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## **EXPLORING ADJECTIVAL FREE ADJUNCTS: A CROSS-LINGUISTIC STUDY OF ENGLISH AND SERBIAN**<sup>2</sup>

The paper examines adjectival free adjuncts in English and Serbian using a double and bidirectional corpus consisting of novels and their translations in both languages. The objectives of this study are to describe the formal and semantic characteristics of adjectival free adjuncts and to compare these constructions in the two languages based on their translational equivalents. The analysis of adjectival free adjuncts in English and Serbian demonstrates that they can be considered formally and semantically equivalent constructions, as evidenced by nearly 85% of cases showing absolute alignment in translation. In the remaining cases, adjuncts are conveyed through other phrases and clauses. In the translation from English to Serbian, translators resort to non-finite and relative clauses when the adjective is accompanied by a longer complement in English. On the other hand, when rendered into Serbian, adjuncts may change position or be translated as full adverbial clauses with an explicit conjunction to avoid ambiguity. In a number of instances, the comma is omitted in translation, indicating the close relation between adjectival free adjuncts and depictive secondary predicates.

**Key words:** adjectival free adjunct, secondary predicates in English, predicate attribute, verbless clause

### **1. INTRODUCTION**<sup>3</sup>

Over the course of time, free adjuncts have garnered scholarly attention due to their distinctive syntactic and semantic properties. This linguistic construction serves as an optional element within a sentence, providing supplementary descriptive information about the main clause. Approaching them from diverse theoretical and empirical perspectives, numerous academics have conducted extensive investigations into free adjuncts, with topics ranging from differentiating between arguments and

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adjuncts (Dowty 2003), establishing distinctions among various classes of adjuncts (Fabricius-Hansen and Haug 2012), and examining the potential syntactic positions of adjuncts (Ernst 2001). Despite the amassed knowledge and different terminologies, which may partially or entirely overlap, the question of adjuncts is still engaging, especially in cross-linguistic investigation, and in relation to other similar constructions, such as secondary predicates.

The term free adjunct seems to be preferred over adverbial clause, dependent adjective clause, absolute clause, complement clause, converb, which are just some of the labels used in English literature to refer to prosodically detached non-finite or verbless units that are structurally and semantically similar to the matrix clause. To avoid ambiguity and narrow down the research, the paper will deal only with adjectival free (i.e. detached) adjuncts, and exclude such constructions as absolute clauses and participial free adjuncts (the interrelation with the given categories is to be discussed in the following section).

The description of adjuncts as peripheral sentence constituents with adverbial meaning has been extensively documented within individual languages (Ernst 2001; Piper et.al 2005). However, a comparative examination of these constructions in Serbian and English remains unexplored, potentially due to their surface-level similarity in terms of syntactic positioning and semantic contribution. This paper seeks to address the research gap by investigating adjectival free adjuncts in both English and Serbian, utilizing a corpus consisting of novels in the two languages and their respective translations. The primary objectives of this inquiry are to compare adjectival free adjunct in English and Serbian, assess potential alterations in meaning and position during translation, analyze the choice of translation equivalents, and ascertain the underlying reasons for such choices. Another goal is to determine which sentence position is favored by adjuncts and verify previous assertions regarding the preference for final position of free adjuncts in English. More importantly, this study aims to explore potential overlaps with other related constructions in both languages, ultimately shedding light on how translators perceive adjuncts in relation to the meaning of the matrix clause.

The following section elaborates on terminology and definitions of a free adjunct in English and Serbian linguistics, as well as related constructions.

## 2. ON FREE ADJUNCTS IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN

Quirk et al. (1985:1124–5) and Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 1267) employ the term *verbless clause* to define an optional sentence constituent that is typically realized through a participle form or without a verb. It is not introduced by a conjunction and does not inherently signal

a specific semantic relationship<sup>4</sup>. Therefore, its meaning, often related to time, condition, cause, etc., is contextually determined. The authors distinguish *absolute clauses* as a type of subordinate clause with an overt subject, which may be different from the subject of the matrix verb<sup>5</sup>, making them syntactically more independent from the main clause. On the other hand, other subordinate clauses establish a connection with the main clause through an implicit co-referential subject, controlled by the finite verb in the main clause. Absolute clauses shall not be considered here for two reasons: i) the overt subject implies a different syntactic structure, even though they may, as in the case of free adjuncts, incorporate non-finite and non-verbal predicates (such as noun phrases, prepositional phrases and adverbs), and ii) absolutes may be 'augmented' or introduced by a conjunctive preposition (*with* most often) (Kortmann 1991: 11), the distinction we are not interested in pursuing here.

