* and *privedar*, attested in the CLC in literary texts from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, exhibit the same morphosemantic pattern. They are all formed with the prefix *pre-* meaning 'highly,' 'extremely,' and with respect to the semantic structure of their base lexemes, they all have meanings resulting from the interplay between two cognitive processes: metaphor and specialization. As has been demonstrated, all of the three base lexemes (*svjetlo*, *jasan*, *vedar*) have extended their semantic structures towards the concept of 'respect' in some period of time. However, it should be noticed that the morphosemantic field of the lexeme *svjetlo* has been diachronically more stable in the lexicalization of the conceptual metaphor RESPECT IS LIGHT than the other two morphosemantic fields, since, according to my analysis, the earliest confirmed attestations are from Marulić's fifteenth-century texts in the collocation *svitli obraz* (literally 'shining cheek'), various versions of which have been used up until the present day, mostly with the verb *osvijetatli komu obraz* (literally 'to illuminate someone's cheek,' metaphorically 'to win honours, credit' or 'to come out with honour'). Other morphosemantic fields have been diachronically more peripheral in the lexicalization of that conceptual metaphor, since the usages of lexemes such as *privedar*, *prejasan*, *vedar*, *jasan* in meanings related to 'respect' were limited to the period from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Geeraerts (1997) points out that it is important to differentiate between **diachronically stable** and **diachronically peripheral** meanings. According to him, meanings within a lexical structure could be diachronically more peripheral (often meanings that are structurally peripheral as well) or more stable (often a prototypical meaning). However, based on examples from Old French, Raffaelli (2009) argues that structurally peripheral meanings could be diachronically stable, and vice versa, a prototypical meaning in one period of time could disappear in another. From the example of the analyzed morphosemantic fields, it could be shown that there are some of them which are diachronically more stable in the lexicalization of a certain concept from others. Hence, the notion of diachronically stable and diachronically peripheral structures should be extended to the morphosemantic structures of the lexicon as well, since they represent some basic principles of lexical structures within the diachronic perspective.



It has to be pointed out that all of these examples of the lexicalization of the conceptual metaphor RESPECT IS LIGHT confirm a strong connection of the concepts of 'respect' and 'excellence.' All of the analysed constructions refer to persons or sovereigns that humans respect because of their higher social status or because of their virtues. Sovereigns are often conceptualized as 'excellent' or 'illustrious' by virtue of their status and function.<sup>18</sup> Therefore, someone conceptualized as 'illustrious' is often conceptualized as 'respected' as well. This is the main reason why 'respect' and 'excellence' should be considered as strongly connected concepts.

#### **4.1.2. The conceptual metaphor EXCELLENCE IS LIGHT: the example of the lexeme *sjaj* (shine)**

As I have stressed in the previous sections, I consider the metaphor EXCELLENCE IS LIGHT to be more general than the metaphor RESPECT IS LIGHT, since the latter is lexicalised in a very narrow range of usages; someone's respectedness is based on their exquisiteness or excellence. The generality of the conceptual metaphor EXCELLENCE IS LIGHT could be supported by the fact that it is lexicalised in a broader range of usages referring to very different kinds of phenomena. However, it is important to stress that there is only one base lexeme and its derived forms that lexicalise this conceptual metaphor.

As has already been mentioned, *sjaj* (shine) is a lexeme referring from its etymological origins to something that produces light (sun, moon, stars), which has been its first attested prototypical meaning in Croatian. *Sjaj* (or the verb *sjati* "to shine") refers to *eyes*, *face*, *hair*, and all other objects that could produce or reflect light. Collocating with *eyes* or *face*, it has metonymically extended its meaning towards the domain of 'happiness,' 'health,' 'satisfaction,' which have been diachronically stable usages attested from the fifteenth century until the present.

Unlike the lexemes *svjetlost* and *presvijetao*, *prejasan*, *vedar* and *privedar*, the lexeme *sjaj* did not extend its semantic structure towards the domain of 'respect,' referring to persons of higher social status. However, the meaning 'excellent' or 'exquisite' of the lexeme *sjaj* appears in several types of collocations, but not before the nineteenth century. The lexeme

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<sup>18</sup> In old literary texts this pattern of conceptualizing and naming sovereigns as 'excellent' is quite common. For example, in French medieval literature we find the constructions *biaus sire* (literally 'beautiful lord'), *doux sire* (literally 'gentle lord'), which correspond to Croatian constructions with the adjectives *prejasan*, *presvijetao*, *privedar*.

