THE STRUCTURAL POSSIBILITIES OF SERBO-CROATIAN RELATED TO THE ENGLISH STRUCTURE adjective + prepositional sentential complement

Introduction

Sentential complements occurring with prepositions in English are traditionally known as gerunds, verbal forms in -ing having the functions of both nouns and verbs. In transformational-generative grammar they are interpreted as embedded sentences in the underlying structure containing their own subject, which may be either deleted under coreference with the subject of the matrix sentence or overtly expressed, as in

1. (a) John is happy about leaving
    (b) John is happy about Mary leaving

In Serbo-Croatian (henceforward SC) there is no verbal form with nominal functions like the gerund in English; the sentential complements corresponding to the English prepositional sentential complement are all manifested, with one exception, as finite clauses introduced by the appropriate complementizers. In SC the main complementizers are da, što and kada, all of which introduce complements to verbs as well as to adjectives.

I. Factive and non-factive predicates

For the purpose of this paper we have modified the notion of emotive factive complements introduced by Kiparsky and Kiparsky (cf. Kiparsky and Kiparsky, 1981, p. 363), according to whom "emotive complements are those to which the speaker expresses a subjective, emotional or evaluative reaction." By emotive factive complements we mean those complements which state the cause of the emotion denoted by the adjective (or verb) predicted of the subject, regardless of whether the subject is the speaker or not; accordingly, we will also refer to such adjectives as emotive and factive.

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A. Three synonymous complement structures in English: a finite clause in SC

In English emotive factive adjectives can be followed by three synonymous structures, one of them being a prepositional sentential complement, the other two an infinitival complement and a that-clause. In SC with the same type of adjectives there occurs, on the other hand, a single type of sentential complement, a finite clause introduced by što, a complementizer which is also one of the two lexical equivalents to the English that complementizer, the other being da. Compare:

2. (1) a. I was angry at being turned out.
   b. I was angry to be turned out.
   c. I was angry that I was turned out.

(2) Bio sam ljut što su me izbacili.

Non-factive, non-emotive adjectives co-occurring with various prepositions followed by sentential complements in English are construed with the da complementizer in SC, e. g.

3. (1) He is determined on getting that job.
   (2) Rešen je da dobije to mesto.

4. (1) He is incapable of understanding such love.
   (2) Nesposoban je da shvati takvu ljubav.

5. (1) The children are used to having lunch early.
   (2) Deca su naviknuta da rano ručaju.

The što complementizer has causal meaning and it is, in fact, part of a compound conjunction zato što (= because) introducing clauses of reason, e. g.

   'John won’t come because (he) is ill'.

The emotive factive adjectives displaying the above mentioned structural correspondence between the two languages, i. e. three types of synonymous complements in English versus a finite clause introduced by što in SC are the following: amazed - zapanjen /astonished - zaprepašćen/ cross - ljut/ delighted - očaran/ disappointed - razočaran/ disgusted - zgadjen/ embarrassed - zahunjen/ flattered - polaskan/ happy - srećan/ horrified - užasnut/ hurt - uvredjen, povredjen/ pleased - zadovoljan/ puzzled - zahunjen/ sad - tužan/ surprised - iznenadjen/ thrilled - uzbudjen/ upset - uznemiren.
B. The participial nature of emotive, factive adjectives

One characteristic property of these adjectived in both languages is that they all derive, with the exception of angry - ljut/, cross - ljut/, happy - srećan and sad - tužan from verbs; in English they are often labeled 'participial adjectives', their form being exactly the same as the Past Participle, which co-occurs with the aspectual auxiliary have (the perfect have) or forms the Passive construction with the auxiliary be. The difference between the two languages lies in the fact that in English the Past Participle is exactly the same in form as the 'participial adjective', whereas in SC the 'Past participle', traditionally known as the Perfect Participle II, which, in conjunction with the unstressed (clitic) forms of the auxiliary verb biti (sam, si, je, smo, ste, su) is used to form the Perfect Tense (prošlo vreme), is different from the adjective derived from the same verb. Compare:

7. (1) I was disappointed at not being able to see her.
   (2) Bio sam razočaran što nisam mogao da je vidim.