The verbless clause can be realized with or without a modifier in the form of an adjective, as can be seen in the examples below. To avoid ambiguity, a more precise term *adjectival free adjunct* is used to refer to verbless clauses.

*Rather nervous*, the man opened the letter.  
The man, *rather nervous*, opened the letter.  
The man opened the letter, *rather nervous*.

The semantics of free adjuncts in general is characterized by a multitude of potential interpretations and expressions. Quirk et al. (1985: 1124), Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 669), as well as Biber et al. (1999: 201) in the *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*, argue that the sentence position has effect on its interpretation. Specifically, an initial position implies background information, a medial position is typical of parenthetical elements, and a final position, is reserved for semantic supplements. From the previous examples, it can be observed that the verbless clause (i.e. adjectival free adjunct) is closely related to the non-restrictive relative clause, particularly in the medial position, as it condenses the copulative verb and the relative pronoun. For instance, "The man, who was nervous, opened the letter" (Quirk et al. 1985: 425). The adjective in the initial position may well be interpreted as the cause or the background circumstance. The claims about adjunct semantics in relation to their position do not seem to be grounded in an extensive empirical research. One such attempt was Behren's (1998) investigation of participle *-ing* adjuncts. She was able

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4 Interestingly, the same term *verbless clause* is used in Biber et al. (1999: 201) to denote clauses without an overt *to be* verb and with a subordinator (although, whether, if possible). To indicate adjuncts loosely attached to the core of the clause describing the subject referent, the authors use the term detached predicatives (Biber et al. 1999: 136–137).

5 *Tom having knocked on the door*, James instantly called Anabel would be an example of different subjects, while (some authors (see van de Pol and Hoffman 2016), consider adjectival predicates, as in *She left the party*, her heart heavy, as a subtype of absolute clauses.

to conclude that adjuncts in the final sentence position denote causative event or an elaboration, while initial adjuncts are generally vague (Behren 1998: 205). Furthermore, Behren observed that the meaning depended on whether the information was contextually new or given, and whether the events in the free adjuncts was culminating or non-culminating.

Regardless of the position, non-finite free adjuncts may encode causal, temporal, conditional, and concessive meaning (Curme 1931: 154–157). Adjectival free adjuncts may also describe attendant circumstances that are co-temporal with the event in the matrix clause, which is a matter of pragmatic inference (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 669). In other words, the meaning of adjectival free adjuncts are indicative of the dual connection with both the subject and the predicate—they provide a description of a participant of the matrix clause that is bounded by or simultaneous with the matrix verb. In this sense, adjectival free adjuncts are comparable with depictive secondary predicates.

In *Semantic Variability of Absolute Constructions*, Stump (1985) provides a first semantic analysis of free adjuncts, focusing specifically on those that exhibit adverbial and clause-like functions, i.e. non-finite types. His observations, however, hold true for the adjectival type as well. Within this subset, Stump makes a significant observation that the temporal and conditional interpretations are only possible for what he refers to as weak free adjuncts. According to the author, weak and strong categories of free adjuncts and absolute constructions are directly related to lexical surrounding guiding the interpretation; hence, the adjunct meaning may depend on whether the controlling clause has a habitual or generic interpretation, or whether it contains modal verbs or certain adverbial expressions of frequency. Consider the following examples from Stump (1985):

Standing on a chair, John can touch the ceiling. (weak adjunct)

Having unusually long arms, John can touch the ceiling. (strong adjunct)

In the first example, the weak adjunct is interpreted as a precondition for the matrix predication. It signifies a temporal framework within which the controlling clause holds true. Therefore, only during the act of standing on the chair can John touch the ceiling. On the other hand, the strong adjunct in the second example contributes a causal meaning to the sentence. It implies that John can touch the ceiling because he has long arms. Paraphrases arise directly from the meaning of the adjunct – more specifically, from its lexical core – which is why strong adjuncts typically involve predicates of individual-level, i.e. permanent, inherent characteristics, while weak adjuncts feature predicates of state-level, i.e. temporary characteristics.

