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THEMATIC MEANING AND TRANSLATION

(Functional Sentence Perspective and its Relevance for
Contrastive Language Study)

by

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of Glasgow in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a detailed investigation into the Prague School conception of Functional Sentence Perspective (FSP) and is an attempt at demonstrating its relevance for the study of the structure of language. It is based on a considerable corpus of material in the English and Czech languages, mostly from literary texts and their translations. The thesis consists of five chapters.

Chapter One gives a detailed survey of the fundamental concepts of the theory, their definitions, and alternative terminology employed by representatives of other linguistic schools. The basic dichotomy of THEME (i.e. WHAT IS TALKED ABOUT) and RHEME (i.e. WHAT IS SAID ABOUT THEME) is defined in terms of such concepts as OLD (GIVEN) and NEW INFORMATION, COMMUNICATIVE DYNAMISM and COMMUNICATIVE IMPORTANCE, SUBJECTIVE and OBJECTIVE WORD ORDER and FIRST and SECOND INSTANCE SENTENCES. Further, in this chapter attention is paid to the status FSP is allocated in various models of linguistic description including the transformational and generative models.

Chapter Two outlines our own framework of investigation. It is based on Daneš's three-level model of sentence description, namely (1) grammar, (2) semantics, and (3) FSP, and on Mathesius's distinction between the linguistic processes of (1) naming elements of extralinguistic reality, and (2) relating names syntagmatically. Further, we have used insights from dependency syntax (Tesnière, Daneš, Helbig and others) and from the semantic study of the verbal nucleus (Fillmore, Halliday, Sgall, Apresjan, Mel'čuk, Gak and others).

Chapter Three deals with problems of word order in the two languages. It is demonstrated that in Czech, word order is not called upon to discharge functions on the level of grammar and is, therefore, virtually free to be used for the purposes of FSP. In English, word order is GRAMMATICALISED (Mathesius), i.e. fixed by

its grammatical functions, and consequently offers little scope as a means of FSP. Where variation of word order is possible it is often connected with some changes in emphasis. In order to secure FSP marking English has to resort to the use of grammatical and lexical markers and/or to various syntactic reconstructions of the valency structure of the verb. These methods of FSP organization are treated in the remaining two chapters.

Chapter Four looks at the role of determiners in FSP. English articles are found to be an important means of marking out FSP components, compensating for the above-mentioned rigidity in the linear arrangement of the English sentence. The indefinite article is often capable of marking a segment as RHEME regardless of its position in the sentence. Similarly, the definite article interrelates closely with THEME. It is an important means of referring to GIVEN elements and its employment in this way has far-reaching consequences both of a syntactic and a semantic nature.

Chapter Five presents a variety of structural and semantic shifts in English whose aim it is to align the T-R sequence with the favoured SVO arrangement of sentence segments. The chapter is divided into two parts (A and B). The first concentrates in particular on the strategies whereby T is made into the surface structure subject; the second deals with methods of identifying R with the right-hand syntactic actant of the verb. Attention is also paid to structural, lexical and phonetic means of marking out FSP elements outside their usual syntactic positions. These are in particular: (1) cleft- and semi-cleft constructions, (2) rhematizing particles, and (3) italicization.

The concluding remarks include some suggestions for further research.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My interest in the problems of Functional Sentence Perspective was first stimulated during my short period of part-time postgraduate study (1971-1972) at the University of Brno, Czechoslovakia, under Professor J.Firbas. It was not, however, until 1975, when the University of Glasgow granted me its Advanced Study Scholarship, that I could devote my full attention to the subject and write this thesis. For this I am greatly indebted.

My sincere thanks are due to the supervisor, Mr.J.M.Y.Simpson, Head of the Department of Linguistics and Phonetics. Throughout my research he has been generous in giving me his time, attention and encouragement. I am grateful for his scholarly advice as well as for his help in drawing my attention to the various finer points of English usage and style. His readiness to offer immediate assistance with various practical problems and his caring attitude towards my personal problems have also been greatly appreciated.

I am also grateful for the multifarious assistance given to me by my wife. I have benefited from her linguistic intuitions as a native speaker of English. She has shown great patience in weeding out idiosyncracies of my style as well as numerous typographical inconsistencies. Last but not least she deserves my gratitude for the meticulous care with which she has typed two complete drafts of the thesis.

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INTRODUCTION

Until very recently the mainstream of linguistic theoretical thought was almost exclusively oriented towards the study of language 'competence' (Chomsky 1965), i.e. the system of rules, patterns, structures, and concepts which underlie the use of language in real-life situations. In the words of Chomsky:

"The problem for the linguist ... is to determine from the data of performance the underlying system of rules that has been mastered by the speaker-hearer and that he puts to use in actual performance. Hence, in the technical sense, linguistic theory is mentalistic, since it is concerned with discovering the mental reality underlying actual behaviour. Observed use of language or hypothesized dispositions to respond, habits, and so on, may provide evidence as to the nature of this mental reality, but surely cannot constitute the actual subject matter of linguistics, if this is to be a serious discipline."

(1965:4)

The transformational-generative models of language description, based on the afore-mentioned premises, offer linguists many original and penetrating insights into the structural properties of language patterning. Most of them, however, whether they be syntactically or semantically based¹:

"provide the worst possible basis for an attack on what Chomsky calls PERFORMANCE. A language is a set of sentence-meaning pairs, but it is also an instrument of communication. It is therefore of the essence that a speaker of language should not only know the proper set of sentence-meaning pairs, but that he should be able effectively to translate sentences into meanings and meanings into sentences. He must be able to use his linguistic competence and the linguist must, sooner or later, explain how he does this."

(Kay, 1970:115)

The most notable failure of the transformational-generative models is seen in their inability to account for the manifold problems of the linear arrangement of the sentence segments in accordance with

the dynamics of the actual conditions in which an utterance is formed, the nature of information it carries and the communicative needs of the participants in the actual discourse situation. As has been pointed out by Daněš-Vachek (1964:27) and Poldauf:

"sets of generative and transformational rules, as formulated by Chomsky and his followers, seem to be able to formalize quite adequately only such relations as exist in static, immobile language structures... But a language system in motion ... appears to be rather difficult to handle with the help of formalizing and axiomatizing rules."²

In Slavonic languages there is relatively free word order.

In Czech, for instance, the sentence:

- 1) (SVO) Petr potkal Jana. (Peter met John.)

can have five alternative permutations of word order, each of which may occur under certain specific conditions of communication:

- 1a) (SOV) Petr Jana potkal. (Peter did meet John.)

[Peter_{NOM} John_{ACC} met]

- 1b) (OVS) Jana potkal Petr. (John was met by Peter.)

[John_{ACC} met Peter_{NOM}³]

- 1c) (OSV) Jana Petr potkal. (John was met by Peter.)

[John_{ACC} Peter_{NOM} met]

- 1d) (YSO) Potkal Petr Jana. (It so happened that Peter met John.)

[Met Peter_{NOM} John_{ACC}]

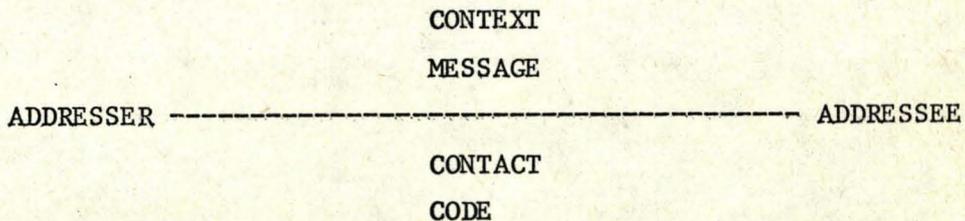
- 1e) (YOS) Potkal Jana Petr. (It so happened that John was met

[Met John_{ACC} Peter_{NOM}⁴ by Peter.]

Of the six variants there is only one which could be called UNMARKED⁵, i.e. SYO, that is the order which would occur in what Admoni (1973:51) calls "the state of syntactic tranquillity" (sostojanje sintaksičeskogo pokoja); this order is determined by systemic considerations of a grammatical nature, easily describable by formal rules. In discussing

similar examples from Russian Jakobson (1963:212-213) refers to the other five (RECESSIVE) alternatives as "diverse emphatic shifts". It is clear that their occurrences cannot easily be described by axiomatic rules nor can they be accounted for by statistical evidence, on which Greenberg based his research in determining the universal DOMINANT ORDER. They can be interpreted with the aid of those theories which will take into account the whole multiplicity of parameters characterizing the actual communication situations in which they were produced and the actual COMMUNICATIVE ASSIGNMENTS they are meant to fulfil⁶.

Suitable for this purpose are theoretical concepts borrowed from the mathematical theory of communication, or as it is often called, information theory⁷. A simplified and lucid schema of the communication model applied for linguistic research was put forward in Jakobson (1960:353):



"The ADDRESSER sends a MESSAGE to the ADDRESSEE. To be operative the message requires a CONTEXT referred to ..., seizable by the addressee, and either verbal or capable of being verbalized; a CODE fully, or at least partially, common to the addresser and addressee; and finally, a CONTACT, a physical channel and psychological connection between the addresser and the addressee, enabling them both to stay in communication."⁸

The fundamental purpose of communication is transference of information. The addresser sends a piece of information to the addressee in order to modify his knowledge of the world⁹. That means that each communication unit (sentence) will attempt to impart a piece of new information which in turn will have to be based on

some pieces of information common to both participants in the discourse. The dichotomy of WHAT IS SPOKEN ABOUT and WHAT IS SAID ABOUT IT or of OLD and NEW information appears to be of crucial importance for the treatment of the linear organization of the sentence.

The relevance of the opposition, based on the relative INFORMATIONAL WEIGHT of items of the sentence, for the understanding of linguistic patterning, was realized more than a century ago by the French classical scholar Henri Weil, whose monograph "De l'ordre des mots dans les langues anciennes comparées aux langues modernes"¹⁰, published in 1844, can be considered a pioneer work in this field. His theory found further development in the works of linguists grouped around "Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie", in particular G. v. d. Gabelentz, H. Paul, B. Delbrück and H. Steinthal. The methodology of this school of linguistic thought was, however, heavily slanted towards the psychological aspects of the problem, a fact which was also reflected in their conceptual framework. It is generally agreed that the theory was placed on a truly linguistic footing by the founder of the Prague Linguistic School, V. Mathesius, in the early decades of this century. His approach of ACTUAL SENTENCE DIVISION (aktuální členění větné) is based on a consistent correlation between the behaviour of the communicative units, i.e. FOUNDATION and NUCLEUS (základ-jádro) or later THEME-RHEME (téma-réma), and the syntactic structure of the sentence, having constant regard to other factors of the communicational situation, in particular the CONTEXT and the PARTICIPANTS in the discourse.

"Pozorujeme-li různé výpovědi, vidíme více nebo méně jasně, že se takové výpovědi pravidelně skládají ze dvou částí. Jedna část vyjadřuje něco, co je dáno kontextem nebo co je nasnadě, zkrátka, to, o čem se něco vypovídá. Tuto část nazýváme základem výpovědi. Druhá část je ta, která obsahuje to, co nového uvádíme, co se o něčem vypovídá - tu nazýváme jádro výpovědi. Obvykle na prvním

místě ve větě stává základ výpovědi a na druhém jádro výpovědi, t.j. postupuje se od toho, co je známo, k tomu, co teprve známým činíme. To je pořad, který tu nazýváme objektivní, neboť je to pořad, kdy mluvčí dbá na posluchače. Opačný pořad je subjektivní, kdy napřed stojí jádro výpovědi a pak teprve její základ. Tento pořad se vyskytuje v normální řeči jen v afektu a mluvčí při něm nedbá na posluchače, nýbrž začíná tím, co je nejdůležitější pro něho samého ..."

(Mathesius, 1961:183)¹¹

Comparing Czech and English, Mathesius observes that the two language systems employ different grammatical devices to comply with the needs of the SENTENCE PERSPECTIVE (Satzperspektive)¹². Czech, with its rich system of inflection, offers an almost unlimited scope of word order variations; English, on the other hand, whose word order is largely fixed, uses other devices, such as articles, the passive, cleft sentences, etc. Thus in sentence 1 (SVO):

Petr potkal Jana. (Peter met John.)

the FOUNDATION would most probably be the subject (Petr) while the rest of the sentence (VO - potkal Jana) will represent the NUCLEUS. We might paraphrase by 'As regards Peter' (foundation) 'he met John' (nucleus)¹³. The sequence OVS in the Czech sentence 1b:

Jana potkal Petr

will be chosen when we want to express something like 'As regards John' (foundation) 'he was met by Peter' (nucleus). Since both languages have a strong tendency to start with the foundation and shift the most important piece of information towards the end, they reorganize the elements of the sentence: in Czech by a simple change of the word order; in English by syntactic means, i.e. in this particular case by the use of the passive voice (John was met by Peter).

Further on we will treat Mathesius' views in greater detail; at this stage we only wish to exemplify the way he integrated the concepts of the INFORMATION-BEARING STRUCTURE¹⁴ of the utterance into

the description of the language system. He thus laid the foundations for the development of what we might call in the words of Kay (1970:126) a MODEL OF PERFORMANCE-ORIENTED COMPETENCE, a model referred to mostly as the THEORY OF FUNCTIONAL SENTENCE PERSPECTIVE (FSP) (see Chapter 1, p.13). His work was further developed in a very fruitful manner by a younger generation of Prague School linguists in the last two decades or so (in particular Firbas, Danes^v, Sgall, Benes^v and Svoboda, as well as others), and this represents one of the most significant developments of the post-war work of the Prague School¹⁵. Their work found many followers in the Soviet Union (Raspopov, Kovtunova, Nikolajeva, Lapteva, Kotelova; and on a somewhat different basis Panfilov and Pumpjanskij) and in Germany (Boost, Buttke). In Anglo-Saxon linguistics it was until very recently either ignored or sometimes downright dismissed as unscientific¹⁶. But in the last five years or so the phenomenon of FSP has been generally accepted as one of the most important aspects of the study of language, as one of the universals¹⁷ of language, and most students of the semantic structure of language take it into account in their models¹⁸.

The fact that FSP received so much attention in Slavonic languages is perhaps not surprising. With their pliable word order they are much more transparent for the observation of the correlation between the information-bearing structure and the formal structure of the sentence. Analytical languages like English are more opaque¹⁹ in this respect and certain mechanisms which the language employs for FSP are much more readily seen in contrasting it with other languages. In their works Mathesius and his followers have already postulated many valuable insights into FSP in English. In this thesis we will try to further develop the contrastive approach to the study of FSP in these two languages, with particular focus on

the manifestations of the information-bearing structure on the various levels of linguistic patterning. The aim will essentially be threefold:

- 1) to verify the theoretical insights of the Prague School linguists on a substantially wider corpus;
- 2) to broaden the framework of investigation employing the concepts of contemporary semantic thought; and
- 3) to show the relevance of FSP studies for the theory of translation (paying particular attention to translation between Czech and English).

FSP highlights differences in the informational value of sentence members and in this way it contributes to the overall meaning of the sentence. With Leech(1974) we will refer to this aspect of sentence meaning as THEMATIC MEANING²⁰ (p.22).

Sentences (1a) and (1b) and their English counterparts, i.e.

1a₁ Peter met John

1b₁ John was met by Peter

have the same conceptual content but they differ in that they refer to different communicative situations.

As is suggested in the title of this thesis, one of the principle objectives of our research will be to describe the means used by different languages for rendering THEMATIC MEANING. The methodology used will be that of ANALYTICAL COMPARISON introduced by Mathesius and further developed by Firbas and his students. The basis of the methodology consists in "comparison of languages of different types without any regard to their genetic relations" (Mathesius 1936:306).

Our exemplification material has been obtained from a detailed sentence-by-sentence analysis of some 5000 pages of literary texts and their translations; of these, original English materials constitute

approximately 3000 pages and original Czech materials about 2000 pages. Further examples were drawn from everyday conversation and from the press, radio and TV, as well as from grammars and other scholarly works on the subject.

The thesis will consist of five chapters. The first will give a comprehensive account of the FSP terminology used by various schools of linguistic thought and the place these schools assign to this theory in their grammars.

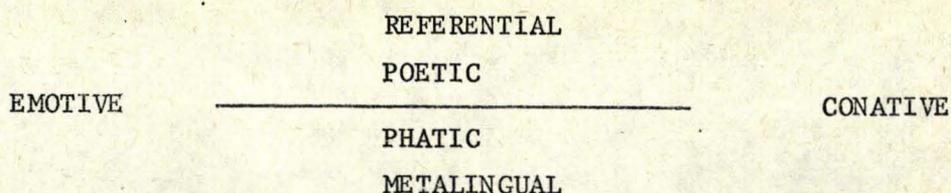
Chapter Two will outline the descriptive framework which we intend to use for the purposes of this work.

The remaining three chapters will constitute the core of the thesis. They will present the results of our contrastive investigation. In view of the fact that the languages under investigation are of different typological origins, the presentation will of necessity be somewhat asymmetrical. The situation in Czech was chosen as our starting point; the reasons for this were mentioned earlier, i.e. the fact that Czech shows a great deal of consistency in correlating differences in FSP with differences in word order. Chapter Three will therefore be devoted to a detailed description of Czech word order. In the last two chapters we will try to show the strategies used in English to discharge the same functions. Chapter Four will concentrate on the relationship between the use of determiners and FSP while Chapter Five will present a detailed account of the various syntactico-semantic shifts used in English for this purpose. In the concluding remarks we hope to offer some recommendations as to how our investigation may be useful for translating and language teaching as well as some suggestions for further research.

Notes

1. Syntactically based models (e.g. that of Chomsky's Aspects ...) have a BASE COMPONENT which characterizes a set of BASE P-MARKERS; each of the P-MARKERS is translated into a SEMANTIC INTERPRETATION by a SEMANTIC COMPONENT and into a surface form by TRANSFORMATIONAL AND PHONOLOGICAL COMPONENTS. The generative semantic alternative (e.g. the models of McCawley, Ross and Lakoff) is based on the assumption that the BASE COMPONENT is SEMANTIC; the BASE P-MARKERS are then semantic interpretations which are translated into sentences by transformational and phonological components (cf. Leech, 1974:326ff).
2. The quotation is a paraphrase of views expressed by I. Poldauf (1962:103ff).
3. Throughout this study brackets will be used for literal, morphemic translations of Czech or Russian examples; parentheses, on the other hand, will be employed for the high-probability English correspondences.
4. Permutations ld and le might be used at the beginning of a narrative or for stylistic effect. The English (written) equivalents render their meaning only approximately.
5. Greenberg (1963:61) refers to this neutral unmarked sequence as DOMINANT ORDER.
6. For a more exhaustive treatment of the interrelation of word order and FSP in the two languages, see Chapter 3 of this work.
7. Cf. Raoul N. Smith, Probabilistic Performance Models of Language, The Hague, Mouton, 1973, p.23.

8. These six factors of verbal communication correspond to the following six basic functions:



This is an elaboration on K. Bühler's ideas put forward in his Sprachtheorie (1934). His model is triangular, the three apexes being ADDRESSER (Sender) - ADDRESSEE (Empfänger) and SITUATION (GEGENSTÄNDE UND SACHVERHALT), and the respective functions being AUSDRUCK - APPELL - DARSTELLUNG (EMOTIVE - CONATIVE - REFERENTIAL).

9. Cf. Haldur Öim (1971:363): "... predicative structures should be treated as instructions for the hearer to modify his knowledge of the world in definite points and in definite ways."
10. An English translation, "The Order of Words in the Ancient Languages Compared with that of Modern Languages", appeared in Boston in 1879.
11. English translation: "When we observe various utterances we can more or less clearly see that they are regularly composed of two parts. One of them expresses something which is given by the context or which is obvious, in short WHAT IS TALKED ABOUT. We refer to this part as the FOUNDATION of the utterance. The other contains the new information, i.e. that WHICH IS TOLD ABOUT SOMETHING and it is called the NUCLEUS OF THE UTTERANCE. In the sentence it is usual to put the foundation first and only then the NUCLEUS, i.e. to proceed from what is already known to what we are making known. Such a sequence is called OBJECTIVE, a sequence where the speaker heeds the hearer. The reverse order is SUBJECTIVE... This sequence is used when the speaker does

- not take the hearer into account but starts the discourse by what is important for himself...".
12. See in his German language article "Zur Satzperspektive im modernen Englisch" (1929:200).
 13. The methodology for determining FOUNDATION and NUCLEUS will be dealt with in greater detail in Chapter 1.
 14. Paul Garvin's term (1963:502).
 15. In his assessment of the Prague School P. Garvin writes:
"One of the best examples of the development of the functional approach to language by Mathesius and his followers is their work on "functional sentence perspective"." (Garvin, 1963:502ff).
 16. Cf. N.W. Francis' "Review of Brno Studies in English No.4":
"... Until a more solid theoretical foundation is built and a more rigorous method developed, these studies by Firbas and his students must be regarded as rather impressionistic ventures into stylistics, marked by a good deal of arbitrary statement."
(Language, 42:149).
 17. Cf. Halliday (1974:44): "I will assume here that FSP is a universal phenomenon... I do not think we need to take very seriously the notion that there are languages without FSP; in fact I would define FSP in such a way that this would be a theoretical impossibility - a semiotic system without FSP would not be a language."
 18. Paraphrasing G.N. Green (1972) Benešová and Sgall (1973:29) remark (not entirely without bitterness) that "now not only such linguists, perhaps not well known in the US, as Mathesius, Dokulil, Daneš, Firbas, but also Chomsky, Lakoff, and Kuno are willing to dirty their hands with the TCA, Functional sentence perspective or the dichotomy of presupposition and focus (or whatever terms they have chosen)."

19. Paul Garvin's term (1963:502). The opaqueness of English as regards FSP led Mathesius to his controversial statement about the INSUSCEPTIBILITY (necitlivost) of English to the requirements of FSP (Mathesius 1942:181 and elsewhere); on the basis of his investigations Firbas later corrected this pronouncement showing the multiplicity of compensatory means of a syntactic and semantic nature which are at work for that purpose in the grammatical system of English (e.g. Firbas 1964b:113).
20. Leech defines THEMATIC MEANING as "what is communicated by the way in which a speaker or writer organizes the message, in terms of ordering, focus and emphasis" (1974:22).

CHAPTER ONE

Functional Sentence Perspective -
Theory and Concepts

1. The Theory

At its present stage of development FSP is no watertight, dogmatically closed theory; being a relatively new concept for the linguistic world at large, it is still in a state of flux. There is a vast multiplicity of approaches and, consequently, a large variety of terminology. In the present chapter we will consider the main terms as they were and are used in the available literature on the subject¹.

As we have already said, in Prague School English language publications the most commonly used name for the theory is FUNCTIONAL SENTENCE PERSPECTIVE², the Czech counterpart being AKTUÁLNÍ ČLENĚNÍ VĚTNÉ (actual sentence division); the English term has been brought into wide circulation in particular by Firbas and his students (F. Danes³, A. Syoboda, E. Beneš, E. Golková, and others) and has found its place in the works of many English and American linguists, in particular Kuno (1972), Kirkwood (1969, 1970), some of Halliday's works⁴, and Azevedo (1973). On the whole, however, Anglo-American scholars prefer Hockett's TOPIC-COMMENT STRUCTURE⁵ (Leech, Keenan, Givon, Li, S. Thompson, Chafe, and many others). Russian linguists in the main use the Russian version of the original Czech term, i.e. AKTUAL'NOJE ČLENĚNIJE PREDLOŽENIJA (actual division of the sentence); the most prominent scholars working with this concept are Raspopov, Krušel'nickaja, Gak, Nikolajeva, and Admoni. From among many others, the most notable alternative term belongs to Panfilov (1968) - LOGIKO-SINTAKSIČESKIJ UROVEN' PREDLOŽENIJA (the logico-grammatical level of the sentence). German scholars mostly refer to the concept as FUNKTIONELLE SATZPERSPEKTIVE (e.g. Dressler and Buttke), or THEMA-RHEMA GLIEDERUNG (Boost)⁶.

Let us now consider some definitions of the concept of FSP:

"By FSP ... we understand the arrangement of sentence elements as it is viewed in the light of the actual situation, i.e. in fact, in the light of the context, both verbal and situational."

(Firbas, 1959a:39)

"Aktual'noje členenje predložnja - eto organizacija predložnja v celjach predači aktual'noj informacii." ⁷

(Adamec, 1966:19)

"Aktuální větné členění představuje modifikaci věcné informace dané lexikálním obsazením větného vzorce, a to v závislosti na konsituaci a podle sdělného záměru ⁸ mluvčího."

(Bauer, Grep1, 1970:155)⁹

As we can see, the fundamental problem tackled by FSP is the arrangement of certain units of information in keeping with the concrete parameters of a discourse situation. The information appears to be essentially of two kinds; firstly, that which refers to the relevant segment of reality described (MATERIAL INFORMATION), and secondly, that which tells us about the relative importance of the individual units of material information in a concrete act of communication (ACTUAL INFORMATION); the former is NOMINATIVE (pertaining to ONOMATOLOGY), the latter can be called COMMUNICATIVE. FSP is connected with a quantitative apportioning of material information in such a way as to prevent either overburdening of the communication channel (which would result in decreased understanding by the addressee) or the unnecessary introduction of redundant pieces of information (which would be uneconomical)¹⁰. In the words of I.F. Vardul' (1967), "aktualizacija est' tak skazat' komunikativacija nominativnych sredstv jazyka" (p.121) ¹¹,

FSP, evidently, relates closely with the structuring of human thought, and the analogy between the ordering of segments of thought and of their linguistic representation has not failed to gain the

attention of most researchers in this field starting with Weil and continuing up to the present time¹².

The most recent insights of this kind are those of W.L. Chafe (1974, 1976); in these studies he correlates FSP with the study of consciousness, deep and surface memory, egocentrism, empathy and the like. To characterize the phenomenon of the arrangement of information in the sentence he draws a useful analogy with alternative ways of PACKAGING the same set of items. Some of the items are given the PACKAGING STATUS of OLD INFORMATION, others that of NEW INFORMATION (Chafe, 1976:54).

The theory of FSP is drawing our attention to the fact that linguistic research should not satisfy itself with the study of linguistic elements and their combinations; if we want to satisfactorily understand the functioning of language we must also concern ourselves with the DIRECTION in which elements of language interrelate. A.I. Smirnitskij (1957:67) brings this aspect into relief using an example from mathematics:

2) $A > B$

3) $B < A$

In both cases we have a relationship of inequality in which entity A is bigger than entity B, but the direction in which entity A is related to entity B is different; the different LINEAR GEOMETRY¹³ of the two reflects two different communicational situations.

If we view predicative nexus as signs for a portion of material reality, we may say that both (2) and (3) have the same DENOTATIVE meaning but that they have two different senses. In the final analysis FSP is concerned with the study of the paradigms of senses¹⁴.

2. THEME - RHEME

In the Introduction we have already mentioned the fact that in the sentence we distinguish between two basic types of INFORMATION CENTRES, roughly between WHAT IS SPOKEN ABOUT and WHAT IS SAID ABOUT IT. When referring to these concepts linguistic literature displays the same terminological promiscuity as was demonstrated in the case of the term for the theory as a whole. Let us consider some of the most commonly used terms:

- English: THEME-RHEME (J. Firbas, F. Daneš, E. Golková, A. Svoboda, E. Beneš, H.W. Kirkwood, M.A.K. Halliday); TOPIC-COMMENT (Ch.F. Hockett, Ch.N. Li, Ö. Dahl, P. Sgall, E. Hajičová); GIVEN-NEW (W.L. Chafe, M.A.K. Halliday); PRESUPPOSITION-FOCUS (N. Chomsky, R.S. Jackendoff);
- Czech: ZÁKLAD (foundation) alternately with VÝCHODIŠTĚ or VÝCHODISKO (point of departure); JÁDRO (nucleus) - most Prague School scholars, in particular V. Mathesius;
- Russian: TEMA-REMA (L.A. Černjachovskaja, I.I. Kovtunova, A.B. Klenina); DANNOE-NOVOE (given-new) - K.D. Krušelnickaja; OSNOVA-JADRO (foundation-nucleus) - P. Adamec; OSNOVA-PREDICIRUJEMAJA ČÁST' (foundation-predicated part) - V. Raspopov; PSICHOLÓGIČESKOJE PODLEŽÁŠČEJE-PSICHOLÓGIČESKOJE SKAZUJEMOJE (psychological subject-psychological predicate) - V.G. Admoni; LEKSICÉSKOJE PODLEŽÁŠČEJE-LEKSICÉSKOJE SKAZUJEMOJE (lexical subject-lexical predicate) - A.I. Smirnickij; LOGIKO-GRAMMATIČESKIJ SUBJEKT-LOGIKO-GRAMMATIČESKIJ PREDIKAT (logico-grammatical subject-logico-grammatical predicate) - A.L. Pumpjanskij, V.Z. Panfilov;
- German: THEMA-RHEMA (K. Boost, K. Buttke); PSYCHOLOGISCHES SUBJEKT-PSYCHOLOGISCHES PRÄDIKAT (G. v. d. Gabelentz, H. Steinthal, and many others); ARGUMENT-FUNKTION (H.W. Schaller);
- French: LE POINT DE DEPART-LE BUT DU DISCOURS (H. Weil); THÈME-PROPOS

even from the physical setting (SITUATION) of the discourse. 'Peter' is the element 'talked about'; it can serve as a theme because it is KNOWN to both participants in the discourse. With Firbas (1964a) we can say that in this case the speaker and the hearer "draw from the STORES OF COMMON KNOWLEDGE"¹⁶.

The fundamental criterion for assigning an element the status of T is whether or not the element is GIVEN (by the context) or KNOWN (i.e. given by the stock of shared knowledge). However, some linguists tie the assignment of THEME with the position of an element in the sentence. The most notable in this respect are F. Trávníček, K. Boost, and M.A.K. Halliday.

Trávníček (1962 and elsewhere) challenges Mathesius's notion of the T as "that which is known or at least obvious in the given situation and from which the speaker proceeds" in his discourse (Mathesius, 1947:234)¹⁷. He defines the T as "the sentence element that links up directly with the object of thought, proceeds from it and opens the sentence thereby" (166). Halliday's understanding of the T is along the same lines. In his article "The Place of FSP in Linguistic Description" (1974) he states explicitly: "I myself take "theme" in Trávníček's sense: it is the FSP element that is realized by first position, and has nothing to do with previous mention" (53). A similar conception of the T is expounded in Boost (1955)¹⁸.

Halliday contrasts the dichotomy of THEME-RHEME with that of GIVEN and NEW. The former belongs to the sphere of structural relations called THEMATIZATION, i.e.:

"the organization of the message into theme and non-theme, or theme and rheme. Here the constituent is the clause, and the element selected by the speaker as theme is assigned first position in the sequence."

(1967 :9)

The dichotomy of "GIVEN-NEW" belongs to a different sphere of his system networks, that of INFORMATION (discourse organization).

"The terms 'given' and 'new' are to be interpreted not as 'previously mentioned' and 'not previously mentioned' but as 'assigned', or 'not assigned' by the speaker the status of being derivable from the preceding discourse (5) ... The difference between GIVEN and THEME is that between "what you were talking about" (GIVEN) and "what I am talking about" (THEME)."

(p.9)

Apart from that Halliday distinguishes still another dichotomy, i.e. that of KNOWN and UNKNOWN as elements of the system of IDENTIFICATION; this system refers:

"to the set of choices whereby a clause in English is matched by a group of agnate clauses of the 'equative' type; thus to John broke the window are related what John broke was the window, the one who broke the window was John, etc."

(p.12)

From what has been said it is evident that there is a need to distinguish between the THEME (in the broader sense) and GIVEN (KNOWN)¹⁹; the T may or may not have the feature GIVEN. It is true to say, however, that particularly in written texts most themes represent the information RECOVERABLE²⁰ from the preceding context. But let us stress that the notion of GIVENNESS does not mean a simple and straightforward transference of a segment from the preceding context or a simple naming of objects from the particular situation. Depending on the type of text, GIVENNESS operates on the basis of syntactico-semantic mechanisms of varying degrees of sophistication. Let us mention some of them.

a) Pronominalization:

- 6) Arthur Rowe came along the railings, hesitatingly, like an intruder. He was a tall stooping man.

(GG 12)

b) Repetition:

- 7) New developing nations are as much in search of their past as of their future.

The search for the future is for viability and aptitude, ...

(The Guardian, 23.2.1977)

The repetition of a nominal element can be accompanied by a change of article (GIVEN is always definite).

- 8) The chlorination of methane, gives a mixture of products...

The mixture can be separated by fractional distillation.

c) Use of synonyms on various levels of genericness (hyponymy and hyperonymy) and the like:

- 9) Here and there robins sang across the stones... The only other living creature there seemed to Lawford to be his own ... self.

(WM 9)

d) Use of linguistic units on the basis of associations and implications²¹:

- 10) There was not a breath to breathe in this crisp, pale sunshine... The shadows lay like wings everlastingly folded.

(WM 14)

The situation described in the first sentence of (10) brings to mind a whole set of presuppositions²²; the mention of the sunshine implies the existence of light, heat, shadows and possibly many other related phenomena such as perspiring, difficulty in breathing, dazzled eyes, etc. In this case the GIVENNESS operates on the presupposition of the existence of shadows; equally all the other mentioned presuppositions and the lexical families relating to them could have been chosen to further develop the narrative, either explicitly or metaphorically.

The close relationship of the GIVEN with the concept of presuppositions led Chomsky and his students to identify the term PRESUPPOSITION with Firbas's THEME (e.g. Chomsky, 1972). P. Sgall (1975:303ff) criticizes this use of the concept as misleading; he particularly singles out the fact that Chomsky disregards the distinction between the TOPICAL and CONTEXTUAL understanding of the term (305).

To sum up, we define THEME as that portion of the utterance which is recoverable from the context and the situation or those elements which are activated from the stock of shared knowledge to serve as the point of departure for the ordering of information in the sentence.

A simple diagnostic procedure for the identification of THEME is a paraphrase with a number of THEMATIZING constructions; in English they are introduced, for example by 'as regards', 'as far as ... is concerned', 'as for', 'speaking of', and many others²³. Thus in the sentence:

- 11) John | travels||to Brighton||every week.
a) T | R
b) T || R
c) T ||| R

we employ the following paraphrases:

- a) As regards John, he travels to Brighton every week.
b) *As regards John's travelling, it is to Brighton and it occurs every week.
c) *As regards John's travelling to Brighton, it occurs every week (... once every week).

There may of course be other communicative readings in accordance with the respective COMMUNICATIVE ASSIGNMENTS and the context and situation.

Most languages also employ some overt markers to single out the individual communicative elements²⁴; in English, typically, it is the definite article, but other elements are also intrinsically predisposed to function as thematic, e.g. personal, possessive, demonstrative and reflexive pronouns. This aspect will be treated in greater detail in Chapter 4.

2.2 RHEME

The RHEME (R) designates that portion of the utterance which is usually identified with NEW information. Since it is assumed that the main function of interchanging linguistic tokens is to impart new information, R represents the very 'raison d'être' of an utterance. The definition of the concept by reference to NEW information is nearly as misleading as the identification of the T with GIVEN information. NEWNESS is a very relative concept. As pointed out by Chafe (1974:112), the term NEW tends to suggest that new information is entering the addressee's mind for the very first time - that it is "brand new". According to him the only relevant consideration is whether or not the material is, at the time of the utterance, assumed to be in the addressee's consciousness. Similarly, P. Sgall (e.g. 1972) and Daneš (1974 and elsewhere) point out that the distinction between T and R is autonomous and cannot be derived from the distinction between GIVEN and NEW; numerous examples show that NEW can be T as well as R in accordance with the communicative intention it is to fulfil. In Firbas's example:

12) A girl broke a vase

T R

'a girl' is presented as T although it brings new information²⁵. Analogically, examples are adduced which show that R can bring OLD information which, in the words of Halliday (1967:8) "is not

presented as derivable from the preceding discourse". Let us consider the following piece of discourse:

13) The small ceiling bulb revealed Margaret's slight form

T

R

still sunk in the seat.

(JW, S 31)

Both the T and R are recoverable from the preceding context. The light is a feature of the situation and Margaret is one of the two main protagonists of the story, mentioned innumerable times before. What is new, however, is the different connection between the two blocks of given information; metaphorically we may call it a 'new route through the situation'. Bearing this in mind, Danes^v (1974) distinguishes between two different aspects of the property of newness, i.e. (1) NEW in the sense of 'not mentioned in the preceding context', and (2) in the sense 'related as R to a T to which it has not yet been related'. In the former case the property of newness is assigned to the expression itself, while in the latter it is the T-R nexus that appears as new (cf. p.111)²⁶.

Another influential concept relevant for the description of the communicative structure of the sentence in general and for the definition of R in particular is that of COMMUNICATIVE DYNAMISM²⁷. This concept has been developed, on the basis of Mathesius's ideas, by J. Firbas (in particular 1971 and elsewhere):

"The concept of communicative dynamism is based on the fact that linguistic communication is not a static, but a dynamic phenomenon. By CD I understand a property of communication, displayed in the course of the development of the information to be conveyed and consisting in advancing this development. By the degree or amount of CD carried by a linguistic element,

I understand the relative extent to which the element contributes to the communication, to which, as it were, it 'pushes the communication forward'."

(1971:136-7)

COMMUNICATIVE DYNAMISM (CD) is sometimes confused with the term COMMUNICATIVE IMPORTANCE (CI)²⁸. This concept goes back to Trávníček and his theory of DEGREES OF CI (stupně sdělné závažnosti - cf. Mathesius, 1947:335ff). The difference between the two concepts can be viewed as the difference between the dynamic and static informative weight of sentence segments. CI reflects the static distribution of the communicative weight of the individual sentence segments as they are in the basic unmarked positions; CD adds (to this static distribution) considerations of context and situation. Let us demonstrate the difference on the following Czech sentence:

14) Petr dal Marii květiny.

[Peter_{NOM} gave Mary_{DAT} flowers_{ACC}.]

In a contextually unbound utterance this would be the most normal order. The normal distribution of informative weight is that N_{NOM} (sem. AGENT) is the most TOPICWORTHY (cf. Note 25) element and is assigned the status of T which is, from the informational point of view, the least weighty member of an utterance; N_{DAT} (indirect object) is weightier and N_{ACC} (direct O) is the most weighty member, the RHEME. If this order is used in the context, e.g. as an answer to the question:

14a) Co dal Petr Marii? (What did Peter give Mary?)

then the CD and CI would coincide; but in the marked arrangement of:

14b) Květiny dal Marii Petr.

[Flowers_{ACC} gave Mary_{DAT} Peter_{NOM}.]

(The flowers were given to Mary by Peter.)

which might be said in answer to the question:

14c) Kdo dal Marii květiny?

(Who gave Mary the flowers?)

there is a marked disagreement between CD and CI. This problem will be treated more thoroughly in Chapter 3.

The arrangement of sentence elements according to CI thus gives us a NEUTRAL or BASIC DISTRIBUTION OF CD (cf. Firbas, 1968).

The process in which a normally weightier (in terms of CI) element is assigned the position of T is referred to as THEMATIZATION²⁹; the opposite process, whereby the less RHEMEWORTHY elements become RHEMES in accordance with the particular COMMUNICATIVE ASSIGNMENT³⁰, may be called RHEMATIZATION. In the former instance the elements are, as it were, dedynamized, while in the latter they acquire a higher dynamic charge.

Employing the concept of CD we may define R as that element of the sentence which carries the highest degree of CD. It is a focal point of the sentence (Chomsky actually refers to it as FOCUS); in spoken language it carries the TONIC (or NUCLEUS)³¹. When observing concrete utterances in terms of CD we cannot fail to perceive that it is very rare to see a clear-cut dichotomy of one thematic and one rhematic element; very often we see cases of multiple thematic and rhematic elements, tending to be arranged on a cline from the least dynamic to the most dynamic; this led Firbas to an attempt to create more delicate models of description - trichotomic (T-TRANSITION - R), or even using a finer classification, e.g. THEME PROPER (the least dynamic element), THE REST OF THE THEME, TRANSITION, THE REST OF THE RHEME, RHEME PROPER, with a tendency towards a progressive increase of CD along this scale. The concept of TRANSITION subsumes, roughly speaking, those components which describe the temporal and modal setting of the action. The most typical conveyor of these functions is the verb. On his trichotomic

scale Firbas sees the Vf as a transitional element, unless it is NEW or belongs to the R. The conception is certainly very attractive because in most cases it allows a direct pairing with the elements of syntactic description of the sentence (i.e. S-V-O and the like) and of the semantic models (e.g. AGENT-PREDICATE-PATIENT). However, it does not fit too neatly into the basic set of criteria for the definition of the two basic concepts and it is difficult to find satisfactory procedures to distinguish transitional elements from thematic and rhematic ones³². Verb can easily be T (in particular in Slavonic languages), e.g.

15) Zpívá Ivo Žídek. (The singer is Ivo Žídek.)

T R

[Sings_{V3sg} Ivo Žídek_{NOM}.]

or R:

16) Ivo Žídek zpívá. (Ivo Žídek sings, or is a singer.)

T R

[Ivo Žídek sings.]