8. (1) The new car has disappointed me.
   (2) Novi auto me je razočarao.

9. (1) I have been disappointed by John.
   (2) Jovan me je razočarao.

As is seen from 8. (2) the SC Perfect Participle razočarao is different in form from the verb-derived adjective razočaran in 7. (2); also, from 9. (1) and 9. (2) it is to be seen that SC prefers active to passive, since the verbal construction in 9. (2) is exactly the same as that in 8. (2). In SC the Passive construction with the Agent Phrase od (strane) NP, an equivalent to the English by NP phrase, is felt to be clumsy and is used only in those syntactic contexts where it cannot be avoided.

Sentences like the one below are hardly acceptable:

    'He was beaten up by ruffians.'

Truncated passives, however, are quite common, e. g.


    'He was run over (by a car).'

Razočaran (= disappointed), on the other hand, as well as all the other above-mentioned adjectives in participial form, is
not only incapable of being used in the full passive construction, but, if used within the truncated passive construction, is interpreted only as an adjective, e. g.

'He was disappointed.'

C. Instrumental case-marked nouns as complements to emotive factive adjectives in SC

All the verb-derived emotive factive adjectives in SC display the following regularity: whenever they are followed by a noun, they are bound to trigger off the CASE ASSIGNMENT rule, which assigns the instrumental case marker to the complement noun. It is, in fact, possible to abbreviate the što clause through the use of an instrumental case-marked noun derived from the main verb of the complement sentence as in 14. (3) or through the use of one of its basic constituents, such as the object of the verb in 15. (3); in English these adjectives may also take verb-derived nouns as their prepositional objects (the preposition being at) or some other constituents of the complement sentence. Compare:

14. (1) Bio sam zapanjen što je tako postupio.
(2) I was amazed at his acting in this way.
(3) Bio sam zapanjen njegovim postupkom.
(4) I was amazed at his action.

15. (1) Bio sam zaprepašćen što su mi dali nagradu.
(2) I was astonished at being given the prize.
(3) Bio sam zaprepašćen nagradom.
(4) I was astonished at the prize.

It is possible, however, to have another interpretation of 15. (3) and 15. (4), i. e. they may mean 'I was astonished at the amount of money I was given as a prize', but the interpretation which assigns them the meaning of 15. (1) and 15. (2) is also plausible.

Notice that in SC the emotive factive adjectives which are not derived from verbs, such as srećan (= happy) and tužan (= sad), as well as ljut (= cross, angry) govern a prepositional complement, consisting of the preposition zbog and a noun (or a Noun Phrase) in the genitive rather than in the instrumental case, e. g.
16. (1) Bio je tužan što je otišla.
He was sad at her leaving.

(2) Bio je tužan zbog njenog odlaska.
He was sad at her departure.

(3) Bio je tužan što je otišla.
He was sad at her leaving.

(4) Bio je tužan njenim odlaskom.
He was sad at her departure.

The reason why SC verb-derived emotive factive adjectives co-occur with a noun or a pronoun in the instrumental case is that their meaning is 'resultative', much in the same way as that of 'instrumental verbs'; thus (17) follows the same grammatical pattern as (18):

'He was delighted at her embarrassment.'

18. Posekao se nožem.
'(He) cut himself with a knife.'

Recalling the CASE ASSIGNMENT Rule for English, which has been stated as follows (cf. Baker, 1978, p. 126):

\[
\begin{align*}
X & \rightarrow \{ V \, \text{Prep.} \} - \text{Pro} - Y \\
1 & \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \\
\end{align*}
\]

we conclude that for SC the rule must be modified in such a manner as to include Adj in its structural description, the third term being a NP (which may be pronominalized) and the symbol Obj being replaced by Case in the structural change of the transformation, thus:

\[
\begin{align*}
X & \rightarrow \{ V \, \text{Adj} \, \text{Prep} \} - \text{NP} - Y \\
1 & \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \\
\end{align*}
\]

