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INTER-LEXICAL POLYSEMY OF SPATIAL PREFIXES AND PARTICLES IN POLISH AND ENGLISH

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Abstract: The present paper discusses inter-lexical polysemy in Polish and English taking place between different spatial expressions, conveying roughly similar meanings. The analysis reveals that despite certain affinities between lexical items under study, they are not interchangeable and their use is restricted to specific contexts. Differences between the investigated spatial expressions stem from distinct TR-LM configurations that underlie respective image-schemas, representing their primary senses and constituting source domains for metaphorical conceptualisations.

Key words: primary metaphor, EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor, image schema, spatial expression.

1. Introduction

Polysemy of verbal particles and prefixes, both in English and Slavic languages, has been heavily researched within the framework of cognitive linguistics. As regards verbal prefixes in Slavic languages, Janda (1986) described their semantic networks in Russian, Dąbrowska (1996) and Tabakowska (2003) in Polish, Šarić (2012) in Croatian and Tchizmarova (2012) in Bulgarian. English verbal particles have been investigated by Brugman and Lakoff (1988), Lindner (1983), Lindstromberg (2010), Morgan (1997), Rudzka-Ostyn (2003) and Tyler and Evans (2003), to mention but a few. The reason for which this topic is so frequently undertaken is that the study of polysemy patterns is assumed to be capable of providing an insight into the workings of the human mind by focusing on the conceptual mechanisms responsible for triggering meaning extensions.

In contrastive studies, English verbal particles are frequently juxtaposed with Slavic verbal prefixes on account of the fact that both particles and prefixes function as verbal satellites (Talmy 1991) that encode a path of motion.¹ This formal correspondence has been acknowledged by many researchers involved in the study of English verbal particles and Slavic prefixes. For instance, Tchizmarova (2012) has noticed that Slavic prefixed verbs closely resemble English verb-particle combinations in that the "verb contributes to the source domain (literally, metonymically, or metaphorically) and the

prefix is the expression of a cognitive image schema (CONTAINMENT, VERTICALITY, etc.), instantiated either literally or metaphorically". Another researcher, Suchostawska (2005), maintains that from the point of view of semantics, English complex verbs, to which she refers as verb-particle constructions, are very much like Polish complex verbs containing prefixes. On the whole, according to Hampe (2002: 254), "particles are suffix-like elements that open general spaces of meaning to be further specified by verbs".

As regards the semantics of spatial expressions², cognitive linguistics maintains that abstract senses of both particles and prefixes are motivated by their primary senses³, which are spatial; this should be taken to mean that they conceptualise either a static or a dynamic scene in which two participants are involved: the trajector (TR) and the landmark (LM). The trajector (TR) is the primary participant in the scene, whereas the LM is the secondary participant. The LM is usually immobile, and it functions as the background against which the TR's position or movement in space is perceived. Thus, when used in their primary senses, particles and prefixes capture human experience of space and spatial relations, which is considered to be embodied, i.e. mediated and determined by the nature of human bodies (Tyler & Evans 2003).

A vast majority of the existing studies into the polysemy of verbal particles and prefixes aim to present their semantic networks and to account for the process of meaning extensions from the primary sense. These studies frequently concentrate on a single spatial expression, such as, e.g. *on* described by Navarro (1999) or *over* investigated by Brugman and Lakoff (1988). Those papers that adopt a contrastive perspective are aimed at addressing the polysemy of a given spatial expression in one language and that of its equivalent in another – typologically different or similar – language. For example, Rudzka-Ostyn (1984) analyses polysemy patterns of the Polish prefix *wy-* 'out' and the Dutch particle and prefix *uit*, while Sokolova and Lewandowski (2010) examine the Polish and Russian inceptive prefix *za-* 'behind'. The aim of the aforementioned studies is to offer a list of cross-linguistic differences between the analysed semantic networks as well as to present similarities between them stemming from universal embodied experience, which is the same for all human beings irrespective of the language they use.