However, the translations of the Czech sentences (15) and (16) suggest a very strong tendency of English to reduce the V to its RELATIONAL functions and dissociate it from the notional component. Since this dissociating tendency is a very pronounced phenomenon (e.g. participate → take part, sing → be a singer, etc.) we consider it useful to keep the term TRANSITION to refer to such verbs as 'be', 'take', 'give', 'get', and many others only when they are relatively empty of notional meaning and when they serve as conveyors of grammatical categories.³³

The most common method of determining R is the use of diagnostic questions³⁴. Of particular relevance are the WH-questions (pronominal questions - Zandvoort, 1967:206); for our purposes we will distinguish between three kinds of such questions reflecting

three different types of situations: firstly there are questions containing the WH-element + thematic elements, e.g. the utterance:

17) John studies philosophy.

R

would be questioned by:

17a) What does John study?

The element 'what' refers to the R of the utterance, while the rest of the question is a succinct description of the context and situation (the speaker and addressee know a person whose name is John and who is a student; the new piece of information concerns the nature of his study); 'philosophy' is R; the rest T. Secondly, we may have a situation where only the subject is GIVEN while the rest of the sentence is NEW; in such a case we would have to use an auxiliary or a hyperonymic verb, e.g.

17b) What does John do?

Here the elements eliciting the R would be 'what + auxiliary DO'; 'John' would be recognized as T and 'studies philosophy' as R.

Alternatively, when analyzing a sentence like:

18) Mary was killed. (Mary is the PATIENT)

in the question we would use the hyperonymic (semantically superordinate; cf. Lyons, 1968:453-5) verb 'nappen':

18a) What happened to Mary?

Mary (T), was killed (R).

Thirdly, there are sentences which contain no given information. They would be recognized as answers to a still more general question like 'What happened?', for example when considering the aforementioned example:

19) A boy broke a vase.

On the basis of the above-mentioned question some researchers would consider the whole sentence to be an undivided R (e.g. Kovtunova, 1973:57ff); as we have already said above, we consider it useful to make the distinction of T-R even here, drawing on some supplementary criteria (e.g. TOPICWORTHINESS of sentence elements; cf. Note 25).

Another useful diagnostic procedure for the determination of R (and T) is the employment of the CLEFT-SENTENCE TEST:

20) John studies philosophy.

T R

It is philosophy that John studies.

or the PSEUDO-CLEFT constructions (E.O. Keenan and B. Schiefelin, 1976:337):

John studies philosophy.

T R

What John does is (to) study philosophy.

The first type of cleaving identifies R as that element which is placed inside the constructions 'It is ... that (who, which)', while in the WH-cleaving R is presented as the right-hand element of an equative construction, A is B³⁵. Chomsky (1972) uses the method of NATURAL RESPONSES, for example in:

21) Was it an ex-convict with a red shirt that he was warned to look out for? ³⁶

the range of R can be:

- (i) an ex-convict with a red shirt
- (ii) with a red shirt
- (iii) a red shirt
- (iv) shirt

according to the following natural responses:

- (i) No, he was warned to look out for an AUTOMOBILE salesman
- (ii) No, he was warned to look out for an ex-convict
wearing DUNGAREES
- (iii) No, he was warned to look out for an ex-convict with
a CARNATION
- (iv) No, he was warned to look out for an ex-convict with a
red TIE

(Chomsky, 1972:91-3)

In summary, we may say that RHEME is that part of the sentence which carries the highest degree of CD. It has a tendency to gravitate towards the very end of the sentence if no grammatical constraints prevent it. From among the methodologies for its identification the most effective are the question-test, the cleft-sentence test and the method of natural responses.

3. Instance Levels

FSP is closely connected with the phenomenon of accentuation of various kinds. In this connection many researchers have been using the highly equivocal term EMPHASIS. In the field of FSP studies it was employed to refer to the whole phenomenon of FSP (cf. Worth, 1964:699ff), to R (Kiefer, 1970:126ff), to the so-called emotive (subjective) word order, i.e. such order (in particular in Slavonic languages) where R precedes T (Mathesius, 1942:303-4), and to contrastive stress. This terminological confusion led Firbas and his followers to explicitly reject the term and to redefine accentuation phenomena in terms of FSP criteria. The first terminological division made by Firbas was that between accentuation³⁷ in sentences unmarked by contrast and sentences which single out one element for special attention. While in the former the sentence elements are arranged according to their CD, that is, according to the degree of

their dependence on the context and situation (i.e. in accordance with the systemic criteria of FSP), in the latter we can assign any sentence element, regardless of its position, the contrastive stress and set it out against the other elements which are usually repeated from the preceding sentence. In written texts this is often shown by the use of italics, e.g.

- 22) It was like a parody of a State funeral - but this was
a State funeral.

(GG, 86)

- 23) I'm scared. I'm sorry, but I am scared.

(GG, 103)

After D.L. Bolinger (1952), Firbas (elsewhere, e.g. 1966:241) refers to the latter as SECOND-INSTANCE SENTENCES; in these, systemic means of FSP cease to operate; they are based on AD HOC OPPOSITIONS (Firbas, 1968:15)³⁸ FSP concentrates on sentence tokens of the first instance³⁹. The second instance sentences are considered to be outside FSP. For the purposes of this work we will deal with these heavily contrasted imitative sentences as belonging to the periphery of FSP. We think it useful since they fulfil certain communicative functions and interrelate with FSP in the employment of certain markers. Such is, for instance, the use of 'accentuating' particles like 'ale, přece ...', e.g.

- 24) Muž bratr je ale hrdina. - first instance

(My brother is a real hero.)

- 25) Škoda, že tu není. On tu ale (přece) je. - second instance

(Pity he's not here. But he is here.)

In the sphere of FIRST-INSTANCE LEVEL Prague School scholars distinguish between two layers (cf. Sgall, 1972:3-4). The first relates to sentences whose semantic structure coincides with the

communicative one:

26) Petr koupil nový dům. (Peter bought a new house.)

T R

AGENT - ACTION - OBJECTIVE

This correspondence of the deep structure (semantic) order of sentence elements with their unmarked communicative arrangement appears most often in contextually independent sentences.

The second layer will be concerned with predominantly contextually bound instances; rearrangements according to concrete contextual conditions result in the dedynamization of certain elements and an amplification of the dynamism of others. Thus in:

27) Ten nový dům koupil Petr.

T R

[That new house_{ACC} bought Peter_{NOM}.]

(The new house was bought by Peter.)

The element 'new house' carries less CD than it did in sentence (26), but due to its marked position (by virtue of THEMATIZATION), it is more dynamic than a neutral T would be, for example in:

28) Ten nový dům je na kopci.

T R

(The new house is on a hill.)

4. Context

The term CONTEXT will be understood as the linguistic or non-linguistic environment at the time an utterance is produced. In this broader sense it will thus subsume those aspects of the communicative act described by the term SITUATION⁴⁰. The latter will here be used only when specifically referring to the 'material' environment of a speech

act as against the linguistic environment (LINGUISTIC CONTEXT). The context can be of different lengths and degrees of explicitness. It can be one word, one sentence, a paragraph or possibly a whole book; alternatively it can be a whole host of extralinguistic phenomena on the basis of the complex mechanisms of lexical and pragmatic presuppositions⁴¹. The same broad interpretation will be implied when using the notion CONTEXTUAL BOUNDNESS. As was already suggested above, the broad outline of the context is summarized in WH-questions when applying the question-test for identifying the RHEME.

5. The Place of FSP in the Description of Language

The upsurge of interest in FSP in the last two decades has brought about a significant broadening of approach to the subject. Having attracted linguists from a very wide range of schools of thought, the theory has benefited from the cross-fertilization of its concepts with the methodological insights achieved by the current most influential models of language. This has led, in its turn, to a considerable diversification of parameters of FSP study. Let us now summarize how the most influential scholars in the field relate the theory to other strata of linguistic description.

1. One of the most influential groups of linguists⁴² presents FSP as constituting a separate stratum of a three-level model of syntactic description, i.e. (a) "the level of the grammatical structure of the sentence"; (b) "the level of the semantic structure of the sentence" (lexical components and their meanings plus semantic aspects of structural components); and (c) "the level of the organization of utterance" (Daneš, 1964:225). FSP is here understood as the realization of the language system in PAROLE. The main argument for this methodological distinction is supplied by observations of how

sentence structures correlate with FSP manifestations. Thus in Slavonic languages, for instance, different word orders (and different FSPs) do not influence or change the grammatical relations of the basic sentence patterns. FSP is influenced by the semantics of the concrete lexical units employed (on the basis of concrete contextual conditions) while sentence patterns are independent of them. A further argument is that FSP patterns are dependent on the structural possibilities of sentence patterns - quite often (in particular in languages with fixed word order such as English) the two find themselves in conflict, cf.

29) I like Mary.

29a) Mary I like.

30) Mary loves Frank.

30a) Frank Mary loves.

but not:

30b) *Frank loves Mary (different meaning)

as against the Czech:

30c) Frantu miluje Marie.

[Frank_{ACC} loves Mary_{NOM}.]

(Frank is loved by Mary.)

The main argument against this conception is that it does not sufficiently highlight the systemic aspects of FSP. Indeed, within this particular model, Kovtunova (following Adamec, 1966) operates with elaborate sets of paradigms of FSP patterns which are shown to be on a high level of systemic abstraction. This is criticized by many scholars as being inconsistent⁴³.

2. Another important group of linguists views FSP as belonging to the grammatical level of the sentence (Raspopov, Krusel'nickaja, Halliday - 1967, 1974), and others do so to varying degrees, e.g. Dahl, 1969.

This approach is corroborated by many correlations between structural and communicative patterns, the systemic nature of many correspondences between the predicative and the communicative nexus, and the direct evidence of the relevance of FSP for the selection of grammatical structures. In English typically this could be demonstrated by the selection of the passive transformation for the purposes of FSP:

31) The boy hit the target.

31a) The target was hit by the boy.

Czech: Chlapec (NOM) zasáhl cíl (ACC).

Cíl (ACC) zasáhl chlapec (NOM).

Perhaps the most important argument for the grammatical nature of FSP is the existence of specific grammatical means which are used almost exclusively for the purposes of FSP. Such is word order in Slavonic languages, articles in English, German, French, Bulgarian, and others, and the frequently mentioned particles in languages such as Chinese, Japanese, Nivkhi, and Somali, but also in European languages (cf. the use of 'even' for the identification of R, and various periphrastic constructions such as the English cleft sentence)⁴⁴.

3. FSP is considered as an expression of categories of human thought and treated on a higher level of linguistic (or logical) abstraction. The most influential in this respect is Panfilov's (1968) concept of the LOGICO-GRAMMATICAL LEVEL of the sentence (cf. Note 12 above).

Panfilov draws attention to the closeness between the logical structure of the judgement and the T-R structure of the sentence. The FSP of the sentence reflects the structure of a judgement using linguistic means for this purpose, hence LOGICO-GRAMMATICAL LEVEL. The main objection to this conception is the difficulty in treating syntactic material from the point of view of logic, since there are many syntactic structures (e.g. one-member sentences) which do not tally with

judgements - their FSP would have to be described with reference to a different set of criteria⁴⁵, cf. Lapteva (1972:38).

4. Lastly, in the recent past a great many scholars have drawn attention to still another evaluation of the FSP status. They suggest that FSP should be viewed as a phenomenon of supra-syntactic linguistic entities, a phenomenon of the text⁴⁶.

The relevance of FSP for the study of the text was already recognized by Mathesius, and has been taken into consideration by most FSP students who have approached FSP as a property of the sentence. This can be demonstrated especially on the works of Daneš⁴⁷ concerning the "development of thematic progressions in the text" (Daneš - 1968, 1969, 1974)⁴⁷. In these he demonstrates the relevance of the study of T derivation for the study of texts using examples from technical texts where the progressions are relatively straightforward and transparent. In texts of a more complex nature we can witness a substantially more intricate degree of patterning. Let us demonstrate on an example from journalistic English:

32) "It is a multiracial society of whose ancestors some were

T R T₁

on the land for trackless ages before Columbus committed his

R₁

intrusion, some forced across the Atlantic in the belly of

T₂

R₂

slave ships from Africa; some travelled half-way round the world...

T₃

R₃

Some have grandfathers who came even farther from the East,

T₄

R₄

R'₄

from China, or from the middle reaches of the Atlantic,

R''₄

from Madeira, or from the Imperial island of Britain.

$R_4^{''''}$

$R_4^{''''}$

Such a society must develop a perspective of its past to

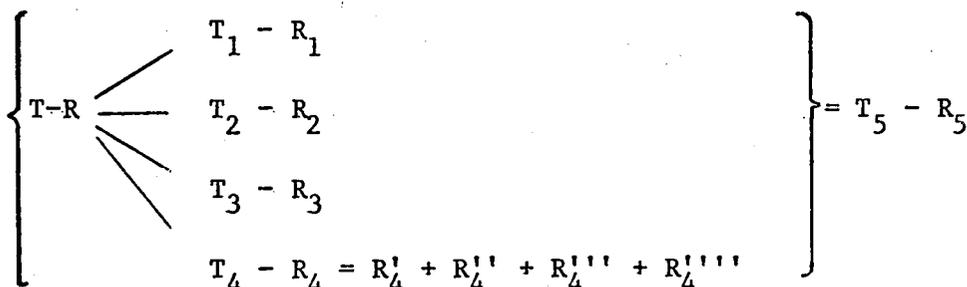
T_5

R_5

give it cohesion and stability in the present.

(The Guardian, 23.2.1977)

Schematically we can present the thematic progression as follows:



Our example shows that this extension of the theory offers important insights into the study of style.

Other significant theorists approaching larger textual entities via FSP are, in particular, Worth (1964), Hausenblas (1964), Palek (1968) and Halliday. In his paper prepared for the Seminar on FSP held in Mariánské Lázně, Czechoslovakia in 1970 (published in 1974) Halliday designates FSP as a TEXTUAL COMPONENT of language - a component having universal validity for all languages. This component "is not a 'level' in the usual (stratal) sense of the term; it is a 'vertical' division within the content plane. There is no suggestion of one component being 'deeper' or 'more surface' than another." (p.52).

Other linguists, as we have suggested at the beginning of the present section, try to approach FSP through various categories of a higher level of abstraction. From their large number let us mention Kiefer (1970), Kuno (1972), Loseva (1973), Apresjan (1967), Dressler (1974), and Nikolajeva (1970, 1972)⁴⁸.

Nikolajeva views FSP within the framework of a more general category of the text called KATEGORIJA VYDELENIJA (singling out); by this term she understands "contrasting one textual element with the rest of the text both on the syntagmatic and paradigmatic planes" (1972:53). This is an independent linguistic category realized in speech by the following means: (1) paraphrase, (2) FSP, (3) logical stress, (4) inversions of various kinds, and others (p.53).

6. FSP and Generative-Transformational Models

In the early stages of TG the problems of the linear arrangement of sentence segments were largely ignored. In his Syntactic Structures Chomsky glosses over word order changes as effects of optional transformational rules. This deficiency of the model was criticized by Worth (1964a), who takes to task Chomsky's superficial presentation of his rewrite rules. He observes two fundamental weaknesses: firstly, in rules like:

$$\Sigma \rightarrow NP + VP$$

Chomsky in actual fact combines two different kinds of rules, i.e. explicitly, that the sentence represents a binary construction consisting of a NP and a VP, and implicitly, that on the linear axis, the NP obligatorily precedes the VP; all his rules in the form:

$$X \rightarrow x + y$$

are dual - they designate not only the composition of the construct but also their linear arrangement. He disregards factors of 'actual division' which require different arrangements according to different contexts. Secondly, the linear arrangement may have to be modified according to the concrete lexemes used (i.e. at a later stage in the generation process), cf. in Russian the use of the V 'proiti' (pass):

Ivan prošel mimo doma. (Ivan passed the house.)

NP VP

Prošla nedelja posle znakomstva.

[Passed a week after we met.]

(A week has passed since we met.)

The order of NP and VP depends on the class of nouns used - with words like Ivan, 'poezd' (train), 'armija' (army) NP precedes VP; with words like 'nedelja' (week), 'den' (day), 'zima' (winter) VP precedes NP (Worth, 1964a:48-50).

In his 'Aspects ...' model Chomsky talks about "intrinsic order of elements" (1965:125) and "stylistic inversions" (p.126); the latter cannot be accommodated by grammatical transformations and are determined by certain "underlying generalizations" which determine their semantic functions. The dichotomy of TOPIC and COMMENT is mentioned in passing (Note 32, Chapter 2, p.221 and Note 9, Chapter 3, p.225). It is obvious that Chomsky is influenced by Halliday's understanding of the terms. In his words:

"Topic-Comment is the basic grammatical relation of surface structure corresponding (roughly) to the fundamental Subject-Predicate relation of deep structure. Thus we might define the Topic-of the Sentence as the leftmost NP immediately dominated by S in the surface structure⁴⁹, and the Comment-of the Sentence as the rest of the string."

(p.221)⁵⁰

Chomsky argues that STYLISTIC INVERSIONS do not affect CASE:

"Even in English, poor as it is in inflection, this can be observed. For example, the Pronoun in the sentences "he was struck by the bullet", "he is easy to please" ... is, in each case, the "logical Object", that is, the Direct-Object of Verbs strike, please ..., in the underlying deep structures. Nevertheless the form is he rather than him."

(p.222)

To disprove this, Dahl (1969:14) and Timberlake (1976:562ff) adduce examples from colloquial Russian, where a strongly topicalized element is put in the nominative even if it should be assigned another case (in accordance with the rules of Russian syntax), e.g.

Jabločnyj sok ... nalejte stakančik

[Apple juice ... give me a glass] ⁵¹

Chomsky updated his 'standard theory' in 1968 and 1969 (1972)⁵² Realizing the need for distinguishing different communicative readings in the semantic representation, he introduces the concepts of PRESUPPOSITION and FOCUS (1972:89ff) ⁵³. In the sentence:

Is it JOHN who writes poetry?

he determines the PRESUPPOSITION-FOCUS dichotomy by the deep structure paraphrase:

The one who writes poetry is John.

Developing this line of argumentation further, he finds out that this method of paraphrase would be contrary to his assumption of the 'standard theory' in such cases as:

Does John write poetry in his STUDY?

where the phrase 'in his study' cannot be derived from the predicate.

He therefore suggests an alternative solution for determining the FOCUS in terms of surface structure:

"The focus is the phrase containing the intonation centre, and the presupposition is determined by replacement of the focus by a variable."

(p.91)

This definition is not satisfactory since it identifies FOCUS with the range of a phrase; we have already shown (see sentence 32) that RHEME can be extended to contain several phrases or even clauses. Indeed, as is pointed out by Hajičová (1975), Chomsky himself introduces examples with FOCI extended over the range of more than one phrase (cf. p.91); he talks about the 'range of permissible focus'.

The most notable feature of this modified model ('extended standard theory') is that Chomsky accepts the idea that it is not solely the grammatical relations defined in the deep structure that determine the semantic interpretation; there are also some aspects of surface structure "that appear to play a role in semantic interpretation" (p.106). From among these the most important are "such matters as focus and presupposition, topic and comment, reference, scope of logical elements and perhaps other phenomena..." (p.113).

These ideas are further developed along the same lines by Jackendoff (1972:229-278). Jackendoff aims at devising a coherent apparatus for integrating the PRESUPPOSITION-FOCUS bipartition in the generative model. With Chomsky he maintains that the distinction between the PRESUPPOSITION and FOCUS is definable in terms of the surface structure. The FOCUS is incorporated into the grammar by means of a syntactic marker F which can be associated with any node in the surface structure (p.240)⁵⁴. Two systems of rules will make use of the marker F, one in semantics and one in the phonology; the former will be responsible for FOCUS ASSIGNMENT, the latter for the assignment of the main stress. The formal apparatus is further developed on the basis of the logical distinction between PRESUPPOSITION and ASSERTION. This distinction is defined with the aid of the PRESUPPOSITIONAL SET, which he refers to by Church's and Carnap's (1956) operator \mathcal{L} . It designates "the set of values which, when substituted for x in $\text{Presupp}_s(x)$, yield a true proposition" (p.245). For instance, if, in the sentence:

John LIKES Bill.

the FOCUS is the verb, then

$$\text{Presupp}_S(x) = \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{relation between John and Bill} \\ \text{attitude of John toward Bill} \end{array} \right\} \text{ is } x$$

The presupposition can be expressed as:

$$\bigwedge x \text{ Presupp}_S(x) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{is a coherent set} \\ \text{is well-defined} \\ \text{is amenable to discussion} \\ \text{is under discussion} \end{array} \right\} \text{ in the present discourse}$$

The assertion of a declarative sentence S then claims that the focus is a member of the presuppositional set (i.e. satisfies the presuppositional function, p.246)⁵⁵.

Another group of transformationalists, in particular G. Lakoff (1969a, 1970a and 1970b) and McCawley (1973), representatives of so-called generative semantics, subscribes to the hypothesis that transformations must not change the meaning of the derivated structures; they suggest that all semantically relevant distinctions be included in the highly abstract semantic representation of the sentence. To prevent the derivation of two semantically differing sentences they introduce the so-called global rules (or global constraints). The FSP theory has benefited from their insights into the relevance of quantifiers for the study of the meaning of various transformational derivatives⁵⁶, e.g.

- a) Many men read few books.
- b) Few books are read by many men.

or different word orders of a sentence, e.g.

- a) John talked to few girls about many problems.
- b) John talked about many problems to few girls.

A major deficiency of operations with highly abstract base structures is seen in the over-complex system of transformational rules needed for transducing semantic representations into the surface structures. The global rules used are criticized as too wide and general (cf. for example, Chomsky - 1969 and Hajičová - 1975).

The ideas of American generative semanticists are also reflected in Dahl's approach to FSP. In his monograph (1969) he aims at "integrating the description of topic-comment structure into a transformational grammar". As the starting point of his theory he uses McCawley's (1967) hypothesis "that it is necessary for the meaning of an utterance to be divided into 'a proposition' and a set of 'NP descriptions'". According to this hypothesis a sentence can be analyzed into a number of atomic sentences. Thus the sentence:

The man kissed the woman.

can be divided into the proposition:

" X_1 kissed X_2 "

and the NP descriptions:

" X_1 is a man", " X_2 is a woman".

In Dahl's opinion the logical interrelations between the aforementioned atomic sentences have a direct bearing on the topic-comment structure. The topic could normally be identified with one or two "NP descriptions" while the proposition will usually be found in the comment (p.16). He further suggests that "all predications are in reality implications" (p.19). The sentence:

Lions growl.

can be interpreted as the implication:

"If X is a lion, then X growls".

The topic-comment bipartition is shown to be identical with the partition into subject and predicate. On the basis of this hypothesis

he postulates "that the topic of the sentence will be identical with "the left-hand side" of an implication" (p.19).

In contradistinction to Chomsky, Dahl thus believes that the topic-comment relations can be described in terms of operations of propositional logic in the base structure. In this he is close to Sgall's approach which will be discussed below.

The book is a valuable contribution to FSP studies since it draws attention to some dimensions of the theory. But like the other 'logical' approaches mentioned above (p.34) it also invited a great deal of criticism, the main objection being that the semantic structure of the sentence cannot be as easily identified with logical formulae as Dahl sometimes assumes (cf. Benešová, Hajičová & Sgall, 1973:27)⁵⁷

The third and perhaps most consistent attempt at incorporating FSP into a generative model is that of Sgall, the leading Prague School generative grammarian. His (stratificational) "Functional generative model" (cf. 1967a) was formulated with a view to accommodating the FSP theory. Problems of word order and FSP in relation to this model are dealt with in most of his works (e.g. 1967b, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1972, 1973 and 1975)⁵⁸. Sgall believes that FSP can be incorporated into a generative model even within the framework of the hypothesis that transformations do not change meaning.

Chomsky bases his conception on the description of English, i.e. a language with a largely fixed word order. He defines the sentence participants (subject, object) in terms of NPs which are assigned specific and fixed places in the linear arrangement as elements of immediate constituents. Bearing in mind the dynamics of Czech word order, Sgall chooses a much more flexible conception, that of the dependency theory. The dependency theory approach is also used on the semantic level; the relations described by Chomsky on the basis

of immediate constituents (which also fix the linear order) are handled within the individual dependency trees⁵⁹ using the flexibility (in terms of the linear arrangement) of the SR elements for the incorporation of Firbas's scale of CD and/or CI.

Apart from CD/CI Sgall's SR also incorporates the distinction between contextually bound and contextually unbound elements; the combination of the concept of contextual boundness with CD/CI scales copes with the great majority of word order factors and allows rules to be formulated taking into account the context. The latter rules cater for the transduction of the SR to the surface structure of the sentence where distinctions in FSP are formulated as distinctions in word order and/or stress and intonation (in the majority of Czech sentences) or specific syntactic reconstructions, e.g. the English passive. An example of such rules, formulated on the basis of semantic roles similar to Fillmore's cases, to describe the FSPs of such sentences as the following:

The acorn develops into an OAK

An OAK develops out of the acorn

is given in Sgall (1972 :9-13). They have the following simplified SR:

$[(\text{the acorn})_3 \text{ develop oak}_2]$ ⁶⁰.

Sgall's conception has many advantages over the other generative-TG theories; it offers a more workable framework for a formalization of many aspects of FSP. But as with the other conceptions it is still in a rudimentary stage and a great deal of empirical research will have to be completed before it can claim any universality. In Sgall's own words, this will concern above all the study of "various types of verbs and the relationship between their participants, questions of local and temporal setting vs. topic proper, problems of the contrastive context ("second instance") and the borderline between them and the more "normal" cases of TCA" (1972 :13)⁶¹.

Notes

1. Apart from a short note given in the Introduction, we do not think it necessary to specifically deal with the history of FSP scholarship. Information of this kind can (in varying degrees of detail) be obtained e.g. from the following publications: 1. Daneš (1957:55 - 62), 2. Raspopov (1961:9-26), 3. Garvin (1963:502 - 508), 4. Adamec (1966: 18 - 20), 5. Mistrík (1966:68 - 80), 6. Pumpjanskij (1974: 13 - 41). However, we will systematically contrast the views of the most influential scholars in the field.
2. The term goes back to Mathesius's German term SATZPERSPEKTIVE (Mathesius 1929) and FUNCTIONAL SENTENCE ANALYSIS (see Vachek 1966:59ff).
3. Another term used by Daneš is ORGANIZATION OF UTTERANCE (e.g. Daneš 1964).
4. Halliday usually uses the term THEMATIC ORGANIZATION or THEME (Halliday 1967).
5. Cf. Hockett (1958:201). Also some Prague School linguists (when writing in English) prefer this term - most notably Sgall, Benešová and Hajičová.
6. Also: AKTUELLE GLIEDERUNG DES SATZES and MITTEILUNGSPERSPEKTIVE; in French - DIVISION ACTUELLE DE LA PHRASE or PERSPECTIVE FONCTIONNELLE DE LA PHRASE.
7. English translation: "Actual sentence division is the organization of the sentence with the aim of conveying the actual information".
8. The terms will be considered in detail at a later stage.

9. English translation: "Actual sentence bipartition represents a modification of the material information given by the concrete lexical items inserted into a sentence pattern depending on the consituation and the communicative intention of the speaker." (See Note 40, p. 54 on the concept of CONSITUATION).
10. Cf. Vardul' (1967:121): "... the quantity of information in an utterance is in direct proportion to the number of utterances which are probable in the specific situation and from which this particular utterance is selected; the greater the number, the more information the utterance contains, and conversely, it contains less information if their number is lower... From this we can rightly conclude that the purpose of the actual sentence bipartition consists in the linguistic delimitation of the quantity of transmitted information".
- Thus in the sentence: 'Petr ujechal v Moskvu' (Peter left for Moscow) the fact that the element 'Petr' was chosen as an introductory communicational unit (THEME) results in the exclusion from combining the rest of the sentence (RHEME) with such elements as 'Paul', or 'Peter' s brother..' etc., e.g. 'Pável ujechal v Moskvu' (Paul left for Moscow).
11. English translation: "actualization is, so to speak, a communicativization of the nominative means of language".
12. Cf. Firbas' s statement which was criticized by N.W. Francis (1966:149): "The starting point of the theory is the assumption that it is in accordance both with the character of human thought (underlined by us) and with the linear character of the sentence that sentence elements

follow each other according to the amount of communicative dynamism ..they convey..." (Firbas 1966:240). According to Firbas (1974:14) "Weil distinguishes between the movement of ideas and syntactical movement ;... he tries to expound the correlations between the two, comparing ancient languages with modern ones".

The relationship between the structure of thought and the grammatical structure has received a great deal of attention from Panfilov (1963, 1971) and his followers, particularly Pumpjanskij; the latter has been using Panfilov's conceptual framework of the LOGICO-GRAMMATICAL LEVEL of the sentence with some success in his research into Russian and English technical texts (e.g. Pumpjanskij 1972, 1974).

13. D.Bolinger's term (1952:1117).

14. Apresjan (1967) emphasizes that semantics must move from the description of the meanings of words to the meanings of whole utterances; considering groups of synonymic sentences like the following:

a) A somevajetsja v B (A doubts B)

b) A ispytyvajet somnenija nasčot B (A feels doubts concerning B)

c) B kažetsja A sommitel'nyĭ

[B_{DAT} seems A_{NOM} doubtful]

(It seems to B that A cannot be trusted),

he talks about a SEMANTIC PARADIGM consisting of sentences with the same meaning but with different senses (p.12).

15. As was already mentioned earlier, Mathesius (e.g. 1947-reprinted from 1939) uses two separate terms, i.e. ZÁKLAD (foundation - topical understanding) and VÝCHODIŠTĚ (point of departure - contextual understanding). In some other works he subsumes both under ZÁKLAD (1961:91; published posthumously) or THEMA (SATZTHEMA) in his German article in 1929:202ff.
16. Kovtunova (1965:171) talks about "the common basis of apperception" (obščnosť' appercepccionnoj bazy); Sgall (1975:305) uses the term "stock of shared knowledge".
17. The translation of the quotations borrowed from Firbas (1964a:265). Cf. the same article for a more detailed exposition of Trávníček's views.
18. Boost also identifies his THEMA with the first member of the sentence standing in the preverbal position and does not take into account the possibility of what Mathesius calls SUBJECTIVE sequence (i.e. RHEME-THEME). Beneš (1959:205ff) claims that there are certain structural reasons typical of the grammatical system of German which led Boost to this conception and to a certain degree of inconsistency in the application of his criteria. Beneš attempts to relate Boost's ideas to the Prague School conception by introducing a third term to the dichotomy T - R, i.e. that of the BASIS (BÁZE, p.216), to describe the point of departure of the sentence without reference to the criterion of GIVEN or KNOWN information. Cf. also Garvin (1963:508ff).
19. Apart from Halliday there are other linguists who tend

to make a sharp distinction between the notions of GIVEN - NEW and THEME - RHEME; according to Kovtunova (1973:53), Popov classifies the THEME - RHEME dichotomy (i.e. 'what is talked about' and 'what is said about it') as RATIONAL-EXPRESSIVE categories, while the pair GIVEN - NEW belongs to COMMUNICATIVE CATEGORIES, i.e. such that establish a connection with the situation and the context (Ju.P.Popov, 1961).

20. Halliday(1974:53); synonymous with his earlier DERIVABLE.
21. The problem of GIVENNESS has recently been treated in some detail by Chafe (1976:25 - 55). Of particular interest are his deliberations on the relationship between GIVENNESS and the length of text. He draws attention to the fact that after a considerable interlude an element which has already been mentioned will probably be re-introduced as new.
22. With Fillmore we identify the presuppositions of the sentence with the conditions which must be satisfied before the sentence can be used for specific communicative purposes (1969:120 - paraphrased). The presupposition is mostly defined as that aspect of meaning which is not influenced by negation (unlike 'assertion').
23. Analogous procedures are used by Kuno (1972) and Dahl (1969).
24. Some languages have morphological markers specially designed for the overt signalization of thematicity (or rhematicity), e.g. in Japanese the particle WA used to mark the T as against GA for the R (rhematic subject); cf. Kuno (1972:269ff); Panfilov (1968:22ff)

observes a similar phenomenon in Nivkhi and Jukahir. Many other interesting examples are considered in Li(ed.) 1976.

25. The element 'a girl' is clearly felt as thematic here on account of its place in the linear arrangement of the sentence (it is in the position of the first argument in the unmarked SVO structure); in such a position the AGENT is inherently more topicworthy than the OBJECT. The problem of topicworthiness of the individual participants in the semantic structure of the sentence has recently received much attention in Hyman and Zimmer (1976). It is maintained that topical information is usually associated with the more animate cases; as far as the category of person is concerned, first and 2nd person are more topicworthy than third person human, which, in turn, is more topicworthy than third person non-human (p.191).

26. Mel'čuk (1974:65) gives a Russian example with a complete interchange of relations between the concepts, i.e. T is NEW and R is GIVEN. The English paraphrase is as follows: 'The horizon revealed the snow-covered peaks of a mountain range. A little town grew up right at its foot'.

T

R

Apart from being in the final position, the R is also identified by the accentuating particle RIGHT.

27. The most commonly used terms in other languages are as follows: German - KOMMUNIKATIVE BELASTUNG; Russian - FRAZOVAJA DINAMICŇNOST' (clause dynamism); Czech - VÝPOVĚDNÍ DYNAMIČŇNOST (utterance dynamism); Bolinger

- (1972) uses the term RELATIVE SEMANTIC WEIGHT.
28. German: MITTEILUNGSWERT or MITTEILUNGSGEWICHT; Czech: VÝPOVĚDNÍ ZÁVAŽNOST (utterance importance); Russian: KOMMUNIKATIVNAJA NAGRUZKA (communicative weight). The latter (Russian) term is sometimes used for both CI and CD (e.g. Krušelnickaja 1961); the same is observed with the term MITTEILUNGSWERT (e.g. Buttke 1969).
29. This use of the term should not be confused with Halliday's THEMATIZATION, which is "the organization of the message into theme and non-theme, or theme and rheme" (Halliday 1967:9), i.e. it is more or less synonymous with Firbas's FSP.
30. Also referred to as COMMUNICATIVE PURPOSE (Firbas), COMMUNICATIVE INTENTION (Kirkwood), KOMMUNIKATIVE AUFGABE (Buttke), KOMMUNIKATIVNOJE ZADANIJE (Russian) and KOMUNIKATIVNÍ ZADÁNÍ (Czech).
31. Halliday's term. In his Intonation Systems in English (1966:114) he defines the TONIC as "that part of the pitch movement by which the tone group can be identified for tone" and shows its placing to be of semantic relevance; it is correlated with the so-called INFORMATION POINTS. The said INFORMATION POINTS seem invariably to coincide with the rhemes of the respective TONE GROUPS. Other terms used for this concept (i.e. the TONIC) are in particular: LOGICAL STRESS (Russian linguists, e.g. Ševjakova, Kovtunova and Panfilov; in Russian - LOGIČESKOJE UDARENIJE), RHEMATIC STRESS (Firbas), PHRASE STRESS (Adamec - FRAZOVOJE UDARENIJE), SENTENCE STRESS (VĚTNÝ DŮRAZ, VĚTNÝ PŘÍZVUK - Czech linguists, e.g. Trávníček, Bauer-Grepl,

Kopečný and others).

32. Firbas (1965a:170): "By the temporal and modal exponents of the verb we understand all the formal expedients (such as the alternation of the stem vowel in 'sing, sang, sung', the verbal suffix - 'ed', the auxiliaries, etc.) used by the verb to convey its temporal and modal indications". The commonly used abbreviation is TME.
33. Chafe (1974:119 - 120) believes that "the possibility of a three-way distinction, or even a larger 'gamut' of degrees of CD, raises some doubts...since it is not obvious that the speaker's assumption regarding his addressee's consciousness can be based on anything but a binary choice". He considers it illogical for a speaker to assume that certain material is in the addressee's consciousness to some intermediate degree.
34. The usefulness of this methodology was very convincingly demonstrated in Hatcher's study of the Spanish word order (1956). Since then it has been used by most Prague School linguists, in particular by Adamec (1966), Daneš (e.g. 1967 and 1970), and Benešová-Sgall (1973). For more about cleft-constructions see Chapter Five (Sections 5 and 12.1) of this thesis.
35. Chomsky (1965:221) gives a different and doubtful interpretation to the cleft-sentence test. In the sentence 'It was John who I saw' he considers 'John' as a typical topic. Dahl (1969:12 - 13) believes that the cleft-sentence may also identify a topicalized object, i.e.

'Peter I met every Wednesday'.

'It is Peter I met every Wednesday'.

R

We do not believe that this type of cleaving would unambiguously describe the situation where Peter is GIVEN unless it were strongly contrastive and then it would not be understood as T. The normal cleaving of this sentence is, we believe,

'It is every Wednesday that I met Peter.

R

Palmer points out that such paraphrases are not always possible. This is the case for instance with adjectival or adverbial elements.

'He is not a cruel man.'

*It is not cruel that he's a man.

'He didn't run fast.'

*It is not fast that he ran. (1976:145-6).

36. Chomsky emphasizes here the relationship between the FOCUS and shifts of INTONATIONAL CENTRE (cf. p.90).
37. By ACCENTUATION we do not refer to phonetic accentuation but rather to the changing degrees of CD in accordance with various shifts in the surface structure due to the context; these shifts are naturally accompanied by changes in stress and intonation patterns, but since we are dealing with written texts, we will not take them into account apart from the MAIN (tonic, logical) STRESS in those cases where it accompanies R proper in a manner predictable from the written context.

J.M.Y. Simpson (personal communication) makes an important point, suggesting that "this is an area where the written and spoken languages are different -- in spoken language the shift is replaced by a different exponent, i.e. a stress and/or intonation pattern".

38. Worth (1964:700) shows that very often we have to deal with oppositions of markers of grammatical categories, modal words or even submorphemic units as in: 'I said he was INside the house, not BESide it'.
39. Bolinger (1952:1123) distinguishes between the first-instance SELECTIVE CONTRAST, which is most typically achieved by position rather than by contrastive stress, and the second-instance selective contrast; in the latter case we have to deal with sentences of an IMITATIVE nature in which the word order is of secondary importance; their order is not their own but is that of something they imitate. E.g.:1st instance:
'The advancing soldiers halted' (perhaps at the beginning of discourse) as against the 2nd instance:
'The advancing soldiers halted' (setting someone right who mistakenly asserts for example that):
'The retreating soldiers halted' ; the word order pattern of (2) imitates (3).
40. Following Mirowicz (1949) many FSP students use the hybrid term CONSITUATION in this sense, e.g. Dahl (1969) and Adamec (1966-konsituacija).
41. On LEXICAL PRESUPPOSITIONS see Fillmore (1969 and 1971); the concept of PRAGMATIC PRESUPPOSITIONS is dealt with in particular in Keenan (1971,1972).

42. Firbas, Daneš, Svoboda, Golková, Beneš and others; this conception was developed particularly by Kovtunova, of the Soviet linguists, who applied it in her monograph on Russian word order (1969). Her theoretical approach is described most succinctly in Kovtunova (1973 and 1974). Of particular interest are her attempts to correlate grammatical patterns with communicative patterns along the syntagmatic-paradigmatic axes.
43. Cf. Lapteva (1972:37, Note 10). "The treatment of FSP phenomena by I.I. Kovtunova... representing a rather interesting and sophisticated attempt at a systematization of the schemas of FSP, is inconsistent in that these schemas are realized on the plane of linguistic paradigms, while FSP itself is attributed as belonging to the plane of utterance...". Similar criticism (levelled this time against Daneš) is voiced by Nikolajeva (1972:52). This claim is not really substantiated. J.M.Y. Simpson (personal communication) points out in this connection that "the 'langue - parole' distinction is a fiction, not truth. Therefore, if a case is made out, there is no reason for FSP to be considered inconsistent".
44. This problem is treated in greater detail in Panfilov (1968:22ff).
45. Other scholars close to Panfilov's views are Popov (1950), Česnokov (1967), Kotelova (1967), Babajceva (1969), and Pumpjanskij (1972, 1974). Vardul' (1967) bases his approach on the concept of the "quantity of information".

He distinguishes between the two different levels of POTENTIAL SYNTAX and ACTUAL SYNTAX (p.117). For more about him see above in Note 10 (this chapter).

46. This point of view is rather doubtful. We agree with the suggestion of J.M.Y. Simpson (personal communication) that the textual extension of FSP research does not necessarily disqualify it as a means of the language system.

47. A similar study, but on a larger scale, is presented in Klenina (1975). See also Klenina (1976) and Kirpičnikova (1960).

48. Kiefer considers FSP within the category of EMPHASIS; Kuno's term UNDERLINING, as well as Apresjan's PODČERKIYANIJE (having identical meaning), are used to handle the contrastive or second instance cases; Dressler suggests the study of FSP within the sphere of SUPRASYNNTAX (cf. Wort's SUPRASYNTACTICS - 1964). Loseva (1973) is a monograph on the study of whole texts (paragraphs, stories, novels) on the basis of FSP ideas. This is done by means of correlating communicative units with general semantic units, i.e. (1) substance, (2) process, (3) time, (4) locality, (5) cause, (6) purpose, and (7) condition.

Nida (1964) uses the following array of the basic semantic units: (1) objects, (2) events, (3) abstracts, and (4) relationals (which serve to relate various objects) (p.63).