This will cover both the cases of adjectives followed by prepositional objects, e.g. ljut na Branka (= angry with Branko), spreman na svadbu (= ready to quarrel), poznat po lepoti (= famous for beauty), and those which require no preposition and are followed by a case-marked noun only, such as the emotive factive verb-derived adjectives mentioned above and some others,
e. g. iscrpljen teškim radom (= exhausted by hard work), iznuren groznicom (= worn out by fever), bogat ugljem (= rich in coal), čista srca (= pure in heart). In English adjectives are always followed by prepositional complements (i. e. if these complements are NPs), except for the adjective worth (cf. it is not worth a straw) and thus it is sufficient to mention the preposition in the structural description of the rule, the preposition being preceded either by a verb or an adjective, as the case may be, e. g. She is looking at him, She is fond of him.

4. The LIKE and UNLIKE SUBJECT constraints

All the emotive factive adjectives in both languages are not subject either to the LIKE SUBJECT CONSTRAINT or THE UNLIKE SUBJECT CONSTRAINT, i. e. they allow both identical and non-identical subjects in the higher and complement sentences (cf. 1. (a) and 1. (b) for English). 11

In concluding this section, we will remind the reader that there are cases in SC in which the factive nature of the complement is marked by a demonstrative pronoun preceding the što complementizer, e. g.

19. Pomiren sam s time što sam star i prilično ružan.
' I am resigned with it that (I) am old and rather ugly.'
(= I am resigned to being old and rather ugly.) 12

II

'Judgment Adjectives'

Two adjectives in English, fortunate and lucky can be semantically specified as expressing judgment, since they may occur in the construction "I consider him/her ADJECTIVE". Both of them being factive, they may occur with three types of synonymous sentential complements, exactly like the emotive factive adjectives that we have dealt with so far, while in SC only a finite clause introduced by što is used, which was seen to be the case with emotive factive complements, e. g.

20. (1) She is fortunate in having a big house.
(2) She is fortunate to have a big house.
(3) She is fortunate that she has a big house.
(4) Srećna je što ima veliku kuću.
Another syntactic type of 'judgment adjectives' in English is represented by those adjectives which allow both a prepositional sentential complement and an infinitival complement, while disallowing a that-clause; all of them can also occur in the construction "It was ADJECTIVE of him/her to...", e. g.

21. (1) Sybil was generous in letting her stay so cheaply.
   (2) Sybil was generous to let her stay so cheaply.
   (3) It was generous of Sybil to let her stay so cheaply.

There are adjectives, however, which, while occurring in the two of the three constructions, do not occur with an infinitive complement; such are ruthless and modest, as is seen from the example below:

22. (1) She was ruthless in telling him the truth.
   (2)*She was ruthless to tell him the truth.
   (3) It was ruthless of her to tell him the truth.

The corresponding judgment adjectives in SC co-occur with a sentential complement beginning in kada, the SC equivalent to 21. (1), 21. (2) and 21. (3) being

23. Sibila je bila velikodušna kada joj je dozvolila da stanuje tako jeftino.

Similarly, the SC equivalent to 22. (1) and 22. (3) is

24. Bila je svirepa kada mu je rekla istinu.

Other adjectives displaying the same syntactic behavior are:

III

English Adjectives versus SC Adverbs

To a number of English adjectives co-occurring with prepositional sentential complements (the preposition being at or in) there correspond SC adverbs modifying the verbal predicate of a single clause, e. g.

25. (1) You are bad at guessing.
    (2) Slašo pogadjate.
    'Badly (you) guess'.

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With some adjectives of this type in SC we find two alternative synonymous structures, one of them using a sentential complement to the adjective introduced by kada, the other being a single clause with an adverb carrying the meaning of the corresponding adjective in English, thus:

26. (1) She is not objective in judging people.
(2a) Nije objektivna kada sudi o ljudima.
   'She is not objective when (she) judges about people.'
(2b) Ne sudi objektivno o ljudima.
   '(She) not judges objectively about people.'

With some of the English adjectives in this class there occurs an alternative synonymous complement structure with the infinitive, but SC, again, uses only a single clause with a manner adverb, e. g.

27. (1) He was quick in returning the book.
(2) He was quick to return the book.
(3) Brzo je vратio knjigu.
   'Quickly (he) returned the book.'

