

ENGLISH TWO-WORD VERBS WITH THE PARTICLES *OFF* AND *ON* AND THEIR TRANSLATION INTO SERBIAN: A CORPUS ANALYSIS¹

ABSTRACT: The paper deals with the analysis of English two-word verbs with the particles *off* and *on* and their translation equivalents in Serbian. In order to identify the means of translating two-word verbs in Serbian, the contrastive analysis was performed on the corpus of 80 two-word verbs with *off* and *on*, collected from Ian McEwan's novel *Atonement* and its Serbian translation *Iskupljenje* (translated by Arijana Božović). After the introductory part which provides the relevant theoretical frameworks about multi-word verbs and two-word verbs in English, their relation to the categories of aspect and aktionsart, and the expected translation equivalents in Serbian, based on the results of the previous studies, the analysis of the selected examples from the corpus is presented in the main part of the paper. Finally, the results and general remarks are given in the conclusion, pointing at the tendencies in the verbal characteristics of two-word verbs with *off* and *on* and in their translation into Serbian.

Key words: two-word verbs, particles *off* and *on*, translation equivalents, aspect, telicity

1. INTRODUCTION

When observing the contemporary English language, both its spoken and written forms, what stands out as a prominent feature are two-word verbs. Intriguing due to their structure and characteristics, they represent a specific segment of English that is worthy to be studied not only within English itself, but also when transferred into other languages. The aim of this paper is, therefore, to contrastively analyze two-word verbs with the particles *off* and *on* and their translation equivalents in the Serbian language.

¹ This is a shortened version of the seminar paper entitled "English two-word verbs with the particles OFF and ON and their Serbian translation equivalents", which was written during the doctoral studies under the supervision of prof. dr Predrag Novakov.

1.1. Two-word verbs and their relation to aspect/aktionsart

Before explaining the very concept of two-word verbs, they first must be mentioned within a larger group whose subtype they represent – multi-word verbs. This is a general term for verbs consisting of more than one word. To be more specific, multi-word verbs are defined as verbs composed of a verb and one or two particles (Novakov 2005a: 73). Still, multi-word verbs do not involve any combination of a verb and a particle, but only those ones representing a semantic unit with a specific meaning (Novakov 2005a: 73). Being semantically coherent, they can be passivized and in most cases replaced by “one-word verbs”.

Depending on the particles that constitute multi-word verbs, they are classified into three subtypes: phrasal verbs, prepositional verbs and phrasal-prepositional verbs (Palmer 1987). Phrasal verbs are those ones consisting of a verb and an adverbial particle (e.g. *bring up, carry on*). Prepositional verbs, on the other hand, are comprised of a verb and a prepositional particle (e.g. *decide on, prevent from*). When it comes to phrasal-prepositional verbs, they represent combinations of a verb and an adverbial and a prepositional particle (e.g. *cut down on, put up with*). The first two subtypes, that is, phrasal and prepositional verbs, are, based on their structure, also called two-word verbs, and they will be in the center of interest in this paper. When comparing characteristics of phrasal and prepositional verbs, provided by Anastasijević (1968: 27–126), Bolinger (1971: 3–22) and Palmer (1987: 215–238), they differ in terms of their phonological and syntactic characteristics, but what they have in common are different levels of idiomaticity they can show, which will be dealt with in our analysis. When both the verb and the particle retain their original meanings, the two-word verb is semantically transparent (e.g. *sit down, look at*). If the particle evolves a more abstract meaning, the two-word verb is semi-idiomatic (e.g. *drink up, come into*). In case when both the verb and the particle extend their meanings, the two-word verb is fully idiomatic (e.g. *give up, look after*).

Specific attention should be paid to the relation of two-word verbs to the concepts of aspect and aktionsart. These two concepts have been a subject of many studies for a long time, as reflecting the grammatical-lexical relation in verb phrases. Comrie (1976: 3–4), for example, defines aspect as viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation. If the situation is viewed in its totality, the aspect in question is perfective; if the situation is viewed as a structure, we are talking about imperfective aspect. Dahl (1987), based on the outcome of his research study, also mentions several important types of aspectual categories, some of which are perfective/imperfective and progressive aspect. Perfective aspect typically denotes a single event, seen as an unanalysed whole, with a well-defined result or end-state, located in the past (Dahl 1987: 78). Progressive aspect is prototypically seen as an ongoing activity, where ‘to go on’ is basically a relation between a dynamic situation and a point in time (Dahl 1987: 91). One of the most prominent linguists in the field of

aktionsart is certainly Vendler (as cited in Novakov 2005a: 15–21), who develops the distinction between verbs that have a natural terminal point and those that do not, although he does not use the terms of telic and atelic verbs. Those verbs that do have an endpoint belong to accomplishments and achievements, whereas those ones which do not have it belong to activities and states. What is here significant for our topic are the questions he uses in the function of tests to distinguish between verbs with an endpoint and verbs without an endpoint. One can ask questions ‘How long did it take to...?’, ‘At what time did you...?’ and ‘For how long did you...?’ in order to see if a situation involves an endpoint or does not. The first two questions are grammatical when used with accomplishments and achievements, thus corresponding to situations involving a terminal point, whereas the third one is grammatical when used with states and activities, thus corresponding to situations without a terminal point.

Except for these three authors, many others have their own theories related to aspect and aktionsart, and all of them can be more or less put in one general conclusion – aspect represents a grammatical category, whereas aktionsart is a lexical category, and it is really difficult to establish a clear borderline between the two. The most prominent aspectual categories in English are perfective/imperfective and progressive/non-progressive oppositions. When it comes to aktionsart, among many other semantic features, telicity seems to be the most important one. These aspectual and aktionsart characteristics will also be observed in the analysis presented in this paper.