49. Using Russian and Swedish examples, Dahl (1969:12 - 13)

demonstrates that this definition of TOPIC would not be functional. In sentences:

- i) Ego ochvatilo volnenije }
ii) Volnenije ochvatilo ego } He was moved

he would assign two different TOPICS

i. ego (him)

ii) volnenije (excitement)

although the contextually bound pronoun is clearly T in both cases unless it is heavily stressed (i.e. unless it is SECOND INSTANCE). Similarly, in English the sentences

'It is fried potatoes I like' and

'What I like is fried potatoes'

would have, according to his interpretation two different themes. Analogous criticism is voiced for example in Staal (1967:76), Benešová-Sgall (1973:29) and Hajičová (1975:34, Note 6).

50. More about Chomsky's understanding of TOPIC-see Note 35 of the present Chapter.

51. This phenomenon is typical of the so-called TOPIC-PROMINENT languages; many examples are given e.g. in Li and Thompson (1976:461ff). It is shown that in languages such as Japanese, Korean, Mandarin and Lahu, the topics need not be selectionally related to the verb. Apart from their position they are also marked out by special particles: E.g.: Gakkoo - wa buku - ga isogasi - kat - ta (Japanese)

[school-Topic I-subject busy - past tense]

(School -Topic - I was busy).

For similar examples see Timberlake (1976:562).

52. Reprinted (1972:69-119 and 120-202 respectively).
Quotations will refer to this reprinted version.
53. These terms do not supersede Topic-Comment; the latter are used alongside PRESUPPOSITION-FOCUS, presumably as defined in Chomsky (1965). Cf. Chomsky (1972:107, Note 35).
54. Jackendoff suggests two possible ways of doing it; either by means of an attachment transformation like the Syntactic Structures rules for introducing negation or by an extension of the phrase structure rules (assuming that no new nodes are introduced by the transformations) (1972:240).
55. This conception was criticized by Prague School linguists (Sgall, Hajičová & Benešová 1973:190ff and Hajičová 1975:39); their main objection is that Jackendoff's characterization of PRESUPPOSITION with the help of concepts like "coherent set" or "well-defined set" is not sufficiently well-defined. They believe that the \hat{A} operator (i.e. "those x for which P/x is true") is more suitable for defining the T rather than the R (focus).
56. Cf. Chomsky's well-known pair of sentences:
'Everyone in the room knows at least two languages' and
'At least two languages are known by everyone in the room'.
A great deal of attention has also been given to this problem by Benešová & Sgall (1973:45ff) and Bellert (1969).
57. A detailed discussion of Dahl's approach from the Prague School standpoint can be found in Firbas & Pala (1971) and Růžička (1970).
58. Sgall has a number of students co-operating on the development of his model, in particular Hajičová (1972, 1973 and

1975), Benešová (1973), Panevová (1969), and Uhlířová (1966).

59. For a comparative treatment of dependency and IC theories see Hays 1964 and Jordanskaja (1963). The dependency theory is also lucidly expounded in Mel'čuk (1974); he uses it as one of the fundamental concepts of his stratificational model called 'Sense-Text' (smysl'-tekst).
60. The subscripts (2) and (3) stand for the roles GOAL and ORIGIN respectively and the definite article is used as a symbol of an operator; here it suggests that the particular NP is KNOWN (or contextually bound).
61. TCA is Sgall's abbreviation for FSP, standing for Topic-Comment Articulation.

CHAPTER TWO

The Framework of Description

1. Following Daneš (1974) we will base our investigation on a three-level model of the study of the sentence, i.e.

- 1) the level of the grammatical structure of the sentence;
- 2) the level of the semantic structure of the sentence;
- 3) the level of the FSP.

In his works Daneš designates (3) as "level of organization of utterance" (e.g. 1964:225). As was already noted, this strict methodological distinction between the terms 'sentence' and 'utterance' was criticized as inconsistent (cf. Note 43, Chapter 1) since the majority of FSP researchers (e.g. Firbas, Halliday, Adamec, Sgall, Raspopov, Kovtunova, Mel'čuk, Dahl and indeed Daneš himself) have shown convincingly the systemic nature of FSP patterning. Daneš's writings on the concept of the sentence (1963, 1964, 1971) explain the afore-mentioned methodological distinction. He distinguishes fundamentally between three levels of abstraction of the concept:

- "(1) Sentence as a singular and individual speech-event;
- (2) Sentence as one of all possible different minimal communicative units ... of the given language;
- (3) Sentence as an abstract structure or configuration, i.e. as a pattern of distinctive features ..."

(1964:229)

To underline this distinction terminologically he designates (1) as the UTTERANCE-EVENT, (2) as the UTTERANCE and (3) as the SENTENCE PATTERN. It is only the utterance-events that belong to speech (*la parole*):

"if we deprive such an event (by way of abstraction) of all accidental, singular and individual elements, connected with its phonic (or graphic) 'ego, hic et nunc' manifestation, we arrive at an utterance which no longer belongs to speech, which, however, contains many more features than only those belonging

to the most abstract and general syntactic pattern of the grammatical system."

(1964:229)

Such are, for example, word order, modality, features of delimitation, and the like. Here Daneš departs from Mathesius's understanding of the dichotomy. The latter distinguishes between the sentence as a pattern belonging to the language system and the sentence as part of the context, i.e. an utterance - a component of the discourse (1942:6) . To avoid ambiguity, here we will (unless otherwise specified) be using the term SENTENCE to refer to Daneš's levels (2) and (3), and consequently retain Firbas's term FUNCTIONAL SENTENCE PERSPECTIVE.

This three-level (horizontal) model of the sentence will be supplemented by another division which will, so to speak, cut across the afore-mentioned levels vertically. This latter model, proposed by Mathesius (1936, repr. 1964), views the sentence from the point of view of two different linguistic processes involved in every communicative act of speech:

"By the one, elements are selected from the given reality, concrete or abstract, which fulfil the double condition of having focussed the attention of the prospective speaker and of being able to be expressed by means of the vocabulary existing in the given language; by the other the linguistic signs representing the selected elements are put into mutual relations so as to constitute an organic whole, a sentence... So we come to two important parts of linguistic investigation, that of the ways and means of organizing these names, as applied to an actual situation, into sentences."

(p.308)

The respective sections of linguistics are referred to as FUNCTIONAL ONOMATOLOGY and FUNCTIONAL SYNTAX¹. Language is thus seen as a system of systems² and our investigation of FSP within this model will attempt to show the high degree of interrelatedness between the individual sections along both axes.

2. Valency model

One of the most consistent approaches for an exhaustive treatment of all the multiplicity of relations between the individual levels of the language system is that of dependency grammar.

As distinct from the traditional grammar (and also the early transformational-generative models) which were based on the idea of a two nuclei sentence (Subject-Predicate; NP-VP), dependence grammars assign the central role in the sentence to the finite verb (Vf).

The syntactico-semantic properties of the verb are shown to be of fundamental importance in the selection of the major participants of the action expressed in the sentence.

2.1 History of the theory

The idea of the central role of the verb in the organization of the sentence is by no means new.

I. As early as in 1934 Porzig observed that:

"Es ist bisher... bestimmt worden, dass im Verbum das Subjekt oder das Objekt oder gewisse adverbiale Ergänzungen schon mitgesetzt werden. Sie sind mitgesetzt ohne Rücksicht darauf, ob sie in dem betreffenden Satz ausdrücklich stehen, vielleicht gar stehen müssen, oder fehlen können."

(1934:73)

Further he anticipates some ideas which are receiving considerable attention in present-day research into sentence semantics:

"Alle Bedeutungen also, die in einem Wort mitgehalten sind, auch wenn sie nicht ausgesprochen werden, gehören zu seinem Bedeutungsfeld." ³

(p.74)

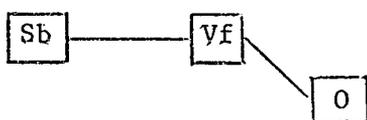
II. Analogous views are expressed by Bühler in his "Sprachtheorie" (1934): "Es besteht in jeder Sprache Wahlverwandschaften; das Adverb sucht sein Verbum und ähnlich die anderen ..." (p.173). Referring to

this phenomenon he uses the term CONNOTATION⁴: "... das Adjektiv 'albus' z. B. konnotiert einen Eigenschaftsträger, das aktive Verbum 'amare' konnotiert zwei Partner (wer?, wen?) die genannt werden sollen." (1936:10).

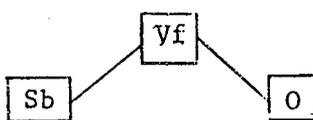
III. The approach of exploring the sentence structure from the viewpoint of the verb also has a long tradition in the work of the Prague School, in particular of its Slovak members. In his study of the "Structure of the Slovak Verb" (1943) Pauliny introduces the concept of INTENTION OF VERB ACTION; "By intention we refer to the fact that the verb as a predicate requires or does not require mentioning of the agent or patiens of its action." (p.16)⁵. The concept of Intention has been further developed by Miko (e.g. 1962), Ružička, J. (1966), Kácala, Krížková, Sgall (1973) and many others.

IV. Perhaps the most significant (and certainly the most widely acknowledged) precursor of the modern dependence grammar theories is Tesnière. In his work "Esquisse d'une syntax structurale" (1953)⁶ he puts forward his valency theory of the sentence structure. The organizing role in the sentence is played by the verb. The verbal knot (*noeud*) is like a "small drama". To clarify his conception Tesnière draws an analogy between the structural properties of the sentence and those of an atom. In the same manner as the nucleus of an atom has the potency to bind a certain number of electrons, the verbal nucleus can bind a certain number of ACTANTS (subject - objects). This phenomenon is called VALENCY. In Tesnière's understanding valency refers only to the subjects and accusative and dative objects; adverbial complements and prepositional objects are excluded from direct participation in the action of the verb and, appropriately, are called *CIRCONSTANTS*. As was pointed out above, Tesnière was not the first to observe the structural importance of the verb in the

sentence; he was, however, the first to 'downgrade' the role of the subject to the level of a complement of the verb, equal in grammatical status to that of the object. Schematically:



Traditional grammar



Tesnière's model of valency⁷

Tesnière approaches verbs from the semantic viewpoint as processes (states, actions); his actants and *circonstants* are defined in terms of both the semantic and morphological criteria; the difference between the two is explained in terms of case endings, prepositional constructions and word classes (all adverbs are classed as *circonstants*).

V. This latter inconsistency in the application of criteria of two different levels of linguistic research has in recent years been the principal sphere of the development of Tesnière's pioneering work.

This research was stimulated by the advances in the development of sophisticated theoretical models based on the concepts of multi-level organization of language structure and, in particular, on the better understanding of the dichotomy between deep and surface structures.

From among the numerous scholars dealing with this problem let us mention briefly at least two groups:

- 1) Prague School linguists, in particular Daneš (e.g. 1973), but also others mentioned earlier;
- 2) DDR scholars - Helbig, Schenkel, Bondzio, and others⁸.

While these schools, as well as many other contemporary researchers, differ in details, all of them broadly agree on two fundamental points of development of Tesnière's theory: (1) they distinguish between (a) syntactic, and (b) semantic participants (actants, *Mitspieler*, *Leerstellen*, etc.); and (2) they redefine the V complements in terms

of the minimum constituency criterion into the bound (*enge Verbergänzungen*) and the free (*freie Verbergänzungen*) complements, the former being further subdivided into obligatory (*obligatorisch*) and facultative (*fakultativ*) (Helbig, 1971:37ff).

3. The framework of description: a further specification

3.1 At the present stage of their development dependence grammars seem to offer the most potent theoretical framework within which such a multi-dimensional problem as FSP can be treated without too many loose ends. Let us now further specify those aspects of the dependence theory which are considered to be of importance for our framework of reference. The description will be arranged within Daneš's previously mentioned three-level model and with reference to Mathesius's dichotomy of onomatological and syntactical aspects of sentence structure. Most attention will be paid to the grammatical and semantic levels. The terminology of the FSP level has already been dealt with and its interrelations with the other two levels will be investigated in some detail in the subsequent chapters.

Despite the considerable importance which is attached to the discrete treatment of the individual levels of linguistic research, let us emphasize that this approach is necessitated by purely methodological reasons. In actual fact the individual levels are intricately interrelated. This phenomenon has been stressed by Weinreich:

"In logic, the relations of symbols within an 'object language' to each other are classed as syntactic, while the relations of symbols to certain entities outside the 'object language' are the domain of semantics. For artificial, stipulated systems, the dichotomy is workable; but in natural languages, semantic relations, too, are relations between symbols - namely, between a definiendum and the sum of its definiens."⁹

Gak (1972:367) goes as far as to say that: " V jestestvennych jazykach s i n t a k s i s s e m a n t i č e n , to est' ego kategorii i elementy sootnosjatsja s vnešnimi ob'jektami, a s e m a n t i k a - s i n t a k s i č n a , to est' otryažet otnošenija meždu simvolami-oboznačenijami"¹⁰.

The interpenetration of the individual levels of language is thus generally recognized. In analyzing linguistic facts we must constantly bear this in mind but, on the other hand, we must also realize that there is no clear-cut bi-unique correlation between semantic and syntactic units¹¹.

3.2 The level of the grammatical structure of the sentence

The structural relations of the sentence can best be described in terms of the 'saturation' of SYNTACTIC POSITIONS of the V or, as has already been suggested, in terms of the minimum constituency of the sentence. Without referring to the semantic level we may arrive at a decision about the syntactic nature of a V complement by a 'reduction test'¹², i.e. by eliminating V complements and testing the remainder for grammaticality. Thus in the sentence:

Peter met his father in the garden

Sb Vf Od AdvLoc

we can eliminate AdvLoc without distorting the sentence; but we cannot do the same with Od; 'his father' is an OBLIGATORY SYNTACTIC ACTANT while 'in the garden' can be referred to as a FACULTATIVE ACTANT¹³. It is important to realize that the role of OBLIGATORY ACTANT is not reserved only for objects¹⁴. In the sentence:

Peter lives in Moscow

Sb Vf AdvLoc

the AdvLoc is an indispensable complement of the V and can thus be considered as an obligatory participant also. In the sentence:

Mother reads a book in the garden

Sb Vf Od AdvLoc

we may delete the AdvLoc as well as the Od without structurally distorting the sentence; but here Od is also considered to be an indispensable participant. Even if not overtly expressed, it is implied, e.g. in the sentence 'Father reads in the garden'. It will be called a POTENTIAL ACTANT . It is rather like the frequent omission of the subject in Czech sentences, i.e.

Potkal Petra [He met Peter]

(Sb) — V — Od

Although Sb is omitted, it is expressed in the ending of the V and it is also expressed explicitly somewhere in the preceding context.

The following abbreviations and symbols will be used in the description of the grammatical level:

I. Sb = subject

P = predicate

O = object

Adv = adverbial complement

II. N = noun

Pro = pronoun

V = verb

Inf = infinitive

A = adjective

Art = article

Subscripts: abbreviations in caps. for Czech (Russian, German) cases expressed overtly by relevant morphological endings, i.e.

NOM = nominative

GEN = genitive

DAT = dative

ACC = accusative¹⁵

LOC = locative

INS = instrumental

From among other subscripts let us mention the following;

f in Vf = verb finite

sg, pl = singular, plural

pas = passive

refl = reflexive

d, i in Od, Oi = direct-indirect object

Symbols:

→ = dependence

() = potential place in the structure of the formal V valency

:= = becomes.

3.3 Level of the semantic structure of the sentence

3.3.1 The semantic structure of the sentence can be viewed as a kind of analogue of an extralinguistic situation. It can be presented as a hierarchy of at least 4 levels of abstraction:

- 1) The meaning of the structural pattern itself;
- 2) The meanings of the syntactic components and the relationships between them;
- 3) The meanings of the morphological components;
- 4) The semantics of the lexical components of the sentence 16

3.3.2 The semantics of a pattern (realized by a sentence or a syntagm) represents a complex quality constituted by the interaction of morphological, syntactic and lexical meanings.

Of central importance in the meaning of this SEMANTIC SENTENCE PATTERN is the semantics of the Vf. Daneš (1971:193ff) asserts that each individual verbal meaning contains in its nucleus a certain structure of semantic features which can potentially be of syntactic relevance. This cluster of semantic components is referred to as a SEMANTIC FORMULA (further SF). It includes such features as

transitivity-intransitivity; action, state, process, event; stative-nonstative, causative and the like. SFs of verbs serve as a basis for their classification¹⁷. Together with the more specific lexical components of meaning SF is also of crucial importance in determining the valency potential of the V. Here we speak about the semantic (or deep structure) valency, i.e. such that reflects a real (or potential) extralinguistic situation. The number of SS (syntactic) actants do not have to coincide with that of the DS. For our purposes it is also of relevance to realize that different languages behave differently in this respect. Let us demonstrate. The Czech V 'řici' (say, tell) reflects a situation involving three actants:

Petr to řekl otci

[Peter it_{ACC} told to father]

DS: Agent - Obj - Action - Goal

SS: Sb - O - Vf - O_{DAT}

All three actants have to be expressed. Technically it is possible to omit O_{DAT} but the meaning changes to something like 'Peter said so'¹⁸ (or 'It was Peter who said so') . A high probability English equivalent would be:

Peter told father (about it)

DS: Agent - Action - Goal - Object

SS: Sb - Vf - O_{ACC} - (pr O)

The prepositional object is facultative. Similarly the Russian V 'promachnut'sja' (miss the target)¹⁹ has in its deep structure three actant positions: (1) Agent, (2) Object - i.e. the target, and (3) Instrumental. Yet in surface structure it is restricted to one actant only - the Agent (SS Subject):

On promachnul'sja

Sb - Vf refl

[He missed]

English: He missed (the target)

Sb - Vf - (O_{ACC})

Czech: Minul se cíle

(Sb) - Vf - O_{GEN}

In order to be able to express the full array of the potential semantic actants, a Russian speaker must use a negative form of 'popast'' (to hit the target), e.g.

On ne popal iz roгатki kammem v okno

[He did not hit - from sling - (by) stone₁ - into window]

Sb - Vf - PrO_{GEN} - O_{INS} - PrO_{ACC}

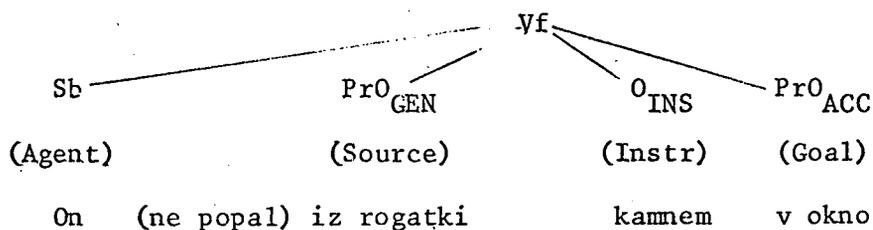
Here an English speaker would feel a need for reducing the number of actants by way of nominalization, e.g.

The stone from his sling did not hit the window

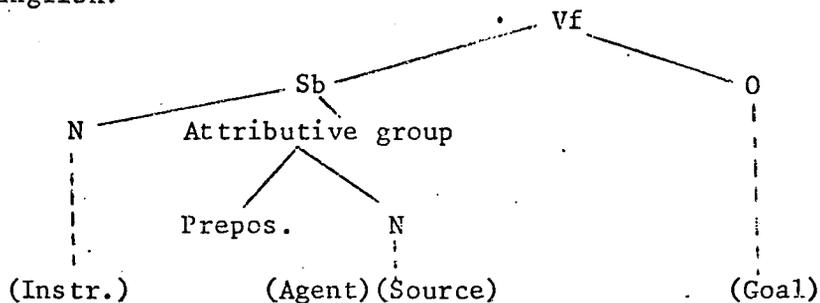
Sb - Vf - O_{ACC}

where three semantic actants (Agent, Instrumental and Source) have been condensed²⁰ - two of them (Agent, Source) finding syntactic expression as elements of downgraded²¹ constructions. Schematically:

Russian:



English:



The stone from his sling (did not hit) the target

3.3.3 We have just demonstrated the validity of the assertion that generally there is no isomorphism between deep and surface structure actants and, furthermore, that different languages make different choices in the overt syntactic realization of semantic actants. These choices are determined by the structural possibilities of the respective languages and, as will be seen further, by the requirements of the FSP. Semantic actants refer to a piece of reality (which can be taken as an invariant) - consequently they do not differ across languages and they can serve as a common factor in cross-linguistic research. In recent years we have seen a spate of publications dealing with the semantic structure of the verbal nucleus (Halliday, Fillmore, Apresjan, Mel'čuk, Sgall, Bellert, Bondzio, Daneš, and many others). Perhaps the most consistent and best known model in this respect is Fillmore's 'case grammar', expounded elsewhere in his works but in particular in F. 1968 and 1971. Fillmore's set of case notions will be adopted here as a basis of our semantic metalanguage. We will be using in particular the following terms: AGENT, EXPERIENCER, SOURCE, OBJECT, GOAL, LOCATIVE, INSTRUMENTAL and TIME. We will not, however, restrict ourselves to these eight actant labels. They are not exhaustive enough to cover all the variety of verbal complements (e.g. those of the verbs expressing various relations, events, attitudes, the verbs of the groups 'ESSE' and 'POSSE' and the like)²², nor are they sufficiently elementary and explicit to describe all the variety of semantic concepts involved. We will therefore enlarge our 'semantic metalanguage' by a number of *ad hoc* terms of various degrees of abstractness such as 'SUBJECT OF ACTION', 'OBJECT OF ACTION', 'MANNER' and 'ATTITUDE', on the one hand, and 'POSSESSOR', 'BENEFICIARY', 'DATIVE OF CONCERN', etc. on the other, in accordance with the degree of detail required for the analysis of the respective problems.

3.3.4 When describing the semantics of morphological constituents we must bear in mind that the two languages under observation belong to different groups of linguistic typology, English being a typically analytical language, while Czech, on the other hand, is a synthetic one. It is unnecessary at this point to go into any detailed comparative account of the points which have been well researched by numerous Prague School linguists, e.g. Mathesius (1961), Poldauf (1972), Vachek (1958), Firbas (elsewhere). We will only draw attention to the fact that the two languages use largely incongruous means for this purpose. While Czech tends to accumulate pre-, in-, and suffixes, English prefers to use separate lexical entities, cf.

dojedl - he finished eating

najedl se - he had his fill

Another important aspect (which will figure largely in our investigation into the FSP in both languages) is the fact that English expresses many Czech morphemes (e.g. case endings) by means of word order.

When relevant, the meaning of morphological phenomena will be treated with the help of componential analysis.

3.3.5 The meanings of lexical items (lexemes) are not unanalyzable wholes; they can be further broken down into semantic components (semes, semantic features)²³, i.e. a finite number of elementary atoms of meaning in terms of which all lexical entries can be defined. Thus, according to Leech (1974:96ff) the group of words 'man', 'woman', 'boy', 'girl' can be defined as follows:

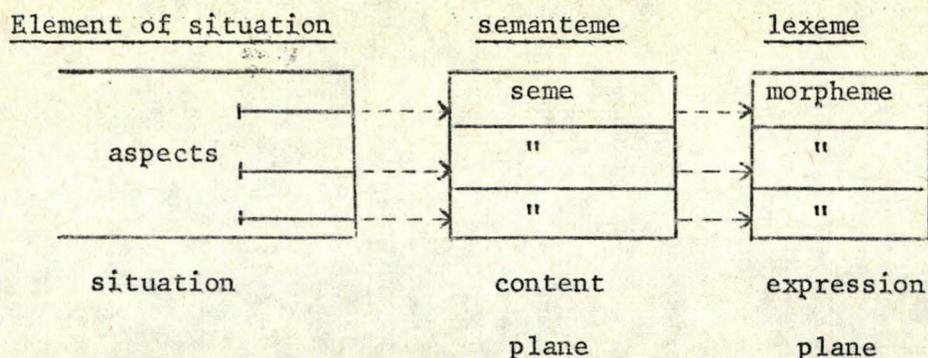
- 1) man: + HUMAN + ADULT + MALE
- 2) woman: + HUMAN + ADULT - MALE
- 3) boy: + HUMAN - ADULT + MALE
- 4) girl: + HUMAN - ADULT - MALE

i.e. in terms of three binary features. All of these items share the feature + HUMAN and can thus be related to:

5) MAN (in the sense *MENSCH*); + HUMAN.

When we compare the five sets, we can see that the individual components have a different status; + HUMAN in the first four sets relates the defined items to (5) as taxonomically subordinate. It defines their *GENUS PROXIMUM*; the other features of (1) to (4) serve as *DIFFERENTIA SPECIFICA* components²⁴. (1) to (4) can be semantically included into (5) - they are its hyponyms. Further comparisons along these (paradigmatic) lines would allow us to define the substance of other semantic relations such as SYNONYMY, HOMONYMY, ANTONYMY, CONVERSENESS, COMPLEMENTARITY, INCOMPATIBILITY, etc.²⁵. Systematic research into the paradigmatic relations between various groups of lexis (or lexical fields) has been pursued by structuralist schools for nearly half a century (cf. Trier, 1931, 1934; Porzig, 1934; Weisberger, 1954; Ohmann, 1953; Bendix, 1966 - to give but a few names). However, what is remarkable about modern approaches to semantics is that they are attempting to tackle the semantic behaviour of lexemes along the syntagmatic axis, i.e. they attempt to deal with the multi-dimensional problem of 'combination and addition' of a variety of diverse semantic units. After the pilot studies based on various versions of TG (e.g. Katz and Fodor, 1963; Katz and Postal, 1964; Weinreich, 1966; Leech, 1969) it seems to us that the most fruitful linguistic results have been achieved by those scholars who approach the problem from the viewpoint of generative semantics (Fillmore, elsewhere) or dependency grammars (in particular Mel'čuk, 1974; Apresjan, 1972; Gak, 1972, 1975; Daneš, elsewhere, in particular 1973; Kay, 1970; Viehweger et al., 1977; and others).

In the process of naming we may say that one semantic component or a group of them (forming a SEMANTEME) reflect in various degrees of detail the relevant aspects of certain elements of extralinguistic situations. To demonstrate let us use Gak's (1972:370) diagram:



This diagram gives just a simplified picture of the onomatological processes encountered in natural languages. In actual fact the elements of the situation chosen are not always overtly reflected on the expression level and different languages behave differently in this respect. Semantemes are usually expressed by lexemes (understood as individual lexical formatives), but quite often (in some languages more than in others) they find expression in a group of words which will be referred to as PARALEXEMES²⁶ (idioms, verbal phrases and the like). There is a tendency to express the individual semantic features overtly on the expression plane but quite often one morpheme will express two or more semes, e.g.

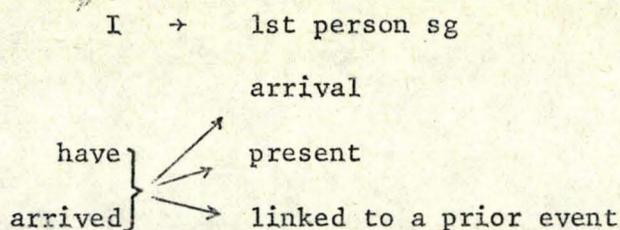
Czech: Přišel jsem (I have arrived)²⁷

The Czech verb 'přijít' contains (roughly) two semantic features, i.e. [arrival], [on foot]; while the English 'to arrive' does not give expressly the feature [on foot]. The two languages thus assign different priorities to the individual features of the situation. When we describe the semantics of this short sentence more fully we will see a great many other differences.

Czech;

Přišel → arrival
 on foot
 male
 past
 jsem → 1st person sg

English:



To give an overt expression to the feature [on foot] an Englishman has to use a paralexeme 'come on foot'. Here the onomatological process is effected by a syntactic construction in which two semes are added together to form one lexeme. We have thus arrived at the borderline between onomatology and syntax and we can see that the two are closely interconnected. Sentences too can be viewed as names of some segments of extralinguistic situations, names created by an interaction of semes of various types and by their collocation according to rules specific to individual languages.

In the same manner as in grammar in the process of con-joining sememes there is a strong tendency towards a kind of 'semantic agreement'. Words can collocate in syntagms and sentences only on the basis of a certain minimum degree of semantic pleonasm or semantic iterativity²⁸. In various languages it can be more or less explicit, and contrastive studies between languages can reveal a great deal about the fundamental strategies of the individual language's structuring²⁹. This problem will be treated in greater detail later; at this point let us just demonstrate some obvious differences between Czech and English in the distribution of semantic features in verbs and their actants. Let us look at the way the two languages describe the situation of [drinking]:

English: You needn't TAKE all her gin

Czech: Nemusíš jí VYPÍT všechen gin

[You needn't (to) her DRINK all gin] (JB,R 117/118)

It is obvious that English uses a semantically more general verb TAKE against the Czech VYPÍT (DRINK UP) which iterates the feature of liquid - it can be semantically defined as [take a liquid substance]; if X = take; Y = object; and (a) = [liquid] - sem. feature, then we can represent the two versions as follows:

Czech: Xa + Ya or a(X + Y)

English: X + Ya

The same goes for taking food, e.g.

They must have TAKEN the Yeastrol (GG, C 62/63)

Asi už POJEDLI Yeastrol

[have eaten]

If (b) = [food], then:

Czech: Xb + Yb or b(X + Y)

English: X + Ya

Within the semantic field of [taking food] we can also show the difference in the iterativity of semes between the Sb and V:

The cat has already eaten

Kočka se už nažrala

With animal subjects Czech requires a special verb for eating - 'žrát' as against 'jíst' (German 'fressen' as against 'essen'). To demonstrate:

X = [take food], Z = Sb; c = animate, d = non-human.

Czech: Zcd + Xd or d(Zc + X)

English: Zcd + X

In subsequent chapters this argument will be developed further with the aim of demonstrating the consequences it has on the syntactic and FSP organization of the sentence in the two languages.

3.4 The level of the Functional Sentence Perspective

3.4.1 It must be borne in mind that the presentation of the FSP as one of the levels of language description does not mean to suggest that it

occupies a specific stratum along the continuum between the deep and surface structure³⁰. In that respect it differs fundamentally from the other two levels discussed above, the grammatical level being viewed as more surface than the semantic level. FSP goes right across the said two levels as a kind of a superordinate organizing principle. As shown by many contemporary researches, FSP is relevant both in deep and in surface structure and must be taken into account in all the various levels of 'depth' or 'surfacedness' the particular model may operate with (cf. Svoboda, 1968; Sgall, 1967a and elsewhere; Mel'čuk, 1974; Gak, 1972; Chafe, 1970; Dahl, 1969; and many others). Thus, we may say that it is not an autonomous stratum - it operates throughout the system of language using a variety of means from the entire spectrum of linguistic patterning (intonation, word order, morphological formatives, syntactic, semantic and lexical means) as well as combinations of these. Here we can observe a kind of complementary distribution in the use of the afore-mentioned means for FSP and their other functions (cf. in further chapters, e.g. the observations on the behaviour of word order in Czech and English in Chapter 3).

3.4.2 Despite the said differences in the 'rank' of the three levels, for methodological reasons we find it useful to adhere loosely to Daneš's model. It will provide a convenient background for confronting FSP with the other two levels and highlight the multiplicity of functions of the various grammatical categories in both Czech and English. FSP will be studied in particular in relation to the following spheres of linguistic description:

- 1) Word order
- 2) Delimitation of the 'substantives'
- 3) Syntactic and semantic actants and their relation to T and R; the role of *VERBUM FINITUM* and syntactic reconstructions for the purposes of FSP

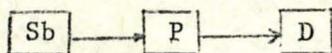
- 4) Lexical means of FSP
- 5) Stress and intonation.

3.5 To conclude this chapter let us now summarize in tabular form the main parameters of our framework of description:

	Onomatology	Syntax
GRAMMAR	grammatical and lexical formatives	syntactic actants, syntactic relations, word order, etc.
SEMANTICS	semes, semantemes (naming elements referring to extralinguistic reality)	semantic actants (Agent, Goal), semantic formulas, of Vf - semantic valencies, etc.
FSP	linguistic elements in the act of communication	T and R and the relations between them

Notes

1. The Czech term USOUVZTAŽNĚNÍ is more unequivocal as to the actual meaning Mathesius had in mind. Its literary translation is 'putting into relations'; the English FUNCTIONAL SYNTAX should therefore be understood as syntax of naming units on all levels of description including semantics (or syntagmatic relations between naming elements).
2. Cf. Vachek (1958:94-95); also Halliday - in particular (1969; 83 - 85).
3. Cf. Daneš's formulation of his "semantic sentence pattern" (1968a:45ff;1968b:56), Gak's research into "semantic syntagmatics" (1972;367ff) or Mel'čuk and Apresjan's treatment of the interrelations between lexical semantics and syntax (e.g. Mel'čuk 1970:199ff; 1974;78ff; Apresjan et al. 1969:1 - 33; Apresjan 1974).
4. Recently the notion of CONNOTATION (in this sense) has been further developed by Polish linguists, in particular Milewski (1965:94 - 104) and Gołąb et al (1968).
5. Slovak original:"Intenciou nazývame fakt, ze V ako P vyžaduje alebo nevyžaduje vyslovenie agensa alebo patiensa svojho dejania".
6. Daneš (1973:12) draws attention to the fact that Tesnière published the substance of his ideas on valency grammar as early as in 1934 in his "Comment construire une syntaxe".
7. Straková (1969) argues for the central position of the V but assigns to its major constituents the same hierarchical rank as to the V, i.e.



D standing for DETERMINANT, or an obligatory "right-hand" participant.

8. Cf. esp. the following works: Helbig (1971), Bondzio (1971) and Helbig and Schenkel (1969).
9. Argumentation adduced as part of the criticism of the transformational-generative grammarians' view that "semantics does not begin until syntax leaves off" (p.469).
10. English translation: "In natural languages syntax is semantic - i.e. its categories and elements interrelate in a certain fashion with objects of reality - and semantics is syntactic - i.e. it reflects the relations between symbols as naming units".
11. Helbig (1971:32 - 33) adduces the deficiencies of Tesnière's model in particular in his "Annahme einer fehlerhaften Isomorphie zwischen formalen und semantischen Eigenschaften". Daneš (1968b:56) refers to this phenomenon as "another manifestation of Karcevskij's asymmetric dualism of the linguistic sign".
12. Cf. Helbig (1971:35).
13. Daneš's terminology (e.g. 1973:28ff). It seems to reflect the status of the respective actants better than Helbig's triad of "obligatorisch - fakultativ (Daneš's potential) - frei (Daneš's facultative)". The term ACTANT will be used in our thesis in a much broader sense than in Tesnière's works.
14. Krížková (1968) draws attention to the obligatoriness of Locative Adverbials complementing the verb ESSE. Lyons (1968) talks about NUCLEAR and EXTRANUCLEAR adverbial constituents (p.334).
15. We will not require any subscript for the Vocative.
16. Cf. Švedova (1974:105ff).
17. In the quoted work (1971) Daneš attempts a classification of Czech verbs on this basis.

18. In colloquial Czech (e.g. in Moravian dialects) the omission of the DATIVE gives the word still another meaning - i.e. 'disclose a secret'. Cf. 'Jan to řekl'. (John was the one to talk).
19. Example borrowed from Mel'čuk (1974:134).
20. The notion of syntactic condensation will be dealt with in greater detail at a later stage.
21. On the notion of rank-shift and syntactic downgrading see esp. Leech (1969:25ff), Hill (1958:357 - 362) and Halliday (elsewhere).
22. Cf. a detailed critical assessment of CASE GRAMMAR in Arutjunova (1975) and Apresjan (1974:25 - 31).
23. For a detailed survey of terms used in this connection see Viehweger et al (1977:111).
24. Cf. Katz and Postal (1964:13ff) for the dichotomy of 'semantic markers' and 'semantic distinguishers' and its criticism in Weinreich (1966:405 - 6). Gak (1972:371) distinguishes between three types of semes: ARCHISEMES (archisemy) or general semes designating the 'genus', DIFFERENTIAL SEMES designating the 'kind' and POTENTIAL SEMES giving various specific characteristics of the 'object' named.
25. Further on this subject see especially Lyons (1968:446ff), Viehweger et al. (1977:228ff), Leech (1969:Ch.2), and Bierwisch (1969:Section 5).
26. The term is borrowed from Viehweger et al (1977:297).
27. For a similar example from Russian see Catford (1965:38 - 39).
28. "Iterativnost' sem v vyskazyvanii vystupajet kak formal'nyj sposob organizacii predloženiya na semantičeskom urovne i možet interpretirovat'sja kak semantičeskoje soglasovanije, v principe podobnoje grammatičeskomu soglasovaniju!" (The iterativity of semes in the utterance represents a formal method of sentence organization on the semantic level and it can be interpreted as semantic

agreement, analogous in principle to grammatical agreement).

(Gak 1972:379).

29. Problems of this kind have been treated in a number of studies in the last three decades or so but perhaps the most consistent in applying the findings of modern semantics is a monograph on the Russian and French languages written by Gak, V.G. (1975); cf. also Vinay and Darbelnet (1966), Roganova (1971), and Poldauf (1972).
30. Cf. Halliday (1974:52), quoted in Chapter 1, Section 4.

CHAPTER THREE

F S P and Word Order

1. The arrangement of segments of speech in linear succession is one of the most characteristic features of natural language. "Speaking implies itemizing; it results from an analyzing of experience into a number of elements, each corresponding to a linguistic sign. The signs corresponding to a message are, with some exceptions, ordered in a succession." (Martinet, 1960:1). Word order has to do primarily with the ordering of messages¹ in accordance with the particular COMMUNICATIVE INTENTION; its study is therefore of considerable importance for FSP research. The system and functions of word order in different languages are determined by their typological characteristics. The close interrelationship between the word order and the ordering of segments of messages has been known since Weil's comparative study of word order in ancient and modern languages (1844). The concept of FSP (under its various names) has proved to be of essential importance in particular for the study of the word order of Slavonic languages where the relationship between the two aspects is more obvious than in other European languages².

Perhaps the most solid foundations for the study of word order as part of the language system have been laid by Mathesius (1907, 1941, 1947 and 1961). Comparing the Czech and English word orders Mathesius deals with the following word order principles:

- 1) the principle of grammatical function,
- 2) the principle of coherence of members,
- 3) the principle of FSP, and
- 4) the principle of sentence rhythm³.

With regard to the principle of grammatical function, it refers to the relationship between the position of an element and its syntactic function in which the former is determined by the latter. A typical

example is the SVO sequence in English, e.g.

John hit Peter

as against

Peter hit John.

The principle of coherence of members manifests itself in the impossibility of inserting additional qualifications between sentence elements, e.g. between the Vf and its O in English:

John hit Peter yesterday

but not

*John hit yesterday Peter

(In Czech both are possible:

Jan uhodil Petra včera

Jan uhodil včera Petra).

Apart from this negative manifestation it is also operative in a positive manner in that a change of position of one of the two elements entails a change in position of the other element also, so that the two may remain in close proximity⁴. For this phenomenon we can adduce an example from Czech:

Znám otce tvého přítele

[(I) know father_{DAT} (of) your friend_{GEN}]

Otce tvého přítele znám

[Father_{ACC} (of) your friend (I) know]

The principle of FSP, as has already been explained, refers to the tendency to open the sentence by thematic elements and to close it by rhematic ones.

Finally, the principle of sentence rhythm has to do with the positioning of enclitics and unstressed words in the sentence, e.g. of Czech short forms of personal pronouns in the dative: 'mi', 'ti', 'mu', 'si' (to me, to you, to him, to oneself - refl) which are bound to come after the first stressed word in the sentence, e.g.

Dal mu tu knihu
[Gave_{3sg} him_{DAT} the book_{ACC}]

2. Word order in Czech

2.1 As a synthetic language Czech possesses a rich inventory of morphological endings which makes its word order largely free from the use on the syntactic level. The principal factor operative in the system of Czech word order is that of FSP, i.e. of ordering the segments of thought according to the relevant communicative intention. In this, Czech - as well as other Slavonic languages - displays such plasticity that researchers often speak of FREE word order. This term must be further qualified. Havránek (1971:505) suggests that "it would be better to designate the so-called "free" word order as grammatically (syntactically) non-restricted ... as against the grammatically (syntactically) restricted word order of the West European languages".⁵ Kovtunova (1969:3ff) uses a linguistic experiment to prove that in actual fact in concrete situations there is very little scope for changing the word order without jeopardizing understanding. The theoretical possibility of various permutations is thus limited by FSP to one optimal sequence.

2.2 Let us now concentrate on the relationship between word order and FSP in Czech. The starting point of our investigation is the assumption of the existence of some BASIC or NEUTRAL⁶ order of sentence elements when the sentence is free of context, i.e. when it is in "the state of syntactic tranquillity" (cf. p. 2)⁷. This word order represents "an optimal arrangement of sentence elements on the time axis" (Isačenko, 1966:27)⁸. Elsewhere in his works (in particular 1971) Firbas explains this arrangement on the basis of the concept of COMMUNICATIVE DYNAMISM (cf. p.24) and its relationship with the semantic structure of the sentence. In his words:

"An object expresses the goal (outcome) of an action conveyed by the accompanying verb. Provided it is contextually independent, it will carry a higher degree of CD than the verb. This is because from the point of view of communication, an unknown goal (outcome) of an action appears to be more important than the action itself."