28. (1) He is quick at making up his mind.
(2) He is quick to make up his mind.
(3) Brzo se odlučuje.
   'Quickly (he) makes up his mind.'

Concerning the relation between an adjective of this type and its corresponding adverb in English, we should note in passing that in Stockwell, 1977, p. 133 we find an interpretation of some types of adverbs as 'higher predicates'. Thus he derives He frankly states his views or He states his views frankly from He is frank in stating his views by a transformation which he calls Adverb Lowering, one of the instances of Predicate Lowering. However, parallel to He is hopeless at driving there is no structure with the corresponding adverb, *He drives hopelessly, from which we must conclude that Adverb Lowering is not applicable to all the adjectives of this type in English.

IV

A Device for Achieving Brevity of Expression in English

In English a structure consisting of an adjective and a prepositional sentential complement may have the power of condensing constituents which must overtly be expressed in SC, e.g.
29. (1) She is serious about leaving.
   (2) Ozbiljno namerava da ide.
   'Seriously (she) intends to leave.'

30. (1) John is passionate about playing chess.
   (2) Jovan strasno voli da igra šah.
   'John passionately loves to play chess.'

31. (1) Beginning students are conservative about admitting the validity of subjective data.
   (2) Naučnici početnici imaju konzervativan stav kada treba priznati vrednost subjektivnih podataka.
   'Beginning students have a conservative attitude when it is a question of admitting the validity of subjective data.'

32. (1) She felt inhibited about discussing her own books.
   (2) Osečala se inhibiranom kada je trebalo da govori o sopstvenim knjigama.
   'She felt inhibited when it was a question of discussing her own books.'

33. (1) They're quite unscrupulous about pinching nannies from each other.
   (2) Kradu jedna drugoj dadilje i u tome su sasvim beskrupulozne.
   'They pinch nannies from each other and in this they are quite unscrupulous.'

Conclusion

The foregoing analysis of English and SC has shown that these two languages differ in the following respects:

(1) English is characterized by synonymous sentential complements to (factive) adjectives, whereas SC uses only one type of sentential complement: a finite clause.

(2) SC is consistent in using the što and kada complementizers with-factive complements and da with non-factive complements, while English does not distinguish between these two semantic types of complements by means of different complementizers.

(3) SC emotive factive adjectives may be followed either by a što-clause or an instrumental case-marked noun, whereas in English the instrumental case function is served by a prepositional phrase.

(4) English adjectives that co-occurs with prepositional sentential complements, the prepositions being at or in,
correspond to manner adverbs in SC.

(5) The availability of the structure Adjective + Prepositional Sentential Complement in English made it possible for this language to 'suppress' the constituents which are 'understood' and which have to be manifested on the surface in SC.

1 Most of the English examples in this paper have been taken over from the author's doctoral dissertation Upotreba engleskog gerundija u predloškim frazama uz prideve (The Use of the English Gerund in Prepositional Phrases Following Adjectives), Štamparija Univerziteta u Novom Sadu, 1973.

2 The complementizer kada is not to be confused with the adverb of time kada (= when).

3 On factive and non-factive predicates see Kiparsky and Kiparsky, 1971.

4 The complement structure beginning in što in 2. (2) is an active sentence, but it can also, as in English, occur in the passive with the agent deleted: Bio sam ljut što sam bio izbaćen.

5 In SC nonemphatic pronominal subjects are deleted; in giving English paraphrase for our SC examples we will mark such cases of pronoun deletion by parenthesizing the pronoun in question. On subject pronoun deletion see Pelmutter, 1971, Chapter 4. Pelmutter correctly observes that it is not true, as is commonly thought, that those languages which allow deletion of subject pronoun allow it because they have sufficient inflection to make the deleted subject recoverable. The convincing examples he cites are from French (Perlmutter, 1971, p. 102):

(12) a. (Perlmutter's numbering) "Avons travaillé toute la journée. 'We worked all day long'.
   b. *Etes parti trop tot, il parait. 'You left too early, it seems'.
   c. Ont mangé la soupe sans cuillère. 'They ate the soup without a spoon'.