2. Aim, material and method

The present paper aims to offer a different contrastive perspective on the polysemy of spatial expressions as it investigates the relatively understudied phenomenon of inter-lexical polysemy, which – as the very term suggests – takes place between different lexemes that appear to have "broadly similar readings" (Evans 2015: 101). A source of inspiration for this article was the research

into the polysemy of English verbal particles and Polish verbal prefixes encoding the relationship of verticality, which I have been involved in for a few years (Konieczna 2020). Even though the aim of the aforementioned study was to account merely for the development of semantic networks of spatial expressions encoding movement or position along a vertical axis in English and Polish, I have found that there are considerable similarities between certain senses conveyed by several different particles and prefixes. As regards the English corpus, I have found that the Control Sense⁴ can be encoded by four particles, i.e. *up*, *down*, *over* and *under*, the Approach Sense can be expressed by particles: *on* and *up* and the Completion Sense can be encoded by particles: *up*, *down* and *over*. When it comes to the Polish sample, I have discovered that the More Sense can be expressed by *nad-* and *wz-*, the Excess Sense can be conveyed by *nad-* and *na-* and the Partial Effect Sense can be encoded by *nad-*, *pod-* and *na-*.

The study in question has been carried out by means of the lexical method (Kövecses 1986; 2017), which consists in looking for lexical items to be investigated in various kinds of dictionaries, opting for those that are based on large corpora. Therefore, I have used the OED for the English sample and SJP PWN for the Polish sample. The lexicographic sources enabled me to identify both spatial and abstract senses of the investigated lexical items by relying on their definitions (either explicit or implicit) contained in the dictionary entries, which is known as the top-down procedure (Kövecses 2011).

Because of space limitations I am unable to discuss inter-lexical polysemy between all the spatial expressions enumerated in the foregoing section; therefore, I will focus merely on the Completion Sense in the English sample, and the Partial Effect Sense in the Polish sample. The reason for choosing these two senses is that – apart from being very frequent in the two samples under study – the satellites encoding them affect the aspect of the verb: English particles expressing the Completion Sense entail a telic aspect⁵, while Polish prefixes expressing the Partial Effect Sense trigger the inceptive aspect (see section 3.2). My analysis is conducted with the aim of answering three research questions. First of all, to what degree are the verbal particles and prefixes – encoding senses that carry the same labels – similar to one another? Secondly, to what extent are they interchangeable? Thirdly, if it is assumed that these lexical items are "broadly similar", it must also be admitted that they are not identical, which raises the following question: what is the source of differences between them?

To answer the research questions specified above, three concepts will be relied on, namely that of the primary metaphor, the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor and the notion of an image schema. As regards the primary metaphor, it was proposed by Grady (1997; 1999), according to whom human

embodied experience gives rise to metaphorical conceptualisations. This happens when two phenomena, one of which is based on a physical perception, such as for example upward movement and an increase in quantity, are associated in the human mind. When two such distinct phenomena repeatedly co-occur in human experience, they become experientially correlated, which means that they get so strongly associated in memory that it is possible to conceptualise one experience in terms of the other. This gives rise to metaphorical conceptualisations, such as the MORE IS UP metaphor, which conceptualises an increase in quantity in terms of upward movement.

As regards the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor (Lakoff 1990), it conceptualises events in terms of physical movement and physical space. Since the main aspects of events include change and purpose, the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor comprises numerous submetaphors, such as, e.g., CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS or PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS. Consequently, movement along a path corresponds to a change that the TR undergoes, the character of which is specified by a verb denoting an action. If the TR reaches its destination, which corresponds to the end-point of the path, the change is complete, which means that the purpose of the action has been fulfilled. In other words, the result of the action has been achieved. In contrast, when the TR does not reach its destination but ends its movement close to it, the intended result has not been obtained.