(1971:137)

In this connection it is more opportune to speak of COMMUNICATIVE IMPORTANCE or COMMUNICATIVE WEIGHT (cf. pp.23-24) to distinguish the communicative semantics of the UNMARKED word order from that of the MARKED ones (affected by context). The neutral word order is thus determined by the interplay of the abstract semantic categories involved, i.e. of the verbal semantics and of the respective semantic actants.

When dealing with word order in Slavonic languages we may find it useful to classify the verbs into two broad categories:

- 1) verbs of EXISTENCE or COMING INTO EXISTENCE and verbs of appearance on the scene⁹ (e.g. 'objevit se' - to appear, 'vynořit se' - emerge, 'přijít' - come, etc.); and
- 2) verbs of ACTION¹⁰ (e.g. 'sedět' - to sit, 'číst' - to read, 'pracovat' - to work, and the like).

With Daneš (1967) we will call the former verbs y (V_y) and the latter verbs x (V_x). Under the conditions of 'syntactic tranquillity' the verbs of the afore-mentioned two groups behave differently. In sentences with V_x the unmarked order of sentence elements is SVO, e.g.

Otec čte knihu

Father reads a book

or semantically AGENT - ACTION - GOAL; those with V_y are characterized by the order VS (Adv):

Přijel otec

Father came

i.e. ACTION_{appear} - AGENT.

For the purposes of this chapter we will subclassify Adv into four classes:

- 1) Adv_A - adverbial obligatory actants
- 2) Adv_{PRO} - pronominal adverbs, e.g. 'někam jít' (to go somewhere)
- 3) Adv_{MAN} - adverbial of manner ('dobře pracovat' - to work well)
- 4) Adv_{SIT}¹¹ - situational adverbs (situational characteristics).

Further we will use O_{PRO} to designate pronominal objects.

The basic word order in Czech can be described in terms of unmarked sequences of various combinations of pairs of sentence elements (cf. Benešová, 1968, 1971):

- 1) V_y - O - 'číst knihu' (to read a book)
- 2) O_{PRO} - V_y - 'něco číst' (to read something)
something to read
- 3) S - V_y - 'Petr zvítězil' (Peter won)
- 4) V_x - S - 'Nastala zima' (Winter came)
Came winter
- 5) V_y - Adv_A - 'nakreslit na tabuli' (to draw on the board)
- 6) Adv_{MAN} - V_y - 'dobře mluvit' (to speak well).

These sequences may be used as a kind of unmarked yardstick for describing the changes that occur when sentences are employed in actual speech.

To demonstrate the most common sequences in Czech word order we will look at the permutations of three elements: S - subject; V - verb finite; and D - verb complement (O, Adv, Adjunct)¹². For simplicity's sake we will deal with one- and two-actant combinations only. Also we will restrict ourselves to Mathesius's OBJECTIVE sequence, i.e. to the sentences of the FIRST INSTANCE LEVEL (cf. Chapter 1)¹³.

Combining the afore-mentioned elements we will get three groups of unmarked sequences which represent the most characteristic instances

of Czech word order (cf. Daneš, 1963:121ff):

- I. S - Vy 'Otec píše' (Father is writing)
S - Vy - O_d 'Otec píše dopis' (Father is writing a letter)
S - Vy - O_{ind} 'My souhlasíme s otcem' (We agree with father)
S - Vy - Adv_A 'Petr šel domů' (Peter went home).

This group can be summarized in a more general formula as follows:

S - Vy - (D₁) - Subscript (1) stands for objects (direct and indirect) realized by non-pronominal NG's and adverbial groups (obligatory or potential actants).

- II. 'S - O_{PRO} - Vy' (O_{PRO} can be direct or indirect):

Otec něco píše (Father is writing something)

[Father - something - is writing]

Otec někomu píše (Father is writing to someone)

[Father - (to) someone - is writing]

S - Adv_{PRO} - Vy - 'Petr někam šel' (Peter went somewhere)

[Peter - somewhere - went]

S - Adv_{MAN} - Vy - 'Chlapec pilně studuje' (The boy studies diligently)

[Boy - diligently - studies]

The general formula of this group is:

'S - (D₂) - Vy' (subscript (2) standing for pronominal actants and for Adv_{MAN}).

- III. '(Adv_{SIT}) - Vx - S' - or '(D₃) - Vx - S':

Na stole je kniha (There is a book on the table)

[On table_{LOC} is book_{NOM}]

Nastala zima (Winter came)

[Came winter_{NOM}]

Brzy přijde jaro (Spring will come soon)

[Soon comes spring]

These are some of the representative formulae of the basic word order in Czech declarative sentences. We do not aim at an exhaustive description of all the inventory of the Czech word order formulae but let us mention in passing that there are a great many other sequences typical for various specific situations which will be dealt with in greater detail at a later stage - in particular the various forms of Czech subjectless sentences, e.g.

- 0_{ACC} - Vy (3p1) - - 'Otce vyslýchali' (Father was interrogated)
 [Father_{ACC} interrogated_{3p1}]
 Vy (3sg) - 0_{DAT} - Adv_{MAN} - 'Je mi zle' (I feel sick)
 [Is me_{DAT} sick] 14

These neutral word order sequences can also appear in actual speech, i.e. in such situations where the initial element is functioning as a T of the sentence and the final element as an R. Kovtunova (1969:11ff) refers to this state of affairs as "dynamic equilibrium", i.e. the equilibrium between the syntactic and FSP levels. Daneš (1967:500) demonstrates the harmony between all three levels of sentence description which he operates with, e.g.

	Jan koupil knihu John bought a book
1. Syntactic level	S Vy O
2. Semantic level	Agent Action Goal
3. FSP	T R

There is a perfect equilibrium in this sentence. T is expressed by the most TOPICWORTHY syntactic and semantic actant - subject and AGENT of the action respectively and R by the most RHEMEWORTHY (having the highest degree of communicative importance) actant - object and GOAL of the action.

If, however, we want to select for T a segment of the basic sequence which is not identical with its initial one, Czech word order allows us to shift the particular segment to the beginning of the sentence, the operation being called THEMATIZATION¹⁵. Alternatively, when choosing a non-final segment for R we shift it to the end, performing an operation called RHEMATIZATION (cf. Chapter 1, p.22)¹⁶. In the Introduction we have already demonstrated some permutations of this kind with a sentence having the formula 'S - Vy - O_{ACC}' (p.2). Let us therefore choose a different representative of the general formula 'S - Vy - D₁' - one with Adv_A for D₁. In the same manner as Benešová (1971) we will use the convention of single underlining for T and double for R to set into relief the respective changes that are occurring in the basic sequences:

S - Vy - D₁ Bratr pracuje v továrně
(My brother works in a factory)

1) S - Vy - D₁ := Vy - S - D₁
Pracuje bratr v továrně?
[Works brother in a factory?]
(Does my brother work in a factory?)

2) S - Vy - D₁ := S - D₁ - Vy
Bratr v továrně pracuje
[Brother in the factory works]
(My brother does work in the factory)

3) S - Vy - D₁ := D₁ - S - Vy
V továrně bratr pracuje
[In factory brother works]
(It is work that my brother does in the factory)

- 4) $\underline{S} - \underline{Vy} - D_1 := Vy - D_1 - S$
Pracuje v továrně bratr?
[Works in factory brother?]
(Is it my brother who works in a factory?)
- 5) $\underline{S} - Vy - \underline{D_1} := D_1 - Vy - D_1$
V továrně pracuje bratr
[In factory works brother]
(It is my brother who works in a factory)

The afore-mentioned example shows three kinds of changes:

- (1) thematization (permutation 1); (2) rhematization (2); and
(3) thematization + rhematization (3, 4, 5).

The changes in Group II are analogous. Let us attempt the same operation with a sentence containing Vx :

- $D_3 - Vx - S$ Na obloze se objevila hvězda
[In the sky - refl - appeared star]
(In the sky there appeared a star)
- 1) $D_3 - \underline{Vx} - S := Vx - D_3 - S$
Objevila se na obloze hvězda?
[Appeared - refl - in the sky - star?]
(Did a star appear in the sky?)
- 2) $D_3 - \underline{Vx} - S := D - S - Vx$
Na obloze se hvězda objevila
[In sky - refl - star - appeared]
(There did appear a star in the sky)
- 3) $D_3 - \underline{Vx} - \underline{S} := S - D_3 - Vx$
Hvězda se na obloze objevila
[Star - in the sky - appeared]
(The star did appear in the sky)

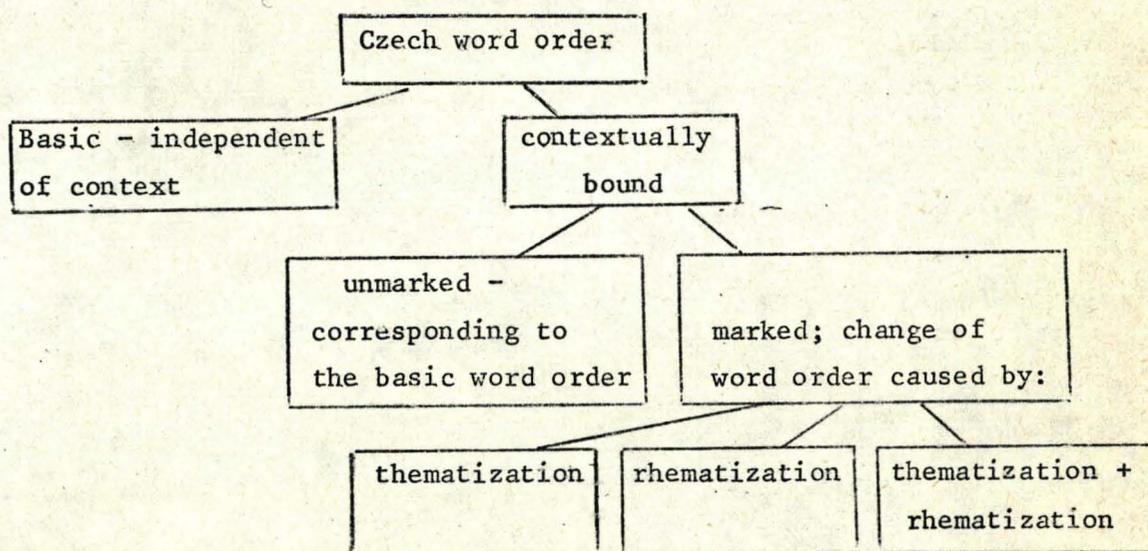
4) $\underline{D}_3 - \underline{Yx} - \underline{S} := Yx - S - D_3$

Objevila se hvězda na obloze
[Appeared - refl - star - in the sky]
(There appeared a star in the sky)

5) $\underline{D}_3 - Vx - \underline{S} := S - Vx - D_3$

Hvězda se objevila na obloze
[Star - refl - appeared - in the sky]
(A star appeared in the sky)

Viewed from the vantage point of FSP, Czech word order can schematically be represented by the following diagram:



There is a strong tendency to arrange sentence segments in exact proportion to their CD (communicative dynamism) from the lowest to the highest (CI - communicative importance - in contextually independent sentences). This is apparent especially in multi-actant sentences:

Grammatical word order refers to the situation in which the position of a word is determined by its grammatical function. Mathesius (1947:349) distinguishes it from GRAMMATICALIZED word order; in his words: "The grammaticalized word order ... consists in that the grammatical function of a word or a word group is determined by their position in the sentence."¹⁷ This type of word order is characteristic of analytical languages on account of the paucity of their inflection - in particular English¹⁸.

While the FSP principle is primarily concerned with the arrangement of the Vf and its actants, i.e. it operates on the sentence (or utterance), the grammatical principle pertains primarily to a unit of a lower rank, to that of the SYNTAGM. By syntagm we understand with Daneš (1961:5) "a link of two elements related by syntactic dependence"¹⁹. Since these two functions of word order relate to two different levels and in surface structure they operate, so to speak, at 'cross-purposes' (FSP tends to 'liberate' - for its own purposes - the individual sentence segments from the bonds imposed by grammatical constraints, and vice versa), it is of great methodological importance to distinguish between two word orders - that of sentence members and that of elements of syntagms²⁰.

According to Daneš (1967:500ff), in the syntagm there are four different types of word order:

- 1) Grammaticalized
- 2) Fixed
- 3) Usual
- 4) Labile.

They are governed by rules of three different types:

- 1) Functional rules;
- 2) Concomitant rules; and
- 3) Weak rules.

Functional rules are relevant for grammaticalized word order which is largely non-existent in Czech (cf. Note 17). Their violation would result in a different sentence, cf.

Frank kicked John

and:

John kicked Frank.

The most notable instance of FIXED word order in Czech is that of the construction 'N + attributive genitive', e.g.

kniha mého bratra

[book - my_{GEN} - brother_{GEN}]

(my brother's book)

If, in this construction, the word order is changed, the resulting sequence would be unacceptable (non-grammatical) but it would not yield a different sentence, e.g.

mého bratra kniha

[my_{GEN} brother_{GEN} - book]

Here "the position of the elements in the sentence is ... only a concomitant ('redundant', not distinctive) feature of their syntactic function" (Daneš, 1967:501) - hence CONCOMITANT rules.

Constructions with FIXED word order do not yield to the pressures of FSP requirements. They are very much language specific. In Russian the afore-mentioned type of genitive attributive construction allows an INVERSION for communicative purposes, e.g.

unmarked: Slaynye imena geroey

[famous names heroes_{GEN}]

(famous names of heroes)

marked: geroey slaynye imena
 [heroes_{GEN} famous names]

(Izvestija)²¹

This is an example of Daneš's USUAL word order governed by what he calls WEAK rules. They allow some degree of freedom under the conditions of marked FSP patterns.

In Czech USUAL word order is typical of the adjective attributive syntagm of the form 'Adj + N', e.g.

korunová známka
 [one-crown_{ADJ} - stamp]
 (a one-crown stamp)

unmarked: Musí se tam nalepit korunová známka
 [Must - refl - there - stick - one-crown - stamp_{NOM}]
 (A one-crown stamp must be stuck on)

R T

marked: Známká se tam musí nalepit korunová
 [Stamp - refl - there - must - stick - one-crown]
_{NOM}
 (As for the stamp it must be a one-crown one)

T R

The head noun of the attributive construction has undergone THEMATIZATION; it has become T proper; its dependent adjective has become R proper and syntactically it has acquired a different status - it has become a VERBO-NOMINAL ATTRIBUTE (DOPIŇEK)²².

The LABILE word order is characteristic of the Czech verbal syntagms, e.g. 'S - Vf' or 'Vf - D'. In these syntagms word order can be freely re-arranged in accordance with the requirements of FSP. Examples have been introduced earlier in this chapter.

2.4 The principle of sentence rhythm

We have already mentioned that in Czech the most typical case of this principle's functioning is connected with the positioning of enclitics, i.e. short unstressed words of an auxiliary nature and low semantic weight. They are of two kinds:

- 1) short forms of pronouns: 'mi' (me)_{DAT}, 'ti' (you)_{DAT}, 'mu' (him)_{DAT},
'si' (refl)_{DAT}, 'mě' (me)_{ACC}, 'tě' (you)_{ACC}, 'ho' (him)_{ACC}, 'se' (refl)_{ACC};
and
- 2) auxiliary forms of 'býti' (to be): 'jsem' (1sg), 'jsi' (2sg),
'je' (3sg), 'jsme' (1pl), 'jste' (2pl), 'jsou' (3pl), and the
conditional particles including the disyllabic 'bychom' (should_{1pl}),
'byste' (would_{2pl})²³.

By virtue of their semantics, enclitic words belong to T and, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, they are nearly always placed after the first stressed word in the sentence - in the absolute majority the T proper - which is a perfectly appropriate place for them from the point of view of FSP. It is not however governed by FSP but rather by the rhythmic needs of the sentence, as can be seen from the fact that their position is exactly the same even in sentences with (Mathesius's) SUBJECTIVE order (see Chapter 1) with R preceding T. Compare:

OBJECTIVE: Matka ti posílá balíček

T R

[Mother - you_{DAT} - sends - packet]

(Mother is sending you a parcel)

SUBJECTIVE: To matka ti posílá ten balíček

[R-part - mother - you_{DAT} - sends - the packet]

(It is mother who is sending you the packet)

(R-part → rhematizing particle)

Enclitics cannot be Rs; for stressed positions Czech has at its disposal a separate array of long forms of personal pronouns, e.g.

mi := mně

ti := tobě

si := sobě, etc.

Dal mi knihu

[Gave_{3sg} - me_{DAT} - book]

(He gave me the book)

As against:

Dal tu knihu mně

(He gave the book to me)

By way of conclusion we may say that although the rules of rhythm are insensitive to FSP, they do not interfere with it (cf. Firbas, 1964^b:121).

In this chapter we have considered it important to depart from the usual practice of constant contrasting of the ways and means with which the two languages concerned tackle a particular problem. As we have shown, in Czech, word order is the fundamental means of FSP, so much so that all modern research of word order is conducted on the basis of FSP and, vice versa, most research into FSP is carried out *vis-a-vis* word order. We have presented the Czech word order principles and factors in some detail to serve as the basis for comparison with the manifold means English uses for the same purpose. We will start with a short account of the potential English word order can offer.

3. Word order in English - FSP viewpoint

3.1 As distinct from the situation in Czech, English word order is far less ready to observe the needs of FSP. According to Mathesius (1942), in modern English word order is governed by the following hierarchy

of principles:

- I. Primary: (1) grammatical principle
- (2) principle of cohesion of members
- II. Secondary: (3) principle of FSP
- (4) principle of emphasis
- (5) rhythmical principle.

3.2 FSP *vis-a-vis* the other word order principles in English

Word order in English is to a very large degree fixed on account of the numerous grammatical functions it has to discharge in the (virtual) absence of case and verbal endings. On account of its GRAMMATICALIZATION (cf. above) it is almost impossible to manipulate the syntactic actants of the sentence with the aim of co-ordinating them with the respective aspects of the situation. Mathesius (1942) speaks of the "heedlessness of English of FSP". As was rightly pointed out by Firbas (1964b)²⁴ and his followers, this view is in contradiction with facts. English, as most other languages, does allow for the arrangement of ACTANTS OF SITUATION in accordance with the requirements of FSP - at least in the absolute majority of cases. Only it employs a different set of means; we may rather say that it is the English word order which is insusceptible to FSP. It seems that in English FSP operates on deeper levels of language analysis - that is, FSP decisions are made in the deep structure and the relevant syntactic actants and verbs are chosen subsequently in agreement with the afore-mentioned decisions. In Czech, as we have demonstrated, most of the FSP operations were carried out overtly in surface structure by a 'simple reshuffling' of the available components. In English, in the majority of cases, this 'reshuffling' has to be accompanied by either additional lexical items (articles and their substitutes, rhematizing and thematizing words), by phonetic means, i.e. marked stressing (writing in italics), and, in

particular, by reconstructions in the predicate (selection of a different verb, adding or deleting actants, changing of the verbal voice, and the like). These operations aimed at satisfying the requirements of FSP will be dealt with in greater detail in the following chapters.

Despite all the grammatical constraints, there is however some room in the rules of English word order for FSP requirements.

I. Sequence '(Adv) - Vx - S'

In sentences with verbs of existence or appearance on the scene the subject usually carries a heavier communicative load than the V and, consequently, there is a strong tendency in most languages to place it after the V. Earlier in this chapter it has been demonstrated that the basic (semantic) order in Vx constructions in Czech is that of '(Adv) - Vx - S', e.g.

Objevil se muž

[Appeared - refl - man]

(There appeared a man) or (A man appeared)

Curme (1968:105) shows that in older English the situation was analogous to that in the Slavonic languages, i.e. the verb stood in the first position and the subject followed. This usage survives in a little narrative by Hutchinson:

Came Christmas by which, at the outset, everybody knew it would be over and it was not over. Came June 1915 ...

(Hutchinson, *If Winter Comes*, p.256)

Modern English uses other means to keep the sequence '(Adv) - Vx - S' (in particular the construction with PREPARATORY²⁵ 'there') which will be dealt with later. But occasionally in written texts of a descriptive nature we meet the sequence 'Adv - Vx - S'. Examples:

On the window-sill were a razor, a stick of shaving-soap, a tube of toothpaste ...

Beyond these again were the taller buildings ...

(KA, 35)

In his case was a small book of verse

(KA, 35)

Next to Dixon was Cecil Goldsmith

(KA, 36)

Right in front, up against the gates, were two pages on horseback

(MK, 240)

Most of the cases encountered both in our materials and in the literature on the subject seem to contain a heavy adverbial of place which makes the use of THERE redundant. They are restricted to literary texts and can be viewed as variants of existential constructions with the missing 'there'. Poldauf (1972:117) draws attention to the fact that they appear in particular in stage instructions or texts introducing the setting of a narrative. Occasionally we may encounter less formal cases of inversion with short deictic adverbs such as: thus, then, here, now, such, etc., acting as introducers:

Thus ended the extreme unction ...

(Š, 169)

Now comes my best trick

(Curme, 105)

Then came the dreaded end

(Curme, 105)

Here comes the bus

(Leech, Svartvik, 178)

Another variety of this sequence is the so-called DOUBLE-INVERSION CONSTRUCTION²⁶ which is possible in sentences with compound verbal forms containing the present or the past participle (Pt). It can be described by the following formula: 'Pt - AdvLoc - Vf - Sⁱ, e.g.

(I lit a cigarette and walked over to the mantelpiece).

Hanging over it was a large framed photograph of a young man
in R.A.F. uniform...

(JB, R 18)

(The jewel box had a key in it... He opened it). Divided in
little green velvet compartments were all the things he had
given her...

(J. Galsworthy, The Man of Property)²⁷

The double inversion gives a certain prominence in the T to the
notional element of the predicate. If this is not in line with the
communicative intention it does not appear to be obligatory, e.g.

(At the front, on a raised rostrum, was a long table covered with
a red cloth, and on the table a vase with a big bouquet in it).

On the wall behind the rostrum was draped the national flag.

(MK, 167)

As distinct from the first two cases, here the adverbial part
of the T (On the wall behind the rostrum...) is defined as a given
element only on the basis of situational presuppositions, i.e. since
the gathering described here was taking place inside there must have
been a wall behind the rostrum). In the version with double-inversion:

(*Draped on the wall behind the rostrum was the national flag)

the T would appear to be somewhat too heavy, which would make the
sentence sound too emphatic. Double-inversion would seem less marked
if the wall were mentioned explicitly before, e.g.

(... bouquet in it. The wall behind the rostrum was painted red.

Draped on it was the national flag...)

given the anaphoric replacement of 'the wall' for 'it'.

II. Sequence 'O - S - Vy (O - Vy - S)'

Under certain specific circumstances it is possible to shift the object to the front position without any structural changes and thus make it a marked T. Let us look at some examples:

1. Margaret he succeeded in putting from his mind almost at once

(KA, 78)

2. Food of some kind we could always hope to grow

(JW, 240)

3. Time I came to know intimately...

(MK, 50)

4. The lower lip he turned into a set of discoloured snaggle-teeth

(KA, 30)

5. Their injustice I accepted...

(MK, 214)

6. These sketches the sentimental painter had illustrated with poetry

(Th, 292)

7. Him I really like

(Chomsky, 1965:222)

8. Most of these problems a computer can solve easily

(Leech, Svartvik, 1975:177)

It is obvious that this sequence is almost invariably used in sentences where there is a sufficient number of markers distinguishing between S and O. An absolute majority of cases - found in our excerpts as well as in other sources - contains pronominal animate subjects which are marked for nominativeness and consequently there is no danger of syntactic ambiguity. This opposition is most straightforward in (7) which is as clearly marked for case as would be the same sentence in Czech or Russian, cf.

Jeho (já) mam opraydu rád

[Him - (I) - have - really - glad]

Russian: Ego ja naverno ljublju

[Him - I - really - like]

In those examples where this morphological contrast is absent there is always a clear-cut semantic opposition between the actants - cf. (6) painter (animate agent) sketches (inanimate goal); (8) computer (animate-like agent) - problems (inanimate goal)²⁸.

It is only in poetic language that we meet inversions which need some reflection to be understood, but generally even there the context makes the structure of the sentence quite clear. An interesting example of this sort is quoted by Jespersen (1949:69):

They wondered how a young man so absurd Lord Henry at his table

O

S

should endure

(Longfellow, Poetical Works, London 1881, p.260)

The afore-mentioned cases of 'O - S - Vy' sequence should be distinguished from those cases where the rhematic O is fronted for emphatic purposes, e.g.

His face I am not fond of but his character I despise

R proper

(Leech, Svartvik:177)

The fronting of R proper is sometimes accompanied by S - V inversion; this is the case, for example, when the O is qualified by an intensifier 'many', e.g.

Many a rabbit had he snared...

R

(Zandvoort:239)²⁹

Such cases, as the two examples above do not belong to the sphere of FSP proper - they are SECOND INSTANCE sentences - the word order changes are effected with the aim of creating emphatic effects.

III. Position of Adverbials

A. From the point of view of valency

The position of the various adverbial elements in the sentence has been the subject of study of the authors of most major English grammars, e.g. Jespersen (1949), Curme (1947), Poutsma, Kruisinga (1931), Zandvoort (1967), Palmer (1924), Quirk et al. (1972), to name but a few; it was also handled thoroughly in specialized studies, the most prominent being Greenbaum (1969). We do not, therefore, consider it necessary to repeat their findings here in any detail. We will, however, attempt to point out those aspects of manoeuvrability of adverbials in the sentence which are of some significance for FSP.

In general we may say that adverbials are relatively the most mobile of the major sentence participants. From the FSP viewpoint (in the same manner as in Czech) it is important to distinguish between those adverbials which are essential components of the verbal valency (obligatory and potential actants) and those which are associated more loosely with the V (facultative actants); the latter include various adverbials of time, place, condition, etc. which provide a setting of the situation and are communicatively less weighty than the action itself and, for this reason, are relatively free to move in compliance with the requirements of FSP without creating emphatic sequences, e.g.

time: Yesterday he came late (When did he come yesterday?)

T R

He came late yesterday

T R T

He came late yesterday (When did he come late?)

T R

place: Outside the children

(What were the children doing
outside?)

T

were playing football

R

The children were playing

football outside

The children were playing

(Where were the children playing

football outside

football?)

We can see that the position of these situational adverbials does not necessarily indicate their communicative dynamism. In the initial position they are normally only a part of the T; they can stay so even in the final position unless they receive nuclear stress - only then do they become Rs.

The valency-bound adverbials are less mobile; mostly they further specify verbal action (adverbials of place, manner, result, and others) and as specifiers of the V they are usually communicatively more important than the V itself. In the unmarked linear arrangement they usually serve as Rs and by force of COHESION they tend to stand as close as possible to its Vf. Examples:

(Place) My parents live in Prague

(Duration) The journey took two hours

(Manner) She sings beautifully

In these three examples the adverbials constitute obligatory actants; they are more or less bound to their post-verbal position; the permutations:

*In Prague my parents live

*In Prague live my parents

would require irregular accentuation, e.g.

In Prague my parents live, they work in Brno

In Prague live my parents, my sister lives in Brno

and the resulting sentences, although marginally possible, would again belong to the SECOND INSTANCE sphere.

The forces of cohesion are more relaxed with potential actants, cf.

I've been working in this firm since March

R

and:

Since March I've been working in this firm

T

The second sentence, although marked by THEMATIZATION, is perfectly normal, for example, in a curriculum vitae.

The manoeuvrability of the 'FREE ADVERBS' (facultative actants) in the sentence is very often quite considerable but it differs from case to case; it depends on the class of the adverbial, the syntactic composition of the sentence in which it is used, and, last but not least, on its own semantics. In some cases it is possible to shift an adverbial in the sentence in an almost unlimited manner in accordance with the particular COMMUNICATIVE INTENTION but more often than not the shifts (although formally possible) trigger off undesirable semantic side-effects³⁰.

An example of a relatively unhampered movement can be seen in the following sentence (borrowed from Bolinger, 1952:1125):

- (a) S l o w l y he backed away
- (b) He s l o w l y backed away
- (c) He backed s l o w l y away
- (d) He backed away s l o w l y

Despite the fact that there is some difference in the scope of modification in these four variants (in (a) *s l o w l y* behaves like a sentence modifier; in (b), (c), (d) it modifies the V), in general the shifts serve principally to satisfy the FSP requirements.

The same adverb would, however, be less mobile (without undesirable side-effects) in the following modification of the same sentence:

- (e) *S l o w l y* he managed to back away.
- (f) He *s l o w l y* managed to back away
- (g) He managed *s l o w l y* to back away
- (h) He managed to back *s l o w l y* away
- (i) He managed to back away *s l o w l y*

In (e) *s l o w l y* modifies the whole sentence; in (f) and (g) it modifies predominantly the Vf, while in (h) and (i) it is captured by the infinitival O (to back away).

In other cases the shifting changes the semantics of the adverbial itself. Such is the case, for example, with the adverb of indefinite frequency '*g e n e r a l l y*' (see Bolinger - *op.cit.*):

- (a) *G e n e r a l l y* he made himself agreeable
- (b) He *g e n e r a l l y* made himself agreeable
- (c) He made himself *g e n e r a l l y* agreeable
- (d) He made himself agreeable *g e n e r a l l y*

In (a) and (b) *g e n e r a l l y* means 'as a rule', while in (c) and (d) it means 'in all ways'.

B. SENTENCE ADVERBIALS

So far we have been dealing with adverbials which were, in varying degrees, integrated in the structure of the sentence. There is also another class, recognized as SENTENCE ADVERBIALS, which are more

peripheral to the sentence structure. Often they convey some comment on the content of the sentence. Let us mention a few examples: 'naturally', 'possibly', 'admittedly', 'certainly', 'actually', 'frankly', 'really', 'in fact', 'hopefully', etc.³¹

As was the case with 'g e n e r a l l y', sentence adverbials are bound to the pre-verbal positions - shifts to the post-verbal positions tend to create undesirable side-effects, cf.

(a) N a t u r a l l y, he did it

(b) He n a t u r a l l y did it

(c) He did it n a t u r a l l y

In (c) n a t u r a l l y turns into a manner adverbial (unless it is stressed independently, cf. 'He did it, n a t u r a l l y).

C. Adverbial particles

In the 'V - Adv' combinations referred to as PHRASAL VERBS (e.g. drink up, put on, find out) the adverbial elements also have a certain degree of freedom which can be utilized for the purposes of FSP. In the presence of an O they can either immediately follow their Vs or shift to the terminal position, thus becoming Rs proper:

(a) The firemen called o f f the strike

or:

(b) The firemen called the strike o f f

This permutation is, however, impossible when the O is pronominal since - for rhythmical reasons - personal pronoun Os always have to come before the adverb, i.e.

The firemen called it o f f

This is not contrary to the requirements of FSP - pronominal Os have a very low CD and thus are not RHEMEWORTHY enough to occupy the terminal position.

Even these shifts, however, are not always without undesirable semantic side-effects. In the quoted work (p.1128) Bolinger demonstrates that in the terminal position the adverbs tend to be more LITERAL - narrower in their semantic range, "while the pre-posed adverbials take on a looser sense which sometimes is so completely transferred that the adverbial becomes a captive", e.g.

(a) She is going to take her mother out tonight

(b) She is going to take out her mother tonight

Bolinger suggests that (b) is ludicrous since it suggests 'remove her'.

D. Causative adverbs

In sentences like the following:

(a) He pushed the door open

(b) He pushed open the door

the adverbs behave much the same as the adverbial particles mentioned above. They also allow some scope for using word order as a means of arrangement of sentence units in accordance with their CD.

IV. Position of Adjectives and Participles

A. Predicative adjectives

In Slavonic languages as well as in German it is common to foreground predicative adjectives when they are assigned the thematic function.

Examples:

Wichtig ist die Erkenntniss, dass Sätze eine Tiefenstruktur

T

R

haben 32

Czech: Důležité je uvědomit si, že věty mají hloubkovou strukturu

T

R

What is important is the realization that sentences have deep

T

R

structure

In this respect English predicative adjectives are rather limited in their movement. There is, however, some scope for word order re-arrangement even with them. They can appear in the initial position as Ts when in contrast:

(There was, too, a feeling that as long as I remained my normal self, things might even yet in some inconceivable way return to their normal). Absurd it undoubtedly was, but I had a very

T R

strong sense that ...

(JW, 53)

Or:

Difficult it may be but it is not impossible

T R T R

(BBC, 12.12.77)

Adjectives in contrast are here positioned in a kind of mirror-image construction:

'PrA - S - VP' ↔ 'S - VP - PrA'

Initial position is more common with adjectives in comparative forms (they suggest contrast by their very nature):

Even more puzzling is the effect of television on viewers³²

T R

Also adjectives preceded by intensifiers behave in the same manner:

How glad I would be to reverse the whole course of my life

T

(MK, 2)

(To that Chodounsky remarked that people would have the times of their lives...) How frightfully glad the military administration

T

would be

R

(S, 585)

In rhetorical diction we can find the sequence 'PrAd - Ycop - S' with the inverted (R-T) order:

Unbelievable and at the same time unbelievably logical was

R

the great mission entrusted by history to us ...

T

(MK, 141/139)

This sequence is more frequent with weightier elements (both semantically and structurally).

B. Attributive adjectives

Some attributive adjectives can be used both as pre-modifiers and post-modifiers, e.g.

(a) The burned paper was thrown away

(b) The paper burned was my letter³³

As was the case with many other positional changes quoted above, here too unwanted semantic side-effects occur. In (a) the adjective denotes a CHARACTERISTIC of the N, while in (b) it is semi-predicative (... paper which was being burned ...) and as such it reflects ACTION, i.e. what was happening to the S, cf. also the following example from Wyld (1936:44)³⁴:

Vowels uttered with the tongue tense have a clearer, shriller sound, and a higher pitch, than those uttered with the tongue slack (i.e. while the tongue is tense/slack)

The afore-mentioned semantic side-effects are less prominent with adjective participles; they denote action in both positions and shifts can thus be used for FSP ends. Similarly, the adjectives of measure retain the same semantic content in both positions:

1) (a) The advancing soldiers halted

(b) The soldiers advancing halted³⁵

- 2). (a) They had to climb a wall six feet high
(b) They had to climb a six-feet-high wall³⁵

4. Word order - conclusion

In this chapter we have attempted to appraise the role of word order in the communicative organization of the sentence in the two languages concerned. We have demonstrated that in these two languages word order is called upon to play diametrically opposite roles. In Czech, positional shifts are reserved almost entirely for purposes of FSP, the needs of syntactic marking being fully catered for by the rich inventory of morphological means (markers of declination, inflection, derivation, etc.). English, on the other hand, uses word order almost entirely for purposes of the grammatical organization of the sentence. Its word order is largely GRAMMATICALIZED and inflexible³⁶. In those cases where grammar allows some limited shifts of word order, they are very often connected with some semantic side-effects and, consequently, cannot be freely employed for the purposes of FSP. In order to compensate for this, English employs a variety of other means which will receive detailed treatment in the following chapters.

Notes

1. On the "linear geometry of messages" see Bolinger (1952:1117ff):
"Elements as they are added one by one to form a sentence progressively limit the semantic range of all that has preceded. This causes beginning elements to have a wider semantic range than elements toward the end. The concept of linear modification thus developed knits together a number of otherwise heterogeneous manifestations of sentence order in English..."
2. Cf. Berneker (1900), Ertl (1917), Trávníček (1937, 1951), Šmilauer (1960), Daneš (1957), Adamec (1962, 1966), M. Braun (1962), Schaller (1966), Kovtunova (1967), Buttke (1969), Sirotinina (1965), Mistrík (1966), and many others.
3. In Obsahový rozbor... (1961) Mathesius merges the first two principles, i.e. the principle of grammatical function and the principle of coherence of members into one, i.e. the grammatical principle (cf. p.180). Firbas (1964b) also operates with this reduced set of principles. Other researchers of word order go into much greater detail. Admoni (1974:201ff) deals with eight factors of word order: (1) morphological, (2) rhythmico-intonational, (3) the speaker's relationship towards the situation, (4) logico-grammatical, (5) structural-grammatical, (6) emotional, (7) stylistic, (8) stylizational.
4. Cf. Mathesius (1942:182-3).
5. "Ovšem tzv. slovosled "volný" bylo by správnější nazývat slovosledem gramaticky (syntakticky) nevázaným ... proti slovosledu gramaticky (syntakticky) vázanému, jaký je typický pro evropské jazyky západní."
6. Other terms encountered in literature are as follows: GRAMMATICAL or CONTEXT-FREE (Isačenko, 1966), NORMAL (Braun, 1962), USUAL (Mathesius - elsewhere; Kopečný, 1958; Mistrík, 1966), DOMINANT (Greenberg, 1963; Daneš, 1967), SEMANTIC (Beneš, 1968; Benešová, 1969, 1971), UNMARKED (Admoni, 1974).

7. Admoni borrowed this term from O. Behaghel (1903).
8. (V nastojašcej stat'je my ischodili iz gipotezy, čto v každom jazyke suščestvuet) "optimal'noje razloženiye elementov predloženiya na vremennoj osi". Kiefer (1970:140) stipulates the following definition: "A word order is referred to as basic if it can stand without any presupposition as to what should be considered as being already known".
9. Firbas speaks also of 'the verbs of emergence' (e.g. 1957:78).
10. This term is widely used by Prague School linguists (cf. Adamec, 1963, 1966); it should be borne in mind that the term is understood very broadly in the sense of other than verbs of existence and appearance on the scene; semantically some verbs of appearance designate action also.
11. Adverbs describing various aspects of the situation (temporal, local and so on); in his works written in Czech Firbas talks about SITUACNÍ KULISA (situational setting) (cf. Firbas, 1961); Uhlířová (elsewhere) uses the term FREE PARTICIPANT; Adamec (1968) talks about SITUANTS (situanty).
12. Symbol D for DETERMINANT borrowed from Straková (1969).
13. Here we use the approach expounded in Daneš (1963, 1968) and Benešová (1968, 1971).
14. For some further details see Daneš (1963:123) or Zimek (1968: 238), the latter dealing with Russian.
15. Leech (1974) uses the term THEMATIZATION in a broader sense: "... t h e m a t i z a t i o n. This is the process of organizing the elements of a message so that weight and emphasis fall where it is more natural in English - towards the end rather than the beginning of the sentence." (pp.198-9). His understanding of the term thus subsumes all kinds of shifts which allow the R to assume its favourite final

position. This understanding of the term is broadly synonymous with Halliday's (cf. Note 29, Chapter 1).

16. In Kovtunova's afore-mentioned conception (1969) THEMATIZATION is described as DECREASE OF DYNAMISM (dinamičeskij spad) and RHEMATIZATION conversely as INCREASE OF DYNAMISM (dinamičeskoje narastanije) (p.11).
17. "Slovosled gramatisovaný záleží v tom, že gramatická funkce slova nebo sousloví je určována jejich místem ve větě."
18. Occasionally even in Czech sentences we encounter situations where the position of an element in a sentence is the only marker of its syntactic function; this happens on account of the fairly common phenomenon of homonymy between the nominative and accusative cases. The ambiguity resulting from this is for the most part easily resolved by the context or by lexical semantics, e.g. in:

Cukr jí dítě
[Sugar - eats - child]

(both nouns have homonymous nominatives and accusatives) it is obvious that 'dítě' is nom. (Sb - AGENT) and 'cukr' acc. (O - goal). But in the sentence:

Systém B modeluje system A
(System B models system A)

we may have to rely on the assumption that 'system B' is Sb and 'system A' is O_{ACC} unless there is precise information to the contrary. For more about this subject see Pala (1968).
19. "... spojení dvou členů ve vztahu závislosti".
20. Most investigations of word order in Slavic languages base their studies of word order on this distinction (Adamec, 1966; Místrík, 1966; Kovtunova, 1969; Bivon, 1971; and others).

Schaller (1966) refers to this dichotomy as INTERNAL (vnutrennij) and EXTERNAL (vnešnij) word orders.

21. Example borrowed from Kovtunova (1969:52).
22. Daneš (1959:6) calls this INVERSION PROPER as distinct from the permutations of the predicative syntagm. In his study on "LOGICAL ACCENTUATION" Matvejenko (1969:168) suggests that this INVERSION involves a stronger stress on both the T and R than in the permutations of the verb's actants (with LABILE order). He speaks of 3 levels of accentuation of LS - LP (logical subject - logical predicate) - roughly LS₁ - LP₁ refers to unmarked basic order, LS₂ - LP₂ to thematization and rhematization of 'labile' order and LS₃ - LP₃ to the inverted USUAL order.
23. Trávníček - who devoted considerable time to research into the properties of enclitics - refers to these as CONSTANT as distinct from INCONSTANT enclitics, i.e. all other monosyllabic words which can be placed in the enclitic position but which can also stand in initial position and can carry stress (1951:141ff).
24. "Word order is not the only means of FSP. If a non-emotive sentence does not observe the theme - transition - rheme sequence, it cannot a p r i o r i be regarded as insusceptible to FSP. Word order, of course, is an important means of FSP... The extent, however, to which word order can manifest itself as a means of FSP depends first of all on the grammatical structure of the given language." (Firbas, 1964b:116).

25. Mathesius's term (1942:186); others used are EMPTY (Jespersen, 1949), WEAK (Poutsma), INTRODUCTORY (Curme, Jakobson, Leech-Svartvik), ANTICIPATIVE (OED), STRUCTURAL ADVERB (Churchward).
26. Ševjakova's term (1973) - KONSTRUKTSIJA S DVOJNOJ INVERSIJEJ.
27. Quoted from the afore-mentioned work of Ševjakova (p.91).
28. The assumptions about the semantic roles do not serve this purpose unambiguously in the case of metaphor, cf:

Some people write books and some books write people

S O S O

(This one simply wrote itself using me, several pens and about eight cheap exercise books...