After a short description of the two concepts, we should explain how they are related to two-word verbs. The particles in two-word verbs (especially phrasal verbs) have been long studied in connection to perfective aspect. To be more precise, they have been considered as markers of perfective aspect by many authors. Brinton (as cited in Novakov 2005a: 87–97) depicts this topic, but from a different perspective, trying to prove that phrasal verbs do not mark perfective aspect, but something else. In her explanations, Brinton (as cited in Novakov 2005a: 87–97) first gives arguments against the claim that phrasal verbs express perfective aspect. She shows that phrasal verbs can be used with verbal periphrases (such as *start*, *continue*, *finish*) that focus on the beginning, middle and ending phases of a situation, whereas perfective aspect denotes a situation as a single, unanalysable whole, without dividing it into separate phases. Furthermore, she provides examples of phrasal verbs compatible with imperfective (progressive), perfective and perfect aspects, thus showing that they should not be studied as markers of perfective aspect. Instead, they should be seen as expressing the notion of telicity. As Brinton argues, particles within phrasal verbs “may add the concept of a goal or an endpoint to durative situations which otherwise have no necessary terminus” (as quoted in Novakov 2005a: 90), that is, change the aktionsart from ‘atelic’ to ‘telic’. She provides several formal tests to show that phrasal verbs act like accomplishment verbs (telic) rather than activity verbs (atelic) (as cited in Novakov 2005a: 91–93).

1.2. Serbian translation equivalents of English two-word verbs according to previous research

As in Serbian there are no identical grammatical constructions to English two-word verbs, they are expressed using different linguistic means. Mišeta-Bradarić (1989) performs an analysis of a corpus collected from texts of the spoken colloquial register in order to find as many translation equivalents of two-word verbs as possible and to explain their semantic and morphosyntactic characteristics.

One of the most frequently encountered constructions used as translation equivalents are Serbian prefixed verbs. Mišeta-Bradarić (1989) provides different examples of two-word verbs with different particles translated by means of verbal prefixation (e.g. *build up* – *izgraditi*, *wear out* – *istrošiti*, *sleep off* – *ispavati*). She deals with usual meanings of two-word verbs and their translation equivalents – position, movement, completion, result – within the grammatical category of aspect. This is where we have to point out that she does not take into account the aspect-aktionsart distinction, thus placing some meanings within the category of aspect instead of placing them within the category of aktionsart.

An important topic to discuss at this point is the relation between particles belonging to English two-word verbs and Serbian verbal prefixes. Milivojević (2005), based on the results of her analysis, explains that the two are equivalent in their linguistic essence. She agrees with Brinton in terms of English particles – they really are semantic or lexical markers rather than grammatical aspectual markers, as they mark telic aktionsart, not perfective aspect. When it comes to Serbian verbal prefixes, a situation is different – they are primarily markers of perfective aspect, as Serbian verbal prefixation is the main grammatical means of perfectivization. Still, besides perfective aspect, verbal prefixes also add some other meanings that resemble English aktionsart, including the notion of telicity. Thus, what can be concluded is that both English two-word verb particles and Serbian verbal prefixes mark aktionsart on the lexical level.

As Mišeta-Bradarić (1989) explains, Serbian prefixed verbs are generally used for translating those two-word verbs whose components retain their basic meanings. However, when the components of two-word verbs somewhat expand their meanings, translation equivalents often need complementation, which are usually in the form of objects. In order to adequately translate a two-word verb, sometimes a direct object should be added (e.g. *close down* – *obustaviti posao*) or vice versa, the object from the English construction should be left out (e.g. *to let out a whistle* – *zviznuti*). What can also happen during translation is a change of the case of a direct object, thus transforming it into an indirect object (e.g. *shake off thoughts* – *otresti se misli*).

The context can play a very important role when translating two-word verbs, thus allowing different constructions to be used in order to convey the message. Mišeta-Bradarić (1989) mentions several “unconventional” means of translation. Sometimes nouns (e.g. *what brings this on* – *pravi je povod*) and adverbs (e.g. *clock*

up appearance – uspešno se pojavljivati) can be used. There are even cases when it is possible to completely leave two-word verbs out from the translation if they are redundant for understanding the meaning of the text (e.g. *I may even do my term thing on her if I decide to get out for honours... – Možda ću ipak napisati i seminar-ski rad o njoj ukoliko se odlučim za viši stupanj [...]*). If the meaning of a two-word verb cannot be determined without a wider context, there is a possibility of using a loose translation (e.g. *pick it up – smirite se, /things/ pick up – /stvari/ krenu nabolje*).

1.3. The structure of the corpus

In order to perform an analysis similar to Mišeta-Bradarić (1989), that is, to find different translation equivalents of English two-word verbs, a corpus was collected from Ian McEwan's novel *Atonement* (2001) and its Serbian published translation *Iskupljenje* (2003), translated by Arijana Božović. This novel was chosen for the analysis as it has been estimated to give a realistic view on contemporary English language with most of its characteristics, including two-word verbs, thus providing a good material for this sort of study.

The parallel English-Serbian corpus consists of 80 examples of two-word verbs, 41 of which are with the particle *off* and 39 with the particle *on* (Table 1), and their Serbian translation equivalents. For methodological purposes, it is necessary to point out that the corpus has been excerpted from the whole novel, and not only certain parts of it. In order not to include similar constructions in the corpus, but only actual two-word verbs, several dictionaries of phrasal verbs have been consulted. The reason for choosing these two particles is to actually observe them as being a pair of oppositions in their meanings. What we have not dealt with in details is their classification into adverbs or prepositions, which means that we have not focused on the classification of the collected two-word verbs into phrasal and prepositional verbs. Still, as the majority of two-word words in the corpus clearly represent phrasal verbs, we will point out those rare examples of prepositional verbs during the analysis.

Table 1: Two-word verbs with *off* and *on*

NO.	Particle	Number of examples
1	OFF	41
2	ON	39
TOTAL NUMBER		80

The examples of two-word verbs have been collected with at least a minimum context needed for a complete understanding of the meaning, both from the original English novel and its Serbian translation, and as such, they will be presented in the analysis.

2. ANALYSIS OF THE CORPUS

In this section of the paper, we will perform the analysis of the corpus consisting of 80 English two-word verbs and their Serbian translation equivalents. The examples will be divided into two large groups depending on the particle they contain – two-word verbs with the particle *off* and two-word verbs with the particle *on*. Both groups will then be further divided into smaller groups based on their meanings. The classification of meanings of two-word verbs with *off* and *on* and the general explanations for each group of meanings have been taken from the *Collins COBUILD Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs* (1994). However, not all of the 80 examples from the corpus will be presented, but only those ones that are the most representative within each group.

What the analysis will focus on are different ways of translating English two-word verbs, in order to try to find possible regularities and tendencies. While doing that, we will critically observe the translations to see how adequate they are. Furthermore, verbal categories of aspect and aktionsart (to be more precise, telicity) of the English two-word verbs from the corpus will be analysed, but attention will also be paid to whether they are kept in the translations.