*sjaj* in CLC appears in collocations such as *sjaj carskoga dvora* (the brilliance of the emperor's court), *sjaj vjenčanja* (the brilliance of a wedding), *sjaj svečanostnog prostora* (the brilliance of a festal hall), *sjaj njezine oprave* (the brilliance of her dress), *sjaj i moć* (excellence and power), *sjaj i raskoš* (excellence and luxury). In all of these collocations *sjaj* has extended its meaning towards the domain of 'excellence' referring to some social phenomena that are conceptualized as 'excellent,' 'magnificent,' or 'exquisite.'

The adjective *sjaj-an* (shiny) exhibits an interesting diachronic development. In the early literary texts from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, the lexeme *sjajan* does not appear in usages meaning 'excellent,' 'exquisite.' Mostly, it appears with nouns denoting something that produces light. In Vitezović's text (17<sup>th</sup> c.) it appears in the collocation *sjajno oružje* (shiny weapon) with no extension towards the concept of 'excellence.' In nineteenth-century literary texts, the adjective *sjajan* appears more frequently in collocations with the same nouns as the noun *sjaj*, as in the following collocations: *sjajno vjenčanje* (exquisite wedding) *sjajna gozba* (excellent feast), *sjajno odijelo* (magnificent clothing), denoting something magnificent and exquisite. In the second half of the nineteenth century it begins to collocate with nouns such as *život* (life), *um* (mind), *misli* (thoughts), *karijera* (career), and in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century with the noun *budućnost* (future)—one of the most frequent collocations in the NC; *sjajna budućnost* (great future).

In the NC there are 5,607 occurrences (58 occurrences per million =opm) of the lexeme *sjajan*. On the basis of a random sample of 1,000 occurrences, it has become evident that in 99% of all usages *sjajan* refers to the domain of 'excellence.' In contemporary usage, as well as in everyday language, *sjajan* has developed the sense of 'great,' 'outstanding,' 'excellent,' which is especially visible in its use as an exclamation in its adverbial form: *Sjajno!* (Great!).

In the NC the adjective *sjajan* collocates with nouns such as: *uspjeh* (success), *rezultat* (result), *pobjeda* (victory) and *momčad/igrač* (team/player). These collocations are typically used in the domain of 'sport.' The collocations with nouns such as *izvedba* (performance), *knjiga* (book), *umjetnik* (artist), *glazbenik* (musician), and *kritika* (criticisms) are used in the domain of 'arts.' Other frequent collocations are the ones with nouns such as: *raspoloženje* (mood), *atmosfera* (atmosphere) *news* (vijest), and *iskustvo* (experience).

In everyday language the lexeme *sjajan* is often used in the expression *Biti u sjajnoj formi* (to be in great shape), denoting someone's excellent physical condition.

The lexeme *sjaj/sjati* and its derived form *sjajan* deserve to be separated from other lexemes semantically related to the domain of 'excellence' for several reasons: (i) they are the only lexemes among the chosen lexemes referring etymologically and prototypically to the domain of 'light' that have not extended their structures towards the domain of 'mental activities,' or other abstract domains, but exclusively towards the domain of 'excellence,' (ii) the adjective *sjajan* exhibits a significant diachronic shift toward the domain of 'excellence,' which is attested already in Parčić's dictionary (1901) where *sjajan* is defined as 1) *splendente, brillante, fulgido* (meanings referring to the production of light) and 2) *magnifico, sontuoso* (meanings referring to excellence and magnificence) (iii) unlike the noun *sjaj* and the verb *sjati*, which have preserved their literal, concrete meanings, in the NC the adjective *sjajan* appears in a very high percentage of all usages with the meaning 'excellent,' 'great,' 'outstanding.' However, in this case the interplay of metaphor → specialization could not be argued yet, since the adjective *sjajan* is still being used with a concrete meaning—although the significant increase in metaphorical usages of the lexeme *sjajan* is an important diachronic fact, which could lead to the specialization of the metaphorical meaning in some period of time.