The notion of an image schema was put forward by Lakoff (1987) and Johnson (1987). In their view, image schemas are recurring basic conceptual structures that originate in the course of our everyday experience of being and functioning in the world, which means that they have a bodily basis. Since our everyday experience is walking and moving from one place to another, we have developed the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema, whereby SOURCE represents the starting point, PATH stands for the trajectory that we follow, while GOAL represents the end-point, which corresponds to the DESTINATION in the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor. Image schemas play a very important role in providing structure to various complex concepts.

3. Results and discussion

3.1 The Completion Sense. Interlexical polysemy of particles: up, down and over

As indicated in Section 2, three English particles encoding the relationship of verticality express the Completion Sense; and these are *up*, *down* and *over*. The label for this sense has been adopted from Tyler and Evans (2003), who have proved its existence for all the three particles under study in the present paper. At this initial stage of the discussion of inter-lexical polysemy, let me propose a working definition of the Completion Sense. When the particle conveys the Completion Sense, it

imposes an end-point on an event, beyond which the activity encoded by the component verb can no longer be continued. Thus, when used in this sense, spatial particles encode a telic aspect.

Since cognitive linguistics posits that all the senses of verbal particles originate as a result of meaning extension from their primary, i.e. spatial senses, the description of the primary sense of the particles: *up*, *down* and *over* as well as conceptual mechanisms responsible for triggering the Completion Sense constitute the starting point of elucidating the semantics of the particles under study. As in the adopted theoretical framework non-spatial senses are motivated by spatial ones, it is expected that the characteristics of the trajectory as well as the position of the GOAL with respect to the LM, both of which are encoded by a given particle, are going to account for the semantic peculiarities of all the three particles used to talk about the completion of an action.

In its primary sense, the particle *up* conceptualises the TR moving towards the top of an oriented LM (Tyler & Evans 2003). According to Lindner (1983: 181), the paths oriented upwards are typically limited in human experience: "[...] things in our experience don't usually go on and on, but tend to stop, flags at the end of flagpoles (*run the flag up*), cars at the height of jacks (*jack up the car*), people at the height of horses (*mount up*) [...]". When the TR reaches the top part of the LM, which represents the GOAL delimiting the path, its movement is finished. Thus, as a result of metaphorical extension, the particle *up* construes completing an action in terms of reaching the GOAL on the upward oriented path. The direction of the trajectory constitutes the basis for numerous primary metaphors, motivated by experiential correlation between upward movement and more abstract concepts, such as MORE IS UP, BRISK IS UP, or VISIBLE IS UP (Lindstromberg 2010):

- (1) *Helen went into the kitchen and began to cut **up** onions.* (BNC)
- (2) *And before long he drank **up** his coffee and slipped out.* (BNC)
- (3) *And if anyone came **up** and told me off for sleeping on the pavement I'd say I was the King of England and I can sleep anywhere.* (BNC)

In examples (1) – (3) the particle *up* not only conceptualises the completion of an action but also it expresses several shades of meaning, e.g., in (1) it profiles the concept of a large quantity. This construal stems from the image schematic potential of *up*: the trajectory proceeding in the upward direction triggers the primary metaphor MORE IS UP, which is a result of an experiential correlation between upwards movement and an increase in quantity. Consequently, the phrase *to cut up onions* not only implies bringing the activity of cutting onions to an end but also suggests that the onions will be cut into many pieces. As regards (2), the particle *up* construes the swift nature of the process of

drinking. This is a consequence of the BRISK IS UP metaphor conceptualised by *up*, (Lindstromberg 2010) which is triggered by the MORE IS UP metaphor: high velocity, when measured, is expressed in high numerical values. In (3) the particle *up* expresses both reaching the GOAL and the TR becoming clearly visible. This conceptualisation is a result of the VISIBLE IS UP metaphor, which develops through experiential correlation between the object moving upwards and its becoming visible when it enters the conceptualiser's field of vision.