2.1. Two-word verbs with the particle off

The basic meaning of the particle *off* has to do with movement away from something or separation from something. When combined with verbs, it can constitute two-word verbs with a variety of different meanings that are more or less connected to the basic meanings of the verb and the particle *off*. Our corpus contains ten groups of meanings of the collected two-word verbs with the particle *off* – finishing and completing, removing and disposing, stopping and cancelling, obstruction and separating, preventing and protecting, rejecting, deceiving, decreasing, departure and beginning. We will provide one example from the corpus from each of the groups of meanings in order to analyze them. What has to be pointed out is that sometimes it is really difficult to place a two-word verb into one group of meanings. Some two-word verbs seem to cover more meanings and it is rather subjective to decide on one of them.

2.1.1. Finishing and completing

The two-word verbs belonging to this group indicate that an activity or a proces is finished or completed. The corpus includes five examples of this kind of two-word verbs, one of which will be analyzed below.

(1) a) *Only when a story was finished, all fates resolved and the whole matter sealed off at both ends so it resembled, at least in this one respect, every other finished story in the world, could she feel immune, and ready to punch holes in the margins, bind the chapters with pieces of string, paint or draw the cover, and take the finished work to show to her mother, or her father, when he was home.* (6)

b) *Tek pošto bi priča bila završena, sve sudbine razrešene i čitava stvar zapečaćena s oba kraja, tako da nalikuje, makar u tom jednom pogledu, svakoj drugoj završenoj priči na svetu, mogla je da odahne i pređe na bušenje margina, povezivanje listova kanapom, oslikavanje ili iscrtavanje korica, te gotovo delo odnese da ga pokaže majci, ili ocu, kad bi se i on zadesio u kući.* (10)

The two-word verb in this example, *seal off*, is used in the passive form of simple past, with the auxiliary verb *was* that was included in the first clause referring to it. As it denotes a situation as an unanalyzable whole that is clearly completed and has a natural terminal point, the situation in question is perfective and telic. If we take a look at the two-word verb's semantic characteristics, it seems to be semi-idiomatic, as the verb does not extend its meaning, but the particle does, by not denoting some kind of movement or separation, but rather completion of the action expressed by the verb.

The translation of the two-word verb involves the prefixed verb *zapečatiti* in the Serbian conditional mood (the so-called *potencijal*), that is frequently used for past time narration in order to achieve a better effect on readers. The verbal characteristics of aspect and aktionsart of the original two-word verb remain in the translation – *zapečatiti* is perfective and telic, which can be seen immediately from the morphology of the verb. Although *zapečatiti* as the literal translation of the English two-word verb *seal off* is an acceptable translation solution in this context, it would sound more natural if a verb like *zaokružiti* was used, which is a common Serbian expression when talking about something successfully brought to an end.

2.1.2. Removing and disposing

This group of meanings primarily includes those two-word verbs which are literal combinations and imply removing or disposing something that is no longer wanted or needed. However, there are also combinations with somewhat extended meanings which denote stealing, removing people from someone's area of responsibility, and even killing. The corpus contains 15 examples of two-word verbs belonging to his group, but only one will be dealt with in the analysis.

(2) a) *Robbie made a great show of removing his boots which weren't dirty at all, and then, as an afterthought, took his socks off as well, and tiptoed with comic exaggeration across the wet floor.* (26)

b) *Uz silno prenemaganje, Robi je izuo grube baštenske cipele koje uopšte nisu bile prljave, da bi potom, kao da je malo bolje razmislio, skinuo i čarape, a onda, s komičnim preterivanjem, krenuo da gaca na prstima po mokrom podu.* (28)

This is a typical example of a literal combination of removing or disposing – *take off*. It is used in the simple past tense, denoting a situation as a single unanalyzed whole, so the aspect in question is perfective. There is a clear defined goal, that is, an end-point, so the situation is telic. As already mentioned, the combination of

meanings of the verb and the particle is literal, so the two-word verb is semantically transparent.

This two-word verb has several translation equivalent in Serbian – *svući*, *izuti*, *skinuti*. Depending on the object, one can use *svući* for taking off clothes, *izuti* for taking off shoes or *skinuti* for taking off either clothes or shoes or both of them. The translator has here chosen to use the third option, putting it in the form of the conditional mood (*potencijal*) for the purpose of a more effective narration. *Skinuti* is a perfective verb; as there is a present goal or terminal point, it is telic. Therefore, the aspectual and aktionsart characteristics of the English two-word verb remain the same in its translation.

2.1.3. Stopping and cancelling

The meaning of stopping and cancelling applies to those two-word verbs that imply the ending of something. Some of them even convey the reason why something has stopped. There are three examples of this type of two-word verbs in the corpus, and one of them will now be analyzed.

(3) a) *Turning away may well have been not a distancing, but an act of intimacy, a way of gathering herself to begin to speak her feelings to the only person she thought, so far from home, she could trust herself to talk to. Perhaps she had already drawn breath and parted her lips. But it did not matter because Briony was about to cut her off and the opportunity would be lost.* (156)

b) *To što se okrenula na drugu stranu možda i nije bilo udaljavanje nego čin prisnosti, pokušaj da se pribere i otvori srce jedinoj osobi kojoj je tako daleko od kuće mogla verovati. Ali to nije imalo značaja jer Brajoni će joj oduzeti reč i prilika će biti izgubljena.* (145)

In order to understand the meaning of the two-word verb *cut off*, we included a wider context so that to see if it is used in the sense of stopping having friendly relationships with someone or in the sense of interrupting someone, as these two seem to be both possible based on the meaning of that one sentence. The wider context then clearly shows that the second sense is in question here. The two-word verb is used in combination with the construction *be about to + infinitive* but with past time reference, that is, *was/were about to + infinitive*. It denotes a future event at a particular point in the past. The aspect of the situation denoted by the verb is perfective, as it is shown as a whole. Furthermore, it is telic, which can be confirmed after applying Vendler's tests. As both the verb and the particle extend their meanings, *cut off* seems to be idiomatic.

The translation is in a form of a somewhat idiomatic Serbian collocation – *oduzeti reč*. The translator could have used something less idiomatic, e.g. *prekinuti*, *zaustaviti*, but what she did use is appropriate as it points out the rude interruption of the speech of the character whose stream of thought is being presented. Still,

maybe an even better solution would be the idiomatic phrase *upasti u reč*, which also covers the same meaning of interrupting someone while speaking. The phrase is used in the future tense form, but with the past time reference, thus corresponding to the original construction. *Oduzeti reč* is perfective in terms of aspect and telic in terms of aktionsart, so the situation remains the same as in the original.