(Radio Times, 21.3.76)

In the second co-ordinated clause the syntactic roles are suggested by position and by the context.

29. The simple inversion by permuting S and Vf is not possible in the case of simple-tense forms where the inclusion of 'do' or 'did' is necessary, e.g.

He snared many a rabbit:= Many a rabbit did he snare.

30. An interesting exposition of some of these side-effects can be found in Bolinger (1952:1123ff).
31. For more examples refer to, for example, Zandvoort (1967:250), Curme (1947:146) and Leech & Svartvik (1975:201).
32. Examples quoted from Kirkwood (1970:112).
33. Example borrowed from Bolinger (1967:3); this study, as well as Bolinger (1952), devotes a great deal of attention to this problem.
34. Quoted by Zandvoort (1967:243).
35. Bolinger (1952:1123).
36. The degree of rigidity of English word order can be seen from statistical evidence. Jespersen (1949:59-60) shows

that modern English sentences containing a subject, a verb and an object have almost invariably the SVO order.

With different prose writers the percentages are as follows:

Dickens, 91; Kipling, 95; Thackeray, 95; Wells, 95; Meredith, 94; Shaw, 99.8.

CHAPTER FOUR

Determination of the NP and Reference
to GIVEN elements

1. Determination of the NP

When translating an abstract (deep structure) formula into a concrete utterance it is not sufficient just to fill the positions of the actants with the respective lexical items; before doing so we must define the latter, provide them with such DENOTATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS¹ as would bring to the fore those aspects of the situation that we wish to refer to. One method of doing this is by means of DETERMINATION whose purpose is "to restrict the class of referents of a sign"; in the words of Weinreich (1966:57) it means, for example, "to convert the 'general sheep' into 'some sheep'". DETERMINATION thus involves a kind of identification of a sign with the participants of discourse and the time and place of utterance². It obviously interrelates with FSP, in particular with the apportioning of CD in the sentence, and as such it will be of relevance for our investigation.

When comparing the behaviour of the two languages under observation we can see that English is equipped for this function with special formal indicators, i.e. the articles; Czech, on the other hand, is more opaque in this respect. It has no formal means which would be reserved specifically for this purpose. However, this does not mean that Czech has no category of determination³. If it did not, it would not be able to function as a language. Like most other Slavonic languages⁴ it uses for this purpose a whole series of compensatory means, the most important being the position in the sentence. The interrelationship between the word order in Slavonic languages and the use of articles in West European languages has already been commented upon by numerous theoreticians of translation. Catford (1965) adduces the following example (Russian - English):

- 1) Žensčina vyšla iz domu
The woman came out of the house

and:

- 2) Iz domu vyšla žensčina
A woman came out of the house

(p.28)

where the change in the sequence of elements (S - P - Adv → Adv - P - S) is correlated with the change of the English t h e to a. The same holds for Czech:

- 3a) Do města přijel cizinec
A foreigner came to the town
- 3b) Cizinec přijel do města
The foreigner came to the (a) town

From the afore-mentioned examples it is evident that in English there is a considerable degree of correlation between the use of articles and the FSP roles of the NPs they accompany. The definite article is used primarily when "we presume that both we and the hearer know what is being talked about" (Leech & Svartvik, 1975:52). It is therefore a suitable marker of GIVEN elements which in their majority occur in the T, cf.

- 4) There lived once in this old castle a powerful king. The king had a lovely daughter

(Curme, 1947:227)

The fundamental function of the indefinite article is to refer to an individual person or thing "without fixing its identity" (Curme, 1947:229), e.g.

- 5a) We met an old man on our way here
- 5b) There is a book lying on the table.

(Ibid.)

Consequently, it refers to something NEW and for this reason it is a

suitable marker for the R, cf.

6a) The king had a lovely daughter

T R

6b) The boy brought a book

T R

Frequently the use of the indefinite article marks the rhematic function so unambiguously that it is possible to invert the usual order of T-R to R-T:

7a) A falling star flashed across the sky

R T

Po nebi se mihla padající hvězda

T R

(Č, Kr 49/67)

7b) A tall blonde girl entered the bar

R T

Do baru vstoupila vysoká blondýnka

T R

(JB, L 41/39)

7c) A grandiose disgust for the whole proceedings filled him

R T

Naplnila ho nesmírná nechuť k celé záležitosti

T R

(KA, 158/178)

The use of articles thus makes it possible (in some cases) to overcome the rigidity of English word order and the impossibility of using the latter for marking out the degrees of communicative dynamism. The inverted order R-T is possible in Czech also but this inversion causes unwanted stylistic side-effects and is likely to occur either in poetry or stylized prose. Mathesius calls this sequence a SUBJECTIVE word

order⁵. The emphasis would be the least marked in (7b) (inverted) since - as in English - we can use a marker of indefiniteness, i.e. the indefinite pronoun NEJAKÝ (some):

7b₁) Nějaká vysoká blondýnka vstoupila do baru

It is almost impossible to do the same with the other sentences without adding some further semantic connotations because Czech indefinite pronouns have a much more specific meaning than the English indefinite article and serve primarily for different purposes, e.g.

6a₁) *Nějaká (jakási) padající hvězda se mihla po nebi

(i.e. Some kind of falling star flashed across the sky)

Having their own specific meaning, the Czech indefinite pronouns do not collocate easily with other adjectives:

7c₁) *Jakási nesmírná nechuť k celé záležitosti ho naplnila

R

(Some sort of extreme disgust for the whole proceedings filled him)

is on the verge of acceptability even in emphatic contexts.

It is useful to mention in this connection that in the English versions of (7a), (7b) and (7c) the R-T sequence seems to be completely neutral.

We have thus established the interaction between the status of the pairs, GIVEN (T) - DEFINITENESS and NEW (R) - INDEFINITENESS. It has already been suggested in Chapter 1 that there is no bi-unique relationship between the GIVEN and THEME on the one hand and NEW and RHEME on the other. GIVEN can sometimes be used in the R and vice versa, cf.

8a) She was waiting by the ticket barrier

T

R

8b) to my surprise the worn phrase straight from the women's

T

magazines accurately conveyed the atmosphere of the room

R

(Ditto, 12)

8c) I bought the expensive silk garment because ...

T

R

(Ditto, 13)

9a) A girl broke a vase

T

R

9b) A car ran over a man

T

R

In both these sets of examples communicative dynamism is marked out by the position in the sentence and by the syntactic functions of the members of the sentences (by their communicative weight)⁶. In the case of the definite NG in R, Daneš (1974) speaks about the NEWNESS which is not assigned to the expression itself but to the T-R nexus (III). The use of the indefinite article in sentences like (2a) and (2b) does not preclude the clear reading of the CD since the S is generally more THEMEWORTHY than the O and vice versa. Objects are more RHEMEWORTHY than subjects. Although unidentified, the subjects are presented as less central in the particular COMMUNICATIVE ASSIGNMENT as if they were GIVEN elements.

A special instance of the indefinite article is the GENERIC one. From the point of view of FSP generic indefinite article can be used in the T without any repercussions for the CD. The reason is that generic NPs (as well as proper nouns) can be understood as definite. Li and Thompson (1976) argue the case as follows:

"A generic noun phrase is definite because its referent is the class of items named by the noun phrase, which the hearer can be assumed to know about if he knows the meaning of that noun phrase."⁷

(p.461)

This interpretation is consistent with the situation in languages which do not possess articles in that they take generative NPs as natural themes, cf.

10) A tiger is a dangerous animal

T R

Czech: Tygr je nebezpečné zvíře

Russian: Tigr - eto opasnoe životnoe

In their function of determiners articles interact in a very intricate manner with a whole range of means which restrict - to varying degrees - the NPs' scope of reference, in particular personal, demonstrative, and possessive pronouns, quantifiers of various kinds and adjective modifiers. It is beyond the scope of this work to treat them in detail. We will, however, pay some attention to some cases of the most typical divergences in the two languages.

1.1 The Indefinite Article

According to Zandvoort (1967) "the principal function of the indefinite article is to denote that we have to do with a single specimen of the class of persons, animals or things indicated by the noun." (p.124). He calls it the INDIVIDUALIZING FUNCTION.

"Sometimes the function of the indefinite article is to assign a person, animal or thing to a special class or kind." (p.125). Let us have a closer look at this latter function.

I. The Classifying Function of the Indefinite Article

In this function the indefinite article appears only in the R. Its rhematizing force is so strong that it is often translated by a rhematizing particle, cf.

11) He's a lad, that Coker

Jo, Coker je ale hlavička

[Yes, Coker is - rhem. part. - (clever) head]

(JW, 129/122)

Mostly it corresponds to adjectives with the semantics of 'real'.

Examples:

12a) Mrs. James was a lady in those days

Paní Ganouová⁸ byla v oněch dnech skutečná dáma

[.. real lady] (Th, 227/228)

12b) It was a holiday for her

Pro Joselu to byl hotový svátek

[For Josela it was real holiday]

(JW, 241/231)

12c) A rival to Welch had appeared in the field of evasive-technique

... vyzstal Welchovi závažný soupeř

[... appeared Welch_{DAT} serious opponent]

(KA, 194/218)

12d) I had a career then

Měla jsem tehdy svou kariéru

[Had_{1sg} - aux - then my (own) career]

(JB, R 99/100)

The classifying indefinite article can also be used before personal proper names:

12e) Every budding cricketeer should not believe himself a Hobbs⁹

(Zandvoort, 1967:125)

Kdejaký začátečník v kriketu by si neměl myslet, že je

uplný Hobbs

[..... quite like Hobbs]

II. Partitive constructions

An interesting divergence in the use of syntactic means between our two languages can be observed with partitive constructions:

13a) Father brought the water

Otec přinesl vodu

[Father brought water_{ACC}]

13b) Father brought some water

Otec přinesl vody

[Father brought water_{GEN}]

The difference in determination ('some' stands for the indefinite article with mass nouns) is reflected in Czech by a difference in inflection¹⁰.

1.2 The Definite Article

The English definite article is a convenient means of *ad hoc* identification of NPs *vis-a-vis* the immediate (*hic et nunc*) situation without specifying which of its particular aspects are to be brought to the foreground of our attention. They can be supplemented by implication in accordance with the structure of the GIVEN situation. In order to prevent misunderstanding those languages that do not have this broad referential operator must very often resort to more explicit means of their NPs' modification.

The examples found in our material can broadly be divided into the following categories.

I. Local modification

For example:

14a) "I am the keeper," swinging a long simian arm towards the sick bay

"Dělám tu opatrovníka"...

[I do here keeper]

14b) The guns in the estuary...

Děla u ústí Temže...

[Guns in estuary Thames_{GEN}]

(GG, 39/41)

14c) There was little likelihood of anyone missing the Manor

Tynshamský zámek mohl stěží někdo minout

[Tynsham_{ADJ} ACC manor_{ACC} could hardly someone miss]

(JW, 165/158)

In all these cases the article identifies the particular NP as the one belonging to the particular locality. In Czech the article usually corresponds to a modifier naming that locality, either more generally, e.g. 'místní zámek', or quite specifically by a proper noun as is the case in (14b) and (14c).

II. Temporal modification

15) ... which had obviously been preserved by somebody ever since the Jubilee

... už od výročí královny Viktorie

[... since Jubilee Queen_{GEN} Victoria_{GEN}]

(GG, 11/12)

'The Jubilee' means always 'the nearest Jubilee in time'. Here the translator must do some historical research concerning the temporal setting of the plot. If it were set in contemporary times it would most obviously refer to the Silver Jubilee 1977¹¹

III. Modification by quantifiers

16a) The three of us often found ourselves together ...

Octli jsme se často ... všichni tři spolu

[Found_{1p1} - refl - often ... all three together]

(MK, 36/42)

16b) Now that the organization has gone ...

Dneška, kdy vší organizaci je konec ...

[Today when all_{DAT} organization_{DAT} is end]

(JW, 119/113)

16c) ... that there was no division between the worlds

... že mezi oněmi dvěma světy není žádný rozdíl

[... that between those two worlds is ... no difference]

(GG, 48/37)

Examples (16a) and (16c) show that in Czech cardinal numerals are insufficient for unique identification¹². They must be accompanied either by a quantifier of totality ('všichni' - [all] - 16a) or by other ostensive determiners such as demonstrative pronouns (16c). Quantifiers of totality ('všechno', 'vše', 'veškerý', etc. - [all]) can stand for the definite article with uncountable substantives also (see 16b).

Related to this group are also those cases where the definite article refers to a high degree (16d) or intensity (16e) of the quality expressed in the substantive¹³:

16d) ... and we have the means, the health, and the strength
to begin to build up again

A máme prostředky, zdraví a sílu potřebné k tomu, abychom

[And have_{1pl} means_{ACC} health_{ACC} and strength_{ACC} necessary
začali znovu budovat

to that ... begin_{1pl} again (to) build]

(JW, 110/116)

16e) The first thing I was aware of was the smell

První, co jsem si ráno uvědomil byl odporný zápach

[..... was nasty smell]

(JW, 149/141)

In Czech the modification is made by semantically explicit adjectives.

IV. Some other examples

- 17a) ... the race is worth preserving
... lidská rasa stojí za to, aby byla zachována
[... human race is worth ... to be preserved]

(JW, 119/113)

This is close to the UNIQUE use of *t h e*, i.e. unique in the 'broad' context. In Czech it is nearly always necessary to use a more specific modifier to achieve the same clearness of reference, cf. 'president republiky' [president (of) republic] - 'the president'; 'předseda vlády Lubomír Štrougal' [Prime Minister Lubomír Štrougal] - 'the Prime Minister'. This is not the case with such unique objects as 'the Sun', 'the Earth', 'the World' - these are normally used without any further modification, i.e. 'slunce', 'země', 'svět'.

Contextual uniqueness can involve a number of other concrete circumstances; in Czech again these very often have to be named explicitly:

- 17b) I had that, and my acquired resistance to the poison, to thank
... odolnosti proti trifidímu jedu ...
[... resistance to triffid poison ...]

(JW, 74/69)

- 17c) ... a melancholy that fitted as completely and inescapably
as the skin
... seděla tak dokonale jako vlastní kůže
[... fitted so perfectly as (his) own skin] (GG, 111/89)

- 17d) Here is the pound for the cause
Tady máte libru na dobročinný účel
[Here - have_{2p1} - pound for charity cause]

(GG, 20/14)

2. Reference to GIVEN elements

The processes of determination of the NPs have an immediate bearing on the problem of intersentential reference. It is a well-known fact that the same substance (referent) can be referred to by a variety of linguistic means of varying degrees of semantic explicitness. Broadly they can be subsumed under the following two categories:

- 1) names and their HYPONYMS, e.g. 'tulip' is the hyponym of 'flower', or HYPERONYMS¹⁴ ('flower' is the hyperonym of 'tulip'); and
- 2) substitutes of names (pronouns and a whole variety of other substitutes).

Their equivalence in referring to the same object is established by the context. Traditional linguistics treated the use of alternative means of reference as a purely stylistic matter. Comparative investigation shows that although there is some room for stylistic variation, on the whole the processes of reference are governed by rules specific to the structure of language. Let us have a look at the most fundamental differences in this respect between Czech and English.

It has already been demonstrated that in many cases the use of articles in English makes it possible to achieve unambiguous reference without the use of explicit modifiers (cf. examples 14-17 of this chapter). In addition it also has a number of far-reaching consequences both of an onomatological and a syntactical nature having a concrete bearing on the thematic structure of the English language.

Mathesius (1961:15) observes that "the English word usually disposes of a broader meaning than the Czech and that it is consequently less explicit than in Czech; it can therefore refer to unique phenomena usually only in context ..."¹⁵. A typical example of this is the use of the noun 'place'.

Let us consider the following English sentences and their translations:

18a) Then the place must be named

Musíme tedy domu dát jméno

(We have to give the house a name)

(Con, 104/24)

18b) The place was better aired

V obchodě bylo lepší větrání

(There was better ventilation in the shop)

(HGW, 20/32)

18c) It was rather an exciting place

Byl to docela vzrušující svět

(It was rather an exciting world)

(JW, 27/25)

18d) I was wild at myself and the place

Zlobil jsem se na sebe a na celou nemocnici

(I was wild at myself and the whole hospital)

(JW, 10/8)

18e) I got myself a place near the bus depot

Našel jsem si podnájem ...

(I found myself a (rented) room)

(St, 181/183)

18f) There's a place there that makes the best triffid guns

Je tam továrna, kde ...

(There's a factory there, where ...)

(JW, 79/74)

In the preceding sentences 'place' stands for five different 'institutions': house (a), rented accommodation (e), shop (b), hospital (d), and factory (f), and in example (c) it refers to the

world in general. Neither of the instances can be rendered by the respective nearest Czech equivalents, i.e. 'místo', even if we accompany them by ostensive determiners (e.g. 'tento', 'tato', 'toto' - [this]) or adjectival modifiers. Needless to say that in English the meaning is clear from the context¹⁶. But in the identical contexts Czech must be more explicit. We may suggest that in this case the determinative and identificational power of the English articles (in particular the definite article) and their ability to interrelate with the context have been instrumental in the broadening of the semantic EXTENSION of its signs. Even when using explicit modifiers the Czech 'místo' can refer only to 'locality', not to the institution housed in it. We have here a typical example of 'SEMANTIC ANISOMORPHISM'¹⁷, i.e. differences in the semantic extension of roughly equivalent terms in different languages. English possesses a great many similar words of general meaning, e.g. 'stuff', 'affair', 'lot', 'job', cf.

19) After the job had begun

Co se rozběhl trifidí průmysl

(..... triffid industry)

(JW, 46/43)

and many others, the most peculiar being perhaps the word 'thing' whose extension encompasses both inanimate and animate nouns, cf.

20) There is a danger in the things

Ti neřádi jsou nebezpeční.

(The horrible creatures ...)

(JW, 49/45)

The tendency of English signs towards broader extension is also reflected in the different ways the same substance is referred to in a text. In order to demonstrate this point we have made a detailed study of the means used to refer to the 'triffids' - the fantastic walking plants - in John Wyndham's "The Day of the Triffids"

and in its Czech translation. The results can be summarized by the following table:

English				Czech		
	means of reference	occurrence	%	means of reference	occurrence	%
semantic extension	triffid	171	31	trifid	216	47.4
				kytka (flower)	8	1.7
	plant	16	2.9	rostlina	18	3.9
	specimen	8	1.5	jedinec	10	2.1
	thing	20	3.6			
	affective synonyms	4	0.7	affective synonyms	12	2.6
substitution	personal pronouns	266	48.1	personal pronouns	128	27.9
	possessive pronouns	29	5.2	possessive pronouns	28	6.1
	other	39	7	other	38	8.3
	N-substitutes ¹⁸			N-substitutes		
	Total	563	100	Total	458	100

Table 1: Czech and English means of reference to the concept of John Wyndham's 'triffid'.

This table gives us some idea of the different approaches of the two languages. The most concrete term, 'triffid' - which is the name of the particular species, is employed more than 20%¹⁹ less frequently in English than in Czech²⁰. Further along the axis of semantic extension Czech tends to use less abstract hyperonyms. The Czech translator felt the need to introduce an intermediate category ('kytka' - flower) which did not appear in English. In English, on the other hand, there is a considerable number of occurrences of the abstract 'thing' (referring to an animal-like plant).

As far as the occurrence of personal pronouns is concerned, the figures do not give a full picture of the situation. The reason for this is that in Czech there is a more or less obligatory ellipsis of the pronominal subject - unless it is contrastive, cf. (19):

A yůbec, oni nepotrřebujř nic ovlřdat - aspoň ne tak jako my.

(Anyway, they don't need to handle things - not in the way we do.

Mohou se řivit přřmo z půdy ...

(They can get their nourishment ...)

(JW, 48/45)

The use of 'oni' (they) in the first sentence is essential because it is in contrast with 'my' (we). In the second sentence 'oni' is omitted. If it were used it would continue being emphatic. When unmarked most pronouns which are in the nominative are omitted.

(In the entire book there are only six occurrences of the pronoun 'on' (he) or 'oni' (they), i.e. as anaphorical equivalents for 'triffid'.)

This is also one of the reasons why the totals differ in the two languages.

A clearer insight into the differences can perhaps be gained when we compare which concrete equivalents are used to correspond to the two groups of the highest occurrence, i.e. the word 'triffid' and personal pronouns.

English	occurrence	%
triffid	171	79.2
personal pronouns	20	9.3
θ	10	4.7
N-substitutes	7	3.1
thing	3	1.4
plant	2	0.9
possessive pronouns	2	0.9
specimen	1	0.5

Czech	occurrence
trifid	216

Table 2: English Correspondences of the Czech word 'trifid'.

The Czech 'trifid' corresponds to a variety of English equivalents from its closest counterpart (triffid) to the words of very broad semantics, e.g. 'thing' and 'specimen' and pronominal and other substitutes. When we do the reverse comparison, we observe that the English 'triffid' is in all cases translated by its Czech calque.

English	occurrence	Czech	occurrence	%
personal pronouns	266	θ	134	50.4
		personal pronouns	95	35.6
		trifid	20	7.5
		possessive pronouns	9	3.4
		N-substitutes	4	1.5
		rostlina (plant)	2	0.8
		jedinec (specimen)	2	0.8

Table 3: Czech Correspondences of English personal pronouns (used in reference to 'triffid').

Czech	occurrence	English	occurrence	%
personal pronouns	128	personal pronouns	95	74.2
		θ	21	16.3
		N-substitutes	5	3.9
		possessive pronouns	4	3.2
		thing	3	2.4

Table 4: English Correspondences of Czech personal pronouns (used in reference to 'triffid').

Despite the afore-mentioned discrepancy in the use of personal pronouns in the nominative, the data of Tables 3 and 4 also testify to our thesis of the tendency in English to be referentially less explicit.

The English occurrences of personal pronouns correspond either to pronouns or noun substitutes on the one hand (about 90%), or to more specific terms - 'jedinec' (specimen), 'rostlina' (plant) and 'trifid' (about 10%) - on the other. In the opposite direction there is no such tendency observable. The semantic extension of the English 'thing' is so wide as to come very close to that of pronouns. Also, in the two languages there is a qualitative difference between the cases of zero-reference. While in Czech, pronominal subjects are omitted since they are syntactically and semantically redundant - the reference is quite clearly expressed in verb inflection - the English zero-references represent genuine omissions of potential actants; they can be recovered only by inference from the context. Example:

- 20) Granted that they do have intelligence, then that would
leave us with one important superiority - sight
Za předpokladu, že jsou skutečně obdařeni jistou inteligencí,
máme proti nim jedinou výhodu - zrak
[..... we have - over them - one important advantage - sight]

(JW, 48/45)

We have observed a total of 21 such cases of unexpressed actants which the Czech translator had to fill in by anaphoric pronouns. This represents still another dimension of the tendency in English towards economy in referential explicitness. It has a direct bearing on English syntax and FSP.

Statistical evidence cannot, however, tell the whole story of the differences in the two languages in semantic extension of reference to GIVEN elements. Let us mention some of the most important qualitative differences.

I. Distance between the explicit term and its anaphoric counterparts

English finds it very easy to pile up a great many anaphoric pronouns without mentioning the explicit term for considerable stretches of text. By way of example let us use a piece of text from John Braine's "Room at the Top" (p.117):

21) "Elspeth isn't rich, you know," Alice said waspishly.

Her face was white and ugly and old ... I took a pound note from my wallet and tossed it to her. "Give that to her. Tell her I broke the bottle. She let it fall to the floor. I was tempted to pick it up. I knew very well she'd buy Elspeth some more gin ...

Czech: "Elspeth není tak bohatá," píchla mě Alice jízlivě ...

Vytáhl jsem z tašky bankovku a hodil jsem ji Alici. Dej jí to ... Nechala bankovku padnout na zem. Měl jsem sto chutí ji zvednout. Věděl jsem dobře, že Alice koupí Elspeth nějaký gin sama ...

Schematically the references to Alice are as follows:

English	Czech
1. Alice	Alice
2. her	Alici
3. she	θ (verbal inflection)
4. she	Alice

The Czech translation is very explicit. The main reason is that references to Alice are intertwined with those to Elspeth and also to the 'pound note'. In Czech the third person 'referring gender' (cf. Zandvoort, 1967:134) is not based on the distinctions 'human - non-human' and 'male - female', as it is in English²¹; it is primarily a grammatical device. In the same manner as in German, pronouns are

selected for reference to a substantive in accordance with its grammatical gender. 'Bankovka' (banknote) is feminine and, consequently, it is referred to by the same pronoun as 'Alice'. For this reason it is very difficult to keep a longer string of pronominal references without avoiding confusion and rhythmical clumsiness - cf. the verbatim translation of the second and third sentences of (21):

21a) Vytáhl jsem z tašky bankovku a hodil jsem ji jí. Dej jí to ...
'Jí' (to her) can be understood to refer here to four substantives:
(1) Alice, (2) Elspeth, (3) 'taška' (wallet) and (4) 'bankovka' (note).

As a result of this, in Czech GIVEN elements have to be constantly redefined by repetition of the basic terms or their explicit equivalents.

II. Syntactic and semantic reference mechanisms

The afore-mentioned differences between English and Czech hold not only in the unbroken strings of reference but also in such cases where the GIVEN elements are temporarily suspended from the forefront of the reader's (addressee's) consciousness²². In Czech it is for the most part impossible to reintroduce such elements by means of pronominal reference. The forms of 'on', 'ona', 'ono', 'oni', 'ony', 'ona' (he, she, it, they_{MASC}, they_{FEM}, they_{NEU}), or the respective inflectional endings, tend to be automatically related to the first preceding 'substantive' which happens to belong to the grammatical gender they represent. English, whose referential mechanisms operate more on the basis of semantic constraints, is relatively free to use pronouns, even after a considerable gap in the referential string, provided that the context offers sufficient information to avoid misunderstanding. Example;

22). "They can scarcely have known it, either of them", I told her. "When it is strong enough to kill, it's mercifully quick."

"Ani o tom nevěděli... Když má trifid dostatek síly, je smrt milosrdně rychlá."

[... about it... When (the) triffid has enough strength, the death is mercifully quick] (JW, 75/40)

This sequence of sentences follows after about a page of conversation on two victims of the triffids (who were not, however, mentioned). They were present in the situation only by implication. The three 'it's' refer to two different things - 'the death' which was talked about before and 'a triffid' which was implied; despite this there is no feeling of stylistic clumsiness and semantic inadequacy. In Czech, as we can see, two of the pronouns have to be rendered explicitly.

III. Cataphoric reference

Another important distinction of English pronouns is their ability to be used cataphorically. In Czech this is practically impossible, cf.

23) Born in the country, as his father before him, spare and tall, with a flaring moustache, a neat chin ... Charles Goud looked like a new arrival ...

Třebaže byl Charles Goud, stejně jako před ním jeho otec, tamější rodák, vypadal... (Con, 46/48)

(Although Charles Goud was, as his father before him, born in the country, he looked...)

In the Czech version cataphora have to be changed into anaphora, cf.

English:	his (father)	(before) him	Charles Goud	
Czech:	Charles Goud	(před) <u>ním</u> before him	jeho (otec) his father	reference by inflection

3. Conclusion

We have shown here that the English category of determination represents a very important means of the FSP organization of the sentence. The definite article is a powerful means of identifying NPs and presenting them as known to the participants in the discourse, and as such it correlates with the GIVEN which, in its turn, belongs mostly to the domain of the THEME. The indefinite article, on the other hand, marks out NPs as unidentified and serves as an indicator of the NEW and, in the absolute majority of cases, also of the RHEME. The generic indefinite behaves like a definite article; a generic NP refers to a class of items which the addressee is assumed to know. The strong degree of correlation between the roles of the articles and those of the FSP units gives English a certain degree of flexibility on the level of FSP to compensate for the rigidity on the syntactic level, in particular in the field of word order. The articles make it possible to invert the usual T-R order without unwanted emphatic side-effects; changes in articles thus correlate with the changes of the Czech word order and case endings.

Having established the relationship of articles and FSP units in general we further looked in some detail at those of their particular features which appeared to be of relevance for our comparative investigation. From among them we singled out the capacity of the definite article to uniquely identify GIVEN elements with the maximum syntactic and semantic economy possible as distinct from the corresponding Czech apparatuses of modification.

The afore-mentioned features of the definite article and the specificity of the use of the English pronouns allow a great deal of economy also in the sphere of inter-sentential reference. English tends to use words of broader semantic extension; Czech is more specific. Statistical evidence has been adduced to support this claim.

Notes

1. Hlavsa's term (1975).
2. Lyons (1977, II) treats these problems under the cover term DEIXIS. He defines it as follows: "By deixis is meant the location and identification of persons, objects, events, processes and activities being talked about, or referred to, in relation to the spatiotemporal context created and sustained by the act of utterance and the participation in it, typically, of a single speaker and at least one addressee." (p.637).
3. This view is held for instance by Poldauf (1972): "An important category of the English nouns is that of determination. It is very important to group the substance of this category, although it is extremely difficult particularly for Czechs, who have no such category in their language." (p.55) (Důležitou kategorií anglických podstatných jmen je kategorie určenosti (determinovanosti). Je velmi důležité, ačkoli nesmírně obtížné, pochopiti podstatu této kategorie zvláště pro Čechy, kteří podobnou kategorií nemají.).
4. Notable exceptions are Bulgarian and Macedonian which have both post-positive definite articles whose function it is, among other things, "to identify nouns (or more exactly nominal phrases) as already or generally known from context and/or extralinguistic situations." (Groen, 1977:50). The relevance of the Bulgarian enclitic article for the FSP is treated in some detail in Georgieva (1974) and Bačvarov (1974). For more about the Macedonian article see the afore-mentioned work of Groen (1977) as well as Lunt (1952:41) and Kepeski (1950:51).

5. Cf. Mathesius (1942:302ff). Firbas (1964b:120) refers to this order as EMOTIVE.
6. Cf. Chapter 1, pp.13-14. For more about this subject see Firbas, 1966 and Chafe, 1976.
7. Postal (1966) suggests that Generic Indefinite should be classified as Definite in the deep structure. He shows that in some contexts only Definites and Generic Indefinites can be used, e.g. "big as the boy was, he couldn't lift it" or "expensive as butter is, I still prefer it", but not *"big as some giant was, he couldn't lift it" (quoted from Dahl, 1969:34). For further discussion of the problem see also Chafe (1974:122-127; 1976:30ff) and Kuno (1972:270).
8. Paní (Mrs.) does not collocate with the husband's Christian name in Czech.
9. This should be distinguished from its use with a proper name with a title, e.g. 'a Mr. Hobbs' - in Czech 'nějaký (pan) Hobbs' [some Mr. Hobbs].
10. Fillmore (1968:11) gives a similar example from Russian, i.e.
Daj nam chleb (ACC) - Give us the bread
Daj nam chleba (GEN) - Give us some bread.
11. Here the corresponding degree of identification with the referent is achieved by means which are outside linguistics. We are in the sphere of the "pragmatic aspects of translation" (cf. Recker, 1974:35ff). If we want the Czech reader to be given the same degree of explicitness as his English counterpart is given by the original, we have to supply him with some further information on those aspects of the situation which are not present in the common POOL OF PRESUPPOSITIONS in that particular culture.. In the work quoted above Recker gives a similar example of translation between English and

Russian (p.36):

I graduated from New Haven in 1915

(F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Great Gatsby*)

Ja okončil Jel'skij universitet v 1915 godu

(I graduated from Yale University in 1915)

The translation Universitet v N'ju-Chejvene would be correct but for the Russian reader it would not suggest the implications of the institution's prestigious status generally associated with the name Yale.

12. For a more detailed discussion of this see Hlavsa (1975:92).
13. When used with the noun modified by the superlative adjective t h e can acquire (in some contexts) the function of a rhematizing particle, e.g.

They brighten the darkest day

Rozjasní i nejponurejší den

[Brighten_{3pl} even darkest day]

(GG, 19/18)

14. Lyons (1968:455) does not recommend the use of this term for fear that it might be easily confused with HYPONYM; instead he uses the term SUPERORDINATE. In this work we find it useful to keep to the dichotomy as mentioned above, i.e. HYPONYM - HYPERONYM.
15. "Anglické slovo má význam většinou širší, a proto méně určitý než slovo české; slova tedy mohou odkazovat na představy jedinečné zpravidla jen v daném kontextu."
16. Considerations of space prevent us from giving the respective contexts; mostly it would be impractical because the explicit mention of the institution concerned can be quite distant from our examples.

17. For more about SEMANTIC ANISOMORPHISM see Lyons (1963:70).
18. Under "other N-substitutes" we subsume in particular:
(1) deictic pronouns (e.g. this, that); (2) reflexive pronouns (myself, etc.); (3) quantifiers (everybody, somebody, etc.) and quantifier pronouns (one, some, each, none, etc.); and (4) independent possessive pronouns (mine, hers, etc.). Some of these (in particular those of (3) and (4)) are in effect substitutes of nominal parts of noun phrases (cf. our triffid → ours).
19. By "possessive pronouns" we mean their combinations with Ns, e.g. 'its sting' referring indirectly to a triffid. The percentage is computed from the comparison of occurrences in Czech and English (i.e. 216:71).
20. A similar investigation was made by Borodačenko in 1973. Comparing Jack London's "Martin Eden" with its Russian translation he discovered that in the original the name of the main protagonist (Martin Eden) occurred 262 times, while in the translation it occurred 472 times (p.23).
21. Grammarians refer to this type of pronominal reference as 'natural gender'. "In English this depends upon the classification of persons and objects as male, female or inanimate." (Lyons, 1968:284). The vestiges of natural gender in Czech are limited largely to nouns referring to adult human beings and inconsistently to those referring to children and other animate nouns.
22. For a detailed discussion of the relationships between the consciousness and the duration of GIVENNESS see Chafe (1974).

CHAPTER FIVE

S t r u c t u r a l a n d S e m a n t i c S h i f t s

1. General

We have so far inquired into those aspects of English syntax which make it possible to reorganize the FSP without resort to any changes in the structure of the verbal nucleus of the sentence and/or in the nature of its actants. In Chapter 3 it has been shown that the potential of English word order, compared to that of Czech, is in this respect very limited. To compensate for this English has to use a variety of other means. The first of these - the category of determination - was dealt with in some detail in Chapter 4. In the present chapter we will turn our attention to the most important compensatory means of English grammar, those which effect changes in the FSP structure by major changes in the valency structure of the sentence. Different languages possess differing formal apparatuses for rendering all the various aspects of the concrete situations they are called upon to describe; consequently, they will also show different preferences when decisions are made about which atoms of meaning are to be chosen for overt mention in the surface structure of a sentence and which may be left for the addressee to decode from the context. Our observations of differences of this kind will concentrate on the following two major groups of problems. Firstly, we will compare the syntactic and semantic behaviour of the major valency constituents and parts of speech in relation to their FSP roles. Secondly, we will deal in detail with those syntactico-semantic mechanisms in English which make it possible to arrange sentence constituents in accordance with their particular CD, i.e. in such a way that either the thematic constituents precede the

rhetic ones, or they are otherwise marked for their FSP function in the sentence, e.g. by determiners, thematizing and rhematizing words and the like.

A: Shifts Relating to Theme

2. Subject and FSP

2.1 Thematic function of the English S

When comparing Czech and English texts we can observe fundamental differences in the role of the grammatical subject. While in Czech there is still a strong tendency towards identifying the subject with the semantic agent - the DOER or EXPERIENCER of the particular action, in Modern English this function is increasingly ignored and the subject is used mainly as a carrier of the T. This contrast was first observed by Mathesius (1929:202):

"Ein Vergleich des Englischen z. B. mit den slawischen Sprachen zeigt deutlich, dass in Englischen die thematische Funktion des grammatischen Subjektes besonders stark hervortritt."

Let us demonstrate the difference on the following sentences:

1a) Because Warley had shown me a new way of living

S (T)

Protože ve Warley jsem poznal nový způsob života

AdvLoc(T) (S)

[Because in Warley learnt_{1sg} a new way of living]

(JB, R 96/96)

1b) The tower was flying two flags on the same mast

S (T)

Ze stožáru na věži vlály dvě vlajky

AdvLoc (T) S (R)

[From mast on tower were flying two flags]

(JW, 98/92)

In both sentences we can see the tendency of the Czech S to relate to the actual person or thing that was doing the action - in the first it is the narrator (identified in the verb ending) who took an active part in the action; in the second, the object which is able to perform the action of 'flying in the air'. In English the semantic bond between the subjects and the respective verbs is loosened - in actual fact Warley cannot do the showing and the mast cannot do the flying. The subjects serve as Ts to express the deep structure LOCATIVES (in Czech expressed by adverbials).

2.2 A two-nucleus sentence in English

In Modern English it is virtually obligatory for each sentence to contain an overtly expressed subject¹. It is one of the two basic constituents of the sentence - the other being the predicate. Poldauf (1972:106) refers to this rule as "požadavek členské úplnosti" (the requirement of structural completeness). Even in those cases when the action cannot be attributed to any particular element of the situation, English uses 'dummy'² or 'empty' subjects such as 'it' and 'there' (similarly the German 'es' and the French 'ce' and 'il'). Such subjects do not play any concrete semantic role - they refer to the situation in general and are thus conveniently used as formal Ts.

Czech is completely different in this respect. We have already mentioned (Chapter 4) the frequent omission of the overt S when the verbal ending is sufficient to refer clearly to a GIVEN object. In addition to that Czech can employ a great variety of subjectless sentences. They are used not only when there is no actant available, for example:

2a) Prší It is raining

[rains]

2b) Horí. There is a fire
[burns]

or where it is unidentified, e.g.

2c) Klepe There is a knock
[knocks]

but also when the actants present in the structure of the situation are not semantically suitable for the agentive role, cf.

2d) Je mi zle I am (feel) sick
[Is me_{DAT} sick]

2e) V zámku straší The castle is haunted
[In (the) castle haunts]

2f) Přitížilo se mu He has got worse
[(it) got worse (to) him]

In Czech these cases are very productive and very frequent. Although some of them can be paraphrased into a two-nucleus sentence, e.g.

2d₁) Citím se zle
[(I) feel_{1sg} - refl - sick]

2e₁) V zámku někdo straší
[In (the) castle someone haunts]

these paraphrases are less natural than the subjectless variants.

2.3 A tendency towards personal subjects in English

The thematic character of the subject can also be adduced as a reason for the predilection of English for personal subjects. Mathesius (1929:203) explains it as follows:

"Wie gesagt, macht sich im Englischen die Tendenz klar fühlbar, das Thema der Satzaussage womöglich zum grammatischen Subjekt des Satzes zu machen. Wenn sich zwei Vorstellungen als durch die Situation gegeben darbieten, wird diejenige von ihnen zum grammatischen Subjekt gemacht, die mehr Aktualität besitzt

oder als etwas bestimmteres erscheint. Diese Eigenschaften treffen besonders häufig bei einem persönlichen Subjekte zu. Deswegen wird im Englischen das persönliche Subjekt mit besonderer Vorliebe verwendet."

Mathesius's observations have been corroborated by a number of detailed researches into the so-called topicworthiness of various nominal elements³. As has already been demonstrated, Czech subjects are largely independent from the role of Ts and can therefore express personal topics by means of oblique cases (cf. 2d).

2.3.1 Cohesion of subjects across sentences

One of the reasons for the afore-mentioned predilection in English for personal subjects is a tendency to retain the same subject in a number of consecutive sentences. Since it is natural to relate the new information to the most topicworthy participant in the particular situation the T might coincide for a great many sentences, i.e. with a string of references to the narrator or the leading protagonist of the particular piece of prose. Example:

3a) As we lived near the road, we often had the traveller or stranger visit us to taste our gooseberry wine, for which we had great reputation ...

Czech: Jelikož jsme bydleli blízko silnice, často se u nás zastavil pocestný nebo někdo cizí, aby okusil našeho angreštového vína, jež bylo vyhlášené široko daleko ...

(OG, 14/22)

[Since (we) lived near (the) road, often - refl - at us - visited (a) traveller or some stranger, (so) that (he could) taste our gooseberry wine, which was acclaimed far and wide]

Schematically the subjects are as follows:

	1	2	3	4
English	we	we		we
Czech	V-ending 1 pl	pocestný + někdo cizí [traveller + stranger]	V-ending 3 sg	jež [which] ref. to wine

All the English sentences are referring by means of their subjects (and Ts proper) to the person of the narrator. In Czech the subjects are changing in accordance with the agency roles of the respective nominal elements and their semantic relationship to the finite verbs. Clauses 2 and 3 also give some idea of the syntactic shifts used for keeping the same subject, i.e. (a) the use of 'have + 0' construction, (b) downgrading of one S-P nexus, and (c) addition of another overt actant ('we' in clause 3). These and other syntactico-semantic shifts will be dealt with in greater detail further on.

We could adduce many similar examples of much longer strings of identical subjects of this kind. In Czech it is necessary, both because of the specificity of its structure and for reasons of good style, to alternate subjects and/or the syntactic cases of the respective NPs. Let us demonstrate with another example:

3b) Mr. Collier, who ... He was patronized, but at the same time he was admired. He was a breath of a larger life and they were interested. He had been a hotel waiter ... and he had published a book

Jednali s ním protektorsky, ale zároveň ho obdivovali.