In summary, the semantic contribution of orthographically detached adjectival adjuncts is heavily contingent upon pragmatic inferences and the lexical meanings of the adjacent elements.

The term free in the linguistic category of adjuncts suggests a defining characteristic of this category. It is possible to delineate a distinction between adjuncts and secondary predicates, as orthographically detached and attached elements, by observing their meaning when negation is applied. The following examples provided by Simpson (1983: 412) indicate that secondary predicates can undergo either a general or partial negation, resulting in two possible interpretations – that the subject left calmly (i.e. not angry) or did not leave at all. On the other hand, a comma-separated adjunct is not subject to negation, and the only possible interpretation is that the subject did not leave. In this case, it is possible to consider the detached adjunct as the cause of the departure.

He didn't leave outraged. → a) He didn't leave at all. b) He left calm.  
He didn't leave, outraged. → He didn't leave (because he was outraged).

In summary, the term *adjunct* is typically examined in conjunction with complements, and these elements are generally recognized as supplemental components of a sentence. Their primary function is to introduce informational complexity into sentences. Notably, the orthographic separation is what diverges free adjuncts from other adjuncts such as temporal adverbs (e.g., *yesterday*) and subordinate clauses of adverbial meanings. Within the category of free adjuncts, a further classification can be made into absolute and verbless clauses. Absolute clauses contain an explicit subject along with either a participle as their verb or no verb at all, while verbless clauses lack both a subject and a verb of their own.

The following section will examine the related structures in Serbian.

The structural-semantic correspondent of English adjectival free adjunct can be found in Serbian *appositive* (*apozitiv*) or *adjectival apposition* (*pridevska apozicija*), which Piper and Klajn (2013: 310) define as a detached adjectival specification that is usually used after the noun it determines, and agrees with the noun in gender, number, and case if it has those grammatical categories. It can also appear in the indefinite form if it distinguishes aspect, as illustrated by the following examples (Piper et al. 2005: 72).

Moj kolega, *iznenađen*, nije imao vremena da reaguje.  
Mačka, *uplašena*, jurne na vrh drveta.

Similar to the instances in English (*Rather nervous, the man opened the letter*), we observe that appositives comprise adjectives and their modifiers, and are set apart by a comma.

It is important to note that *appositive* differs from *apposition* (*apozicija*) in that the governing word of the apposition is a noun (e.g. *Milan, doktor hemijskih nauka, došao je do važnog otkrića.*), although a nominal phrase

may occur in the appositive as a complement of an adjective, as in the following example:

Doktor, *umoran* od dežurstva, došao je kući (The doctor, *tired* from duty, goes home).

Stevanović (1974: 55–57) considers that appositives appear in series, less frequently as individual words, they agree with the noun they modify, and that they are related to the predicate, usually as a cause (e.g. *Umoran od dežurstva, došao je kući.*). In terms of independence, they are similar to apposition and are thus adjuncts. The appositive, as differs from the depictive secondary predicate<sup>6</sup> (the term he uses is *atributsko-priloška odredba*) in that the latter is characterized by a double relation, with the predicate and the noun, that conditions the meaning of a temporary characteristic, i.e. attendant circumstances.

The appositive in Serbian can be preposed, postposed, or even fragmented, but it is intonationally and positionally detached (Subotić and Petrović 2000: 1148). However, despite this claim, it is important to note that the question of detachment, prosodic or orthographic, remains unclear.

While the English sources, as we have seen, establish the distinction between secondary predicates and free adjuncts on the grounds of orthography, in Serbian this question is quite undefined. For example, Piper and Klajn (2013), in the same grammar book, initially define the concept of appositive and secondary predicate (i.e. predicative attribute) in such a way that they only formally distinguish them, relying on punctuation as a defining mark – the appositive is detached, which simultaneously weakens its connection with the verb and increases its autonomy. However, they later indicate that the predicative attribute can also be used as an appositive, intonationally or punctually detached from the governing predicate (Piper and Klajn 2013: 294). We encounter the same, more extensive, conclusion in *The Syntax of the Simple Sentence*, where it is stated that “the appositive used in front of the noun it determines is actually a predicative attribute used in the position in front of the subject (if the subject is overt) and in front of the verb predicate” (Piper et al. 2005: 72). It remains unclear why only the initial, and not the medial position, is associated with the predicative attribute, especially because they encode the same meanings.