2.1.4. Obstruction and separating

Two-word verbs of this type involve the meaning of obstructing, blocking, separating, so there is some kind of a barrier included. Sometimes even the verb itself has the meaning of obstruction or separation. Our corpus includes only one example of this type:

(4) a) *She managed another swipe with her umbrella but the blow glanced off the car's roof.* (175)

b) *Uspela je još jednom da zamahne kišobranom, ali udarac samo okrznu krov automobila.* (162–163)

Glance off is a special example of a two-word verb that is difficult to classify into any group. It is usually used when something hits a surface at an angle and then moves away from it in a different direction. The situation is clearly seen as a whole, so the aspect is perfective. According to Vendler's tests, there is an implied goal, so the situation is telic. The verb has extended its basic meaning, which means the multi-word verb is semantically semi-idiomatic.

When it comes to the translation, a perfective verb is used – *okrznuti*, in the Serbian aorist form, for the greater effect during the narration. *Okrznuti* does not have its imperfective aspectual pair, because it is that kind of a verb that is punctual (momentary). As it has a natural terminal point, i.e. goal, it is clearly telic.

2.1.5. Preventing and protecting

Combinations within this group indicate that someone is doing something to protect oneself or to prevent something from happening. There are two such examples in the corpus and we will analyze one of them.

(5) a) *Some unfortunate just behind him was pulled out to help hold off the onslaught which must surely come within two or three days, while the last of the BEF was piling into the boats.* (230)

b) *Neki nesrećnik odmah iza njega izdvojen je kako bi pomogao u zadržavanju glavnog napada koji neumitno stiže za dva-tri dana, sve dok se ostaci Ekspedicionih snaga ne potrpaju u čamce.* (211)

Indirectly implying the meaning of preventing, *hold off* is a good example of the two-word verbs of this kind. It is used in the infinitive phrase that performs the function of a direct object after the verb *help*. The situation is seen as a totality,

without analyzable phases, so the aspect is perfective. There is a goal to be reached, i.e. the situation is telic.

The translation equivalent is in this case a noun – *zadržavanje*. Due to the context, it really is appropriate to use a noun instead of a verb construction in the function of a direct object, as it is a more economic and a more natural sounding solution. Still, the original meaning would be transferred even more accurately if the noun *odlaganje* was used.

2.1.6. Rejecting

The two-word verbs that fall into this group imply a meaning of rejection. Sometimes the meaning involves abandoning of a habit or a thing or ignoring something. There is only one such example in the corpus:

- (6) a) *He was not so easily shaken off.* (28)
 b) *S Robijem se nije moglo lako izboriti.* (30)

The English sentence contains a passive construction of the simple past tense with the two-word verb *shake off*. As the situation is seen as an unanalyzable whole, no phases are involved, the aspect is perfective. Vendler's tests show that there is an implied goal, so the situation is telic. When it comes to semantic characteristics, there is an extended meaning of the verb, so the two-word verb is semi-idiomatic.

The translation of the two-word verb *shake off* involves the prefixed perfective verb *izboriti se*, which is used with the Serbian passive construction called 'reflexive passive' (Stanojčić i Popović 2002: 254–255) and the modal verb *moći* with past time reference. As the original two-word verb is used in the sense of getting free from someone who is bothering you, there are different possibilities to translate it – *osloboditi se*, *otarasiti se*, *otresti se*. Still, these carry different nuances of informality, so the translator chose maybe stylistically the most adequate translation. As previously mentioned, the prefixed verb *izboriti se* is perfective and, furthermore, telic, as it has a goal to be reached.

2.1.7. Deceiving

Two-word verbs of this kind denote some meanings related to deceiving or tricking. Our corpus has two examples that belong to this group, one of which will be further analyzed.

- (7) a) "*Do you think Shakespeare was just showing off?*" (11)
 b) „*Misliš da se Šekspir samo pravio važan?*” (15)

This example is really specific on several levels of analysis. First of all, it is one of the rare examples from the corpus that denote a situation that is going on (at a certain moment in the past) and is thus aspectually marked as progressive and imperfective. Secondly, it is also one of not so common cases of two-word verbs with the particle *off* that are not telic. If we apply Vendler's tests, we can see that there is

no natural terminal point, the situation is atelic. Furthermore, both the verb and the particle have extended their meanings, so it is fully idiomatic.

Show off is translated as *praviti se važan* (used in the past tense), which is an adequate Serbian phrase including some level of idiomaticity. What can be seen, immediately from the morphology of the verb, is its imperfective aspect and atelic aktionsart, thus corresponding to the characteristics of the original two-word verb.

2.1.8. Decreasing

This group of meanings involves two-word verbs that show that something decreases. There are some combinations of the particle *off* with verbs formed from adjectives to indicate that something gradually has less of a quality. There are also some two-word verbs that denote an activity that is to be done in order to reduce the effect of something unpleasant. The corpus involves two examples of this type and one of them will be analyzed.

(8) a) *Her entries consisted of artistic manifestos, trivial complaints, character sketches and simple accounts of her day which increasingly shaded off into fantasy.* (263)

b) *Njene zabeleške sastojale su se od umetničkih manifesta, trivijalnih žalbi, skica za likove i kratkih opisa dnevnih događaja koji su sve primetnije klizili u fantaziju.* (238)

This example is a bit more challenging in terms of the analysis, as the context can confuse us when denoting perfectivity. The two-word verb is used in the simple past tense and the situation denoted by it is formally perfective and can be seen as a totality or a whole. Still, the adverbial *increasingly* in front of the two-word verb makes the situation unbounded, as the situation cannot be seen as terminating. In other words, there is no actualization of a terminal point (Declerck 1979). As for the feature of telicity, which has to be observed separately from the feature of boundedness, Vendler's tests show that the situation is telic. As there is a clear extension of meanings, the two-word verb is semi-idiomatic.

Due to the idiomaticity of *shade off*, the translator has chosen to use a nice literary translation – *kliziti*, instead of something more plain and simple, but appropriate in this context, such as *nestajati*, *gubiti se*, *prelaziti*. The situation denoted by the verb differs from the original in terms of aspect – it is imperfective, as the adverbial used in the translation, *sve primetnije*, requires an imperfective verb. Furthermore, the situation denoted by the Serbian verb is atelic, thus changing also in relation to aktionsart of the situation denoted by the English two-word verb.