His hypothesis is that the grammar of French contains the following surface structure constraint (Perlmutter, 1971, p. 100):

(9) (Perlmutter's numbering) Any sentence other than an Imperative in which there is an S that does not contain a subject in surface structure is ungrammatical. Perlmutter mentions SC as one of those languages which have no constraints like (9) in their grammars (Cf. Perlmutter, 1971, pp. 107-108), unlike French and English. Drawing upon this difference, he classifies languages into Type A and Type B (Perlmutter, 1971, p. 115):
I will refer to languages such as French and English, which have the surface structure constraint (9) in their grammars, as Type A languages. Languages that do not have this surface structure constraint I will call Type B languages. These include Spanish, Serbo-Croatian, Arabic, Hebrew, Hausa, Walbiri, and Basque. Given this definition of Type A and Type B languages, every language must be either of one type or the other.

6 All synonyms and near-synonyms of these adjectives have not been included for the sake of brevity.


8 Razočarao is the masculine form of all the three persons of the singular of the Perfect Participle II; razočarala is the feminine form of all the three persons in the singular, razočarali - the masculine form of all the three persons in the plural, razočarale - the feminine form of all the three persons in the plural. Thus there is agreement between the subject NP and the ending of the Perfect Participle II for gender and number.

9 In Barić, et. al., 1979, p. 373 we find (a) Učenik je pohvaljen od nastavnika, a passive transform from the active (b) Nastavnik je pohvalio učenika; (a) is, however, felt to be an unnatural way of saying (b), which the authors themselves state on p. 153. It should be added in this context that the unspecified Agent is obligatorily deleted in sentences with the impersonal se, e.g.

(a) Novine se prodaju na ulici.
   'Newspapers are sold in the street.'
(b) Mes6 se jede sa salatom.
   'Meat is eaten with salad.'

Notice that the rule ordering is
1. Passive (construed with the impersonal se)
2. Subject-Verb Agreement

Compare:
(a) PRO prodaje novine na ulici
(b) Novine se prodaju na ulici od (strane) PRO
(c) Novine se prodaju na ulici (after the Unspecified Agent Deletion).

This kind of se is thus both passive and impersonal: it arises after the object of the active sentence becomes the new, derived subject and the Unspecified Agent is obligatorily deleted. Note that the impersonal se also occurs in active sentences (impersonal constructions). Perlmutter (Perlmutter, 1971, p. 29) gives an account of "the impersonal se" in Spanish:

In addition to reflexive se and spurious se, there is a third source of se in Spanish. This kind of se I will call "impersonal se", for it arises as the result of an underlying Pro subject which is like on in French and man in German.
In Mexico se trabaja mucho.
'In Mexico Pro ('one') works a lot'.

Similarly, in SC:
U Meksiku se mnogo radi.

10 Cf. the participial adjectives which are etymological cognates with srečan, tužan and ljut, but which, as is expected, take nouns in the instrumental case as their complements:
usreden njenim prisustvom (= 'made happy by her presence')
rastužen njenim odlaskom (= 'saddened by her departure')
razljučen ovakvim ponašanjem (= 'angered by such behavior')

11 However, in both languages the adjectives envious/zavidljiv, jealous/ljubomoran and grateful/zahvalan are marked for the UNLIKE SUBJECT CONSTRAINT, a syntactic feature which is a consequence of their meaning. These predicates being factive and emotive, their complements are što-clauses in SC, e.g.
(a) They are envious about their neighbors going abroad.
(b) Zavidljivi su što im susedi idu u inostranstvo.
(c) I am grateful to you for giving me this opportunity.
(d) Zahvalan sam vam što ste mi pružili ovu priliku.

12 This phenomenon of a demonstrative pronoun occurring in some syntactic contexts with factive predicates (cf. also Pnosan je na to što je u žarištu borbe = 'He is proud of it that (he) is at the centre of the fight.' = He is proud of being at the centre of the fight) is similar to the occurrence of it with some of the factive predicates in English. Cf. Kiparsky and Kiparsky, 1971, p. 361:
The pronoun it serves as an optional reduction of the fact. It can stand directly before that clauses in sentences with factive verbs:
Bill resents it that people are always comparing him to Mozart.
They didn’t mind it that a crowd was beginning to gather in the street.