It is important to stress the fact that within the morphosemantic field of the lexeme *sjaj/sjati*, the adjective *sjajan* exhibits a more significant shift towards the domain of 'excellence' than its base lexeme. Moreover, its contemporary usages are mostly related to the domain of 'excellence,' especially because of the frequently used exclamation *sjajno!* (great!).

This kind of morphosemantic connection between the noun, the verb, and the adjective could remain unnoticed by other types of semantic analysis.<sup>19</sup> Namely, there is a significant shift towards the abstract domain of only one lexeme—the adjective, whereas the other two lexemes have diachronically preserved their etymological concrete meaning with rare metaphorical usages. Therefore, the model of morphosemantic fields reveals that the concept 'shine' lexicalised in three different lexical forms (*sjaj*, *sjati*, *sjajan*) has diachronically evolved into a complex category. On one hand, it has preserved its conceptual core related to the more general domain of 'light' through the noun *sjaj* and the verb *sjati*, and on the other,

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<sup>19</sup> The analysis of the polysemous structure of one of the lexemes would not take into consideration morphosemantically related lexemes. Therefore, the analysis of the lexeme *sjaj* separately from the adjective *sjajan* would give opposite results and could lead to incorrect conclusions regarding the diachronic behavior of the concept 'shine' in Croatian.

it has simultaneously extended its structure towards the domain of ‘excellence’ through the adjective *sjajan*.

## 4.2. The conceptual metaphor UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING and IDEAS ARE LIGHT

Except the base lexeme *sjaj/sjati* and its morphosemantic field and the lexeme *vedar*<sup>20</sup> all of the other three base lexemes and their derived lexical forms have diachronically extended their semantic structures towards the domain of ‘mental activities.’ For the purpose of this research I will focus on some basic issues.

The base lexemes *vidjeti* (to see)/*vid* (sight) enabled the formation of a very large and complex morphosemantic field. This paper will focus on the derived lexemes related exclusively or in a majority of usages to the domain of ‘mental activities.’

The lexeme *vid* enabled the formation of two adjectives listed in the Croatian Encyclopaedic Dictionary (2003) as (absolute) synonyms, differing according to the dictionary only with respect to derivational suffixes: *vid-ljiv* (visible) and *vid-an* (visible). From a diachronic perspective, *vid-ljiv* has always been used far more frequently. In CL there are 56 occurrences (19 opm) of the lexeme *vidljiv* in relation to 9 occurrences (3 opm) of the lexeme *vidan*. The lexeme *vidan* appears 3 times in usages related to the human state of mind or temper, as in: *kad je stao pred nju, ona je vidno poblijedila* (when he stood in front of her she went completely/noticeably pale) (CLC; Kovačić, 20<sup>th</sup> c.) In the NC there are 6373 occurrences (66 opm) of *vidljiv*, as opposed to 896 occurrences (9 opm) of the adjective *vidan*. Although there is no significant increase of usages of the lexeme

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<sup>20</sup> The adjective *vedar* (bright, sunny) has preserved from its etymological origins the meaning related to the domain of ‘weather,’ which has remained its prototypical meaning until nowadays. The collocation *vedro nebo* (clear sky) has been the most frequent collocation in which the adjective *vedar* occurs in all three corpora. Except with the sky, relatively diachronically stable collocations of the adjective *vedar* are those with nouns: *zora* (dawn), *noć* (night) and *dan* (day). The semantic structure of the adjective *vedar* has not been extended towards the domain of ‘mental activities,’ but towards the domain of ‘human temper.’ The first attestations of this metaphorical meaning are in the collocations *vedro lice* (happy face), *vedre oči* (happy eyes) and *vedro čelo* (happy forehead)—a diachronically peripheral collocation not used any more. More recent collocations (the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> c.) are *vedra osoba/dijete* (cheerful person/child), referring to a person’s character. According to the NC, the derived verb *raz-vedr-i-ti* has two core meanings “clear up” and “cheer up,” occurring with almost the same frequency.