2.1.9. Departure

Two-word verbs that are within this group of meanings usually include literal verbs combined with the particle *off*, with a result of the idea of departure.

Sometimes the combinations with transitive verbs indicate that somebody or something is being sent to another place. This group also involves some verbs to be used as imperatives to tell somebody to go away in a rude way. Furthermore, there are some combinations that denote heat or a smell being released. Seven examples belonging to this group are in the corpus and one of them will be analyzed below.

(9) a) *Pierrot patiently waited his turn, then without a word they ran off downstairs together to face Betty.* (95)

b) *Pjero je strpljivo sačekao svoj red, a zatim bez reči odjuriše niz stepenice da izađu pred Beti.* (90)

Run off is an example of the literal combinations of two-word verbs that fall into this group, thus remaining semantically transparent. In this sentence it is used in the simple past tense. Presented as a single, unanalyzable whole, the situation denoted by the two-word verb is perfective and, according to the applied Vendler's tests, telic.

The translation involves the prefixed perfective verb *odjuriti* in the form of Serbian *aorist*, once again used for the aim of a better narrative effect. Therefore, the situation in Serbian, as it can be seen from the morphology of the verb, is also perfective and telic.

2.1.10. Beginning

What the two-word verbs belonging to this group imply is starting of doing something. There are some combinations of the particle *off* and transitive verbs that convey the sense of causing something to begin. The corpus involves three examples of these two-word verbs, one of which will be presented in the analysis.

(10) a) *She turned abruptly and picked up from the deep shade of the fountain's wall a vase of flowers Briony had not noticed before, and set off with it toward the house.* (37)

b) *Naglo se okrenula i iz duboke senke pod ogradom fontane izvukla neku vazu s cvećem koju Brajoni dotad nije primetila, a onda je ponela prema kući.* (38)

This example is especially difficult to classify into one group of meanings, as, except for the meaning of beginning, it also carries the meaning of departure. It is here used in the simple past tense and denotes a single completed event with a clear end-point. Thus, the situation is, in terms of aspect, perfective and, in terms of aktionsart, telic. *Set off* is semi-idiomatic, as it involves a certain extension of the basic meaning of the verb.

The translation of this two-word verb is interesting to observe, as it is actually highly influenced by the context. We have to look at the surroundings of *set off* – *and set off with it towards the house*. Instead of translating this as, for example, *a onda je sa njom krenula prema kući*, the translator has used the translation *a onda je ponela prema kući*. Thus, the adverbial *with it* directly influences the translation

of the two-word verb. *Poneti* is a perfective verb and denotes a situation that has a clear goal, that is, a terminal point – it is telic.

2.2. Two-word verbs with the particle *on*

Particle *on* in its basic meaning has to do either with position, denoting that one thing is above some other thing, touching it and supported by it, or with movement into that position. When used as a constituent of a two-word verb, it can retain its basic meaning or extend it, thus affecting the meaning of the two-word verb. In the corpus there are eight groups of meanings of the collected two-word verbs with the particle *on* – continuing; focusing: effects, actions, feelings; subjects and topics; holding, attaching and adding; depending and expecting; beginning and operating; attacking; consuming. As with the two-word verbs with the particle *off* analyzed above, we will here also provide the most representative examples from each group of meanings and analyze them. We have to mention once again that some examples of two-word verbs are difficult to place into one group of meanings only or even to any group of meanings, thus having to make a somewhat subjective decision on where it would be the best to put them.

2.2.1. Continuing

The two-word verbs belonging to this group describe those activities that are continued or that last for a long period of time. When the particle *on* is combined with the verbs of movement, the so-formed two-word verbs indicate that a journey or movement continues. Sometimes the particle *on* is used together with transitive verbs, and in those cases two-word verbs denote that something is given from one person to another, referring to the continuity of ownership. The corpus contains sixteen examples of two-word verbs of this type, so it seems to be the most frequent meaning of the collected two-word verbs with the particle *on*.

(11) a) *So they wandered on, looking for somewhere.* (243)

b) *I tako su lunjali dalje, tražeći zgodno mesto.* (222)

Wander on is a combination of a verb of movement that retains its original meaning and the particle *on* which extends its basic meaning of position to continuation. That means that this two-word verb is semi-idiomatic. In this context it is used in the simple past tense. Although the meaning of continuation added by the particle *on* can confuse us in terms of perfectivity, the situation denoted by the two-word verb is rather perfective, as it can be seen as a totality in a certain period in the past. Still, the situation is unbounded, as it is not terminating. When we observe telicity, there is no goal to be reached, which means that the situation is atelic.

The translation equivalent in this case involves a construction composed of the imperfective verb *lunjati* and the adverbial *dalje*. Thus, the meaning of continu-

ation added to the two-word verb by the particle *on* is actually transferred by means of the Serbian adverbial *dalje*. The morphology of the verb *lunjati* shows us that the aspect is imperfective, and it is clear that there is no endpoint and no goal to be reached, so the situation is definitely atelic. The translation thus corresponds to the original in terms of telicity, but not in terms of the aspectual characteristics.

2.2.2. Focusing: effects, actions, feelings

This group of meanings involves combinations that describe effects, actions and feelings. These combinations usually include the most general meaning of the particle *on* – simply introducing a noun group which refers to the focus of the action described by the verb. The noun group then denotes the person/thing that is affected or that the action/feeling is directed towards. Still, there are some two-word verbs that involve a metaphorical use of the literal meaning of *on* that has to do with movement, passion, attachment. Furthermore, sometimes the meanings of giving, transferring and aiming are present, when a two-word verb after the particle *on* mentions the person to whom something is given or transferred or the target at which something is aimed. There are six examples of two-word verbs of this type in the corpus, one of which will be analyzed below.

(12) a) *Washing her hands a dozen times a day under stinging cold water with a block of soda brought on her first chilblains.* (259)

b) *Od pranja ruku po desetak puta na dan neljudski hladnom vodom i sapunom od kamene sode dobila je prve promrzline.* (235)

Bring on is in the example used in the simple past tense and denotes a situation as a completed whole, which means the aspect in question is perfective. When we apply Vendler's tests, it turns out that the situation is telic. There is a certain extension of the meaning, so the two-word verb is semi-idiomatic.