Babić (2004: 161) emphasizes that the question of distinguishing between appositives (i.e. free adjuncts) and secondary predicates is still open, as these constructions are not precisely differentiated by most authors. Both secondary predicates and appositives are categorically identical and formally bound to the noun. Thus, their differentiation “relies on semantic principles, allowing the interpreter to assess the degree of dependence/independence of this category with respect to the verb, as well as the type

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6 For example, *Došao je umoran* mirrored in English as *He arrived tired*.

of adverbial meaning". The relationship between these categories holds particular significance in our research, as the examination of translation equivalents will reveal certain instances of overlap between them.

### **3. METHODOLOGY AND CORPUS**

Given the characteristic presence of free adjuncts in prose style, our analysis focuses on novels written in English and Serbian, along with their translations. The utilization of a bidirectional and bilingual corpus allows us to examine the semantic relationship between the adjuncts and the matrix clause in both English and Serbian, as well as to identify any potential formal-semantic shifts in translation. The discrepancies observed in the translations are expected to reflect systemic differences or stylistic adjustments. Employing analytical-descriptive methodology, our aim is to explore the degree of correspondence in the category of adjectival free adjuncts across both languages.

The corpus comprises of 102 examples derived from English novels and 198 examples from Serbian novels, which, together with their respective translations, yields 600 examples. It is important to note that the example extraction did not include the entire novels, but an equal number of pages in both languages (500 per language). The intention behind this approach was to elucidate the prevalence of adjectival free adjuncts, ultimately leading to the identification of a frequency mismatch. This discrepancy suggests that the chosen Serbian prose writers employ this construction with greater frequency. It is important to note that we do not assert the universal applicability of this claim; rather, our interest lies in observing how a sample of authors, selected at random (listed at the end of the paper), utilize this construction.

The examples were classified on the grounds of their position in the sentence (initial, medial or final) and complexity (adjectives with or without modifiers), paired with the translation equivalents, which were subsequently analyzed in terms of their position and shifts from the original parts of speech.

The limitation of this study lies in the fact that the corpus on which these phenomena were analyzed is moderately sized, and it would be beneficial to verify the results on a larger and more diverse corpus.

### **4. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION**

#### **4.1. FORMAL AND SEMANTIC PROPERTIES**

Based on the examined corpus, the following table shows which sentence position is preferred by adjectival free adjuncts in both languages.

	initial	medial	final
English	21.56%	27.45%	50.98%
Serbian	17.17%	51.5%	31.31%

Table 1. Positions preferred by free adjuncts

Within the English section of the corpus, the occurrence of free adjuncts is distributed relatively evenly between initial and medial positions, with a slight preference for the medial position. However, the final position significantly surpasses both initial and medial positions in terms of frequency, due to the endweight principle, referring to the observation that more complex sentence constituents tend to follow simpler or lighter ones (Quirk et al. 1985: 425). Furthermore, this principle is related to the fact that English sentence is end-focused, meaning that communicatively new and important information is reserved for the end of a sentence.

Apparently, adjectival adjuncts in medial and final position are combined with other expressive means, such as absolute and participial clauses (e.g. *her head down* in (1)), to achieve a participant description, as in the following example.

1. Then continues backwards, drawing more rectangles, so there is a pyramid of them, [...], her left hand braced flat on the floor, her head down, *serious*. (EP: 15)

More often, however, the analyzed examples end with one detached adjective or coordinated adjectives, which could either be interpreted causally with respect to the event in the matrix clause, or as a depiction of the matrix subject or object.

2. Still Anna stared at me, *still surprised, still suspicious*. (S: 238)
3. Halder had stood, *miserable and helpless*, while above their heads the fireworks had whooshed and banged. (F: 252)

The same holds true for the initial sentence position where the adjunct complexity ranges from a single adjective, to a combination of serial or coordinated adjectives, or even an adjective followed by a prepositional phrase.

Conversely, in the Serbian section of the corpus, free adjuncts exhibit a preference for the medial position, with almost the same percentage observed in the English final position. In contrast, approximately one third of the examples conform to the sentence-final pattern, whereas the initial position continues to be the least preferred option among Serbian free adjuncts.