*vidan* in the NC with respect to the CLC, there is a significant change in the meaning of the adjective. As was pointed out above, according to the lexicographic data, *vidljiv* and *vidan* are considered to be synonyms. However, according to the corpus analysis, they differ significantly in their usages. Whereas *vidljiv* has preserved a meaning related to something that could be seen because of the existence of light, the adjective *vidan* and its adverbial form *vidno* have collocated from their first attestations with adjectives denoting emotional states or states of mind as in the collocations *vidno obradovan* (noticeably pleased), *vidno uzbuđen* (noticeably excited) (early 20<sup>th</sup> c.), where it appears with the meaning 'noticeable.' The meaning 'noticeable' enabled a synonymic differentiation of the adjective *vidan* from the adjective *vidljiv*.<sup>21</sup> According to the NC, the lexeme *vidan* can occur in literal meanings in a narrow range of collocations related to the human visual system as in the NPs *vidno polje* (field of view), *vidni živac* (optic nerve), *vidna stanica* (visual cell), and *vidno mjesto* (visible place). However, a comparison of the CLC and the NC reveals some significant diachronic changes in the range of collocations containing the adjective *vidan*. In the NC, the adjective *vidan* in its adverbial form, *vidno*, frequently collocates with adjectives denoting negative emotional states such as: *uzrujan* (nervous, distraught), *utučen* (depressed), *potresen* (upset), *uznemiren* (anxious), *razočaran* (disappointed), *umoran* (tired), *zabrinut* (worried), and others. The only two adjectives denoting positive emotional states collocating with the adverb *vidno* are: *zadovoljan* (satisfied) and *radostan* (happy). Collocating with all these adjectives, *vidan* has extended its semantic structure not only towards the domain of 'mental activities' with the meaning 'noticeable,' but it has been developing the sense 'considerably, strongly' as well, which has considerably enabled its semantic differentiation from the adjective *vidljiv*. Although the synonymous adjective *vidljiv* occurs with some of those adjectives, its range of collocations has not changed to that extent. Therefore, the question of whether the lexicographical data prove that these two adjectives are (absolute) synonyms with no semantic differences should be reconsidered.

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<sup>21</sup> *Synonymic differentiation* is one of the most important processes that enables the diachronic preservation of two synonymous lexemes. Bréal (1897) introduces this process as *la loi de répartition*, according to which there are no absolute synonyms in the lexical system of any language, since there is always a tendency between synonymous lexemes to become semantically different. For a more detailed explanation of semantic differentiation, see Raffaelli (in press). In this article it is stated that semantic differentiation should be considered as a cognitive process, since it enables the preservation of two similar concepts. Hence, the conceptual system could remain more complex and more subtle.

Perhaps the most interesting case of conceptual shifting towards the domain of ‘mental activities’ from a diachronic perspective is the grammatical formation of the new lexeme *raz-vidan*, derived from the adjective *vidan* (visible). The lexeme *razvidan*<sup>22</sup> is listed neither in the Dictionary of the Croatian Academy of Science and Arts (volume -1953) nor in the Croatian Frequency Dictionary (1999), but it is listed in the Croatian Encyclopaedic Dictionary (2003) as a synonym of the adjective *jasan* (clear).

In the three corpora, *razvidan* is first attested in literary texts after 2000 with a significant increase of occurrences in the NC (5 opm). Although *raz-vidan* is morphologically related to *vidan*, semantically it is completely related to the domain of ‘mental activities’ denoting something mentally clear. The lexeme *razvidan* (or its adverbial form *razvidno*) is used in very specific syntagmatic constructions, such as the following: *Iz iznesenoga je razvidno koliko je spomenuta operacija značila Hrvatskoj*. (It is evident from what has been said so far how much the above-mentioned operation meant to Croatia). It is with respect to the grammatical formation that *raz-vidan* could be considered as a neologism formed to be a substitute for some foreign and loan words used in Croatian, such as *transparentan* and *evidentan* (transparent/evident). With respect to its morphosemantic structure, the lexeme *razvidan* is another example of the interplay of metaphor → specialization, since its semantic structure is exclusively related to the domain of ‘mental activities.’