This two-word verb is here used as a synonym of the verb *cause*. What should be its expected translation is, thus, a Serbian verb with the corresponding meaning – *prouzrokovati* or even *dovesti do*. However, the translator has changed the complete structure of the sentence when translating it, turning the English subject into Serbian adverbial of cause, thus directly affecting the translation of the two-word verb. So, instead of *Pranje ruku po desetak puta na dan neljudski hladnom vodom i sapunom od kamene sode dovelo je do prvih promrzlina/ prouzrokovalo je prve promrzline*, we have *Od pranja ruku po desetak puta na dan neljudski hladnom vodom i sapunom od kamene sode dobila je prve promrzline*. The translator has made a good decision, as this Serbian construction sounds much more natural than the literal translation would sound. The verbal characteristics of the original two-word verb are retained in the translation – the situation is perfective and telic.

2.2.3. Subjects and topics

This group of meanings contains combinations of verbs and the particle *on* that functions as a preposition. That means that prepositional verbs represent the majority of this group. They usually refer to processes of mentioning, stating, deciding, thinking and so on. Noun groups that follow the particle *on* denote the subject or topic about which someone is talking, deciding, thinking etc. The corpus contains five examples of these two-word verbs, but we will present the analysis only of one of them.

(13) a) *Often, in the minutes she had to herself each day as she walked from the bungalow to the house, she would reflect on the benign accidents of her life.* (83)

b) *U minutima koje je uspevala da odvoji za sebe dok bi pešačila od bungalova do kuće, Grejs je često mislila o sitnim slučajnostima u svome životu.* (79)

Reflect on is, as the majority of two-word verbs within this group, a prepositional verb, as the particle *on* functions as a preposition. The prepositional verb is here used in a very specific context, representing a situation that was often repeated in the past. Therefore, it represents the so-called habitual aspect that Comrie (1976: 26–32) mentions as a subtype of imperfective aspect. Dahl (1987: 100–102) even goes more deeply and talks about habitual-past aspect as a combination of habitual aspect and past time reference. As this situation is not completed, but regularly repeated, there is no natural terminal point, so the situation is atelic. In English there are certain grammaticalized expressions used for habitual-past aspect – ‘used to’ and ‘would’, where the first can be combined with both dynamic and stative verbs, and latter only with dynamic verbs. This prepositional verb is semantically semi-idiomatic, as there is an extension of meaning to some degree.

When it comes to the translation, *reflect on* is translated by means of something that is called a grammatical collocation – *misliti o*. Prčić (2008: 151, 153) explains that grammatical collocations are a subtype of collocations, where the primary collocate (as the main part that carries the meaning) is a verb, a noun or an adjective, and the secondary collocate (the part that modifies the primary collocate) is a preposition. As these combinations are obligatory, they are more in the domain of grammar than in the domain of lexicology. In this case, the Serbian verb *misliti* is the primary collocate, and the Serbian preposition *o* is the secondary collocate. This construction is here used in the simple past tense. As it co-occurs with the adverbial *često*, the aspect is here imperfective combined with habituality, which is in Serbian called ‘učestali nesvršeni vid’ with past time reference. There is not a natural terminal point, so the situation is atelic.

2.2.4. Holding, attaching and adding

What two-word verbs within this group represent are literal combinations which have ‘hold’, ‘attach’ and ‘add’ as part of their meanings. We will analyze one of five such examples that are present in the corpus.

(14) a) *She should also put on some flat-soled shoes in case Briony had gone all the way to the river ...* (67)

b) *Isto tako, dobro bi bilo da obuje ravne cipele za slučaj da je Brajoni otišla čak do reke [...]* (64)

Put on is a great illustration of how a two-word verb can have a variety of different meanings. *Put on a play*, for example, would belong to the group of focusing: effects, actions, feelings. Here we have *put on shoes*, belonging to the group of holding and attaching. We can see that its meaning usually depends on the noun phrase that follows. Both the verb and the particle have expanded their basic meanings, thus being fully idiomatic. In this context it is used with the modal verb *should* that expresses a lower degree of obligation that can be seen more as a recommendation. The situation denoted by the two-word verb is represented as an unanalyzable whole rather than as a structure with phases, so it is perfective. Furthermore, it is telic, as there is a clear-defined goal to be reached.

Similarly to the two-word verb *take off* that carries the meaning opposite to the meaning of *put on*, this two-word verb also has several translation equivalents in Serbian – *obučiti*, *obuti*, *navučiti*. Again depending on the object, *obučiti* is used for clothes (and for shoes, but in the informal register), *obuti* for shoes and *navučiti* for both, but with a nuance of informality. The translator has chosen to use *obuti*, appropriately to the context, combined with the construction *dobro bi bilo* in order to transfer that sense of obligation to a lower degree. What can be seen is that aspect and aktionsart characteristics of the English two-word verb are kept in the translation as well – the situation is perfective and telic.

2.2.5. Depending and expecting

This group involves combinations with verbs that express ideas of depending and expecting. The noun group that follows the particle *on* denotes the thing that you expect or need. There are only two such examples in the corpus and we will analyze one of them.

(15) a) *Perhaps Lola was relying on the twins to wreck the play innocently, and needed only to stand back and observe.* (32)

b) *Možda se Lola uzda u blizance da bezazleno rasture predstavu, pa joj je dovoljno da motri iz prikrajka.* (34)

As the particle *on* here functions as a preposition, this is one of the several examples of the prepositional verbs found in the corpus. *Rely on* is in this example used in the past continuous tense, denoting an activity that was ongoing at a certain moment in the past. This means that the aspect is progressive and, at the same time, imperfective. There is not a natural terminal point, so the situation can be seen as atelic. As the particle *on* extends its meaning, this two-word verb is, in terms of semantics, semi-idiomatic.

The translation is, once again, in the form of a grammatical collocation – *uzdati se u*, where the primary collocates are the verb *uzdati se*, and the secondary collocates are the preposition *u*. Although the original English sentence is used in the past, the translator has chosen to use this collocation in the Serbian simple present tense in order to make the narration more vivid and more interesting. Simple present tense used for this purpose is called ‘historical present’ or ‘narrative present’. The verbal characteristics of the English prepositional verb are transferred to the translation – the situation remains imperfective and atelic.