Vanula z něho znalost života a to ji na něm zaujalo. Býval číšníkem ... a vyšla mu kniha

[(They) patronized him, but at the same time him_{ACC} (they)
 admired. Blew from him knowledge of life and that
 interested them about him. (He) had been a waiter ... and
 appeared (to) him_{DAT} (a) book]

Schematically, see Table 5.

The table is self-explanatory. The English subjects are almost invariably oriented towards the personal actant (Mr. Collier) being characterized by this piece of text. The string of 'he's' is broken only once. In Czech the references to Mr. Collier keep their thematic positions but the subjects differ (with the exception of sentence 5).

The tendency towards cohesion of thematic subjects in consecutive clauses is not restricted to human subjects only, cf.

3c) It only lasted a few minutes but it had the audience rolling in the aisles.

Trvalo to snad jen několik minut, ale publikum se mohlo uválet smíchem

(MK, 124/123)

[Lasted - it - perhaps only a few minutes, but (the) audience - refl - could roll (with) laughter]

Schematically:

	1	2
English	it	it
Czech	to (it)	publikum (audience)

The use of the causative 'have + Acc' construction allows the enlargement of the number of participants and the reiteration of the subject from the first clause. In both sets of examples we could observe that as a result of the cohesive subject reiterations described, the English Ts tend to be communicatively less dynamic

Sentence No.		1	2	3	4	5	6
English	Ss	he	he	he	they	he	he
	References to Mr. Collier	he	he	he	θ	he	he
Czech	Ss	(oni) they V-ending	(oni) they V-ending	znalost života (knowledge of life)	to (that)	(on) he V-ending	kniha (book)
	References to Mr. Collier	s ním (with him)	ho (him)	z něho (from him)	na něm (about him)	(on) V-ending	mu (to him)

Table 5. Referential Cohesion of Subjects in English and Czech.

(semantically less informative) than their Czech counterparts. Moreover, the repetition of the subject as T proper shifts the other candidates for the same role towards the end position and renders them communicatively more dynamic (as is the case with 'the audience' in sentence 3b). The conclusion about the lower CD of English Ts in this case also corroborates our findings on the referential mechanisms mentioned in Chapter 4⁴.

2.3.2 Animism of English subjects

As was already mentioned earlier in this Chapter, Czech imposes considerable semantic constraints on the collocations between subjects and predicative verbs. Most actional verbs endow the subject with agentive force and therefore they cannot easily enter into S-P nexus with NPs lacking the feature [HUMAN] or [FORCE]. English verbs seem to be much more vague and semantically more flexible; they do not contaminate the subject by their own semantics to such an extent as in Czech. The semantic bond between S-Vf is rather loose and can be interpreted on an *ad hoc* basis. Examples:

4a) She [the car] has killed four men

V té káře se už čtyři zabili

[In that car - refl - already four (got) killed]

(JB, R 187/190)

4b) Then the taverns take their carpets up

V hostincích sbalí koberce

[In taverns (they) take up (the) carpets] (Th, 243/250)

4c) Rowe's head was singing

Rowovi zpívalo v hlavě

[(to) Rowe (it) was singing in (the) head]

(GG, 28/21)

4d) Your bedroom caught fire

U vás v ložnici hořelo

[With you in (the) bedroom (it) was on fire]

(KA, 69/80)

The subjects of all these examples collocate with the predicative verbs on the basis of figurative semantic shifts: personification - 4a, 4d; metonymy (*pars pro toto*) - 4c; metonymy (*totum pro parte*) + personification - 4b. In Czech it would be possible to use the same device only in poetic language. Following Malblanc (1961:78ff)⁵ we will refer to this feature of English subjects as ANIMISM, since in the majority of cases inanimate Ns are found to be used in sentential roles which are usually reserved for animate Ns.

The frequency of such cases seems to contradict Mathesius's hypothesis of the predominance in English of personal subjects (cf. above). In our opinion further qualification is needed. Personal subjects are chosen more especially when the particular personal actant (semantic) has the lowest CD. This is not the case, for instance, with (4a) where 'four men' belongs to the R. Similarly the personal actant is not selected for the S (or is altogether suppressed) when it is not clearly identified, e.g.

4e) The past year has witnessed a crucial struggle between
ancient and modern in carpet industry

(Radio Times, 23.11.1977, p.42)

Here the human actant (people in general) is suppressed; in Czech it would find expression only in the inflection morpheme ('jsme byli svědky [(we) were witnesses]).

In some cases the personal actant is expressed indirectly by means of possessive pronouns. This is very often the case when one of the actants refers to a part of the human body, e.g.

4f) Prokop's teeth chattered with ecstasy

Prokopovi jektaly rozkoš^í zuby

[To Prokop chattered with ecstasy teeth]

(Č, Kr 149/2111)

4g) Her eyes absolutely flashed fire

Z očí jí šlehaly blesky

[From eyes (to) her flashed lightnings] (BBC, 6.3.1978)

A further consequence of this operation is the reduction of the number of actants (DATIVE is expressed as a modifier of the subject); cf. also (4c). This construction is possible in English thanks to the afore-mentioned semantic properties of the English verb. In neither of these cases would it be natural to use this construction in Czech:

4g₁) *Její oči šlehaly blesky

4f₁) *Prokopovy zuby jektaly rozkoš^í

Although not impossible they would be stylistically strongly marked.

4c₁) *Rowova hlava zpívala

is quite unacceptable outside poetic contexts.

3. The Passive Voice

3.0 So far in this chapter we have summarized some of the general features of the behaviour of the subject in English and Czech. It has been pointed out that Czech subjects still retain a great deal of identity with deep structure agents regardless of their position in the sentence. In English, on the other hand, their predominant function is thematic - they serve as themes of the respective utterances.

We will now concentrate on some syntactic and semantic mechanisms whereby non-agentive actants can be shifted into the position of subjects. One of the best known of such mechanisms is the passive voice.

3.1 The close relationship between passive sentences and their active counterparts has been commented upon by a great many linguists and grammarians. Jespersen (1924:164) draws attention to the process of 'turning' of the verb from one voice to another whereby the object of the active sentence is made into the subject of the resulting passive sentence, while the former subject in the active sentence is expressed by means of the prepositional group with 'by'. He also gives a formula for this operation, reminding us of Chomsky's passive transformation, i.e.

S Va O S Vp C

5) Jack loves Jill = Jill is loved by Jack

Jack: $S^a = C^P$

Jill: $O^a = S^P$

The idea that the passive sentences are derived from their active counterparts received great attention from transformational grammarians. Chomsky (1957:79ff) puts passives on a par with such derivative structures as questions or negatives. They do not belong to his kernel sentences but are derived from the terminal of an active kernel sentence provided that they contain a transitive verb.

This approach of mechanical derivation was found to be unsatisfactory since it left too many problems unresolved. Chomsky himself observed that in certain sentences containing quantifiers the relations between passives and actives can be ambiguous, e.g.

6a) Everyone in the room knows two languages

6b) Two languages are known by everyone in the room

In addition, there are many verbs which cannot be passivized. This had been noticed long before Chomsky; for example, Jespersen (1927) notes that:

"Not every object can be made the subject of a passive sentence. Some verbs do not admit of a passive turn, although ... they take an object in the active, thus 'cost, weigh, last' (it costs two shillings, it weighs 3 pounds). It would be unnatural to say "his father was resembled by him" instead of "he resembled his father"."

(p.300)

This problem was raised by Lees (1960)⁶ and in particular by Katz and Postal (1964), who are sceptical of Chomsky's rendering of the relationship between active and passive forms. They note that:

"A preferable treatment of passives ... derives them, not from corresponding active forms, but rather from underlying P-markers containing an Adverb_{manner} constituent dominating by plus a passive morpheme dummy."

(p.72)

This idea was later accepted by Chomsky also (1965), cf.

"These observations suggest that the Manner Adverbial should have as one of its realizations a "dummy element" signifying that the passive transformation must obligatorily apply ..."

Although this analysis does account for the mechanics of the passive transformation it still leaves many questions unanswered.

There are verbs which collocate with manner adverbials yet despite that they do not always admit of the S-O inversion, cf.

7a) He joined the Army last September⁷

(He joined the Army happily)

7b) *The Army was joined by him last September

Besides that, even where the active-passive transformation is grammatically possible, the resulting passive sentences are quite often highly bizarre. Allen (1959:290) notes that:

"a great deal of harm has been done by teaching the passive voice as if it were merely another way of expressing a sentence in the active voice. Students are asked to put such sentences as 'John likes girls', 'Henry can read English and French' into the fantastic forms of 'Girls are liked by John', 'English and French can be read by Henry', etc. We ought to stress the fact that the passive voice has an important and special place in the language; most sentences that are good in the active voice are just grotesque curiosities when put into the passive voice."⁸

Moreover, the reverse changes are often no less natural.

Onions (1971; revised from 1904) demonstrates the passive conversion by the following examples:

ACTIVE	PASSIVE
8) A wild beast fed him	He was fed by a wild beast
9) A bullet hit him	He was hit by a bullet

It is quite difficult to imagine the contexts in which the actives of (8) and - even less so - of (9) could be used outside the second instance sphere. If we were to judge them according to the criterion of markedness-unmarkedness (in conditions of Admoni's 'syntactic tranquillity' - cf. Chapter 3), the passives would be considered as unmarked, i.e. more basic, than the actives.

It is obvious that the attempt to interpret the relationship between actives and passives on the basis of syntactic and semantic criteria only is far from satisfactory. It suggests how the two are related but not why one or the other of the two is used.

3.2 A more promising approach to this problem is offered by the Prague School linguists. The three-level model of language (cf. Chapter 2) allows for a more comprehensive treatment of the passive since it takes into account the forces of context as well as other factors regarding the organization of the utterance.

The connection between the voice forms and the organization of the message was realized by a number of linguists of the past. However, sometimes their conclusions were not entirely accurate. Sweet (1891) characterizes the passive voice as "a grammatical device for ... bringing the object of a transitive verb into prominence by making it the subject of the sentence ..." (p.113). Similarly, Jespersen (1949), commenting on the difference between the two voices, claims that, "as a rule the person or thing that is at the centre of interest at the moment is made the subject of the sentence." (p.120)⁹.

A significant precursor of the Prague School understanding of the passive was Hermann Paul. In his "Prinzipien ..." (1909) he views the *raison d'être* of the passive as follows:

"... ist der Unterschied zwischen Aktivum und Passivum von Hause aus syntaktischen Natur, in dem dadurch nichts anderes als ein verschiedenes Verhältnis des Prädikatsverbuns zum Subj. ausgedrückt wird. Was neben dem Akt. Objekt ist, wird neben dem Pass. Subjekt. Die Anwendung des Passivums ermöglicht es daher ein psychologisches Subjekt ... auch zum grammatischen Subj. zu machen, und dies ist ein Hauptgrund für den Gebrauch der passivischen Konstruktion."

(pp.278-9)

Mathesius studies the English passive voice in close relationship with FSP and, on a broader basis, with the other typological characteristics of the English language. Characteristic of his approach is the following quotation:

"... the conception of the subject is in direct connection with other characteristic features of the language. The first of them is a rich development of passive constructions in Modern English and their frequent use in the grammatical predicate resulting from the fact that the thematical conception of the

grammatical subject makes it very often impossible to use a really active construction in that function."

(Mathesius, 1928:62)

Mathesius's ideas were further developed by Daneš (e.g. 1968, 1970), Firbas (elsewhere), Poldauf (1940), and in particular Dušková (1976). In Western linguistics the same views have been fostered by Bolinger (1952), Hatcher (1956) and Halliday (1967). In the last decade or so attempts have also been made to incorporate the features of FSP organization into the transformational and generative models. G. Lakoff gives the following characterization of the semantic representation of passives:

"Given a syntactic structure ($P_1 \dots P_n$) we define the semantic representation SR of a sentence as $SR = (P_1, PR, T_{op}, F, \dots)$ where PR is a conjunction of presuppositions, Top is an indicator of the 'topic' of the sentence and F is the indication of the 'focus' of the sentence."

(Lakoff, G., 1971:234)

One of the most consistent applications of FSP concepts is offered by Chafe in his semantically-oriented model of language (1970). He explains the active-passive relationship in the following terms:

"... if the verb of a sentence is an action-process, its patient noun root will convey new information and its agent noun root old information. It is not surprising that situations sometimes arise in which this distribution of new and old is inappropriate; there are sometimes situations in which the patient noun root of an action-process verb conveys old information and in which the agent noun root conveys new information. One way in which situations like these are accommodated in English is through the specification of the verb as p a s s i v e."

(Chafe, 1970:219)

The feature 'passive' is regarded as an inflectional unit, one of whose principal functions is "to change the order of priorities for the distribution of new information", (p.220). The said distribution is

3.31 English passives are essentially limited to transitive verbs, but this constraint is overcome because of the aforementioned large degree of freedom in the semantic collocability of the Vf and its actants and because of its considerable ambivalence *vis-à-vis* transitivity.

3.31.1 In the first place there are a considerable number of English verbs which, while being primarily intransitive, can also be used transitively as causatives, e.g. 'to fly,' 'to march,' 'to run,' 'to stand,' 'to walk,' 'to grow,' etc. Examples:

11a) Horses should be walked for some time after the race

11b) Cheap trains will be run on Sundays

11c) This bottle must not be stood close to the fire

(Zandvoort, p.53)

In Czech there is no such ambivalence. Verbs are clearly defined as to transitivity. In (11a) and (11c) two different verbs would have to be used to achieve the desired change: 'procházet se' (walk - intr.) - 'vyvést' (take for a walk - tr.); 'stát' (stand - intr.) - 'postavit' (tr.). In (11b) it would be 'jezdit' (to run - intr.) - 'být v provozu' (to be in operation); the transitive passive is best replaced by an adverbial phrase.

3.31.2 Some transitive verbs, on the other hand, can occur intransitively, e.g. 'open,' 'close,' 'stop,' 'cook,' 'boil,' 'break,' 'snap'. With these the object of the transitive alternative can become the subject of the intransitive counterpart:

12a) John opened the door

12b) The door was opened (by John)

12c) The door opened

In Czech:

12a) Jan otevřel dveře

[John opened door_{ACC}]

12b₁) Dveře otevřel Jan

[Door_{ACC} opened John_{NOM}] - if agent is R

or:

12b₂) Dveře se otevřely

[Door - refl - opened] - if agent unimportant

12c) Same as 12b₂).

3.31.3 Observed from the viewpoint of Slavonic languages English reveals a considerable tendency towards a transitive conception of the relationship between the Vf and its actants.

3.31.31 Many verbal phrases of the type 'V + preposition' have become so closely associated that they behave like transitive verbs (e.g. 'send for,' 'look upon,' 'come to,' 'rely on,' 'talk of,' etc.) and they can form participial units:

13a) He was looked upon as a traitor

13b) She cannot be relied on

13c) Has any decision been come to?

(Zandvoort, p.54)

3.31.32 It is also possible to create transitive verbal units consisting of verbs of general semantics, nouns (of specific meaning) and prepositions, e.g. 'to take advantage of', 'to pay attention to', 'to put a stop to', and many others (cf. Zandvoort, 1967:54ff).

These complexes can be passivized also:

14a) They took undue advantage of his weakness

14b) His weakness was taken undue advantage of

14c) Undue advantage was taken of his weakness

In such cases as this additional manoeuvrability is achieved thanks to the fact that we have two options for the passive sentence subject. It can be raised either from the object of the whole verbal complex, e.g. 'his weakness' as the object of 'take advantage of', or alternatively from the object of the Vf on its own, e.g. 'advantage' in the phrase 'to take advantage of'. Zandvoort (1967) notes that this second option is particularly frequent when the noun is preceded by a qualifying word (p.55).

3.31.33 Under certain conditions passive forms can be formed with groups 'V + local preposition', e.g.

15a) Her bed had been slept in

15b) That chair mustn't be sat on

15c) This cup has been drunk out of

(Huddleston, 1971:95)¹

3.31.34 With the so-called ditransitive verbs like 'give', 'offer', 'find', it is possible to choose either of the two actants (Od, Oi) as a subject of the corresponding passive. In fact "it is normally the indirect object that is mapped onto the concord subject in the passive" (Huddleston, 1971:97). This flexibility of the English passive is very useful for FSP ends, cf.

16a) John was given the money

16b) The money was given to John

16c) The money was given John

In Czech it is impossible to form passives from verbs with prepositional objects even if these objects are in the accusative case. That is, we cannot form the passives proper, or what Kopečný (1958) calls 'osobní typ passivní' (personal passive type) or 'podmětové passivum' (subject-type passive). There are other means of expressing the same functions, in particular the SUBJECTLESS PASSIVE, e.g.

16a₁) Jeho slabosti bylo využíváno

[His_{GEN} weakness_{GEN} was abused]

or the REFLEXIVE PASSIVE:

16a₂) Jeho slabosti se využívalo

[His_{GEN} weakness_{GEN} - refl - abused_{NEU3sg}]

3.31.35 Many English verbs which were intransitive in the earlier stages of the language's development (OE and ME) behave transitively in Modern English. To demonstrate let us consider, for instance, verbs with BENEFICIARY actants such as 'help', 'thank', 'follow', and 'forgive', cf.

17a) Iponked wurde him_{DAT} [Let it be thanked to him]

(Lamb, 1975; OED XI, 247)

17b) That persone, to whom onely ... thou art bound to thanke

(Udall Erasm., 1542; OED XI, 247)

17c) Hy nyle ... helpan ðæs folces

(K. Aelfred, 897; OED V, 209)

17d) The myghte ... must pardonne and forgyve to the lytyll and feble

(Caxton, 1484; OED IV, 453)

In OE and early ME these verbs (and all other verbs with BENEFICIARY actants) behaved in exactly the same manner as their counterparts behave in contemporary Czech or Russian. They were construed with dative objects ('help' originally also with genitive) and could not be passivized. In German, verbs originating from the same roots still behave intransitively (jemandem folgen, jemandem danken, etc.). In Slavonic languages as well as in German the semantic bond between the V_f and its actants is very strong. In English this bond was loosened in favour of the syntactic needs of the English sentence.

3.31.36 The afore-mentioned transitive tendencies were obviously strengthened by the strong Franco-Latin linguistic influence since the Norman Conquest. The presence in Modern English of a large element of Latin lexis (arriving via French¹²) makes it possible in many cases to choose between the original Germanic non-transitive variants or their transitive counterparts originating from the Romance languages. This concerns, for instance, some verbs of movement, e.g. 'come to' - 'approach', 'come in(to)' - 'enter', 'go on' - 'continue', 'go up' - 'mount', 'go by' - 'pass', 'run from' - 'evade'; in many cases it would be difficult to find a Germanic counterpart, e.g. 'join' and 'cross'. The French influence also pervades the original Germanic lexis. The verb 'reach' (in the meaning 'arrive at'), for instance, was used with an adverbial complement until the 19th century, cf.

18a) The public voice seldom reaches to a brother ...

(Fielding, 1749; OED VIII, 191)

18b) When we had reached to this stage of our proposed journey

(H. Martin, 1802; OED VIII, 191)

A further contribution to the transitive tendencies in English is the use of 'transitive verbs of non-specific semantics + N' instead of semantically more specified verbs which would require adverbial complements, e.g. 'take a road' instead of 'go along a road'. Examples:

19a) Take the right fork

Jed' te tou cestou napravo

[Go (on wheels) that_{INS} road_{INS} (to the) right]

(JW, 166/159)

19b) We cleared the village

Vyjeli jsme z vesnice

[We went (by car) out of (the) village]

(JW, 187/180)

19c) We did hundreds of concerts and shows.

Vystupovali jsme na stovkách koncertů a estrád

[We performed ← aux ← at hundreds (of) concerts_{GEN} and shows_{GEN}]

(MK, 16/20)

3.31.37 There is still another method whereby English makes a non-transitive predicate into a transitive one, i.e. by derivation of transitive verbs from adverbial complements, e.g. 'put into one's pocket' - 'to pocket':

20a) ... he *pocketed* his change

... schoval drobné do kapsy

[(he) hid (the) change into pocket]

3.31.38 Above we have summarized some of the most typical ways in which the English Vf acquires transitive characteristics and is capable (in the majority of cases) of interchanging the position of its left- and right-hand actants and arranging them according to their CD. In this manner it is possible to offset the constraints imposed on the English sentence by the rigidity of its word order. However, this is achieved at the cost of a certain semantic vagueness which makes the English sentence more dependent on the context than is the case in Czech, cf. for instance the reading of sentence (19a) in English and in Czech. While the English sentence can be understood only if we know the situation (in this case the addressee was seated in a truck looking for some other people), the Czech counterpart echoes almost all the information needed to describe the situation - the verb 'jet' (go + on wheels) suggests the presence of a vehicle, the noun 'cesta' (road) narrows the choice to road vehicles, etc. and the whole situation is further specified by the overt instrumental case endings. However,

this problem of the differences between the two languages in the distribution of semantic features will be dealt with in greater detail later in this chapter.

3.32 In Czech the use of the subject-type passive is extremely limited. Theoretically it can be formed from every transitive verb, but in practice it appears quite rarely. One of the reasons is of course the afore-mentioned differences in the understanding of transitivity. In Czech, as has already been suggested, passivization may occur only with such verbs as have accusative, non-prepositional objects. But even with these verbs in non-technical and non-scientific texts or speech, subject-type passives have very low occurrence. If we want to account for this significant difference between English and Czech we will have to look more closely at the main functions of the passive in the two languages.

3.32.1 Sweet (1891) characterizes the passive voice:

"as a grammatical device for (a) bringing the object of a transitive verb into prominence by making it the subject of the sentence and (b) getting rid of the necessity of naming the subject of a transitive verb."

(p.113)

We have already expressed our reservations concerning the question of 'prominence' earlier in this chapter (3.2). From our viewpoint we may reformulate the two functions as (1) inversion of S-O for the purposes of FSP, and (2) suppression of the agent. The first function is characteristic of English but is practically absent in Czech, which discharges the same role by a simple word order inversion:

21) (... the only two cities left were Macao and Havana)

Macao has been cleaned up by the Chinese Chamber of Commerce ...

T

R

Macao vyčistila čínská obchodní komora

T

R

[Macao_{ACC} cleaned (up) Chinese_{NOM} Commercial_{NOM} Chamber_{NOM}]

(GG, 68/68)

As against the active version:

The Chinese Chamber of Commerce has cleaned up Macao

T

R

Čínská obchodní komora vyčistila Macao

T

R

[Chinese_{NOM} Commercial_{NOM} Chamber_{NOM} cleaned (up) Macao_{ACC}]

Instead of the word order inversion Czech can also use the subject-type passive, i.e.

Macao bylo vyčistěno čínskou obchodní komorou

[Macao_{NOM} was cleaned (up) (by) Chinese_{INS} Commercial_{INS} Chamber_{INS}]

It would be grammatically correct but unnatural and the stylist would probably see it as a Germanism. In translations from English or German, however, such unnecessary passive constructions occur quite often, cf.

22) I was too surprised by her vulgarity

translated as:

Byl jsem příliš překvapen její vulgarností

[Was (I) - aux - too surprised her_{INS} vulgarity_{INS}]

(GG, T 36/35)

while;

Průliš mne překvapila její vulgarnost

[Too me_{ACC} surprised her vulgarity_{NOM}]

would suffice for the purposes of FSP and would also be stylistically less marked.

The English S-O inversion is not as efficient as the Czech word order shifts in arranging the elements of the sentence in accordance with their CD, cf.

23) (It occurred to me that) she might have been robbed by

T

R

the man with side-burns

T

... ji ten muž s mrožím knírem mohl oloupit

T

R

[... her_{ACC} the man with side-burns_{INS} could rob]

(GG, T 80/80)

Or:

... mohla být tím mužem s mrožím knírem oloupena

[... could (she) be that_{INS} man_{INS} with side-burns_{INS} robbed]

Here the 'by-phrase' element belongs to T and the past participle (robbed) is R proper. Czech reflects this by reshuffling the elements in accordance with the increasing CD. This can be achieved in the passive voice also but it is extremely stilted. English syntax does not allow the same arrangement but the by-phrase element is clearly defined as GIVEN by the definite article and by the context (the man with side-burns had left the room and the narrator's aunt was found crying). This is another example of the dependence of the English sentence on the context, this time for the correct interpretation of its FSP. If the same sentence were said in a different context, e.g. if the aunt had been robbed and the speaker were trying to find out who the culprit was, then the by-phrase element would contain R proper and the Czech version would then be rearranged:

23a) ... she might have been robbed by the man with side-burns

T

R

... mohl ji oloupit ten muž s mrožím knírem

T

R

[... could her_{ACC} rob that man with side-burns]

Or, less common but more acceptable than the passive version in (23):

... mohla být tím mužem s mrožím knírem oloupena

[... could (she) be (by) that_{INS} man_{INS} with side-burns_{INS} robbed]

Analysis of the afore-mentioned examples shows that in Czech there is no real need to use the passive for FSP purposes. In English, on the other hand, this function of the passive is very prominent. Let us now turn to the second major function of the passive, i.e. the suppression of the agent of action expressed by the verb.

3.32.12 The need to suppress the agent is very prominent in both Czech and English. Let us consider the main differences between the two languages.

Czech:

I. With transitive verbs proper (i.e. those having the accusative non-prepositional Os) there are two basic ways of suppressing the agent in

Czech: (1) by means of the subject-type participial passive, or

(2) by the subject-type reflexive passive:

24) (a) Active:

(Zedníci) opravují dům

[(Builders_{NOM}) (are) repairing (the) house_{ACC}]

The builders are repairing the house

(b) Participial passive: Dům je opravován

[The house_{NOM} is (being) repaired]

The house is being repaired

- (c) Reflexive passive: Dům se opravuje
[The house - refl - repair_{3sg}]
The house is being repaired

II. Intransitive OBJECTIVE verbs (those which can have indirect objects) can again be passivized by both methods but the syntactic valency is not changed - objects are left in the same case:

- 25) (a) Active: Někdo tím hýbal
[Someone_{NOM} it_{INS} moved]
(b) Participial passive: Bylo tím hýbáno
[Was it_{INS} moved_{PASS PARTICIPLE, 3sgNEU}]
(c) Reflexive passive: Hýbalo se tím
[Moved_{ACTIVE, PAST, 3sgNEU} - refl - it_{INS}]

III. Intransitive SUBJECTIVE verbs (such that cannot have objects) acquire the passive nature by dropping the agent. The passive is almost exclusively of the reflexive variety:

- 26) (a) My jsme zpívali a tančili
[We - aux - sang and danced]
(b) Zpívalo se a tančilo
[Sang_{NEU3sg} - refl - and danced_{NEU3sg}]

One of the rare examples of the participial passive is:

- 26) (c) Tady bylo chozeno
[Here was walked_{PASS, NEU3sg}]

The participial passive is generally used much less than the reflexive passive. In colloquial language participial constructions are quite rare and they are more likely to be of the STATAL rather than the ACTIONAL variety¹³.

The agentless passives of both the participial and the reflexive types are used primarily for the purpose of suppressing the agent. They are not instrumental in shifts for the needs of FSP.

English:

This is a field in which the two languages are largely asymmetrical. If we want to arrive at the relevant English correspondences we have to go beyond the framework of the passive. The afore-mentioned three groups of constructions with suppressed agents are somewhat incongruous. Some grammarians do not consider Group III to be passive. Bauer-Grepl (1970) note that:

"Pasivní věty představují jen dílčí součást vět deagentních a nelze je s nimi plně ztotožnit, jinak bychom museli za pasivní považovat ... i věty se slovesy nepředmětovými (... Tancovalo se až do rána aj.). Z téhož důvodu je třeba ... považovat kategorii aktivum-pasivum jen za subkategorii obecnější kategorie agentnost - deagentnost"

(p.61, note 7)¹⁴

It is useful, however, to treat all these three groups together because semantically they are within what Mathesius calls 'pasivní perspektiva' (passive perspective); this conception is also supported by the fact that in German, for instance, such sentences are expressed by the so-called IMPERSONAL PASSIVES, e.g. 'es wurde getanzt', 'es wird nicht geplaudert' it was danced; it will be not talked (cf. Dickins, 1963:66-7). For the purposes of this work we will consider these three groups together and treat them as passives.

1. In English there is no essential difference between groups I and II mentioned above; we have already shown that most verbs which can take an object are also transitive and can be passivized. The passive is used to put a verbal form into R:

27a) The roof is being repaired

Střecha se opravuje

[Roof_{NOM} - refl - repairs_{3sg}]

27b) This has already been talked about

O tom se už hovořilo

[About this_{LOC} - refl - already spoke_{NEU3sg}]

In both cases T is expressed by the subject. Since the Czech reflexive forms are not used primarily for FSP but rather for suppressing the agent, they do not always get translated by the English passive. When the object is rhematic, English usually introduces a general human agent to serve as a subject and T, e.g. 'they', 'you', 'we', 'one', 'a man', 'a fellow', 'people', etc.

28a) Here they do not build monumental frontages

Tady se nebudují monumentální fasády

[Here - refl - not build_{3pl} monumental_{NOM} frontages_{NOM}]

(Č, H 330/59)

28b) She just sat there, as people sit when they are waiting for an operation ...

Seděla, jak se sedí, když se čeká na operaci ...

[She sat as - refl - sit_{3sg} when - refl - wait_{3sg} for operation]

(Č, Kr 220/216)

28c) Maybe we may come upon it without your assistance

Třeba se na to přijde i bez vás

[Perhaps - refl - upon it come_{3sg} even without you]

(Č, Kr 87/122)

28d) You take a bit of sea, fence it and pump it out

Vezme se kus moře, ohradí se a vypumpuje se

[Take_{3sg} - refl - bit (of) sea_{GEN}, fence_{3sg} - refl - and pump (out)_{3sg} - refl]

(Č, H 298/24)

In some cases the general subject is replaced by the pronoun referring to the speaker (I, we):

28e) I heard about it in a pub at Vinohrady

Vo tom se vyprávělo na Vinohradech v hospodě

[About it - refl - talked_{NEU3sg} in Vinohrady in pub_{LOC}]

(Š, 601/143)

The use of this device, that is of introducing an additional actant or a concrete actant instead of a general one, is particularly favoured in sentences expressing some overtones of modality which can be conveniently presented as experienced by either the speaker or someone involved in the action. Here Czech has alternative constructions with modal predicatives (e.g. 'je třeba', 'je nutno' + inf. instead of 'musí se', i.e. 'is necessary' instead of [must_{3sg} - refl]); another construction occurring fairly frequently is 'aux + inf of verbs of perception' (e.g. 'je vidět' [is to see], 'je slyšet' [is to hear]). It is used to express the ability to perceive:

29a) I hear only the murmuring of the water ...

Bylo slyšet jen šumění vody ...

[Was (to) hear only murmuring (of) water_{GEN}]

(MK, 122/121)

29b) At the top of the drive you could see ... the mansion

Na vršku příjezdové vozovky bylo vidět ... palác

[At (the) top (of the) drive was (to) see ... (the) mansion]

(Br, R 154/155)

29c) Then they caught sight of the light hat of Uncle Rohn

A tu již je vidět světlý klobouk oncle Rohna

[And then already is (to) see (the) light hat_{NOM} (of)

Uncle_{GEN} Rohn_{GEN}]

(Č, Kr 191/270)

The idea of perception is closely related to the idea of the existence of the perceived objects and it is therefore not surprising that often existential constructions are used here:

29d) There had been the sound of shots

Bylo slyšet výstřely

[Was (to) hear shots]

(GG, C 25/28)

29e) Inside there was the musty smell of rooms

Bylo tam cítit stuchlinou .

[Was there (to) smell mustiness_{INS}]

(Č, Kr 79/111)

Group III of Czech constructions with suppressed agents is syntactically even more distant from the English structural patterns. From the semantic viewpoint these sentences can be essentially divided into two classes: (1) those expressing a certain disposition¹⁵ of the agent (which appears in the surface structure in the dative), and (2) those expressing some kind of action.

(1) The basic pattern of dispositional reflexives is as follows:

'(Adv_{LOC}) + reflexive + (NG_{DAT}) + V_{3sgNEU} (+ Adv_{MAN})'

with the respective word order variations. In most of these constructions Adv_{MAN} is present and it is usually rhematic, cf.

30a) Žije se mi lépe .

[Live_{3sg} - refl - us_{DAT} better]

30b) Tam se žije dobře

[There - refl - live_{3sg} well]

30c) Dobře se mi spalo

[Well - refl - (to) me_{DAT} slept_{NEU3sg}]

Here we are obviously outside the passive proper. The English correspondences are mostly conceived as active sentences with the SS subjects being raised from the datives (EXPERIENCERS) or, where these are not present, they are replaced by general subjects or subjects converted from locative adverbials¹⁶. Some possible English correspondences may be as follows:

30a) I am living a better life (now)

My life is better (now)

I find life better now

30b) That is a nice place to live

The place is nice to live in

People have a nice life there

People live well there

30c) I slept well

I had a good sleep

(2) The pattern of the actional constructions consists typically of the following constituents:

'Adv_(LOC), (MAN), (TEMP) + refl + V_{NEU3sg}'

Examples:

31a) Ve Španělich se křičí z plna hrdla

[In Spain - refl - shout_{3sg} from full throat_{GEN}]

In Spain they shout at the top of their voices

(Č, LS 239/139)

31b) Tady se už nežije v patiích (jako tam dole)

[Here - refl - no more live_{3sg} in patios_{LOC} as down there]

The people do not live in patios (as they do yonder)

(Č, LS 263/171)

31c) Dnes se nevaří, nejedí, nekouká a nemyslí

[Today - refl - not cook_{3sg}, not travel_{3sg}, not gaze_{3sg} and
not think_{3sg}]

This is the day when nobody cooks, nobody travels, nobody
gazes, and nobody thinks

(Č, LE 138/187)

31d) Všude se rozsvítilo

[Everywhere - refl - (lights) came_{NEU3sg} + on]

The lights came on

(GG, C 258/246)

31e) Hrál se a tancovalo

[Played_{NEU3sg} - refl - and danced_{NEU3sg}]

There was music and dancing

(MK, 147/145)

31f) V továrně se stávkuje

[In factory - refl - strike_{3sg}]

The factory is on strike

31g) Nečepuje se

[Not draw_{3sg} (beer) - refl]

The bar is closed

or: There is no service at the bar

Comparison of the Czech sentences with their translations reveals a whole variety of methods of raising subjects in English - introduction of a general subject (30a, b, c), conversion of locative elements into subjects (30f) and selection of subjects from the components of a situation ('the bar' in 30g). We can also see that the need of surface structure subjects triggers off a great many changes in the selection of the predicative verb and the predicate as a whole. We will treat the most typical of these in subsequent sections of this chapter.

3.4 Passives - conclusion

A comparison of Czech and English material reveals considerable differences in the usage of the passive voice. In English we have observed the prominence of two basic roles; (1) to align the surface structure actants in accordance with their CD, and (2) to dispose of agents when they are redundant. These two roles are complementary, the first taking precedence over the second. In Czech there is no need to employ the passive construction for (1) since FSP needs are normally catered for by changes in word order. The Czech participial subject-type passive is very rare outside technical or official language. The primary role of the reflexive passive is to present the action as something happening to the agent which is either expressed indirectly or completely suppressed. In this the construction oversteps the borderline of the passive proper and approaches the sphere of modal and existential constructions, which is reflected in the English translations; syntactically they are conceived in such a way as to satisfy the need for the presence in each sentence of thematic subject. In the following section we will look at the various semantic roles of English surface structure subjects.

4. Case grammar and its relevance for FSP

4.0 In the previous pages we have encountered examples of thematic subjects being 'raised' from a variety of semantic actants. Thus the subject in sentence:

12a) John opened the door

refers to the agent of the action of opening, while in:

12c) The door opened

it refers to an entity affected by the action expressed by the verb.

In modern linguistics the importance of the study of 'covert categories' has been brought to the fore in particular by the works of J. Fillmore. In his "Case for Case" (1968) he notes:

"Many recent ... studies convinced us of the relevance of grammatical properties lacking obvious 'morphemic' realizations but having a reality that can be observed on the basis of selectional constraints and transformational possibilities. We are constantly finding that grammatical features found in one language show up in some form or other in other languages as well, if we have the subtlety it takes to discover covert categories."

(p.3)

Observing the relations between the semantics of the verbal nucleus and its satellites (arguments), Fillmore derives a set of semantic roles (deep cases) which are presented as elementary notions for the study of the structural meaning of the sentence.

4.1 On the following pages we will employ Fillmore's methodology for the description of various semantic roles played by English thematic subjects and compare them with the corresponding forms in Czech. We will employ the following case notions (based largely on Fillmore, 1971):

1. A g e n t (A) - typically animate instigator of the action identified by the verb.
2. E x p e r i e n c e r (E) - the case of the animate being undergoing some experience identified by the verb.
3. I n s t r u m e n t a l (I) - inanimate force or object involved in the action or state identified by the verb.
4. O b j e c t (O) - person or thing affected by the action or state identified by the verb.
5. L o c a t i v e (L) - the case which identifies the location or spatial orientation of the state or action identified by the verb.

6. T i m e (T) - temporal identification of the action.
7. S o u r c e (S) - entity from which the action originates.
8. G o a l (G) - entity to which the action proceeds.

Examples;

- 32a) John opened the door (A, O)
- 32b) John saw the man (E, O)
- 32c) The key opened the door (I, O)
- 32d) The door opened (O)
- 32e) The car burst a tyre (L, O)
- 32f) This decade saw many changes (T, O)
- 32g) John sold the car (A, O)
- 32h) The smile radiated an almost savage well-being (S, O)
- 32i) She received a present (G, O)

Let us consider the individual semantic roles of the subject in greater detail.

4.11 AGENT as subject

The role of Agent is the most natural role for the subject in both languages. Mathesius (1961) notes that, "v indoevropských jazycích v nejstarších dobách, jak se zdá, základ vyjadřoval konatele nějaké činnosti vyovídáné predikátem ... např: Otec jde" (p.114)¹⁷. As was suggested earlier in this chapter, the two languages developed different priorities as concerns the two roles; the English subject is primarily thematic and only secondarily agentive, while in Czech the opposite is true. In spite of that, in both languages the synchronization of the three roles (syntactic-subject, semantic-agentive, and FSP-T) is characteristic of the least marked sequences, cf

- 33a) John opened the door

levels	SYNT	S	yf	O
	SEM	A	Action	sem O
	FSP	T		R

As against:

33b) The door was opened by John

levels	SYNT	S	yf	Adv phrase
	SEM	sem O	Action	A
	FSP	T		R

A similar situation can be found in Czech, as was argued earlier in Chapter 3.

4.11.1 In English there is a group of verbs which allow the simple exchange of S and O whereby O becomes the syntactic S and the semantic Agent and vice versa. Fillmore (1970:261) refers to them as SYMMETRIC PREDICATES; they are, for example, 'meet', 'coincide', 'agree', etc.

34a) John met the man yesterday

34b) The man met John yesterday

This is a rare case where the semantic roles of actants are changed for purposes of FSP without any formal manifestation. In Czech it would be natural to conceive the T as S and A but the exchange would be accompanied by a change in case endings:

34a₁) Jan potkal toho muže

NOM ACC

34b₂) Ten muž potkal Jana

NOM ACC

The two sentences describe the same situation but there is a difference of focussing. The left-hand actants are felt as having a certain degree of initiative in the action.

4.12 EXPERIENCER as subject

4.12.1 The surface structure realization of the Experiencer is one of the areas in which the two languages display considerable differences which deserve to be treated in some detail.

In Czech it is possible to put this actant into the subject only with a limited number of verbal predicates such as 'myslet' (to think), 'vidět' (to see), 'slyšet' (to hear), 'znát' (to know), 'rozumět' (to understand), 'litovat' (to be sorry), etc., cf.

35a) Zná^m ho

[Know_{1sg} him]

35b) Rozumím^m tomu

[Understand_{1sg} it]

In the majority of cases, however, Experiencers appear in the surface structure as datives (less often as accusatives or instrumentals), e.g.

36a) Podařilo se nám přijít

[Succeeded_{NEU3sg} - refl - us_{DAT} to come]

36b) Je mi zima

[Is me_{DAT} cold]

In this, Czech resembles German, which too displays the tendency to express the Experiencer by means of indirect objects, cf.

36a₁) Es ist uns gelungen

18

36b₁) Mir ist kalt

In English the thematic EXPERIENCER is almost invariably expressed in the subject:

36a₂) We managed to come

36b₂) He is cold

In the earlier stages of English the situation was similar to that in German or Czech, cf. for example:

36b₃) OE: Me is cealde

(Mathesius, 1975:186)

37) ME (1400): þis think me ane of þe grettest meruailes

(Maundev, OED XI, 310)

Mathesius (1975) notes that this:

"change in the sentence type cannot be accounted for mechanically by the disappearance of the morphological difference between the dative and the accusative as a result of phonetic changes. The cause of the change lay deeper, viz. in the change of the basic sentence perspective, above all in the change of the function of the subject."