Lexemes *u-vid* (insight) and *u-vidjeti* (to realise, to become aware of sth.) are also exclusively related to the domain of ‘mental activities.’ The noun *uvid* refers to something that is a result of research or examination. The first attested meaning listed in Šulek’s dictionary (19<sup>th</sup> c.) was very specialized: “to have an insight into a book or a written document,” related to the domain of ‘sight.’ The verb *uvidjeti* is listed in Šulek’s dictionary with the meaning “to look closely at someone’s book.” Both of the lexemes had a concrete meaning which has changed through time into a metaphorical one, related exclusively to the concept of ‘realising.’ In the NC the verb *uvidjeti* appears only with the meaning “to realize” or “to become aware of something” and the noun *uvid* with the meaning “insight.” Therefore, the morphosemantic relation *vid*—*uvid* and *vidjeti*—*uvidjeti* reveals the metaphor → specialization interplay as the basis of their semantic connection. The prefix *u-* “in” enabled the formation of two lexemes with the general meaning “to realise something in details.”

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<sup>22</sup> The adjective *razvidan* in Croatian is related to the Slovenian verb *razvideti* (to realize).

The verb *pro-svijetliti* (to enlighten,) derived from the verb *svijetliti*<sup>23</sup> (to light) exhibit a similar pattern to the verb *uvidjeti*. The verb *prosvijetliti* is listed in Mikalja's dictionary (17<sup>th</sup> c.) as being the equivalent of *illuminare, illustro* "make something to be bright" with no remarks about metaphorical extensions. However, in Marulić's texts (15<sup>th</sup> c.) *prosvijetlit/prosvitliti* appears in both meanings—concrete and metaphorical (to enlighten) as in the example: *sveti duh pamet prosvitljujuć* (the Holy Ghost that enlightens the mind). It is the same with the texts from the 17<sup>th</sup> c. and the 18<sup>th</sup> c. in which the verb *prosvijetliti/prosvitliti* appears in both meanings: *da budeš mene prosvitliti u pameti i u srcu* (so that you enlighten my mind and my heart) (Gučetić, 16<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> c) and *izdaleka prosvitljuju varoš* (they're enlightening the town from afar) (Relković, 18<sup>th</sup> c.). According to the CL, the verb *prosvijetliti* appears in the literary texts from the 19<sup>th</sup> c. exclusively in the metaphorical meaning. Although, it could be possible that the concrete meaning was still preserved in that period of time, according to the NC during the 20<sup>th</sup> c. the verb *prosvijetliti* has been used exclusively with the meaning "to enlighten," related to the domain of 'mental activities,' which reveals a diachronic shift towards a specialised metaphorical meaning.

The lexeme *jasan* and its morphosemantic field exhibit some significant and interesting conceptual changes and shifts towards the domain of 'mental activities.'<sup>24</sup> According to Kačić's (16<sup>th</sup> c.) and Mikalja's (17<sup>th</sup> c.) dictionaries the adjective *jasan* was a synonym of the adjectives *bistar, vedar, sjajan*, (bright, shining, brilliant).

In the literary texts from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> c. *jasan* collocates mostly with nouns such as *mjesec* (moon), *mjesečina* (moonlight), *zora* (dawn) and *zrak* (air) and refers to bright colours. When it refers to humans it collocates with nouns such as: *oči* (eyes), *lice* (face). The adjective also denoted bright colors, which is a diachronically peripheral sense of the adjective *jasan*, preserved till the 19<sup>th</sup> c.

In the literary texts from XIX th c. *jasan* exhibits a tendency towards a new sense, the one related to the mental domain referring to something that could be mentally clear.

The NC confirms the development of the meaning "mentally clear" of the adjective *jasan* as well as a new meaning—"precise," referring to

<sup>23</sup> It has to be stressed that the structure of the verb *svijetliti* has not been extended towards the domain of 'mental activities' and that the noun *svjetlo* has extended its semantic structure towards the domain of 'mental activities' in the idioms *iznijeti na svjetlo, baciti svjetlo* (to shed the light on sth.), and *izaći na svjetlo* (to become mentally clear, to become noticeable, similar to English *to come to light*).