4. *Mokri i umorni od rada*, trojica seljaka sada pregovaraju sporo, lukavo, zaobilazno. (D: 54)
5. Pošto je Bajica, *zatečen iznenadnom izjavom*, nemo gledao u prijatelja, ovaj je probao da se našali. (HB: 103)



6. [...] čudio se Milan, *iskreno zadivljen Gedinom ličnošću*. (KMM: 100)

In addition to functional and formal similarities, adjectival free adjuncts in Serbian and English demonstrate identical semantic realizations. Regardless of their position within the sentence, this type of adjuncts can convey two meanings: cause or reason, and accompanying circumstances or, more precisely, describe the psychological or emotional state of the participant in the action or their position and appearance. The meaning associated with cause or reason can be easily extracted using an adverbial clause of reason, while in the second case, adjectival free adjuncts resemble secondary predicates and can be rephrased using a copular verb and an overt subject. In the latter case, adjectival free adjuncts are perceived as co-temporal with the main clause event, and may be either subject or object-oriented.

To investigate the factors influencing the two meanings obtained through reconstruction, we examined the types of verb situations in the matrix clause. Based on the analyzed corpus, it can only be stated that the interpretation depends on the meaning of the adjectival phrase and the overall meaning of the sentence, particularly whether a causal relationship can be established through pragmatic inference and encyclopedic knowledge.

The following example, therefore, allows for only a causal interpretation, merely on account of knowing that one must be awake to watch the light.

7. Ponekad noću, *trgnut iz sna*, Rudi je posmatrao bele plamenove... (RP: 76–7)  
Sometimes at night, *aroused from his sleep*, Rudi would watch the white flickering... (RPE: 90)

In other instances, we would have to rely on the previous context. Deriving on the life experience, the adjectival phrase *full of shame* in the following example might be understood as the reason why the participant nodded. On the other hand, it is equally possible that its sole function is to depict the mental state of the participant.

8. *Full of shame*, he nodded, and she let him go. (A: 57)  
*Duboko posramljen*, on klimnu glavom, i ona ga pusti. (AS: 53)

#### 4.2. ENGLISH INTO SERBIAN TRANSLATION

The vast majority of translated correspondences exhibit a complete overlap in both form and meaning, while also maintaining the original punctuation. The set of examples provided below serves as an illustration of this.

9. *Unable to push her tongue against the word*, Briony could only nod... (A:14)  
*Nemoćna da reč prevali preko jezika*, Brajoni uspe samo da klimne glavom... (AS: 17)
10. She glanced away, *exasperated*, but then looked back with an intensity that made him difficult to meet her eyes. (F: 210)
11. Ona odvratila oči, *razdražena*, ali onda se ustremila na njega pogledom tako intenzivnim da ga je bilo teško podneti. (FS: 183)
12. Helder looked at him for a moment, *unwilling to believe what he was hearing*.... (F: 242)  
Halder ga je nekoliko trenutaka samo gledao, *nerad da poveruje u to što je čuo*. (FS: 212)

A mere 15 examples, constituting approximately 14.7%, exhibit certain shifts during the translation process. These shifts can be categorized into two groups: a) modifications of the part of speech, such as transforming an adjective into a noun, adverbial phrase, or prepositional phrase, and b) the explication of meaning through the use of non-finite or finite clauses, specifically relative clauses or adverbial clauses. Such deviations from the original text's formal structure are particularly noticeable when dealing with participial adjectives or adjectives followed by a complement. In such instances, the adjective tends to be translated as a clause.

For example, the adjective *bored* below was translated into Serbian in the form of a finite clause of reason, since Serbian does not have a corresponding, stylistically fitting adjective.

13. Abruptly, *bored by his own creation*, Pili dropped the crayons and dived under the bed. (F: 343) Najednom, *pošto mu je dosadilo sopstveno stvaralaštvo*, Pili odbaci bojice i zaroni pod krevet. (FS: 295)

Example (14) also illustrates the use of a finite clause in translation that cannot be attributed to a lexical gap, but rather to the translator's stylistic preference.

14. [...] after I dropped Pat off at nursery school, *worried sick about how he was doing, worried sick that he might be crying again*. (MB: 103)  
[...] nakon što odvedem Pata u obdanište, *brinem do ludila kako mu je tamo, žderem se da li opet plače*. (MBS: 94)

What is important to note is that free adjuncts of a simple structure tend to be mirrored in translation, as can be seen in (15).