(p.97)

4.12.2 The differences between the two languages are particularly noticeable in sentences describing physical or mental states:

a) The most common pattern used in Czech is 'V_{cop3sg} + O_{DAT} + predicative adverb', cf. (36b); similarly:

38a) Je mi teplo

[Is me_{DAT} warm]

38b) Je mi mdlo

[Is me_{DAT} dizzy]

38c) Je mi ho líto

[Is me_{DAT} him_{ACC} sorry]

Alternatively the pattern 'y_{3sgNEU} + O_{DAT (ACC)}' is used, e.g.

38d) Stýskalo se mu

[(was) lonely_{3sgNEU} - refl - him_{DAT}]

The typical corresponding construction in English is 'S + be (feel) + adjective';

38a₁) 'I am warm' or 'I feel warm'

38b₁) 'I am dizzy' or 'I feel dizzy'

There is a slight semantic difference between the two. The former is felt as an objective description of a certain state; the latter stresses the subjective sensations of the person involved (cf. Zimmermann, 1972:238). Further examples:

39) I'm not well

Není mi dobře

[Not is me_{DAT} well]

(Č, Kr 200/283)

40) He felt bad

Bylo mu zle

[Was him_{DAT} unwell]

(KA, 61/71)

The construction 'V_{COP} + ADJ' is possible in English thanks to a certain semantic ambivalence of its adjectives; they can be used to refer to both permanent and temporary qualities. In this they differ from Czech where adjectives denote predominantly permanent qualities. Thus, for example, the Czech sentence 'On je chladný' would mean 'He is not easily excitable' or 'He is of a cold disposition'. When there is a danger of misunderstanding, the simple English construction 'be + adj' is replaced by the less ambiguous 'feel + adj', as is the case in (39) above.

40₁) *He was bad

might be felt as ambiguous. With the copula 'be' it is preferable to use 'unwell' or 'not well' (cf. sentence 38) instead of 'bad'.

b) Constructions used to express pain in different parts of the body.

The most typical patterns in Czech:

1. V_{3sg} + O_{ACC} + S (or Adverbial complement), e.g.

41a) Bolí ho hlava

[Aches him_{ACC} head_{NOM}]

41b) Maminku bolí v krku

[Mother_{DAT} aches in throat]

In colloquial speech the dative may also be used:

41b₁) Mamince bolí v krku

[Mother_{DAT} aches_{3sgNEU} in throat_{LOC}]

Cf. Kopečný, 1958:299.

2. The EXPERIENCER can also be made subject and then the verb is nominalized and becomes object of the verb MÍTI (HAVE):

42) Maminka má bolení hlavy

Mother has aching (of) head_{GEN}

This latter construction is much less common than the former. In English, on the other hand, it constitutes the basic pattern, cf.

42₁) Mother has a headache (toothache, sore throat, etc.)

The Czech accusative or dative Experiencer expresses a possessive relationship to the particular part of the body (cf. Kopečný, 1958:69).

This is reflected in the transformation with the use of 'míti' in Czech and 'have' in English, and even more so in the correspondences of such Czech constructions as:

43a) Točí se mi hlava

[Swims - refl - one_{DAT} head_{NOM}]

My head is swimming

43b) V břiše mi kručelo ...

[In stomach me_{DAT} rumbled_{3sgNEU}]

My stomach was rumbling

c) Further remarks on POSSESSIVE DATIVES.

The afore-mentioned method of syntactic downgrading of the EXPERIENCER into the role of a modifier of another actant is very common in English.

The possessive dative occurs in Czech with much frequency:

(1) In sentences expressing various actions in which parts of the body are involved, cf.

44a) Rowe's head was singing

Rowovi zpívalo v hlavě

[Rowe_{DAT} sang_{3sgNEU} in head]

(GG, 28/21)

44b) Her eyes glistened

Oči se jí leskly

[Eyes - refl - her_{DAT} glistened]

(St, 144/123)

44c) It tore off my finger

Mně to natrhlo palce

[Me_{DAT} it tore_{3sgNEU} thumb]

(Č, Kr 9/8)

(2) In all such sentences where certain aspects of the situation can be seen as belonging to animate beings (in particular to personal actants), e.g.

45a) Her life was hardly in danger

Sotva jí hrozí smrt

[Hardly her_{DAT} threatens death]

(MK, 289/278)

45b) His father died suddenly

Otec mu zemřel náhle

[Father him_{DAT} died suddenly]

(HGW, 60/71)

45c) Her breath smelled of toothpaste

Dech jí voněl pastou na zuby

[Breath_{NOM} her_{DAT} smelled toothpaste_{INS}]

(JB, R 153/154)

The operation of downgrading certain semantic actants into subordinate syntactic roles in the surface structure is one of the manifestations of 'syntactic condensation' (cf. Vachek, 1961) whereby the English sentence becomes more streamlined and more effective in aligning the position of actants according to their CD.

14.12.3 Evaluative modality

Czech has a number of constructions suggesting a certain evaluative disposition of the EXPERIENCER towards reality. The main patterns are as follows:

1. 'NG_{DAT} + Vcop + (S) + PRED ADJ + (inf).'
Otcí je to divné
[Father_{DAT} is it strange]
2. 'NG_{DAT} + Vcop + (S) + PRED ADV + (inf).'
Jemu je zatěžko přijít
[Him_{DAT} is difficult (to) come]
3. Pro + NG_{ACC} + Vcop + (S) + PRED ADJ + (inf).
Pro nás je to obtížné
[For us_{ACC} is it difficult]

The verb 'býti' (be) can be replaced by some semi-copulative verbs with the semantics of 'seem', e.g. 'připadat', 'zdát se'. They too take indirect dative or accusative objects.

English turns the O_i Experiencer into the thematic S with the help of the construction with the transitive verb 'find' or its synonyms, e.g. 'think', 'consider' and the like.

Examples;

- 46a) Vladimírovi je to trapné
[Vladimír_{DAT} is it embarrassing]
Vladimír finds it hard to take
(MK, 292/282)
- 46b) Je mu to moc divný
[Is him_{DAT} it very strange]
He thought it very strange
(Š, 625/162)
- 46c) Panu Pollymu bylo zatěžko udržet si dobrou náladu
[(To) Mr. Polly_{DAT} was_{NEU} difficult (to) keep - refl -
good_{ACC} mood_{ACC}]
He found it hard to be cheerful
(HCW, 57/69)
- 46d) Matčin pohřeb pro mne byl docela příjemným vzrušením
[Mother's funeral_{NOM} for me_{ACC} was quite pleasant_{NOM}
excitement_{NOM}]
I found myself agreeably excited by my mother's funeral
(GG, T 9/7)

A construction similar to the English 'find' version is also possible in Czech with the equivalent of 'consider', i.e. 'považovat'. It is, however, rather formal, cf.

- 46a₁) Vladimír to považuje za trapné
Vladimir it_{ACC} considers for embarrassing

The equivalent of 'find', i.e. 'shledat', can also be encountered but it is stylistically unacceptable as an obvious calque from German, cf.

46a₂) Vladimír findet es peinlich.

Vladimír to shledává trapným.

[Vladimír_{NOM} it_{ACC} finds embarrassing_{INS}]

14.12.4 A whole number of other verbs describing a variety of experiences involving a human actant are also construed with the EXPERIENCER in the dative (occasionally in other non-subject cases). They are in particular: 'líbit se' (like), 'chtíti se' (feel like), 'zdáti se' (dream), 'očekávati' (expect), 'záležet na' (care for), 'chybit' (miss, lack), 'ztratit se' (lose), 'podařit se' (succeed), and their synonyms or near synonyms. The Czech constructions are again structured to suggest the passive role of the Experiencer. English invariably uses the Experiencer as a thematic subject.

Examples:

47a) ... he didn't like it

... nezamlouvalo se mu to

[... not suit_{3sgNEU} - refl - him_{DAT} it]

(GG, M 95/15)

47b) (how much) I enjoyed your performance

(jak) se mi líbilo vaše představení

[refl - me_{DAT} liked_{3sgNEU} your performance_{NOM}]

(JB, R 113/114)

47c) They will miss me at the Mecca tonight

Dneska večer budu mládencům v Mecece chybět

[Tonight - aux_{1sg} - young men_{DAT} in Mecca miss_{INF}]

(St, 69/59)

47d) He regularly lost his tools

Ztrácelo se mu pravidelně nářadí

[Lost_{3sgNEU} - refl - him_{DAT} regularly tools_{NOM}]

(MK, 99/99)

47e) He received merely a sullen glare

Dostalo se mu jen mrzutého zakabonění

[Got_{3sgNEU} - refl - him_{DAT} merely sullen_{GEN} glare_{GEN}] (JB, R 94/94)

The shift into the subject position is achieved essentially by two methods. The Experiencer is presented not as someone experiencing the action but as an active agent. This is made possible by the looseness of the semantic tie between the subject and the V, discussed earlier. Compare, for instance, example (46d). In Czech it is also possible to put the Experiencer into the subject position but it involves a certain semantic shift.

47d₁) Ztrácel pravidelně nářadí

[Lost_{3sg} regularly tools_{ACC}]

would suggest a greater degree of volitional involvement than the reflexive construction used in (47d). This difference is even more obvious in the following sentence:

48a) Dixon wanted to laugh

Dixonovi bylo do smíchu

[Dixon_{DAT} was to laughter]

(KA, 50/58)

as against:

48b) Dixon se chtěl smát

[Dixon - refl - wanted laugh_{INF}]

The English version is ambiguous. It can refer to the situation which provokes laughter, i.e. 'He felt like laughing', or it can refer to a conscious decision, e.g. as in 'He watched the Mike Yarwood show because he wanted to laugh'. In Czech (48a) would correspond to the former; (48b) to the latter only.

Another method of shifting the positions of participants is by means of an analytical reformulation of the verbal nucleus, cf.

'it pleases him' := 'he gets pleasure from it'

The semantics of the verb 'get' and its synonyms (have, receive, derive) allows the interchange of the actants (SOURCE \longleftrightarrow EXPERIENCER):

49a) ... for such alone receive most pleasure from flattery

... jedině těm jsou lichotky největším potěšením

[... only them_{DAT} are compliments_{NOM} greatest pleasure_{INS}]

(OG, 25/34)

49b) I've got the offer of a cottage

Nabídli mi chatu

[Offered_{3pl} me_{DAT} cottage_{ACC}]

(JB, R 195/177)

49c) And they got small satisfaction out of the Bench

U soudu se jim dostalo pramalého zadostiučinění

[At court_{GEN} - refl - them_{DAT} got_{3sgNEU} little_{GEN} satisfaction_{GEN}]

Cf. also (47d).

The analytical paraphrase is also possible in Czech but it does not significantly change the syntactic roles of the major actants - cf. (49c):

'the Bench satisfied them'

S

O

'They got satisfaction out of the Bench'

S

Adv Comp

as against:

'Soud je uspokojil'

S

O

'U soudu se jim dostalo zadostiučinění'

Adv Comp

O_{DAT}

4.13 Instrumental as subject

4.13.0 The INSTRUMENTAL is generally considered to be the third most favoured deep case for the role of the subject. Following Fillmore (1968, 1970), Stockwell et al. (1968), Lambert (1969) and some other linguists, Nilsen (1973) formulates the hierarchy of subject choice in

an active English sentence as follows:

"in general if there is no Agent, but there is an Experiencer (Dative), this Experiencer becomes the Subject; if there is no Agent or Experiencer, but there is an Instrumental, this Instrumental becomes the Subject, and finally, only if there is no Agent, Experiencer, or Instrumental, can an Objective (or Locative, Temporal, etc.) become the subject of a sentence."

(p.133)

It is doubtful whether such a rule can be formulated without recourse to the FSP level of the sentence. The numerous examples of the Instrumental being chosen for the subject in preference to the Experiencer or even the Agent seem to suggest that the subject marking in English depends much more on the concrete conditions of the discourse than on the objective order of the semantic actants, cf.

50) All that talk irritated me. It made every one of us seem
I E I E
cheap and useless

(GG, C 135)

51) The gray dress made her a stranger to him
I E

(HGW, 136)

52) This confused him enormously
I E

(Č, Kr 29)

The semantics of these sentences allows paraphrases with Experiencers as subject:

50a) I felt irritated by all that talk
E I

Every one of us seemed cheap and useless because of it
E I

51a) She looked a stranger to him in the gray dress.

E L (I)

52a) She was enormously confused by it

E I

When the Experiencer is absent in the surface structure it is not always because it is not part of the valency structure of the particular verb - often it is deleted as unimportant and easily recoverable from the context, e.g.

53) It [playing cards] might pass the time till lunch

I O

(GG, C 26)

is a variation of:

53a) We might pass the time till lunch by it

A O I

Similarly:

54) (For a while they tried to shout her down but soon saw that)

this would solve nothing

I O

(MK, 214)

54a) (... soon saw that) by this they would solve nothing

I A O

Examples (53) and (54) are representative of a considerable tendency in English to delete redundant thematic actants in situations of a multiplicity of candidates for the T. Typically the deletion concerns the actants relating to the participants in the discourse when other more important aspects of the situation have to be mentioned in the T. The introduction of the Agents in (53) and (54) results in a certain stylistic awkwardness. Their use would be legitimate, and indeed desirable, should the Instrumentals be Rs, e.g.

53a₁) We might pass the time till lunch by playing cards

A(T)

I (R)

54a₁) ... they would solve nothing by shouting her down

A(T)

I (R)

This would, of course, require a different preceding context.

Czech, on the other hand, finds it quite natural to express the Agents in the respective verbal forms, cf. the Czech counterparts of (53) and (54):

53b) Zabili bychom tím čas do oběda

[(we) pass_{1pl} - cond aux - (by) that_{INS} time_{ACC} till lunch]

54b) ... tím nic nespraví

[(by) that_{INS} nothing_{ACC} (they) solve_{3pl}]

Another possible alternative would be the use of agentless reflexive constructions, i.e.

53b₁) Zabil by se tím čas do oběda

[Passed_{3sg} - cond aux - refl - that_{INS} time_{NOM} till lunch]

54b₁) ... tím se nic nespraví

[(by) that_{INS} - refl - nothing_{NOM} solve_{3sg}]

In our understanding INSTRUMENTAL will include a rather wide variety of deep structure notions which can be sub-classified into the following five main groups:

1. instruments, i.e. concrete tools (e.g. 'the key' in 55a);
2. forces ('the wind' in 55b);
3. various phenomena causally involved in the action or state identified by the verb ('the weight of the suitcase' - 55c, 'sorrow' - 55d, 'the shock' - 55e);
4. body part ('her little fingers' - 55f, 'his eyes' - 55g¹⁹).

56a₂) V tom voze obvykle jezdili ti břicháci ...

[In that car usually travelled the fat frogs]²⁰

I (L)

Ag (O)

The two Czech renderings are more or less synonymous, the only difference being in a certain emphasis on different aspects of the situation. It is quite common that surface structure actants actually stand for more than one deep case, e.g. in (56a) the left-hand actant suggests that 'someone was in the car' (L) and simultaneously that 'someone was transported by the car' (I). In thematic positions English tends to prefer the INSTRUMENTAL because it is more amenable to the role of the subject. Czech, on the other hand, is relatively free to choose those aspects of the situation which the speaker finds most relevant. The Instrumental appears frequently when the causative meaning is to be stressed; when it is less important other cases may be used to bring to the fore some further semantic features of the situation. Let us demonstrate this phenomenon on another example:

57a) (... shooting stars. All bright green).

They make people's faces look frightfully ghastly

I

O (E)

57a₁) V tom jejich světle vypadají lidé strašně ...

[In their light look people ghastly ...]

I (L)

E -

(JW, 13/11)

Here it would be quite impossible to use the surface structure instrumental. Czech, with its firm logical interrelationship between actants and the V, finds it less easy to do without a further specification of the left-hand actant (cf. 'they' and 'v tom jejich světle' [in their light]). Nor is it easy to mark the Instrumental as subject;

57a₂) *Dělají z člověka úplné strašidlo

[(they) make (out of) man_{GEN} (a) real ghastly creature]

would be found logically deficient.

57a₃) *To jejich světlo dělá z člověka strašidlo

[That light of theirs makes (out of) man_{GEN} (a) ghastly creature]

would be more acceptable but still clumsy. Instruments (thematic or rhematic) are likely to be marked as subjects only when they can be logically viewed as having agentive force, i.e.

58) To auto přejelo dítě

[That car ran over a child_{ACC}]

I O

59) Tahle střešina nám rozbila okno

[This splinter (to) us_{DAT} broke (a) window_{ACC}]

I E O

The frequently quoted sentence:

60) The hammer broke the window

can be translated verbatim only when the hammer has fallen from some elevated position, e.g.

60₁) Kladivo spadlo a rozbilo to okno

[(the) hammer fell and broke the window]

Otherwise preference is given to:

60₂) Někdo nám rozbil tím kladivem okno²¹

[Someone (to) us_{DAT} broke (by) that_{INS} hammer_{INS} (the) window_{ACC}]

Ag E I O

Generally we may say that even Instruments with agentive force are preferable in the instrumental case with the explicit mention of the Agent or alternatively with the use of the reflexive construction (with the suppressed Agent), cf.

61) This cleaning agent removes all traces of dirt

(Rohdenburg, 36)

61₁) Tímto čistícím prostředkem odstraní (se odstraní) všechny stopy špíny

[(by) this cleaning agent_{INS} (you) remove (refl - remove_{3sg})
all_{NOM} traces_{NOM} of dirt_{GEN}]

4.13.2 Forces

Forces can appear in the subject in both languages:

55b) The wind opened the door

Vítr (nám) otevřel dveře

[(the) wind_{NOM} (to us) opened (the) door_{ACC}]

62) The earthquake destroyed the city

Zemětřesení zničilo město

[(the) earthquake destroyed the city] . -

Here too alternative prepositional constructions are possible although the simple instrumental is not usually used in the T²². Thus we can say:

55b₁) Při (tom) větru se nám otevřely dveře

[During (that) wind - refl - us_{DAT} opened_{NEU3p1} (the) door]

but not so easily:

55b₂) Tím větrem se otevřely dveře

[(by) that wind - refl - opened_{NEU3p1} (the) door]

In this group there seems on the whole to be a balance in Czech between the two former methods. The instrumental is more likely to occur when the agentive force is more obvious (wind, lightning), less often when the agentivity is less direct (storm, rain, etc.), e.g.

63) The storm broke the window

(Nilsen, 100)

Při bouřce se rozbilo okno

During (the) storm - refl - broke_{NEU3sg} window_{NOM}

An important factor in the choice between the two methods is the semantic harmony between the instrumental actant and the semantics of the verb. Subject marking is more common with verbs whose semantics is in harmony with the agentive activity of the Force. Thus it is felt that Forces like 'storm', 'earthquake', 'blizzard' can 'destroy' (zničit), 'devastate' (devastovat), 'wipe out' (vyhladit) objects usually of major importance; but they are not felt to be so directly (causatively) involved in the more concrete and minor acts (of destruction, etc.). In the latter case the prepositional case is preferable.

As we have stressed many times before, English does not require such a clearly defined semantic harmony as Czech and thus it allows the subject marking of the instruments (as well as of other deep cases) with much fewer constraints attached.

4.13.3 Some other instrumentals

The Czech instrumental case (and occasionally other indirect cases) is frequently used in the T to refer to various GIVEN aspects of the situation (concrete or abstract) causatively involved in the action of the sentence. Typically they are anaphoric words functionally close to relative pronouns or other words used for clause linkage (cf. the German 'damit', 'dadurch', 'womit', etc. and their role in linking clauses and sentences), cf.

- 64) Tím byl výslech u konce
[(by) that_{INS} was (the) interrogation at (an) end]
That concluded the interrogation
(Š, 26/61)
- 65) Nemyslím, že se tím Goya bavil
[Not think_{1sg} that - refl - (by) that_{INS} Goya amused]
I cannot imagine that this caused Goya any amusement
(Č, LS 181/48)
- 66) ... kterým zružovělo její líčko
[... (by) which_{INS} got rosy her face]
... which made her face so rosy
(Č, Kr 39/52)
- 67) Ucítil přítom nepříjemný náraz na bránici
[Felt during that (an) unpleasant feeling in the diaphragm]
It gave him a disagreeable feeling ...
(HGW, 127/139)

The instrumental T can be much more explicit and can consist of nominalized predications or nominal elements modified by relative clauses, e.g.

- 68) Svým arogantním nezájmem ve mně probudila vztek
[(by) her_{INS} arrogant_{INS} indifference_{INS} in me roused_{FEM3sg} anger_{ACC}]
... her aggressive sort of indifference roused in me a kind of anger
(St, 21/19)
- 69) The conversations I'll have with her during the sittings ...
will carry me a pretty long way (in courting ...)
(Th, 291/113)

In these examples we can observe a change of the Czech indirect objects (representing DS Instrumentals) into subjects and at the same time of subjects into direct objects. The inversion is effected by the use of transitive causative verbs for their Czech, predominantly intransitive, counterparts²³ (some of them have two objects, one of which is a transitive one). In many cases the causativeness is expressed directly by such verbs as 'cause' and 'make' or verbal phrases containing 'set', 'bring', 'give', etc. Further examples:

70) ... the presence of Brandon caused the painter to be
excessively sulky

... v Brandonově přítomnosti byl malíř nesmírně zaražený
[in Brandon's presence_{LOC} was painter_{NOM} extremely sulky]
(Th, 291/114)

71) ... whether the shock had made me hideous

... jestli tím rozrušením nejsem ohavná
[whether (by) that_{INS} shock_{INS} (I) am not hideous]
(MK, 273/264)

72) ... which set our fluttering heroine speedily at rest

... čímž se naše rozehvělá hrdinka brzy uklidnila
[(by) which_{INS} - refl - our fluttering heroine_{NOM} speedily]
(Th, 283/103)

73) This brought it closer

Tímhle se to všechno přiblížilo
[(by) this - refl - it all_{NOM} came closer]
(St, 148/126)

74) ... which gave great joy to the men

... z čehož mělo mužstvo ... radost
[from which had (the) men_{NOM} ... joy_{ACC}]
(Š, 67/95)

Schematically the inversions can be represented as follows:

		Czech		English
70)	SS	Oi - be - S - Pred Adj	↔	S - cause - Od - inf be + Pred Adj
	DS	I E		I E
71)	SS	Oi (S) - be + Adj	↔	S - make - Od - Pred Adj
	DS	I E		I E
72)	SS	Oi S - refl V	↔	S - set - Od - Pred Adv
	DS	I E		I E
73)	SS	Oi S - refl V	↔	S - bring - Od - Pred Adj
	DS	I O		I O
74)	SS	Oi V mít S - Od (have)	↔	S - give - Od - Oi
	DS	I E - O		I O - E

The English finite verbs of the afore-mentioned sentences are relatively empty of meaning, their main role being structural, i.e. to reconcile the syntactic constraints (SVO order) with the needs of FSP. The latter are clearly more decisive in the choice of the V and its valency. The meaning proper of the verbal unit is contained in its adjectival or adverbial modifier, e.g. in (70) it is in the adjective 'sulky', etc.

The capacity for inversion can be observed even more clearly in sentences with semantically 'full' causative verbs when compared with their typical Czech counterparts:

75) Land here doesn't fetch a high price

Za půdu se tu nedostane vysoká cena

[For land_{ACC} - refl - here not - get_{3sg} high_{NOM} price_{NOM}]

(GG, C 171/165)

76) A leather sofa fetches a high price today

Dneska se za koženou pohovku dobře platí

[Today - refl - for leather_{ACC} sofa_{ACC} - well - pays_{3sg}]

(S, 120/139)

77) The disease killed many cows

Na tu nemoc zahynulo mnoho krav

[Of that disease_{ACC} died many_{NOM} cows_{NOM}]

(Rohdenburg, 1969:44)

Schematically:

		Czech		English
75)	SS	Oi - V refl - S	↔	S - V tr - Od
	DS	I Extent		I Extent
76)	SS	Oi - V refl - Adv Man	↔	S - V tr - Od
	DS	I Extent		I Extent
77)	SS	Oi - y intr - S	↔	S - V tr - Od
	DS	I E		I E (O)

In (75) and (76) the syntactic inversion is achieved by the interchange between the verbs with the semantics of 'get' and 'bring' ('fetch'); in (77) it is the interchange between 'kill' and 'die'. Fillmore (1968) suggests that pairs of verbs like these can be considered synonymous since they differ only in their subject selection features (p.30)²⁴.

The two languages under observation allow both of the aforementioned strategies. They are, however, subject to various functional constraints. In English the limitations have to do with FSP; in Czech, with the semantic harmony of subjects and finite verbs and also with style. Thus, in English, the alternatives:

76a) You can get a high price for a leather sofa today

and:

77a) Many cows died of a strange disease

would be natural when the Instrumentals are Rs. In Czech, on the other hand:

76b) Kožená pohovka vám vynesla mnoho peněz

[Leather_{NOM} sofa_{NOM} (to) you_{DAT} fetches_{3sg} much_{ACC} money_{ACC}]

is stylistically marked (but possible). The verb 'vynést' (fetch) would be accepted as unmarked with less concrete subjects, e.g.

78) Ta obchodní transakce mu vynesla 10000 korun

[The business_{NOM} transaction_{NOM} (to) him_{DAT} - fetched 10000]
crowns

77b) *Ta nemoc zabila mnoho krav

[The disease_{NOM} killed many_{ACC} cows_{ACC}]

has a strong metaphorical marking. 'Nemoc' (disease) could be used as a subject with a more general verb and object:

78) Ta nemoc vyhladila mnoho dobytka

[The disease_{NOM} wiped out much_{ACC} cattle_{ACC}]

Or similarly:

79) Mor vylidnil půl Evropy

[(the) plague_{NOM} depopulated half_{ACC} (of) Europe_{GEN}]

Czech is, in this respect, very close to German despite the different typological classifications of the two languages, cf.

77c) An der Krankheit starben viele Kühe

(Rohdenburg, 1969:44)

Or:

80) Damit beschliessen wir diese Ausführungen

(Rohdenburg, 44)

Czech;

Tím končíme tuto diskusi

[(by) this_{INS} (we) end this_{ACC} discussion_{ACC}]

Or:

Tím se končí tato diskuse

[(by) this_{INS} - refl - this_{NOM} discussion_{NOM}]

English:

This concludes the present discussion

English, on the other hand, behaves here in very much the same way as French, cf.

81) La fatigue lui brûlait l'intérieur des genoux

Fatigue makes his knees tremble

82) Ta voix fait tressaillir le coeur²⁵

Your voice stirs my heart (makes my heart stir)

4.13.4 Body Part

The surface realizations of the Body Part Instrumentals reveal considerable differences again between the two languages. Let us consider some examples:

83) His dark mysterious eyes ran round the walls

I L

Bloudil černýma očima ode zdi ke zdi

[(he) wandered (with) dark_{INS} eyes_{INS} from wall_{GEN} to wall_{DAT}]

A I L

(KA, 166/187)

84) Prokop's teeth chattered with ecstasy

I S

Prokop jektal zuby rozkoší

[Prokop chattered with his teeth with delight]

A I S

(Č, Kr 149/211)

85) ... her little fingers were occupied in repairing the damage ...

I

O

... a snažila se třesoucími prstíky napravit škodu ...

[and (she) tried with ... little_{INS} fingers_{INS} to repair

A

I

the damage_{ACC}]

O

(Th, 283/103)

The English sentences above use Body Part Instrumentals in the T without the explicit mention of the Agent. The Body Part is acting as a metonymical Agent. The real Agent is in all cases referred to indirectly by possessive pronouns. In Czech, on the other hand, the Agent (Possessor of the Body Part) is expressed overtly as a separate syntactic actant. This is a general tendency. In literary texts there also occur constructions which are similar to those in English; they are, however, metaphorically marked, cf.

86) Její prstíky si hrály s mými vlasy

[Her fingers - refl - played with my hair]

87) Její rty vyhledaly mé

[Her lips found mine]

These constructions appear with particular frequency in translations from English.

In Czech there is a difference between the expression of actions of Body Parts which are CONTROLLABLE and those which are not. What we have said so far refers to controllable Body Parts. When uncontrollable actions are involved the personal actant is expressed in the dative and represents the semantic Experiencer (cf. Section 4.12), e.g.

88) ... podlomily se mu nohy

[gave way - refl - (to) him_{DAT} legs_{NOM}]

... his legs gave way

(Č, Kr 24/29)

89) Rowovi vynechalo srdce

[(to) Rowe faltered heart_{NOM}]

Rowe's heart missed a beat

(GG, 76/59)

In English the Experiencer is generally downgraded into a modifier of the Instrument (more on this in Section 4.12). In such cases it is sometimes arguable whether the Body Parts can be considered to be Instrumentals, cf.

90) Princezně jiskří oči

[(to) Princess_{DAT} glisten eyes ...]

The Princess's eyes glistened (with delight)

(Č, Kr 191/270)

91) Tvář se jí proměnila

[Face_{NOM} - refl - (to) her - changed]

Her face changed

(Br, R 224/228)

In Czech, Body Parts of this kind could be expressed in the locative case, i.e.

90a) Princezně jiskří v očích

[(to) Princess_{DAT} glistens_{3sgNEU} in eyes_{LOC}]

91a) Ve tváři se proměnila

[In face_{LOC} - refl - (she) changed]

We can consider them to be Locatives rather than Instrumentals since they lack the feature CAUSE. This problem will be treated in greater detail in the section on the Locative.

4.13.5 Instrumental Condensers

Earlier we have suggested that Instrumental subjects can contain embedded predications (cf. sentences 68 and 69). Let us consider some more examples:

92) Stepping into the public bar gave me for a moment

I E

a comforting sense of normality

O

Když jsem vstoupil do hospody, měl jsem na okamžik

[When (I) stepped into (the) pub, (I) had for a moment

A L E

uklidňující pocit normálnosti

a comforting_{ACC} sense_{ACC} (of) normality]

O

(JW, 21/19)

93) A great baying laugh made them all turn round

I A

Ozval se hlasitý ... smích a všichni se obrátili

[Sounded - refl - loud_{NOM} ... laugh_{NOM} and all_{NOM} - refl -

O A

turned round]

(KA, 46/54)

94) You make me feel like one of those old knights

I(A) E

Yaší zásluhou si připadám jako jeden z těch starodávných rytířů

[(by) your merit_{NS} - refl - (I) feel like one of those old knights]

I E

(HGW, 107/118)

These examples are instances of yet another device of English for simplifying the structure of the sentence to fit the basic SVO pattern and aligning the level of syntax with that of FSP. In accordance with the Prague School terminology we will refer to it as 'COMPLEX CONDENSATION'. In Mathesius's words, this term is used:

"to describe the fact that English tends to express by non-sentence elements of the main clause such circumstances that are in Czech, as a rule, denoted by subordinate clauses. This results in making the sentence structure more compact or, in other words, in sentence condensation, which may be called complex since in this way English can express entire complexes of content."

(Mathesius, 1975:147)²⁶

In our own framework of description COMPLEX CONDENSATION consists in the 'condensing' of informational units (FSP level) which is reflected in the reduction of overtly expressed semantic features and syntactic actants (syntactic and semantic levels respectively). Let us demonstrate on sentence (92). In Czech it consists of two T-R nexus, two predicative nexus and two pairs of semantic actants, i.e.

syntactic level	(S) - Vf - Adv Loc	(S) - Vf (have) - Od
semantic level	A L	E O
FSP level	T R	T R

In English the situation is as follows:

syntactic level	S Vf (give) - Oi - Od
semantic level	I E O
FSP level	T T R

The typical syntactic method of CONDENSATION is the depredication by means of '-ing forms' (participles and gerunds), infinitives and de-verbal nouns. Example (35) is an instance of the use of a NG

containing a de-verbal noun. The process of condensation can be shown to have several stages of compactness, e.g.

- I. When they heard that someone gave a baying laugh, they all turned round.
- II. When they heard a baying laugh, they all turned round.
- III. Hearing a baying laugh made them all turn round.
- IV. A baying laugh made them all turn round.

Stage I consists of three predicative nexus; stage II is reduced to two nexus; stage III to one nexus with the use of the present participle; stage IV is based on the de-verbal noun 'laugh' ('someone laughed and they turned round').

Example (94) represents still another stage (V) in the process of condensation. It is based on ellipsis and made possible by the often mentioned loose tie between the semantics of the S and Vf. Here the deletion of the traces of the predicative verb is ultimate. The meaning and function of the word 'you' cannot be derived from the sentence itself - we must refer to the context. In this case it is in fact 'the right-hand context'. The speaker (H.G. Wells's Mr. Polly) takes another half page before the reader knows exactly what was meant (roughly - 'because you are a beautiful maiden imprisoned in an enchanted school I feel like one of those old knights who is obliged to rescue you'). 'You' cannot be understood here as an agent but rather as an Instrument.

In Czech, COMPLEX CONDENSATION is used much more rarely than in English. Mathesius's contrastive researches, later corroborated by Prague School scholars (cf. Note 7 above), led him to postulate the strong trend in English towards nominal expression as against the predominantly verbal trend in Czech (cf. Mathesius, 1975:104). In

Czech the use of participles is very rare for this purpose. Nominal groups with de-verbal nouns are used more often as condensers, but frequently they are stylistically awkward and their occurrence is much more limited than in English. The ellipsis of the order demonstrated in sentence (94) is practically impossible. It is limited to set phrases such as:

95) Vy mě překvapujete

[You_{NOM} me_{ACC} surprise]

i.e.

Your behaviour surprises me.

On the FSP level English compresses the GIVEN (DERIVABLE from the situation) into a more compact T missing out one preparatory step (or possibly more) in the presentation of the situation. The missing links are, however, easily recoverable from the context. The use of condensers (especially of the more compressed ones) is yet another instance of the considerable degree of dependence of the English sentence on the context; their Czech explicit sentential counterparts, on the other hand, point to a relative independence of the Czech sentence.

4.13.6 Comitative Constructions

The status of comitative constructions in deep grammar is not clearly defined. Fillmore (1968) deals with them (under the heading "Problems and Suggestions") together with co-ordinate structures (81ff). As reported by Nilsen (1973:12) during the Seminar in Case Grammar (Summer 1970), Fillmore includes COMITATIVE as a possible addition to the inventory of his cases, mentioning it together with some other cases, "the natures of which are less well understood". Nilsen himself

99c) Marie se políbila s Frantou

[Marie - refl - kissed with Frank]

The two languages behave similarly when both participants are in the T. When one of them is to be presented as R we can observe some differences. In Czech it is still possible to present the action as reciprocal (cf. 99c) by means of a simple word order permutation. In English, syntactic and FSP needs take precedence over semantic ones and the action is presented as asymmetrical with 'Marie' taking the initiative.

Further, in English the reciprocal presentation of action tends to be limited to such cases where the participants are subsumed by the plural ('we', 'they', 'the lovers') or when it is important to stress the fact of reciprocity even if both participants are thematic; let us consider the following typical examples:

100a) They met yesterday

Setkali se včera

[((they) met - refl - yesterday]

100b) The lovers met at last

Milenci se konečně setkali

[Lovers - refl - at last met]

100c) I met my Aunt Augusta ... at my mother's funeral

S tetou Augustou jsem se poprvé setkal na matčině pohřbu

[With Aunt_{INS} Augusta_{INS} - aux - refl - first - met - at
mother's funeral]

(GG, T 9/7)

100d) I met him in the pub

Sešli jsme se v hospodě

[(we) met - aux - refl - in pub]

100e) I came across them by chance ...
Střetl jsem se s nimi náhodou ...
[(I) met - aux - refl - with them_{INS} (by) chance_{INS}]
(Č, H 324/52)

100f) He knows a lord
On se zná s lordem
[He - refl - knows with (a) lord_{INS}]
(Th, 248/57)

100g) It's a long time since I've seen you
Už jsme se dlouho neviděli
[Already (we) - aux - refl - long time - not saw_{1pl}]
(GG, 258/245)

100h) I saw some police officer or other
Mluvil jsem s nějakým policistou ...
[(I) spoke - aux - with some_{INS} policeman_{INS} ...]
(GG, T 176/182)

The examples show the predilection of English for the unidirectional presentation of action which appears as reciprocal in Czech. In examples (100c), (d), (e) and (g) this rendering is chosen despite the fact that both partners are thematic. In (100c) and (d), as against (100a) and (b), the verb 'meet' is changed from intransitive to transitive, but in (100c) and (g) a different verb is chosen to achieve the same end, cf.

100e₁) We (I and them) met by chance

but:

100e) I came across them by chance

100h₁) We (I and some police officer) spoke (to each other)

but:

100h) I saw some police officer or other

In Czech all the quoted sentences are reciprocal although there are two basic types: (a) when both partners are GIVEN the reciprocity is completely symmetrical (e.g. 100d and g); and (b) when the second participant is R the verbal ending is in agreement with the T (cf. 100f), and although the reflexive pronoun marks the constructions as reciprocal, we have the feeling that there is a measure of initiative on the part of the thematic participant.

Generally we may conclude that in Czech there is a strong tendency towards symmetrical reciprocity, while in English, considerations of syntax and FSP lead to the choice of other alternatives wherein one party is presented as the initiator of the action or state expressed by the verb and the other as its object.

4.13.62 Comitative constructions proper

Constructions describing parallel participation of the two partners behave in essentially the same way as reciprocal constructions.

Czech:

When both partners are part of T, the action is presented as symmetrical, cf.

101a) (Oni) šli ven

[(They) went out]

101b) Petr a Marie šli ven

[Peter and Marie went out]

101c) Petr s Marií šli ven

[Peter with Mary went out]

When one partner is rhematic the initiative is on the part of the T:

101d) Petr šel ven s Marií

[Peter went out with Marie]

English counterparts:

- 101a₁) They went out
- 101b₁) Peter and Marie went out
- 101c₁) Peter took Marie out
- 101d₁) Peter went out with Marie

or:

Peter took Marie out²⁷

Examples (b) and (c) show the two basic strategies of dealing with two thematic partners of a comitative construction: (1) co-ordination, and (2) use of suppletive verbs²⁸. Rohdenburg (1969) notes that,

"Die Koordinierung impliziert aber nicht automatisch einen komitativen Sinn, sondern macht diese Deutung nur mehr ... oder weniger wahrscheinlich."

(p.54). The reading of the co-ordinate construction depends on the situation. If Peter and Marie were, for example, husband and wife, the assumption would be that they went together unless otherwise specified. If they were brother and sister it might be assumed that the chances of their going out either together or separately would be the same (because of their independence from each other). The use of the construction with a suppletive (see Note 28) transitive verb, e.g. 'take', makes the comitative meaning quite unequivocal, but at the same time asymmetrical. Other suppletive verbs used are, for example, 'drive', 'fly', 'walk', 'run', 'march', 'bring', 'deliver', 'accompany', etc.

Further examples:

102) You are taking me home for tea

Jedu s vámi na čaj

[I am going (on wheels) with you for tea]

(KA, 12/14)

- 103) They walked him to school every day
Chodili s ním každý den do školy
[(they) went with him every day to school]
- 104) The officer marched the soldiers to the big bridge
Důstojník pochodoval s vojáky k velkému mostu
[Officer marched with soldiers_{INS} to big_{DAT} bridge_{DAT}]
- 105) He drove the boss to the station
Jel se šéfem k nádraží
[(he) went (on wheels) with boss_{INS} to station]²⁹

In Czech it is sometimes also possible to use constructions with suppletive verbs such as 'zavést' [take on foot], 'zavézt' [take by car], 'vzít' [take]. However, this alternative is used when we want to deliberately stress that one partner is in some sense in charge, e.g.

- 103a) Vodili ho každý den do školy
[(they) took him (on foot) every day to school]
- 104a) Důstojník odvedl vojáky ... k mostu
[(the) officer took (the) soldiers ... to bridge]
- 105a) Odvezl šéfa k nádraží
[(he) took (on wheels) the boss to the station]

In conclusion we may say that the two languages use different strategies for accommodating the two comitative partners in the T. Czech conjoins them by means of the preposition 's (with) + INS' and manages to retain the sense of symmetry of both the reciprocal and the parallel processes. The essential means of conjoining the partners in English is by the use of constructions with suppletive transitive verbs. In this way both the syntactic and communicative needs are satisfied; on the semantic level, however, we can observe a shift towards an asymmetrical understanding of the partners' participation in the action.

4.14 Locative as Subject

4.14.0 One of the typical functions of the T is to characterize, so to speak, the geography of the situation in which the action (state) identified by the verb takes place. Locative actants are therefore highly topicworthy and it is little wonder that in English they appear with considerable frequency as surface structure subjects also. Let us consider the main mechanisms which allow locative adverbs or adverbial groups to become subjects.

4.14.1 I. The Interchange between the verbs 'be' (býti) and 'have' (míti)

Czech: 'Locative Adverbial + be (and synonyms)' \longleftrightarrow English: 'Subject + have (and synonyms)'.