Another particle denoting the completion of an action, i.e. *down*, conceptualises the vertical descent of the TR in relation to the LM. In its primary sense, *down* construes the TR's downward movement towards the bottom part of the LM. The TR's movement is finished once it reaches the GOAL located at the end of the downwards oriented path. Since purposes are conceptualised as destinations in the EVENT-STRUCTURE metaphor, the completion of an action is construed in terms of reaching the GOAL on the downwards oriented path. As stated by Hampe (2002: 195), "down codes the opposite of up in a range of verticality metaphors" on account of the opposite direction of the trajectory. For this reason, the downward orientation of the trajectory encoded by *down* constitutes the basis for several primary metaphors, such as LESS IS DOWN, CONTROL IS DOWN, DESTRUCTION IS DOWN, etc., which are the reverse of the metaphorical conceptualisations expressed by *up*:

- (4) *We waited another half an hour behind a pile of sand for the shooting to die **down**. (BNC)*
- (5) *'I was hoping Branson would be so tired I could beat him **down**, nag him into submission', says McLaren. (BNC)*

The verb *die down* (4) conceptualises the termination of the shooting activity in terms of the LESS IS DOWN metaphor: shooting becomes less and less intense until it eventually stops. The LESS IS DOWN metaphor is brought about by an experiential correlation between the level of liquid in a container going down and a decrease in its quantity. In (5) the particle *down* denotes not only the final phase of conquering the opponent (*Mr Branson*), but also bringing him under control. This semantic component attributed to *down* is a result of an experiential correlation between knocking the person down onto the ground during a physical fight and gaining control over them. For this reason, gaining control over somebody can be conceptualised in terms of the CONTROL IS DOWN metaphor.

Now let me move on to the final particle to be discussed in the present section, which is *over*. Its semantics is based on a dynamic image schema, representing the TR following an arching trajectory, which begins on one side of an obstacle functioning as the LM, continues upwards until its uppermost point, which is located higher than the obstacle and then it descends in order to reach the GOAL

situated on the other side of the obstacle (Tyler & Evans 2003). Accordingly, the completion of an activity is conceptualised as reaching the GOAL positioned on the other side of the LM. There are two important elements of this construal. One of them is that when the TR reaches the GOAL, it leaves the LM behind, and the other is that the LM is sometimes conceptualised as an obstacle:

(6) *The work goes on again, I see, now that the – holiday – is **over**.* (BNC)

(7) *The sooner you get the interview **over** the better.* (OED)

In (6) the end of a holiday is conceptualised as reaching the GOAL located on the other side of the LM, which implies that the holiday has a starting point, a culminating point when it is in full swing and an end-point when everybody is back at work. To put it differently, the state of the holiday being over is construed as the DESTINATION located on the other side of the LM, which is an instantiation of yet another EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor, i.e. STATES ARE LOCATIONS. Finishing an interview in (7) is conceptualised as completing something that is unpleasant. Therefore, it can be concluded that the LM functions here as an obstacle (which is not the case in (6)) that one needs to overcome in order to get to the other side. The TR of this construal is the activity of taking part in an interview, while the LM is represented by the trouble that those involved in it are put to.

3.2 The Partial Effect Sense: Interlexical polysemy of *nad-*, *pod-* and *na-*

The purpose of the present section is to account for the inter-lexical polysemy of three Polish prefixes encoding the Partial Effect Sense: *nad-* 'over', *pod-* 'under' and *na-* 'on'. By the Partial Effect Sense I mean a partial attainment of the goal of the undertaken action, which is what Szymanek (2010) refers to as an inceptive meaning on account of the fact that in this conceptualisation the initial phase of an action is profiled. In the following, I will demonstrate that the Partial Effect Sense of the three prefixes under study has been triggered through metaphorical extension of the spatial senses of the cognate prepositions, which are not only historically related to particles and prefixes but also conceptualise the same TR-LM configurations⁶. My assumption is that the semantic peculiarities of all the three prefixes encoding the Partial Effect Sense may be attributed to the location of the GOAL with respect to the LM construed by the cognate prepositions.