2.2.6. Beginning and operating

Two-word verbs within this group usually express ideas of beginning or starting. Some combinations refer to a change of topic in a conversation, whereas some others denote the operating of a machine or a device. The corpus includes only two examples of two-word verbs of this kind, one of which will be further analyzed.

(16) a) *There was nothing, and then, like a lamp turned on and off in total darkness, there was a little squeal of laughter abruptly smothered.* (66)

b) *Isprva ništa, a onda, kao da je neko u mrklom mraku upalio i ugasio lampu, kratak ciktavi smeh, naglo presečen.* (63)

This two-word verb, *turn on*, belongs to those combinations whose meaning involves ‘operating of a machine or a device’. As it denotes a situation as a single, completed event and an unanalyzable whole, its aspect is clearly perfective. There is a goal to be reached, that is, an endpoint of the situation, which means the situation is telic. Both the verb and the particle have their basic meanings extended, so the two-word verb is semantically fully idiomatic.

This sense of the two-word verb *turn on* can be transferred to Serbian by means of different verbs, such as *uključiti*, *upaliti*. The translator has chosen the latter solution and used it in the simple past tense. The morphology of *upaliti* immediately gives us the information about its aspect and aktionsart – it is perfective and telic, thus corresponding to the original.

2.2.7. Attacking

Two-word verbs that fall into this group express ideas of attacking, either physically or, even more often, verbally. We will provide the analysis of one such example of the two that are present in the corpus.

(17) a) *“I suppose I’d better pick on someone smaller.”* (121)

b) *„Moraću, izgleda, da se okomim na nekog sitnijeg.”* (113)

Pick on is another example of a prepositional verb within a few in the corpus. It is combined with the construction *had better* that is similar to modal constructions with *should* and *ought to*, expressing the idea of recommendation or obligation to a

lesser degree. The situation denoted by the prepositional verb can be observed as a completed whole, thus being perfective. As the feature of telicity is somewhat difficult to analyze in this particular case, performing Vendler's tests shows that the situation is telic. When it comes to semantic characteristics of *pick on*, both constituents have expanded their primary meanings, so the prepositional verb is fully idiomatic.

The translation of *pick on* involves a grammatical collocation – *okomiti se na*, where *okomiti se* is the primary collocate, and *na* is the secondary collocate. It is used within the Serbian modal construction *morati + da + simple present tense*. Thus, the translator has made the degree of obligation bigger than in the original, as the whole context in English suggests that it is more of a recommendation than of an obligation. The situation is perfective and telic, as in the original.

2.2.8. Consuming

This group contains combinations saying that somebody eats a certain thing or that they make use of a certain thing or person. Noun groups following the particle *on* denote the food or source being consumed or used. The corpus includes only one such example:

(18) a) “*I found a quiet corner and pretended to read,*” *he knew she was feeding on the same memories that consumed him every night, beneath thin prison blankets.* (192)

b) „*Pronašla sam jedan tihi kutak i pravila se da čitam, znao je da se ona hrani istim uspomenuama koje njega opsedaju svake noći, pod tankim zatvorskim ćebetom.* (177)

As the particle *on* in this example again functions as a preposition, *feed on* is also an illustration of a prepositional verb. In this context it is used in the past continuous tense, thus denoting a situation going on at a certain moment in the past. The situation is, therefore, progressive and imperfective. Vendler's tests indicate that there is no natural terminal point, so the situation is atelic. The prepositional verb involves a certain extension of the meaning, so it is semi-idiomatic in terms of semantics.

The translation equivalent used for the prepositional verb *feed on* is a Serbian imperfective verb *hraniti se*, which is at the same time atelic. What is interesting is that it is used in simple present tense, although with past time reference. If we take a look at the English construction, we see the sequence of tenses – *he knew she was feeding on the same memories*, where both verbs refer to the same reference point in the past. In Serbian, however, it is possible to say *znao je da se ona hrani istim uspomenuama*, with one verb used in simple past tense and the other in the simple present tense, and it is still clear that they both refer to the past. The translator could have used the prepositional verb in the simple past tense, but has, once again, due to the effect of a more dynamic narration, decided to use narrative present.

3. DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

After the analysis of the selected examples from the corpus, the final section of this paper will deal with the results and some general conclusions based on them. First the results related to the two-word verbs with *off* will be presented, and then the results related to the two-word verbs with *on* will succeed. As the primary goal of the analysis was to observe different means of translating two-word verbs, the best way to show what translation equivalents are used and to which extent, is to present them in a table. Thus, translation equivalents of the two-word verbs with the particle *off* and the frequency of their usage will be shown within the Table 2, whereas translation equivalents of the two-word verbs with the particle *on* and the number of times they are used will be presented within the Table 3. After the tabular overviews, some general remarks and comments will follow.

Table 2: Translation equivalents of two-word verbs with *off*

	Type of translation equivalent	Number of examples
1	prefixed verb (perfective)	13
	verb (perfective)	14
	verb (imperfective)	4
2	verb + verb	1
3	Idiom	3
4	collocation	1
5	Noun	2
6	interjection	1
7	no translation	2

What can be immediately seen is the predominance of verbs as translation equivalents – two thirds of the two-word verbs with *off* from the corpus are translated by means of Serbian verbs. We presented the group of verbs as divided into sub-groups of prefixed perfective verbs, perfective verbs and imperfective verbs. The reason for this is related to the characteristics of aspect and aktionsart. As already mentioned, one of the goals of the analysis was to observe if the aspect and aktionsart characteristics of the English two-word verbs remain the same in the translation. The analysis shows that they do in almost all the cases. The same aspectual characteristics, predominantly perfective, are present both in the original and in the translation, but in English you have to observe them on the level of syntax, and in Serbian on the level of morphology. When it comes to telicity, the analysis shows that almost all the English examples are telic, which proves the claim that particles act as markers of

telic aktionsart – the particle *off* either adds the notion of telicity or re-emphasizes it. Telic feature is then transferred to Serbian translations. Thus, most examples in the corpus denote perfective and telic situations that are in Serbian expressed by means of perfective verbs that are either lexically perfective (e.g. *skinuti* from English *take off*), or perfectivized by means of prefixation (e.g. *zapečatiti* from English *seal off*). There are only four examples of imperfective and atelic Serbian verbs (e.g. *dovršavati* from English *finish off*) that were used for translating two-word verbs which are in the English context used in imperfective aspect (in two cases) and perfective aspect (in two cases) and are in all the cases telic. These are the examples where aspect and aktionsart characteristics of the original are not transferred to the translation.