13 In SC the adjective srečan (srećna, srećno) corresponds in meaning either to fortunate (lucky) or happy in English.

14 In this and similar cases it is not possible to use the preposition at if the proposition of the complement sentence represents a single event. Compare: (Bibović, 1973, p. 105)
(a) *He was quick at making up his mind last time.
(b) He was quick in making up his mind last time.
(c) He was quick to make up his mind last time.
Sažetak

**STRUKTURNE MOGUĆNOSTI SRPSKOHRVATSKOG JEZIKA U ODNOSU NA ENGLESKU STRUKTURU PRIDEV + PREDLOŠKA REČENIČNA DOPUNA**

Ovaj rad je rezultat nastojanja da se globalno sagledaju strukture srpsko-hrvatskog jezika (u daljem tekstu SH) koje odgovaraju engleskoj strukturi pridev + predloška rečenična dopuna. Za engleski jezik je karakteristično da se na površini rečenične strukture rečenična dopuna uz prideve ostvaruje kao (a) gerundijum (glagolski oblik izveden sufiksom -ing), (b) infinitiv i (c) rečenica sa komplementizatorom that. U SH, medijum, rečenična dopuna se uvek ostvaruje kao rečenica koju uvode komplementizatori da, što i kada, pri čemu ovaj poslednji treba razlikovati od priloga kada kojim se uvodi zavisna vremenska rečenica.

Dok se u engleskom jeziku uz emotivne činjenične prideve (up. Kiparsky i Kiparsky, 1971) javljaju sva tri tipa rečenične dopune u površinskoj strukturi, dotle se u SH sa ovakvim pridevima javlja samo zavisna rečenica koja se uvodi komplementizatorom što. Karakteristično je da su u oba jezika, sa izuzetkom trideva, emotivni činjenični pridevi izvedeni od glagola, te se često u engleskoj gramatici nazivaju "participskim pridevima". U vezi sa derivacionim poreklom ovih prideva prikazana je gramatička razlika izmedju engleskog participa (the Past Participle) i oblika izvedenog od glagola u SH koji ima funkciju prideva. Osim toga, uočena je sledeća pravilnost u SH: kad god su emotivni činjenični pridevi umesto rečenica pratični imenicom kao dopunom, mora se primeniti pravilo transformacije...
komponente gramatike DODAVANJE PADEŽA (the CASE ASSIGNMENT Rule), kojim se imenici dodaje instrumentalni padežni nastavak, kao napr. Bio sam zaprepašćen nagradom; u engleskom jeziku ovu padežnu funkciju obavlja predlog at, naime: I was amazed at his action, I was astonished at the prize. Transformaciono pravilo DODAVANJE PADEŽA, onako kako je utvrdjeno za engleski jezik (up. Baker, 1978, str. 126), važeće je i za srpskohrvatski s tim što se u strukturnom opisu transformacije za SH ne javlja obavezno zamenica kojoj se pripisuje padež, već imenička sintagma (NP), koja može biti i zamenica, a najbliža njena okolina na levoj strani nije samo glagol i predlog, već glagol, predlog i pridev, da bi se uključili primeri tipa 'Bio sam zaprepašćen nagradom.'

Drugi odeljak rada prikazuje prideve kojima se izražava sud u oba jezika ('judgment adjectives') i njihove odgovarajuće dopune, a treći odeljak engleske prideve koji se javljaju u konstrukciji sa predlogom i gerundijumom i kojima je u SH strukturni ekvivalent rečenica sa prilogom u kome se sadrži značenje odgovarajućeg engleskog prideva, mada i u SH ima primera sa pridevom i dopunom koji se javljaju u alternaciji sa priloškom konstrukcijom.

U četvrtom i poslednjem odeljku povlači se paralela između slučajeva ispoljavanja engleske strukture pridev + predloška rečenična dopuna i odgovarajućih srpskohrvatskih struktura i uočava se mogućnost sašimanja konstituenata u engleskom jeziku koje se u SH moraju iskazati u površinskoj strukturi.