When it comes to the Partial Effect Sense of the prefix *nad-*, it is closely related to what I call the Approach Sense of the preposition *nad* (Konieczna 2020), which conceptualises the TR's movement towards a location, which is higher than and close to the LM (8), or only close to the LM (9):

(8) *We czwórkę ruszyli **nad** przepaść.* (NKJP)

[over precipice.ACC]

'They set off towards the precipice in a group of four '.

- (9) *Trzeba minąć kościół i dotrzeć na kraniec wsi, niemal **nad** granicę z wioską Ropa.* (NKJP)
[over border.ACC]

'You need to pass the church and reach the edge of the village, almost on the border of the village Ropa'.

The Approach Sense of the preposition *nad* has triggered the Partial Effect Sense of the verbal prefix *nad-*. The term for this sense is based on Śmiech (1986: 106), who remarks that verbs prefixed by *nad-* denote "performing an action only partially, approaching a target without reaching it" [translation mine]. This sense has originated as a result of an experiential correlation between coming close to a destination and a partial attainment of the TR's goal. As exemplified by sentences (8) and (9), approaching the precipice and the border respectively, triggers the implicature of a partial attainment of the goal of the undertaken action. Due to the shift in profile of the preposition *nad*, the concept of partial goal attainment is foregrounded and the original concept of approaching a physical object in space is backgrounded. Subsequently, it is possible to conceptualise partial attainment of the goal in terms of the PARTIAL ATTAINMENT OF THE GOAL IS COMING CLOSER metaphor:

- (10) *Uśmiecha się Hans i zbliża ostrze noża do błyszczącej kaszanki. **Nad**etnie ją i podniesie*
[over-cut.3SG.FT]

wzrok nie tyle na proboszcza, co w stronę Gerty. (SJP PWN corpus)

'Hans is smiling and moving the knife blade close to the glistening blood sausage. He is going to score it and raise his eyes not so much towards the parish priest but in the direction of Gerta'.

- (11) *Niebezpieczeństwo czyha też w **nad**gniłych warzywach i owocach.* (SJP PWN corpus)
[over-rotten.PTCP.PT.PL]

'Rotting vegetables and fruit also pose a danger'.

In (10) the prefix *nad-* profiles not only achieving a partial effect of an action but also the direction in which the activity of cutting proceeds, i.e. from above. This stems from the fact that the primary sense of the preposition *nad* conceptualises the TR located higher than the LM, and this particular spatial relationship remains in existence – even though not focally prominent – in the profile of the prefix *nad-* conceptualising the Partial Effect Sense. Consequently, the verb *nadciąć* [over-cut] 'to score' cannot be replaced by the composite verb *podciąć* [under-cut] 'to cut/clip' because the prefix *pod-* construes the opposite direction of the activity of cutting, which proceeds from beneath. This is

due to the fact that in its primary sense the preposition *pod* conceptualises the TR located lower than the LM. The verb *nadciąć* can be combined with nouns denoting objects that can be subject to the activity of cutting from above, such as a piece of fabric, as exemplified by the phrase *nadciąć materiał* 'to notch a piece of fabric' (SJP PWN). In contrast, the verb *podciąć* 'to cut off small pieces' can be combined with nouns that are affected by the activity of cutting proceeding from beneath, such as hair or flower stems, as exemplified by phrases such as *podciąć włosy* 'to trim hair' or *podciąć łodygi kwiatów* 'to trim flower stems' (SJP PWN).

As regards (11), the component prefix *nad-* in the composite participle form *nadgnile* [over-rotten.PTCP.PT.PL.F] profiles not only the partial effect that the process of rotting has produced (fruit and vegetables that are just starting to go rotten) but also the position of the vantage point from which the (partial) effect of rotting can be registered (the location of the rotten spots). The vantage point, which should be understood as the eye level of the observer, is located higher than the set of the observed entities because one usually looks at fruit and vegetables, typically stored in bowls or boxes, from above. Thus, rotten spots are construed as being located on the upper surface of fruit and vegetables.