15. Malik woke up, *afraid*. (DS: 176)/ Malik se probudio, *uplašen*. (DSS: 150)

Nevertheless, when the same adjective is complemented by an infinitive, translators resort to non-finite clauses (i.e. *glagolski prilog sadašnji*):

16. [...] and I shook my head, *afraid to speak*. (MB:140)  
[...] a ja sam odmanuo glavom, *plašeći se da progovorim*. (MBS: 126)

The adjective *uplašen* in Serbian can be complemented by *od+genitive* phrase (e.g. *Upašen od krvi, okrenuo je glavu*) or by a finite clause introduced with *da* (e.g. *uplašen da ga ne čuju, sakrio se od vojnika*). Although there are formal correspondences for the adjective *afraid* in Serbian, the use of non-finite forms as translational equivalents appears to be a matter of stylistic preference.

The same tendency is present in examples containing adjectives *unable* and *uncertain* when accompanied by verb complements:

17. *Oh God, Oh God*, Yossarin had been pleading wordlessly as he dangled from the ceiling of the nose of the shop by the top of his head, *unable to move*. (22: 57)  
*O, bože, o, bože*, zazivao je Josarian nemo dok je visio prilepljen na teme o plafon nosa aviona *ne mogavši da se pomakne*. (22S: 55)
18. March was in a daze, *uncertain what was dream and what reality*. (F: 371)  
Mart je bio ošamućen, *nije mu bilo jasno šta je san, a šta java*. (FS: 319)

Another interesting example involves the past participle *unanswered*, which also has an adjectival correspondent in Serbian (*neodgovoren*), yet it is rendered as a finite relative clause, due to collocational preferences in Serbian. Specifically, the adjective *neodgovoren* (*unanswered*) collocates with the noun (*telefonski*) *poziv* (*phone call*). The noun, however, is only implied in the source example, rendering the adjective impractical for the translator to retain it in the translation.

19. He [...] and listened to the electronic purr of the telephone ringing, *unanswered*. (F: 154)  
[...] i osluškivao (je) elektronsko predenje njenog telefona *koji je zvonio u prazno*. (FS: 138)

Occasionally, presumably for stylistic reasons, translators opted to dislocate the adjunct to another position, as in (16):

20. It was wheeled in, *covered by a sheet*, on a metal trolley. (F: 56)  
Dokotrljaše ga unutra (telo) na metalnim kolicima sa četiri točka, *prekriveno čaršavom*. (FS: 58)

In summary, in translated cases where morpho-syntactic changes occur in relation to the source language, it is possible to observe that these deviations do not arise from systemic disparities between languages, but rather stem from occasional lexical mismatches and the stylistic choices of the translator.

### 4.3. SERBIAN INTO ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Similarly to the English language, only 21 examples or 10.6 % involves transforming the adjective into a prepositional, adverbial or nomi-

nal phrase (examples 21–23), or expanding the adjective into an absolute or participial clause (example 24).

21. *Teški sami sebi*, hapsenici izazivaju svoje sapatnike ili stražare koji su u tim danima i sami razdražljivi i kivni na sve. (PA: 23)  
*A burden to themselves*, the prisoners provoked each other or the guards who were equally irritable during these days. (PAE: 154)
22. *Neposredan i otvoren*, fra Petar mu je govorio: ... (PA: 48)  
*In his direct and open way*, Fra Peter remarked: ... (PAE: 170)
23. *Nasmijao se, učtiv, ljubazan*. (DS: 132) He laughed, *politely, kindly*. (DSE: 155)
24. *Začuđen*, proverio sam. (HB: 134) *Thinking it strange*, I checked. (HBE: 163)

Across all these instances, the overwhelming majority of translation choices consistently demonstrate an inclination towards achieving a more idiomatic and authentic tone. For instance, in scenario (21), although it was possible to retain the adjectival phrase, the use of a noun phrase effectively communicates the intended meaning.

While in the Serbian-English portion of the corpus, clauses are employed for bridging the lexical gaps and for stylistic reasons, in English translations, clauses are utilized to explicate meaning. Although it is possible to preserve the adjunct as it is, the use of finite or non-finite, relative or adverbial clauses aims to avoid ambiguity and facilitate text comprehension (examples 25–26).