If we take a look at the other translation equivalents, we can see that they are used rarely, mostly in some specific contexts where the translator has decided to use solutions that are not so much expected, but sound more natural and are appropriate to the literal style of writing. Those are idioms (e.g. *praviti se važan* from English *show off*), collocations (e.g. *oduzeti reč* from English *cut off*), combinations of two verbs (e.g. *planuti i sagoreti* from English *burn off*), nouns (e.g. *zadržavanje* from English *hold off*), interjections (e.g. *Dosta!* from English *leave off*), and even omissions of the translation. When it comes to the idiomaticity of the English two-word verbs with *off*, most of them are semi-idiomatic, with some rare cases of being completely transparent or fully idiomatic. The way idiomaticity affects the translation can be seen on the level of full idiomaticity – those two-word verbs are either translated as idioms in Serbian or the translation is highly affected by the context, as the meaning can be deduced and transferred only based on the objects or adverbials following the verb.

Table 3: Translation equivalents of two-word verbs with *on*

	Type of translation equivalent		Number of examples
1	verb	prefixed verb (perfective)	3
		verb (perfective)	7
		verb (imperfective)	12
2	verb + verb		1
3	idiom		1
4	collocation		1
5	grammatical collocation		7
6	verb + adverbial		4
7	phasal verb + verb		2
8	no translation		1

Similarly to the two-word verbs with *off*, the two-word verbs with *on* are also in most cases translated by means of Serbian verbs. However, whereas translation equivalents of the two-word verbs with *off* involved the dominance of perfective verbs over imperfective verbs, here the situation is a bit different – there is an equal number of perfective verbs (e.g. *uneti* from English *impose on*, *preuzeti* from English *take on*) and imperfective verbs (e.g. *udaljivati se* from English *walk on*). As the verbal characteristics of the English two-word verbs with *on* have here also shown to be mostly kept in the Serbian verbs, this reflects the situation in English, indicating that two-word verbs with *on* can be equally used in both perfective and imperfective contexts and can denote both telic and atelic situations, with no tendencies towards one or another, as in the case of the two-word verbs with *off*. Thus, there is an important difference between these two groups of verbs, the source of which lies in the particle that builds them. With the two-word verbs with *off*, there is a general conclusion related to the particle *off* – it typically denotes some kind of completion, no matter what meaning is involved, and implies a goal to be reached, and thus creates a tendency for two-word verbs to be used in perfective aspect. With two-word verbs with *on*, on the other hand, there is not such a broad deduction to be made, as the particle *on* only in one group of meanings denotes continuation and thus involves a tendency towards atelic situations (and both perfective and imperfective situations); in all the other groups, both perfective/imperfective and telic/atelic situations are more or less possible, depending on the context.

What is interesting with the results of translation equivalents of the two-word verbs with *on* that was not noticed within the results of translation equivalents of two-word verbs with *off* are certain tendencies in translating. When it comes to the group of the two-word verbs with the meaning of continuing, there is a tendency to sometimes use specific constructions in order to transfer that sense of continuation. These constructions involve phasal verbs (*nastaviti*, *nastavljati*) combined with verbs (e.g. *nastaviti piti* from English *drink on*), as well as verbs combined with adverbials denoting some spatial or temporal continuation (e.g. *gurati napred* from English *press on*, *lunjati dalje* from English *wander on*).

Furthermore, several prepositional verbs with *on* found in the corpus seem to be typically translated by means of grammatical collocations (e.g. *uzdati se u* from English *rely on*), where the verb is the primary collocate and the preposition is the secondary collocate. This really can be seen as a tendency, as 7 of 10 collected prepositional verbs are translated in this way.

Other translation equivalents have been used by the translator mostly for the purpose of stylistic effect, with no tendencies noticed. Thus, there are collocations (e.g. *pružiti korak* from English *stride on*), idioms (e.g. *dati se u trk* from English *run on*), combinations of two verbs (e.g. *obići i videti* from English *check on*) and omissions of the translation. Similarly to the two-word verbs with *off*, most two-word verbs with *on* are semi-idiomatic, and only rare ones fully idiomatic or transparent.

Once again, full idiomaticity affects the translation by making it dependable on the objects or adverbials that modify the verb and enable us to understand and transfer the meaning.

What can be added as a final remark is that contrastive analyses like this can help us better comprehend some aspect of a language both within that language and when contrasted with some other language(s). The importance of analyses of this kind becomes even greater when the aspect of a language being studied is something like two-word verbs, what many authors describe as a feature typical of the English language representing the national ways of thinking, expressing oneself and behaving (Mišeta-Bradarić 1989). What can be done in the future is to perform a more detailed analysis on a much larger corpus, which would probably raise the possibility of learning something new about the characteristics of two-word verbs and finding more types of their translation equivalents.

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Aleksandra Kardoš

ENGLISKI DVOČLANI GLAGOLI SA PARTIKULAMA *OFF* I *ON*
I NJIHOV PREVOD NA SRPSKI JEZIK – KORPUSNA ANALIZA

Rezime

U radu se analiziraju engleski dvočlani glagoli sa partikulama *off* i *on* i njihovi prevodni ekvivalenti u srpskom jeziku. U cilju izučavanja različitih vidova prevođenja engleskih dvočlanih glagola, izvršili smo kontrastivnu analizu korpusa koji se sastoji od 80 dvočlanih glagola sa partikulama *off* i *on*. Korpus je sakupljen iz engleskog romana *Atonement* autora Ijana Makjuana i njegovog objavljenog srpskog prevoda *Iskupljenje* (prevela Arijana Božović). Nakon uvodnog dela, koji pruža relevantne teorijske okvire vezane za višečlane i dvočlane glagole, njihov odnos prema kategorijama aspekta i akcionsarta, kao i za očekivane prevodne ekvivalente na osnovu rezultata dosadašnjih studija, centralni deo rada bavi se analizom izabranih primera iz korpusa. U završnom delu rada daju se rezultati i opšti zaključci o tendencijama vezanim za glagolske odlike dvočlanih glagola sa partikulama *off* i *on* kao i za načine njihovog prevođenja.

Ključne reči: dvočlani glagoli, partikule *off* i *on*, prevodni ekvivalenti, aspekt, teličnost