The composite expression in which the prefix *nad-* is replaced by the prefix *pod-*, i.e. *podgnile* [under-rotten] *owoce i warzywa* 'partially rotten fruit and vegetables', is not impossible in Polish, as a Google search carried out on November 20th 2021 yielded 9 results for it in comparison with 429 results for *nadgnile owoce i warzywa*. The Google results for *pod-* can be regarded as an instance of an alternative interpretation of the initial phase of the rotting process, which is seen as one affecting the bottom part of the produce. This collocation is not attested in SJP PWN and the NKJP search yielded no results for *podgnile owoce* and *podgnile warzywa*, which shows that the spatial relationship of the TR being located higher than the LM is chosen far more often to form the composite expression in question. This, in turn, stems from the fact that changes affecting the upper part of an object are much more salient than those affecting its bottom part because they can be detected far more easily.

Another prefix that expresses the Partial Effect Sense is *pod-*. This sense is closely related to what I call the Approach Sense of the preposition *pod*, which conceptualises the TR's movement towards a location that is lower than and close to the LM (12) or only close to the LM (13):

- (12) *Z banku pojechali **pod** zamek, gdzie czekał na nich organizator.* (NKJP)
[under castle.ACC]

'From the bank they went up to the castle, where the organiser was waiting for them.'

(13) *Jeździł nawet gdzieś **pod** Poznań żeby pogadać z ludźmi z firmy meblarskiej.* (NKJP)

[under Poznań.ACC]

'He even used to go somewhere near Poznań in order to talk to people from the furniture company'.

The Approach Sense of the preposition *pod* has triggered the Partial Effect Sense of the prefix *pod-* in the course of the process of experiential correlation between coming close to a destination and a partial attainment of the goal of the action, as a result of which the latter can be construed in terms of the former:

(14) *Jagienka [...] wyjmuję z kamiennych wazonów **podgniłe** kwiaty [...].* (NKJP)

'Jagienka is taking partially rotten flowers out of the vases'.

(15) *Marchewkę i brokoły krótko **podgotować**.* (NKJP)

'Parboil the carrot and broccoli for a short time'.

(16) *Dlatego postanowił **podciąć** tamtemu chłopakowi gardło.* (NKJP)

'That is why he decided to slit the throat of that boy'.

In (14) the prefix *pod-* construes the partial effect of the rotting process, which has either taken its toll on the bottom part of the affected object or started therein: when flowers are kept in a vase it is their stems that go rotten first. In (15) the composite verb *podgotować* [under-cook] 'to parboil' profiles not only the partial effect that has been achieved (through cooking the vegetables for a short time) but also the location of the source of energy (a burner which is below the pot) and the direction from which it operates (from below). In Polish it is possible to distinguish a whole range of verbs in the semantic field of COOKING in which the spatial relationship of the TR (the source of energy) being located lower than the LM (the food being processed), even if it is not focally prominent, remains in the profile of the prefix: *podsmżyć* [under-fry] 'to stir-fry', *podpiec* [under-roast] 'to roast for a short while', *poddusić* [under-stew] 'to stew', etc. Needless to say, it is impossible to exchange the prefix *pod-* for the prefix *nad-* in the composite verbs at issue.

As regards the construal encoded by the prefix *pod-* in (16), the original spatial configuration is backgrounded but, notwithstanding that, the verb *podciąć* [under-cut] cannot be replaced by the verb *nadciąć* [over-cut] in which the prefix *nad-* also encodes the Partial Effect Sense. This can be explained in terms of the frame activation in the composition process in which the component prefix *pod-* 'under' and the component verb *ciąć* 'to cut' have been combined. As a result, the frame of DESTRUCTION has been activated despite the fact that at the lower level of structural organisation

the frame of DESTRUCTION is only peripheral to the prefix *pod-* and the verb *ciąć*. Therefore, the verb *podciąć* is commonly used in collocations, such as *podciąć sobie żyły* 'to slash one's wrists' and *podciąć komuś skrzydła* 'to clip sb's wings', in which it encodes the destruction of a person's life or hope/enthusiasm respectively.