25. *Verovala je u njega naročito onda kada on nije nimalo verovao u sebe, opsednut strahovima*. (KSZ: 65)  
She believed in him particularly when he did not believe in himself at all, *when he was overwhelmed by fears*. (KSZE: 54)
26. *Mislim da je to jedna od lepših stvari, kad dođeš prvi put u neki grad, i, besposlen, ideš iz ulice u ulicu*. (K: 115)  
I think it's one of the nicest things, when you go to a town for the first time, and *you're idle*, you go from street to street. (KE: 119)

In two instances, transforming an adjectival adjunct into a completely new sentence was observed. Interestingly, this technique is not present in English into Serbian translation, possibly because the word order in Serbian is less strict, with the case system and noun agreement allowing the reader to relate adjuncts to participants. In this particular case, the adjectival adjunct is in the final position, separated from the controlling subject by two relative clauses modifying the object of the preposition *among*. Had the translator preserved the original word order, the adjunct would be interpreted as describing the people in the street.

27. *Krenuo sam, ne dižući očiju, između ljudi što su stajali na sokaku i ispraćali me čuteći, prevaren i postišen*. (DS: 122)

Without raising my eyes I walked on, among the people standing in the street and watching me silently. *I had been tricked and humiliated.* (DSE: 141)

#### 4.4. THE GREY AREA

While the comma is commonly seen as a marker for identifying free and bound adjuncts in English literature, its presence or absence does not necessarily impact the semantic status of these linguistic units. Rather, it primarily highlights a looser association with the predicate. In both sections of the corpus, there are examples that are translated not as free adjuncts but as secondary predicates (i.e., predicative attributes in Serbian), resulting in the omission of the comma. As previously said, both categories denote attendant circumstances or describe one of the participants, and are perceived as simultaneous with the matrix clause event. This subsection focuses on transitional categories, with the objective of elucidating the linguistic motivations underlying such shifts.

In the examples (28) and (29) below, the adjectival free adjuncts after the verbs of speaking are, according to our corpus, always separated by a comma in English, which is not necessarily the case in Serbian. The cited examples are from the same novel, i.e. they represent translations by a single author who, in one instance, opts to retain the comma, while in the other, omits it. This can be explained by a sense of a stronger connection between the predicate and the participial adjective *taken aback* than is the case with the phrase *dead calm*. The reason for this is likely a stronger collocational bond in the first example.

28. 'Well,' I said, taken aback. (MB: 64) „Pa”, rekoh iznenađen. (MBS: 62)
29. [...] I said, dead calm. (MB: 144) [...] rekao sam, mrtav hladan. (MBS: 129)

A similar phenomenon is observed in the subsequent examples, where the adjunct in English, formally detached, is translated as a predicate attribute (i.e. depictive secondary predicate). Such deviations have been noticed in simple adjuncts, realized as an individual adjective.

30. *Bewildered*, they watched me drive past their gate... (MB: 67)  
Gledali su *zapanjeni* kako vozim pored njihove kapije... (MBS: 64)

With the exception of the first example in the following set, where the verb in the matrix predicate indicates motion, in most cases, the “conversion” occurred with verbs of physical state, and one verb of perception, specifically those where the secondary predicate is prototypically realized in English (see Tošić Lojanica 2018).

31. To su ispričali mami i meni kad su se vratili kući, *umorni od svega*, ali, kako su smatrali, skoro obavljena posla. (P: 151)

- They told that to mom and me when they returned home *tired of their labours*, but, as they thought, their work was almost done. (PE: 143)
32. [...] most koji se isticao, *beo i lak*, na svojih jedanaest lukova... (D: 67)  
[...] the bridge, standing out *white and delicate* with its eleven arches. (DE: 67)
33. [...] Dušan je sedeo pored nas, *nimalo zbunjen*, naprotiv, spreman da nam pripadne sav... (L: 100) Dusan was sitting beside us *not at all confused*, on the contrary, ready to belong to us completely... (LE: 81)
34. I baka je vrisnula kad je ugledala Johanu kako zuri u nju, *ukočena od straha*. (KMM: 187)  
The grandmother screamed too when she saw Johana stare at her *petrified with fear*. (KMME: 154)

It would be expected that, in situations where adverbial meaning is not implied, which often occurs with free adjuncts in initial position, translators would allow themselves to disregard punctuation in the source text in order to successfully convey complex sentence structures. However, the examples provided for both translation directions are not demanding in that regard, yet a “reclassification” of the construction is present. One possible explanation is that the frequency of a specific construction in both languages – considering the type of verbs and accompanying adjectival adjunct – influences the translators, who, perceiving their close semantic connection, establish a closer syntactic relation as well.