<sup>24</sup> For a more detailed overview see (Raffaelli and Kerovec 2008).

something done with precision like in collocations with nouns: *dokaz* (proof), *granica* (border/limit), *kriterij* (criterion), *cilj* (goal). The adjective is very frequently used as adverb (*jasn-o*) with the meaning ‘understandable, comprehensible,’ with verbs such as *govoriti* ‘speak,’ *istaknuti* ‘point out,’ *napomenuti* ‘mention,’ *dokazati* ‘prove,’ *izložiti* ‘present,’ etc. It is also used in everyday language in the expressions *jasno je*, *treba biti jasno* (it is clear, it should be clear). It should be stressed that according to a random sample of 1000 examples from the NC *jasna/jasno* appears in 99% of all occurrences with the meaning related to the domain of ‘mental activities,’ which correspond to its occurrences in everyday language. Based on this fact it could be stated that the adjective *jasan* exhibit a similar diachronic pattern as the adjective *sjajan*. Both adjectives are nowadays used far more frequently in their metaphorical meanings than in their concrete meanings. On the basis of this fact it is possible to presume an intensive diachronic change within the semantic structure of the two lexemes, ie. the metaphorical meaning becoming the core meaning, and the concrete meaning, used less frequently, becoming a peripheral meaning.<sup>25</sup>

The morphosemantic field of the lexeme *jasan* consists of synonymous verbs such as: *raz-jasn-i-ti* (explain), *ob-jasn-i-ti* (explain), *po-jasn-i-ti* (clarify) and *iz-jasn-i-ti* (declare oneself).

*Razjasniti* is the only verb that has been diachronically related to ‘light’ (listed in Mikalja’s dictionary with the meaning ‘make bright,’ ‘make clear,’ with no citations confirming metaphorical shifts in meaning), whereas *objasniti* and *pojasniti* are diachronically more recent (especially *pojasniti*) and are entirely related to the mental domain with the meaning “explain,” “clarify.” The verb *izjasniti* from its Old Slavic origins (*izъjasъniti*) has preserved a metaphorical meaning with respect to the base lexeme *jasan*. There are no attestations of the lexeme being used in a concrete meaning related to ‘light.’ The verb *pojasniti* is the most recent one, not attested in the CL and according to the LC first attested in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> c (after 1979.). In the NC *pojasniti* occurs 3 970 times (41 opm) which indicates its more frequent use. However, the verb that is most frequently used according to the NC is the verb *objasniti*. In the NC it ap-

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<sup>25</sup> According to Geeraerts (1997), Györi (2002), and Raffaelli (2009), every lexical structure synchronically exhibits diachronic changes at a given point in time. The two lexemes *sjajan* and *jasan* are excellent examples of how we can witness significant changes affecting a certain lexical structure within a synchronic moment. The significant increase in metaphorical usages of these two adjectives in everyday language, according to the NC and the CLC, indicates changes within the lexical structures and a possible structural shift—in which metaphorical meaning (once peripheral meaning) is becoming prototypical meaning.



pears more than 9 000 times (91 opm), which indicates that the verb *objasniti* is among other two synonymous verbs (*pojasniti*, *razjasniti*) linguistically and conceptually the most entrenched one. Although, all three of them have almost the same meaning "to explain," "to clarify," according to their usages, there are some important differences which have enabled their diachronic persistence within the Croatian vocabulary.<sup>26</sup>

The pattern that is common to all four of them is that they clearly exhibit the interplay of metaphor → specialization as the basic semantic connection in relation to the base lexeme *jasan*. The grammatical formation of the verbs with respect to different prefixes *po*-<sup>27</sup>, *raz*-<sup>28</sup>, *ob*-<sup>29</sup> for the three synonymous verbs (*pojasniti*, *razjasniti*, *objasniti*) enabled their synonymic differentiation within a diachronic perspective and their preservation within the Croatian lexical system. On the other hand, these verbs reflect a need to conceptualize the action of 'explanation' in a very nuanced way (enabled by the word formation), borrowing from the concept of 'clarity' and the base lexeme *jasan*.

## 5. Some concluding remarks

The concept of 'light' in Croatian plays an important role in the conceptualization of various phenomena and activities related to human life. The model of morphosemantic fields elaborated and thus integrated into the theoretical framework of CL could reveal how various cognitive and grammatical processes influence the emergence of new lexemes in Croatian as a grammatically motivated language. Applied to the five lexemes and their derived lexical forms, the model of morphosemantic fields has

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<sup>26</sup> For a more detailed analysis of the morphosemantic field of the adjective *jasan* within a diachronic perspective, see Raffaelli and Kerovec (2008).