Finally, when it comes to the Partial Effect Sense of the prefix *na-*, it is motivated by the dynamic sense of the preposition *na* which encodes the TR's movement, proceeding frequently from above, so that it eventually reaches its goal located on the upper surface of the LM. As a result of this kind of movement, the upper surface of the LM can be affected by the TR landing there. Consequently, the prefix *na-* is frequently used to talk about actions performed on the surface of an object, as exemplified by composite verbs, such as *napisać* [on-write.INF.PF], *narysować* [on-draw.INF.PF], *namalować* [on-paint.INF.PF], etc. This particular conceptualisation triggers the occurrence of an experiential correlation between performing an action on the surface of the LM and achieving only a partial effect of the action, which – in turn – leads to the emergence of the Partial Effect Sense of the prefix *na-*:

(17) *Aby przepołować małego kurczaka, najlepiej **naciąć** go wzdłuż grzbietu.* (SJP PWN corpus)

[on-cut.INF]

'In order to bisect a small chicken it is best to notch it along its back'.

(18) *Owoce z twardą skórką należy **nakłuć** aby nie pękły podczas smażenia.* (NKJP)

[on-pierce.INF]

'Fruit with hard skin should be pricked so as to prevent them from cracking during frying'.

The prefix *na-*, when used in the Partial Effect Sense, combines with verbs that profile an action which starts on the surface of the object, such as *ciąć* 'to cut', *kłuć* 'to pierce' and *gryźć* 'to bite'. Even though the component verbs in question – when unprefixed – denote an action which is aimed at disrupting the structural integrity of a physical object, so that it can break into two or more parts, the addition of the prefix *na-* entails a shift in their profile. As a result, the composite verbs *naciąć* [on-cut] and *nakłuć* [on-pierce] are formed, which denote affecting merely the exterior part of an object (by making contact with its surface) without proceeding through its interior. Consequently, the prefix *na-* profiles the achievement of a partial effect of an action by making contact with the surface of the object, which is only disturbed as a result of the undertaken action, while the structural integrity of the object in question is not affected.

4. Conclusions

The purpose of the present paper has been to investigate the phenomenon of inter-lexical polysemy between three English particles: *up*, *down* and *over*, encoding the Completion Sense, and three Polish prefixes: *nad-*, *pod-* and *na-* encoding the Partial Effect Sense. The analysis has revealed that the spatial expressions under study differ from one another despite conveying "broadly similar" meanings. As has been demonstrated, the differences between the investigated spatial expressions result from the differences between their primary senses, represented by distinct image schemas, which constitute source domains for the metaphorical conceptualisations underlying the two investigated senses.

As far as the Completion Sense is concerned, the image schematic content of the particle *up* motivates the following metaphors: MORE IS UP, BRISK IS UP and VISIBLE IS UP, while the image schematic content of the particle *down* constitutes a source domain for the metaphors, such as LESS IS DOWN and CONTROL IS DOWN. This explains why *up* and *down* are not mutually replaceable when conveying this sense. For example, while the verb *cut up* (1) encodes bringing the activity of cutting to an end in the course of which many small pieces are produced, the verb *cut down* is used to talk about the completion of cutting by reducing the size of an object, usually a tree, to ground level. Likewise, while the verb *drink up* stands for a quick completion of the activity of drinking, the verb *drink down* conceptualises the downward trajectory of the liquid, as it encodes swallowing the whole quantity of liquid, such as e.g. a medicine, by drinking (LDOPV). The third particle conceptualising the Completion Sense, i.e. *over* construes finishing an activity in terms of moving along an arching trajectory, which proceeds to the other side of the LM. Therefore, *over* construes the completion of an activity as moving forwards and leaving the past behind, or as overcoming an obstacle.