## 5. CONCLUSION

The analysis of adjectival free adjuncts in English and Serbian has demonstrated that they can be considered formally and semantically equivalent constructions, as evidenced by the nearly 85% rate of absolute matching in translation. In the remaining cases, adjuncts are rendered through different phrases and clauses, for reasons other than systemic disparity. Specifically, in the translation from English to Serbian, translators resort to non-finite and relative clauses when the adjective is accompanied by a longer complement in English. Conversely, when rendered into Serbian, adjuncts may change position or be translated using a full adverbial clause with an explicit conjunction to avoid ambiguity, which is resolved in Serbian through cases and agreement with the governing noun.

Furthermore, we have shown that in certain situations, translators omit the comma, thus transforming a free adjunct into a bound one. Specifically, in both languages, adjectival adjuncts separated by a comma may have adverbial meaning of cause, but also attributive meaning when they provide a closer description of the subject or object of the sentence, referring to their mental state or physical appearance. In the latter case, especially with verbs of bodily position, speech, and occasionally motion, the adjunct becomes attached to the governing verb in translation. To clarify,

in such scenarios, free adjectival adjuncts assume the role of secondary predicates, as these represent the prototypical contexts in which the secondary predicates are employed.

As Himmelmann and Schulze-Berndt (2005: 20) point out, adjuncts are treated completely independently of the secondary predicate, as if there is no awareness that they are essentially the same phenomenon. The results presented in this study indeed affirm a close association between free and bound adjectival adjuncts in both English and Serbian. The bilingual and bidirectional corpus has granted us insight into how proficient users (translators) of both languages perceive adjectival adjuncts and their orthographic (dis)connections, a determination that would be unattainable through an analysis of individual languages alone. As emphasized by Babić (2004: 161), the delineation of free and bound adjectival adjuncts remains challenging due to the quest for establishing clear formal and semantic criteria. The conclusions drawn herein are intended to serve as a foundation and an invitation to approach this matter from a less rigid theoretical standpoint, one that embraces the perspective of gradient categories.

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**Tiana M. Tošić-Lojanica / SLOBODNI ADJUNKTI PRIDEVSKOG TIPA U ENGLISKOM I SRPSKOM JEZIKU**

**Rezime** / Na dvostrukom i dvosmernom korpusu sačinjenom od romana na engleskom i srpskom, i njihovih prevoda, u radu se analiziraju slobodni adjunkti pridevskog tipa. Ciljevi rada su opis formalnih i semantičkih karakteristika slobodnog pridevskog adjunkta, te upoređivanje predmetnih konstrukcija u dva jezika na osnovu prevodnih ekvivalenata. U tom smislu, u radu se analiziraju potencijalna odstupanja od forme i značenja u prevodu. U analizi se, neizbežno, dotičemo srodne kategorije predikatskog atributa.

Analiza pridevskog slobodnog adjunkta u engleskom i srpskom pokazala je da se zaista mogu smatrati formalno i semantički podudarnim konstrukcijama, što dokazuje i skoro 85% slučajeva apsolutnog poklapanja u prevodu. U preostalim slučajevima,

adjunkti se prenose drugim frazama i klauzama. U smeru prevoda sa engleskog na srpski, prevodioci pribegavaju nefinitnim i relativnim klauzama kada je pridev praćen dužim komplementom u engleskom jeziku. Sa druge strane, prilikom prevoda na srpski, slobodni pridevski adjunkti mogu promeniti mesto ili biti prevedeni punom adverbijalnom klauzom sa ekspliciranim veznikom da bi se izbegla dvosmislenost. U izvesnim primerima se brisanjem zapete slobodni adjunkti pretvaraju u vezane, naročito uz glagole položaja tela, govorenja i, ređe, kretanja.

**Кljučне речи:** bezglagolske klauze, slobodni adjunkti, sekundarni predikat, gradijentnost

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