<sup>27</sup> According to Babić (2002: 544), verbs formed with the prefix *po*- denote that an action has been performed in a small quantity or that it has lasted for a short period of time. It should be pointed out that the prefix *po*- can denote other kinds of actions, but they are not relevant for the explanation of the verb *pojasniti*.

<sup>28</sup> According to Babić (2002: 549), verbs formed with the prefix *raz*- denote an action that is performed from more than one side. It should be pointed out that the prefix *raz*- can denote other kinds of actions, but they are not relevant for the explanation of the verb *razjasniti*.

<sup>29</sup> According to Babić (2002: 543), verbs formed with the prefix *ob*- denote actions that are embraced from all possible sides. That is the only meaning that verbs formed with the prefix *ob*- can have. Other possible meanings are rare.

highlighted the diachronic importance of the domain of 'light' in the conceptualization of various phenomena in the real world.

Several remarks could be made:

With respect to the semantic structure of the base lexeme, the formation of some new lexemes is motivated by metaphor → specialization interplay as a basic semantic connection. On the basis of this fact, it could be argued that **metaphor → specialization interplay coupled with the grammatical processes of derivation and word formation** represent a regular pattern of lexicalization in the grammatically-motivated Croatian language. The model of morphosemantic fields reveals this pattern as a significant linguistic fact for a more systematic description of the Croatian vocabulary.

Although many of the base lexemes have extended their semantic structure towards the domains of 'mental activities' or 'excellence,' for some of them this is more a diachronically and structurally peripheral feature. However, their derived lexemes have significantly extended their structures to abstract domains. The analysis of the chosen lexemes and their derived lexemes has revealed different patterns of metaphorical extension. Within some morphosemantic fields, some of the base lexemes (e.g. the verb *sjati* and the noun *sjaj*) tend to preserve their etymological and first attested concrete meanings, while their derived lexemes (e.g. the adjective *sjajan*) tend to participate in the lexicalization of new, various abstract concepts borrowed from the domain of 'light' in general. The morphosemantic field of the lexeme *jasan* exhibits another pattern; the base lexeme *jasan* has a frequently used metaphorical meaning, and some of its derived lexemes (e.g. *izjasniti*, *objasniti*) have metaphorical meanings exclusively designating human mental activities. It could be argued that, diachronically, the structure of the concept 'jasnoća' (clearness) — lexicalized in Croatian through the morphosemantic field of the lexeme *jasan*—has been extended significantly towards mental concepts, serving very prominently in the conceptualization of human mental activities in a very nuanced way. This means that there is a strong interplay between linguistic forms and the development of conceptual categories within the diachronic perspective.

Although the conceptual metaphor UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING is diachronically more prominent than the metaphors EXCELLENCE IS LIGHT and RESPECT IS LIGHT, this paper has demonstrated that the latter two conceptual metaphors have diachronically played an important role in the formation of the Croatian vocabulary. The lexicalization of the conceptual metaphor RESPECT IS LIGHT as a part of the more general metaphor EXCELLENCE IS LIGHT has been mostly limited to the period from the sixteenth to

the nineteenth century through the adjectives *presvijetao*, *prejasan*, and *privedar*. However, based on the diachronic stability of its meanings 'excellent,' 'great,' the adjective *sjajan* serves as evidence of the diachronic prominence of the conceptual metaphor EXCELLENCE IS LIGHT.

The lexemes *sjajan* and *jasan* exhibit the same diachronic pattern of conceptual extension towards more abstract domains. That is, their metaphorical meanings according to the NC and everyday usages represent the core of their semantic structure, although their concrete meanings do not have restricted usages and are therefore not archaic. The connection between the concrete and the metaphorical meanings still exists; this is known and transparent to the Croatian speaker. However, the metaphorical meanings are far more frequently used because of a number of everyday expressions in which the two adjectives appear. Therefore, these metaphorical meanings could become prototypical in some period of time.

It is my claim that the **model of morphosemantic fields**, if integrated into the framework of CL, could reveal some important principles and patterns of how conceptualization and language shape the world over time.

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