When it comes to the Partial Effect Sense, image schemas representing the primary senses of the cognate prepositions not only underlie the metaphorical conceptualisations responsible for the semantic differences of the prefixes under study but also profile the TR-LM configuration, which remains a salient element of the construal. Thus, while the prefix *nad-* 'over' conceptualises a partial effect of the activity encoded by the verb, which proceeds from above, or can be spotted from there, the prefix *pod-* 'under' construes the partial effect of an activity brought about from the opposite direction, i.e. from below. For this reason, verbs such as *nadciąć* and *podciąć* are by no means synonymous even though they conceptualise the activity of cutting that has not been brought to an end. Additionally, the TR-LM configuration underlying the primary sense of the cognate preposition *pod* triggers the DESTRUCTION IS GOING UNDER metaphor, hence the use of the verb *podciąć*

in collocations that express the concept of devastation, such as e.g. *podciąć sobie żyły* 'to slash one's wrists', or *podciąć komuś skrzydła* 'to clip sb's wings'. Another prefix conceptualising the Partial Effect Sense, the prefix *na-*, construes the activity encoded by the verb as one that merely affects the surface of an object.

All in all, particles and prefixes – encoding senses that carry the same labels – have by no means "the same" lexical meanings, and they are not interchangeable. The source of differences between them lies in distinct TR-LM configurations that underlie the respective image-schemas representing their primary senses. The framework of cognitive linguistics is not only capable of accounting for these differences but it might also turn out to be very useful in language pedagogy as it could be used to explain nuances of meaning – like the ones described above – to advanced students of English.

Notes:

1. A path of motion is encoded by the verbal satellite in the case of the so called satellite-framed languages (Talmy 1991) to which both English and Polish belong. In verb-framed languages, represented by the Romance branch, the path of motion is expressed by the verb itself.
2. Spatial expression is used here as a cover term for prepositions, particles and prefixes.
3. The concept of the primary sense as used by Tyler and Evans (2003) can be put on a par with that of the prototypical meaning as understood Langacker (1987) for whom this is the *sanctioning sense*, i.e. the one sanctioning sense extensions.
4. The convention for the graphical representation of the spatial expressions' senses has been adopted from Tyler and Evans (2003).
5. Telic aspect is defined by Croft (2012: 79) as "[...] is the existence of a natural endpoint or telos of an event".
6. According to Šarić (2012: 9), "there is a need for a systematic account of the relationship between spatial prefixes and cognate prepositions with the aim of presenting prepositional and prefixal meanings not as a haphazard collection of senses, but as structured meaning networks".

List of abbreviations

BNC – British National Corpus

LDOPV – Longman dictionary of phrasal verbs

LM – landmark

NKJP – Narodowy korpus języka polskiego

OED – Oxford English dictionary

SJP PWN – Słownik języka polskiego PWN

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Résumé:

The paper highlights the inter-lexical polysemy of three English verbal particles: *up*, *down* and *over*, encoding the Completion Sense and three Polish verbal prefixes: *nad-*, *pod-* and *na-*, conveying the Partial Effect Sense. The phenomenon of inter-lexical polysemy was researched by Evans (2015), who states that it takes place between different lexemes, which have roughly similar meanings. The present study is couched in the framework of cognitive linguistics and it has been carried out by means of the lexical method proposed by Kövecses (1986; 2017). The analysis clearly shows that even though the investigated spatial expressions are semantically similar to one another, they are definitely not interchangeable, which should be taken to mean that their usage is heavily restricted both by the linguistic and extra-linguistic context. Differences between the spatial expressions under study follow from different properties of image schemas that represent their primary senses and function as source domains for metaphorical conceptualisations. Thus, when expressing the Completion Sense the particle *up* additionally conceptualises high speed, big quantity and visibility, the particle *down* construes a decrease in quantity, destruction and control, while the particle *over* foregrounds overcoming an obstacle and leaving the past behind. As regards the Polish sample, when conveying the Partial Effect Sense, the prefix *nad-* construes the process or activity encoded by the component verb proceeding from above, the prefix *pod-* expresses the process/activity proceeding from below and it may also conceptualise destruction, while the prefix *na-* profiles performing an action on the surface of the object.

Key words: primary metaphor, EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor, image schema, spatial expression.

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