This is the most frequently observed method of turning locative actants into subjects. Examples:

106a) Bohemia had a higher level of civilisation
V Čechách byla vyšší civilizační úroveň
[In Bohemia_{LOC} was higher civilisation level_{NOM}]
(MK, 130/129)

106b) The East had its castles as well
Na východě byly také zámky
[In (the) East_{LOC} were also castles_{NOM}]
(MK, 130/129)

106c) The hospital would have the name and address
V nemocnici musí být jeho jméno a adresa
[In hospital_{LOC} must be his name and address]
(GG, 34/26)

106d) Every house in the street had bills on it
Na všech domech v ulici byly vývěsky
[On all houses_{LOC} in street_{LOC} were bills_{NOM}]
(Th, 297/123)

106e) Eastern coastal areas will have scattered wintry showers

(Glasgow Herald, 15.2.78)

Ve východních pobřežních oblastech budou přeháňky s větrem

[In Eastern coastal areas will be showers_{NOM} with wind]

106f) The action had all the uncertainty of an adolescent kiss

V jeho počínání byla všechna nejistota jinošského polibku

[In his action_{LOC} was all uncertainty_{NOM} of an adolescent kiss_{GEN}]

(GG, 130/105)

Instead of 'have' it is also possible to use verbs with a more specific semantic import. Broadly they can be divided into: (1) verbs of inclusion (include, contain, be full of - be empty of, be filled with, swarm, house, etc.); and (2) verbs such as 'give', 'show', 'offer', 'bear', 'say', 'sing', etc., which we shall call 'verbs of RENDERING'.

1. Verbs of inclusion

Examples:

107a) The room contained a bed and a chair

V pokoji byla postel a židle ...

[In room_{LOC} was bed_{NOM} and chair_{NOM}]

(GG, T 216/224)

107b) The speakers include friends and pupils now living in

this country

(Radio Times, 9.2.78)

Mezi řečníky jsou přátelé ... etc.

[Among speakers_{LOC} are friends_{NOM} ...]

107c) The place was full of memorials ...

Bylo tam mnoho památek ...

[Was there many memorials ...]

(JB, L 20/19)

107d) The place swarms with Tontons Macouts
Je tam mnoho Tontons Macouts (my translation)
[Is there many_{NOM} Tontons Macouts_{GEN}]
(GG, C 143/139)

107e) Another long shed housed the Red Cross depot
V jiném ... baráku byla i stanice Červeného kříže
[In another ... shed was also depot_{NOM} (of) Red Cross]
(Š, 135/593)

2. Verbs of rendering

Examples:

108a) ... it shows a great respect for the particular dignity
of woman
Ale zároveň je v tom velká úcta k ... důstojenství ženy
[But simultaneously is in it_{LOC} great respect_{NOM} to ...]
(Č, LS 210/95)

108b) It certainly offers plenty to feast the eyes on
Je tu tolik potravy pro oči
[Is here_{LOC} so much food_{NOM} for eyes]
(Č, LS 235/132)

108c) The front page ... bore a large ... photograph ...
Na první stránce ... byla ... velká ... fotografie
[On first_{LOC} page_{LOC} ... was ... large ... photograph_{NOM}]
(KA, 30/36)

108d) ... as our national anthem says
... jako je to v té naší hymně
[... as is it in that_{LOC} our_{LOC} anthem_{LOC}]
(Š, 5/42)

The examples show that the interchange of 'be' - 'have' is an important syntactic mechanism of the linear arrangement of actants in the surface structure of the English sentence. Benveniste (1960) notes that, "a v o i r n'est rien autre qu'un être-à-inversé" (p.123). Bach (1967) refers to the two verbs as linking elements without their own meaning:

"The two forms are distinguished syntactically from most true verbs by the fact that they have no selectional restrictions in themselves but occur in constructions where the selections reach across from subject to 'object' or complement³⁰. Likewise, from a semantic point of view, their contribution to the meaning of the sentence is determined completely by the items that they link."

(p.476)³¹

The use of 'have-verbs' instead of 'be-verbs' in English allows the locative to be S and T and the 'quasi-object' to be R. In this it resembles the passive transformation. The full verbs employed instead of 'have' contribute relatively very little to the meaning of the sentence. They might be considered to be semi-copulative, serving primarily as carriers of temporal, modal and aspectual distinctions in the situation where we want to revert the underlying basic structure of 'some entity is somewhere' into 'somewhere is an entity'.

In English this purpose is frequently served by an alternative device referred to as 'existential'³² construction', 'there is (are)'³³. This construction too allows the locative actant (expressed in surface structure as an adverbial) to be placed initially, while the place of the subject is taken by the dummy-element 'there', thereby allowing the real subject to be shifted towards the more prominent position in the sentence, e.g.

106a₁) In Bohemia there was a higher level of civilisation

107a₁) In the room there was a bed and a chair

108c₁) On the front page there was a large photograph

It is difficult to draw conclusions as to the reasons for choosing the 'possessive-locative' instead of 'existential-locative'. The former can be considered more basic, more in line with the general tendency of English towards SVO structure. Another possible reason for it being preferred might be in the tendency of the English subject (mentioned earlier in this chapter) towards cohesion of reference.

In Czech the use of 'possessive-locative' constructions is extremely limited. Broadly we may say that it appears more probably only where 'inalienable possession' is suggested. Thus, it is more usual to say:

109) Pokoj má tři okna
[(the) room has three windows]

110) Stůl má čtyři nohy
[(the) table has four legs]

rather than:

109a) V pokoji jsou tři okna
[In (the) room_{LOC} are three windows]

110a) *U stolu jsou čtyři nohy
[At (the) table_{LOC} are four legs]

(109) and (110) are preferable to (109a) and (110a) because the 'quasi-objects' are understood as integral parts of the respective objects. On the other hand, it would be quite unacceptable to use the verbatim translation of (107a), i.e.

Pokoj obsahoval postel a židli
[(the) room contained bed and chair]

The possessive variant could be used in (106a) and (106b), e.g.

106a₁) Čechy měly vyšší civilizační úroveň
[Bohemia_{NOM} had (a) higher_{ACC} civilisational_{ACC} level_{ACC}]

This is because semantically 'Bohemia' can be understood agentively, i.e. as standing for 'the people of Bohemia'.

Constructions with the verbs of rendering also occasionally allow the SVO presentation, e.g.

108c₁) První stránka přinášela velkou fotografii.

[(the) first page brought a large photograph]

But generally in these latter two cases in Czech constructions with Adverbials Loc + copulative (or semi-copulative) verbs are preferable.

It would be quite impossible to use the possessive variant with abstract subjects, such as 'the action' in (106f), or with subjects which are semantically elliptical, such as 'the speakers' in (107b). This subject stands for the Locative actant which can be paraphrased as 'on the list of the speakers ...'. In Czech it would be necessary to express the locative specification overtly, i.e.

107b₁) Seznam řečníků zahrnuje přátele ...

[(the) list of speakers_{NOM} includes friends_{ACC} ...]

4.14.2 II. Identifying Constructions

1. Czech: 'AdvLoc + (V^{be}_{cop}) + NP_{NOM}' ↔ English: 'NP_{NOM} + Vcop + NP_{NOM}'

Examples:

111) This is Christine Callaghan

Tady Christine Callaghan

[Here Christine Callaghan]

(KA, 93/106)

112) It was a self-service shop

Tam byla samoobsluha

[There was_{FEM} (a) self-service shop_{NOM}]

(MK, 164/162)

2. Czech: 'AdvLoc + S + ^{have}_{cop} + Od' ↔ English: same as (1) above.

Example:

113) This was my home town

Tady jsem míval domov

[Here (I) - aux - (used to) have home_{ACC}]

(MK, 256/248)

3. Czech: 'AdvLoc + S + ^{be}_{cop} + AdvLoc' ↔ English: same as (1) above.

Example:

114) This is your home

Tady jsi doma

[Here (you) are at home]

(JB, L 224/215)

The identifying construction is used typically for the translation of Czech sentences starting with Ts expressed by deictic locative adverbs 'tu', 'zde', 'tady' (here), 'tam' (there); these are turned into the deictic pronoun (this, that, it, etc.), which is presented as a left-hand member of the identifying construction. It can also be used with more specific locative actants, cf.

115) The Western has always been the venue for the Warley NALGO
men's Evening

Ve Westernu se odjakživa konával pánský večírek ...

(my translation)

[In Western - refl - always used to take place NALGO men's
Evening]

(JB, R 106/107)

A special type of identifying predication is used in those sentences where thematic Agents or Experiencers cannot be omitted (and must necessarily appear as surface structure subjects). In these

constructions adverbial actants are retained in the T by the use of WH-type cleft sentences³⁴. A typical formula for the locative variety is as follows:

'this (that, it, etc.) + Vcop + (ANTECEDENT) + WH-clause'

Examples:

116a) This is a place where you could spend hours

Tady bys vydržel hodiny

[Here (you) would stay (for) hours]

(Č, H 301/27)

116b) This was where he had been happy

Tady byl až dosud šťastný

[Here (he) was till now happy]

(GG, 147/119)

The ANTECEDENT in these sentences is typically a HYPERONYM of the noun conceivably identifying the locative actant referred to by the deictic pronoun; the most commonly used is the noun 'place'. The use of antecedent is not, however, obligatory. These constructions are also very common for the thematic marking of other actants and will therefore be treated in greater detail under a separate heading.

4.14.3 III. Qualifying Predication

Examples:

117a) The dingy little room was stuffy ...

V ošumělém a přečpaném pokojíku bylo dusno ...

[In dingy_{LOC} and crowded_{LOC} (little) room_{LOC} was stuffy (adv)]

(HGW, 150/162)

117b) (we were ... in the garden, for)

... the house was at the moment impossible

... v domě se nedalo existovat

[... in house_{LOC} - refl - could not_{3sgNEU} exist]

(GG, T 246/257)

117c) (She knew) Margate in April was dreadfully dull
(Věděla, že) v Margate je v dubnu strašná nuda
[... in Margate_{LOC} is in April terribly dull]

(Th, 288/110)

The English versions of these sentences belong to another type of 'equative' constructions; they express some qualification whereby "some quality (QUALIFICANS) is directly and explicitly assigned to a person or thing (QUALIFICANDUM)" (Mathesius, 1975:114). In Czech these sentences are often subjectless and/or agentless. The locative QUALIFICANDUM is usually characterized by a group 'copula + Adverb' (or its equivalent). In English the adverbial qualification is generally expressed by adjectives. This construction is made possible by the fact that English adjectives can be interpreted as denoting temporary qualities; Czech adjectives, on the other hand, are generally used for the expression of permanent qualities, the temporary ones being commonly catered for by adverbs (cf. 4.12.2, this chapter).

4.14.4 IV. Other instances

There are a great many other instances of turning locatives into subjects. It seems that the semantic relationship between subjects and finite verbs can be interpreted on an almost *ad hoc* basis as it suits the situation. Again, these subjects are very often conceived metaphorically, cf.

118a) The office whispered that ...
v kanceláři se šeptalo, že ...

[In office_{LOC} refl - whispered_{3sgNEU} ...]

(Con, 81/72)

118b) Belgrade admits failure

(The Times, 7.2.78)

Na bělehradské konferenci se přiznává neúspěch

[At Belgrade Conference_{LOC} - refl - admit_{3sg} failure]

118c) The barber's chair inaugurated a production belt ...

Na holičově židli začínal běžící pás

[On barber's_{LOC} chair_{LOC} began (a) production line]

(MK, 46/50)

Further examples without their Czech counterparts:

119a) Mark's house always smelled of fish

(JB, L 104)

119b) Miriam combined earnestness of spirit with great practical
incapacity

(HGW, 158)

119c) The yards and sheds ... had for years known no form of
animal life ...

(JW, 218)

119d) Different environments set different standards

(JW, 118)

119e) The Windsor chair, which supported every other person ...

(Th, 255)

119f) The car burst a tyre -

(Duškova, 1977:200)

119g) Heathrow sees a plane land and take off every fifty seconds

(ditto, 200)

Czech counterparts are invariably conceived with the locative surface case in the T and are either subjectless or have inanimate subjects. As was the case with the other deep structure actants, the

Czech locatives often have to be more explicit, e.g. the subject of (119b), 'Míriam', must be translated by 'v Miriamině osobnosti' [in Miriam's person ...] + Vrefl . In general we might suggest that the Czech language is conceived more locatively than the English, where the locative aspects of the situation are often suppressed and are not always decodable from the surface structure subjects, cf.

120a) We used to manufacture spices for cows

(my translation)

U nás se vyrábělo koření pro krávy

[At us_{LOC} - refl - produced_{3sgNEU} herbs for cows]

(Š, 408/388)

120b) The Champs were entertaining cousins from P.B.

U Champů byli na návštěvě příbuzní z P.B.

[At Champs_{LOC} were at visit_{LOC} relatives from P.B.]

(HGW, 194/208)

The English subjects of these sentences are conceived agentively and the locativeness is suppressed. In (120b) we can see another example of the asymmetrical presentation of an essentially Comitative situation; 'Champs' are T and are therefore presented as initiators - if 'cousins from P.B.' were T the most likely consequence would be that they would be presented as initiators and a different V would be selected, e.g.

120b₁) The cousins ... visited the Champs

Czech presents both sides in a parallel manner; the change of FSP marking would result in a different word order, i.e.

120b₂) Příbuzní z P.B. byli na návštěvě u Champů

[Relatives from P.B. were at visit_{LOC} at Champs_{LOC}]

Comparisons with German, Russian and French suggest basically the same conclusions as with other deep cases, with German and Russian behaving in a similar way to Czech, and French being close to English.

Some examples:

121a) La Conférence Nationale reunit 500 participants

Russian:

V natsional'noj konferentsii učastvovalo 500 čelovek
[In (the) National Conference participated 500 people]

121b) La boîte contenait quatre paquets de tabac gris

Russian:

V korobke ležali četyre pački ... tabaka
[In (the) box lay four packets of ... tobacco]

(Gak, 1975:218)

121c) The car burst a tyre

An dem Wagen ist ein Reifen geplatzt

(Zimmermann, 1972:177)

121d) The old rug showed every trace of mud our dog brought in

Auf dem alten Teppich sah man jeden Dreck, den unser

Hund ins Haus brachte

(Rohdenburg, 1969:44)

4.15 Objective as Subject

4.15.0 The primary method of marking the Objective as subject in English is the use of the passive voice whereby the Od of the underlying active sentence becomes the subject and the subject is turned into an Oi. This problem was discussed earlier in this chapter (cf. Section 3) and we will therefore consider here other strategies used in English to this end.

4.15.1 The Medio-Passive Voice

For a long time English grammarians have been devoting their attention to a peculiar usage of a large group of English verbs which can be used both transitively and intransitively, e.g. 'change' ('change the subject' - 'the fashion changes'), 'open' ('open the door' - 'the door

opens'), 'taste' ('taste the soup' - 'the soup tasted good'), etc. It has been noticed that the intransitive use of such verbs has basically the same consequences for the structure of the sentence as the use of the passive voice. Sweet (1891, § 249) calls such verbs PASSIVAL and notes that, "their grammatical subject is logically their direct object ... the subject not being expressed because of its indefiniteness". Jespersen (1927:332-355) refers to these verbs as ACTIVO-PASSIVES, characterizing them as "a class of semantically related verbs, each having two meanings: (1) to produce a movement or change in something, and (2) to perform the same movement or undergo the same change" (p.332). The term MEDIO-PASSIVE VOICE belongs to M. Grady (1965), who defines it as follows: "By medio-passive I refer to an active voice syntactic pattern wherein the subject-verb relationship is notionally passive" (p.270). He suggests that such sentences as 'Newports smoke fresher' and 'the new pop-top cans open easier' are derived from the underlying active sentence by a two-tier transformation; first it is transformed into the passive voice, which then undergoes a medio-passive transformation, i.e.

1. Passive-optional:

Structural analysis: NP - Aux - V - NP

Structural change:

$X_1 - X_2 - X_3 - X_4 \rightarrow X_4 - X_2 + be + en - X_3 - by - X_1$

2. Medio-passive-optional:

Structural analysis: NP - VP

Structural change: $X_4 - X_2 + be + en - X_3 - by + X_1 \rightarrow X_4 - X_2 - X_3$

The underlying active sentence to be used for 'the new pop-top cans open easier' is 'he opens pop-top cans easier'. The resulting medio-passives are characterized tagmemically by their subject being subject-acted-upon without the presence of 'be'. Dealing with verbs like

'taste', 'smell', 'feel' and others, Rosenbaum (1967) notes that such sentences as:

"the meat tastes salty to me (I taste the meat)
the milk smells good to me (I smell the milk)
the batter feels lumpy to me (I feel the batter)"

are the results of the S-O inversion transformation; the passive transformation cannot be applied since "the S-O inversion transformation places the subject NP to the right of the VP complement sentence." (p.99).

Let us consider some examples:

- 122a) Most of the boxes did not lock
(Bronte, Villette)
- 122b) The soap dissolved
(Hatcher, 1943:8)
- 122c) Alabaster cuts smooth
(ditto, 11)
- 122d) The wine ... drank too flat⁺
(ditto, 9)
- 122e) The table polishes well
(Anderson, 1968:13)
- 122f) He takes a good photograph
(ditto, 13)
- 122g) I don't scare easy
(Hatcher, 1943:14)
- 122h) They sell like hotcakes
(Grady, 1969:10)

The majority of these sentences require the presence of a manner adverbial. The underlying meaning in most of them is the notion of

+ American usage

"putting the object to good use" (Hatcher, 1943:11)³⁵, of realizing its potentialities. Most of the Objective-as-subjects are inanimate. According to Hatcher animate nouns appear rarely in this function; examples like (122g) and some other instances of animate subjects are presented as exceptions rather than instances of a productive pattern, cf.

123a) (they wanted to surprise me) but I don't surprise so easy

123b) (... the enemy wants to massacre the U.S. Marines) ...

but the U.S. Marines don't massacre any easy

(Hatcher, 14)

In Czech, medio-passives are mostly rendered by means of reflexive intransitives, cf.

122b₁) The soap dissolved

Mýdlo se rozpustilo

[Soap_{NOM} - refl - dissolved]

122c₁) Alabaster cuts smooth

Alabastr se dobře řeže

[Alabaster_{NOM} - refl - well cuts]

Sometimes the notion of 'capacity' has to be further specified, e.g.

122a₁) Většina z těch krabic se nedá zavřít

[Most of the boxes - refl - (not) let_{NEU} (to) close]

In (122d) the V 'drink' must be exchanged for 'chutnat' taste since the counterpart of 'drink' would not collocate with 'nevýrazně [flat]', i.e.

122d₁) Víno chutnalo nevýrazně

[(the) wine tasted flat]

The use of Czech reflexive verbs³⁶ for the English medio-passives

corroborates the idea that these constructions are notionally passive³⁷ (cf. Section 3 of this chapter on REFLEXIVE PASSIVE FORMS).

4.15.2 Other types of constructions allowing for inversion between the Agentive and Objective actants can also be semantically understood as passives. Mathesius (1975:107ff) talks about five types of passive predication: (1) participial (treated in detail above), (2) nominally-qualifying, (3) adverbial, (4) possessive, and (5) perceptive.

4.15.21 Nominally-qualifying

This is somewhat formal; the action is expressed by nominal qualification and the expression denoting the action is joined to the subject by a linking verb, e.g.

- 123) For centuries they were subject to a steady and cruel
persecution
(Mathesius, 110)

Czech - participial passive: 'byli vystaveni' [were exposed to].

4.15.22 Adverbial

The action is expressed by means of an adverbial expression, e.g. 'under construction' in (124):

- 124) The house is just under construction
Dům se právě staví
[House - refl - just (being) built]

Or:

- Ten dům právě staví
[The house_{ACC} just (they) are building]

4.15.23 Possessive

Mathesius (p.110) distinguishes between two types of possessive predication of this kind, according to whether the subject is affected by the action expressed by the predicate directly (1) or indirectly (2).

1. The action is expressed nominally, the noun being joined to the subject by a verb denoting possession in the broad sense of the word³⁸, e.g. 'have', 'get', 'receive', 'take', etc. Examples:

125a) Stáňa had two visits from a girl in Prague

Stáňu dvakrát navštívilo pražské děvče

[Stáňa_{ACC} twice visited (a) Prague_{NOM} girl_{NOM}]

(MK, 61/64)

125b) Cinderella has a lover, the bearded painter

Do Popelky je zamilován vousatý malíř

[With Cinderella_{DAT} is in love (a) bearded painter_{NOM}]

(Th, 269/84)

125c) It's obvious you've taken a beating

... je jasné, že vás něco zkríslo

[... that you_{ACC} something_{NOM} beat]

(JB, L 183/177)

125d) I take a bit of shocking

Mne tak hned něco nešokuje (variant)

[Me_{ACC} so immediately something_{NOM} not shocks]

(St, 15/14)

125e) Moderation catches few ears

(BBC, 8.3.78)

Example (125a) is a purely formal device which allows the person affected to be marked as subject; it can be paraphrased by the passive, e.g.

125a₁) Stáňa was twice visited by a girl ...

which is a passive transform of:

125a₂) A girl ... visited Stáňa twice

It is thus representative of what Mathesius calls "possessive passive". (125b) is ambiguous; either it can be understood passively - 'she is an object of love', i.e. 'she is loved', or as a possessive sentence proper with the subject not conceived as undergoing the action expressed by the nominal predicate but rather as a POSSESSOR in the same manner as, for example, in the sentence 'She has two children'. 'Take' in (125c, d and e) plays essentially the same role as 'have' in (a). In the Czech counterparts the S-O inversion is achieved by means of word order.

2. The indirect type of possessive passive can be demonstrated by the following examples:

126a) (On his entrance) he had loud accusations raised against him

(Mathesius, 1975:111)

... byl hlasitě obviňován

[... (he) was loudly accused ...]

126b) I get them coming through on the phone with some query

or other ...

Volají mne s dotazy ...

[(they) call me with queries ...]

(KA, 193/217)

This method of inversion appears with particular frequency with EXPERIENCER and GOAL subjects. Examples:

127a) You'll (E) get the place snapped up

(Uvidíš, že) ti to někdo vyfoukne

[... (to) you_{DAT} it_{ACC} someone snaps up]

(HGW, 130/142)

127b) I (E) had another sister die

Zemřela mi další sestra

[Died (to) me_{DAT} another sister_{NOM}]

(St, H 127)

127c) At last I (G) had the door opened

Nakonec mi otevřeli dveře

[At last (to) me_{DAT} (they) opened (the) door_{ACC}]

(Mathesius, 1975:111)

4.15.24 Perceptive

This construction was dealt with in greater detail in 4.12.3 in connection with Experiencer subjects. Let us here adduce some examples of its use for marking Objectives as subjects:

128a) He found himself bundled out

Vystrčila ho za dveře

[(she) bundled out him_{ACC} out of doors]

(KA, 59/68)

128b) I found three members of the Party University Committee

waiting for me

... me čekali 3 členové ... výboru

[... me_{ACC} awaited three_{NOM} members_{NOM} ... of Committee_{GEN}]

(MK, 209/205)

4.15.3 In this section we have found that the placement of the Objective in the position of the thematic subject does not depend entirely on the use of the passive voice. English has a number of constructions using medio-passive and suppletive verbs (cf. Note 28 above) which make it possible to achieve the same effect by means of the active voice. Since they are notionally close to the passive voice, they are often presented as passives. The conception of their passivity can be corroborated by the fact that they cannot be passivized even if they contain transitive verbs which normally allow the passive transformation, cf.

129a) John took the book

129b) The book was taken by John

130a) John took fright

130b) *Fright was taken by John

Functionally too, they resemble the passives by virtue of the fact that they allow the theme of the sentence to become the grammatical subject. It is our contention, however, that it would not be useful to consider them as belonging to the passive voice since formally they are clearly active. If we accepted Mathesius's afore-mentioned stronger conception we would also have to treat as passives the various permutations of Czech or German word order, cf.

131) Toho muže jsem viděl

[That_{ACC} man_{ACC} - aux - (I) saw]

Den Mann habe ich gesehen

In English we would have to treat, for example, the sentence:

132) This man is familiar to me

as a passive version of:

132a) I am familiar with this man

Or:

133) Most of that stuff isn't your responsibility

(JB, L 206)

as a passive version of:

133a) You are not responsible for most of that stuff³⁹

4.15.4 Other Deep Cases

In the preceding pages we have considered the relationship between the principal deep cases and subject marking. We will not go into such detail with the remaining notions, which are normally included in the basic array of deep cases, since the syntactic mechanisms making it possible for them to become subjects are essentially the same as those already analyzed. Let us simply adduce some examples.

4.16 Goal

134a) She could get more assistance

Lidi by ji víc pomohli

[People would (to) her_{DAT} more help]

(St, 209/177)

134b) Marchais drew a crowd of 40,000 people

(BBC, 9.2.78)

Marchaisovi přišlo na jeho projev 40,000 lidí

[(to) Marchais_{DAT} came to his speech 40,000 people]

134c) You'll get the chuck

Dají vám výpověď

[(they) give you_{DAT} notice_{ACC}]

(HGW, 85/96)

134d) I'd get my face bashed in

... někdo mi rozbije hubu

[... someone me_{DAT} bashes face_{ACC}]

(KA, R 222/226)

134e) In short everybody will have his turn

... na každýho dojde

[... (to) everyone_{ACC} (it) will come]

(Š, 583/127)

The methods facilitating subject marking have been treated under Experiencer (i.e. the use of verbs of 'having' and 'receiving' - examples 134a, b, c and e) and under Objective (134d as an example of possessive passive). As with the Objective, the fundamental method of subject marking in the case of Goal is the passive voice, treated in detail earlier.

4.17 Time

A typical method of making temporal actants into subjects is the use of the verbs 'see', 'witness', etc.

135a) Today sees the Prime Minister facing the miners

(BBC, 16.7.77)

Dnes bude čelit předseda vlády horníkům

[Today_{ADV} will face Prime Minister_{NOM} (the) miners_{DAT}]

135b) The past year has witnessed a crucial struggle ...

(Radio Times, 27.7.77, p.42)

V minulém roce jsme byli svědky rozhodujícího boje ...

[In past_{LOC} year_{LOC} (we) - aux - were witnesses (of)
crucial struggle_{GEN}]

135c) Next Monday sees the beginning of a new course ...

Příští pondělí začne nový kurs

[Next Monday_{ADV} begins new_{NOM} course_{NOM}]

(BBC, 14.3.77)

Here the verbs 'see', 'witness' are completely devoid of their semantic meaning; they serve as purely formal carriers of grammatical markers and are selected mainly to allow the favoured SPO arrangement of the English sentence with subjects standing for Ts.

Other methods are analogical to those mentioned with the other cases, i.e. the use of:

1. Identifying predication

Examples:

136a) This was not a tourist season

Teď nebyla turistická sezóna

[Now not was (a) tourist season]

(GG, 14/18)

136b) The hour was past midnight

Bylo po půlnoci

[(it) was past midnight]

(GG, 194/186)

2. Qualifying predication + deletion of Experiencer

Examples:

137a) The next two months were ... entirely happy

Průští měsíce jsem žil naprosto šťastně

[Next months (I) lived entirely happily]

(JB, R 169/170)

137b) The early years of their marriage had been happy enough

Y prvních měsících svého manželství ... byli šťastni ...

[In the first months of their marriage ... (they) were happy]

(IM, 10)

3. Causal suppletive predicates

Examples:

138a) This effectually raised the laugh ...

Na to se strhl halasný smích ...

[After that - refl - raised noisy laughter]

(OG, 40/53)

138b) ... the afternoon inspection of our quarters had uncovered
certain irregularities

... při odpolední prohlídce ... zjistil nepořádky

[... during the afternoon inspection ... (he) found
irregularities]

(MK, 93/93)

Here the subject is conceived as an instrumental as against the Czech temporal presentation of the actant.

4. Possessive predicates

Examples:

139a) (you never can tell) what the future holds in store

... co ho v budoucnosti čeká

[... what him_{ACC} in future awaits]

(JW, 12)

139b) Four months in Warley had given me a fixed taste

Za čtyři měsíce ve Warley se mi ustálil vkus

[After four months in Warley - refl - (to) me_{DAT} fixed taste_{NOM}]

4.18 Source

Examples:

140a) No chimney ... was smoking

Z žádného komína ... se nekouřilo

[From no chimney_{GEN} ... - refl - not smoked_{3sgNEU}]

(JW, 16/14)

140b) ... the ox steamed and crackled on its iron frame

... kouřilo se z vola ... na rožni

[... steamed - refl - from ox ... on (the) frame]

(GG, T 251/268)

140c) The drinks ... had left a buzzing in my head ...

Z pití ... mi bzučelo v hlavě ...

[From drinking ... (to) me buzzed_{3sgNEU} in head]

(JB, R 1)

Subject marking is effected by the same methods as in the case of the Instrumental. Indeed, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the two. In Czech the prepositional genitive is used, but with different interpretations different surface cases would be used. (140a) could be translated verbatim:

140a₁) Žádný komín ... nekouřil

[No chimney ... smoked]

But this translation would suggest the Instrumental understanding, i.e.

'No chimney was in working order'.

4.19 Manner

Examples:

141a) His mind struggled with unwonted social problems

V duchu zápasil s nezvyklými společenskými problémy ...

[In mind (he) struggled with ...]

(HGW, 66/77)

141b) Part of it is true

Částečně to tak je

[Partly it so is]

(JB, R 154/155)

141c) ... this kind of thing had been done by painters ...

... tak to dělali malíři ...

[... so it_{ACC} did painters]

(MK, 85/86)

In (141a) the subject is behaving in a similar manner to Instrumentals;

(141b) converts the adverbial into a noun and uses the qualifying

predication; in (141c) the conversion into a NG is effected with the

help of the nominal prop-words 'kind of thing', and the nominal group

is made into the subject of a passive sentence. The most usual way

of expressing Manner in Czech is the use of the Manner Adverb. Since

the methods of rendering Czech thematic adverbs by English thematic

subjects reveal considerable generality for different kinds of adverbs,

we will consider them in greater detail under a separate heading.

Deep Cases-as-Subjects - Conclusion

In this section we have attempted to show that in satisfying FSP needs English is not restricted to surface structure rearrangements of the sentence members only. English does not allow changes in word order but it has mechanisms which allow such changes in the order of DS actants as are required by FSP. These mechanisms are essentially of a semantic nature. It has been demonstrated that most DS actants can be marked as subjects and thus assume the thematic role. The fundamental preconditions for this are: (1) relaxation of the semantic tie between the subject and the Agent, and (2) relaxation of the semantic ties between the Vf and its actants. Under these conditions it is possible to present thematic actants as subject NGs. Seen from the viewpoint of Czech (Russian, German) these subjects act as quasi-actors (e.g. in the case of Instrumentals or Locatives) or quasi-patients (Experiencers, Objectives), on the one hand, or as left-hand members of equative constructions (in identifying or qualifying constructions), on the other. Formally the adverbial or non-Agent NG actants are 'turned' into subjects with the help of certain changes in the verbal nucleus. The most common of these are: (1) the use of suppletive verbs (e.g. 'die' - 'kill', 'be' - 'have', etc.); and (2) the analytical reformulation of simple full verbs into V + N (Od) units (e.g. 'please' - 'get pleasure'). These changes are further accompanied by adjustments in the overt presentation of DS actants, i.e. (1) reduction, or (2) amplification of their number. A special case of actant reduction typical for English grammar is the so-called COMPLEX CONDENSATION, which consists in depredication of the clausal

nexus and a certain condensation of communicative units. In T such deprecated units are used in particular as condensed Instrumentals but they appear with considerable frequency in other roles also.

5. Periphrastic Thematising Constructions

5.0 A frequent method in English of aligning FSP with syntax is the use of a variety of periphrastic constructions such as 'It is X that ...', 'What I want is that ...', 'This is what I want', etc. At this stage we are going to consider these constructions only from the point of view of their thematising role, bearing in mind that they also contribute to the focussing of the R, which function will be discussed at a later stage.

Apart from the first type ('It is X that ...'), these constructions are essentially equative structures identifying the thematic element on the left-hand side with the R on the right-hand side of the 'pro-verb' be. Let us consider them in greater detail.

5.1 'This (that) + be + (antecedent) + WH-clause'

Examples:

142a) That's what I wished to convey

To jsem chtěl říct

[That_{ACC} I wanted to say]

(Š, 222/232)

142b) This is the spot where I lost it

Tady jsem to ztratil

[Here (I) - aux - it_{ACC} lost]

(Curme, 167)

142c) That is the reason that (why) I did it

Proto jsem to udělal

[For that (linking word) (I) it_{ACC} did]

(Curme, 167)

The left-hand side constituent of the equation (typically a demonstrative pronoun, but other words of specific reference, e.g. place names, may be used) stands for the corresponding Czech direct or indirect objects and adverbials. The nature of the actant is further defined by the antecedent and the WH-linking word. Since there is a certain degree of redundancy present - in (142a) there are three words used to refer to the Czech 'tady' (here), i.e. (1) 'this' (a formal trace of the Locative), (2) 'the spot' (defining the nature of the actant, i.e. Locative), and (3) 'where' (linking word for 'place' clauses, repeating the feature + Locative again) - it is common to omit one of the two or replace the more specific linking word such as 'where' or 'why' by the less specific 'that' as in (142c).

This construction is used for the thematizing of the following actants.

5.11 Objective

The left-hand demonstrative pronoun stands for the Czech Od or Oi.

143a) That's something I discovered ...

Na tohle jsem přišel ...

[To that_{DAT} (I) - aux - arrived ...]

(GG, 37/28)

143b) That's what I guessed

To jsem si domyslíl

[That_{ACC} (I) - aux - refl - guessed]

(MK, 9/11)

143c) This is what I wished to avoid

Tomu jsem se ... chtěla vyhnout

[(to) that (I) - aux - refl - wanted to avoid]

(GG, T 66/65)

See also (142a).

5.12 Place

In Czech the left-hand constituent of the equation is expressed by an adverbial (mostly deictic 'tady' (here), 'tam' (there)).

144a) That's where I met Pavel

Tam jsem Pavla poznala

[There (I) - aux - Pavel_{ACC} met]

(MK, 16/20)

144b) Reval is where the Estonians live

V Revalu totiž žijí Estonci

[In Reval namely live the Estonians]

(Č, H 328/57)

144c) This was where he brought her

Tam ji tedy přivedl

[There her_{ACC} - so - (he) brought]

(MK, 226/220)

See also (116a) and (116b) in 4.14.2.

The Czech adverbial actants can be reinforced by such 'filler' words as 'totiž' (German, 'nämlich'), 'tedy' (German, 'also') - cf. (144b) and (144c).

5.13 Time

In Czech the sentence is mostly introduced by the deictic 'tehdy' (then) but other temporal actants are also possible.

145a) And that was when I first set eyes on Lucie

A tehdy jsem poprvé uviděl Lucii

[And then (I) - aux - for the first time saw Lucie_{ACC}]

(MK, 63/66)

- 145b) That was when I met Monsieur D
Tehdy jsem se setkala s panem D
[Then (I) - aux - refl - met with Mr. D]
(GG, T 110/111)
- 145c) This is the third time I have been here for desertion
(my translation)
A třikrát už jsem tady pro dezerci
[And three times (I) am here for desertion]
(Š, 379/364)

5.14 Manner or Instrumental

In Czech, introduced by 'tak' (so, in this way) or the reinforced deictic 'takhle' (so - you see) for Manner, and 'tím' (by that), 'tímhle' (by this) or 'čímž' (by which).

- 146a) That was how they put it at the meeting
Tak to říkali na schůzi
[So it_{ACC} (they) said at meeting]
(MK, 21/24)
- 146b) That's how it all began
Takhle to všechno začalo
[So - see - it all began]
(GG, T 37/36)
- 146c) This was the way a marriage ended
Takhle tedy končí jedno manželství
[So - see! really ends one marriage]
(JB, L 175/169)
- 146d) This was her way of referring to our lovemaking
Tak nazývala naši fyzickou lásku
[So (she) called our physical love]
(MK, 203/197)

146e) This is how they are trying to catch me
Tímhle tedy mne chtějí dostat
[By this_{INS} - so - me_{ACC} (they) want to catch]
(Č, Kr 132/185)

146f) ... this is how it reveals them
... čímž je vlastně objevuje
[... by which_{INS} them_{ACC} namely it reveals]
(Č, H 320/48)

The connective 'how' can be replaced by the synonymous 'the way'
(cf. examples 146c and d). This allows condensing of the subordinate
clause and its appending to the noun 'way' as a post-modifier, cf.
(146d) 'way of referring'. The connective 'how' does not begin with
WH- but it is normally subsumed by the term 'WH-connective words'
(cf. Leech and Svartvik, 1975:181ff).

5.15 Cause

147a) That is why I was good to you
Proto tedy jsem vám byl dobrý
[For that - so (I) - aux - (to) you_{DAT} was good]
(Č, Kr 233/333)

147b) So that's why he's always talking about his mother fixation!
Proto tedy stále mluví o své fixaci na matku
[For that - so - always (he) talks about his mother fixation]
(Leech, 1975:182)

The English introductory sentence 'that is why' is understood as a
conjunction and so is its Czech counterpart.

6. WH-type Cleft Construction

This type of cleaving is very often employed to match Czech sentences
with introductory thematic verbs, predicative adjectives or adverbs.

6.1 Czech: verbs in initial position

148a) Bolelo mne vlastně, že se mu vystavila nahá

[Hurt me_{ACC} namely, that - refl - (to) him (she) exposed naked]

What hurt me was the fact of her exposing herself

unemotionally

(JB, R 121/122)

148b) ... překvapilo mě, že ačkoli ...

[... surprised me_{ACC}, that although ...]

What surprised me was, that though ...

(OG, 24/34)

148c) Šlo o bezpečnost

[Went_{3sgNEU} about security]

What was at issue was security

(BBC, 6.2.78)

6.2 Czech: predicative adjective in initial position

149a) Ale nejkrásnější je nedělní moře

[But loveliest is (the) Sunday sea]

But what is loveliest of all is the Sunday sea

(Č, H 313/29)

149b) ... není důležité jak se vaří, ale ...

[... is not important how - refl - cooks, but ...]

What is important is not how one cooks but ...

(Š, 343/333)

6.3 Czech: Adverb + V in initial position

150a) Víc mne zajímalo jak si ... počínají

[More me_{ACC} interested how - refl - ... behave]

What interested me more was to observe how their lack of

numbers affects their demeanour

(Č, H 329/58)

150b) Nejvíc ze všeho nás tísnilo pomyšlení, kdo mohl byt natolik
ničemný ...

[Most of all us_{ACC} perplexed idea_{NOM}, who could be so base ...]

But what perplexed us most was to think who could be so
base ...

(OG, 74/96)

150c) A skutečně mě dá do pořádku jediné až vypadnu z Neddyho domu

[And really me_{ACC} puts into order only when I will leave
from Neddy's house]

What'll really bring me back to normality will be getting
away from the Neddies

(KA, 22/27)

7. Other methods of rendering verbs and predicative adjectives thematic

7.0 There is a whole variety of other methods by which English turns those units which express action or state (in Czech expressed by verbs or adjectives) or some modification of action and state (in Czech adverbs) into nominative nominal groups and makes them formal subjects serving as T. In general they all constitute some variety of equative constructions, either of the identificational or qualificational type. We will consider some of them again with regard to the thematic counterparts in the respective Czech sentences.

7.1 Czech: initial verb

7.11 Subjectless sentences introduced by impersonal verbs occurring only in the third person singular-neuter, such as 'jedná se o'

[deals about], 'jde o' [goes about], etc. In English the semantics of these verbs is usually rendered by such nouns of general meaning as

'the point', 'the question', 'the problem', 'the fact', 'the issue', 'the trouble', etc., which are made to be subjects of an equative sentence whose predicates are filled by predicate clauses (in Czech they are Object clauses), e.g.

151a) Jde o to, že se všichni musíme naučit ...

[Goes about that, that - refl - (we) all must learn ...]

The point is we'll all have to learn ...

(JW, 177/170)

151b) Jedná se jen o to, co se mnou ...

[Deals_{NEU} - refl - only about that, what with me ...]

The only issue is what should be done with me ...

(BBC, 14.1.77)

151c) Jde o to, jak sehnat ty peníze

[Goes about that how to find the money]

The question is how we are going to find the money

(Zandvoort, 224)

Both in Czech and in English the main clauses of this type are semantically unimportant - they only serve as linking thematic elements and can be easily replaced, for example by the conjunction 'but', in Czech 'ale', e.g.

151a₁) Ale všichni se musíme naučit ...

[But all - refl - (we) must learn]

But we'll all have to learn

151b₁) Ale co se mnou?

[But what with me]

But what should be done about me?

7.12 A different variety occurs when rendering simple Czech sentences of the type 'jde o + Oi' [goes about + Oi]. In English the T is filled by the dummy subject 'it', which is equated with a nominal predicate

'a question + 'of' modifier'. 'A question' is here part of the R unlike in the former type and is usually accompanied by the indefinite article:

152a) Jde o jeho život

[Goes about his life]

It's a question of his life

(Č, Kr 275/394)

152b) Nejedná se mi o osobní zájem

[Not deals - refl - (to) me_{DAT} about personal interest]

It is not a question of my personal interest

(S, 328/320)

7.13 A typical pattern of Czech sentences starting with the thematic verb is 'Y + Adv', e.g.

153) Hraje výtečně

[Plays excellently]

It is true that the subject is incorporated in the verb ending but its semantic relevance here is very small; this is also reflected in the English high probability equivalent:

153a) His playing is excellent

where the personal actant is relegated to the position of a modifier of the subject raised out of the verb 'play'. (153) represents a typical equivalent to the Czech 'V + Adv' pattern. As was suggested, the subject was raised from the semantics of the verb and 'equated' with a qualifying rhematic adjective. Let us consider some further examples:

154a) Počínala si prakticky

[(she) acted - refl - practically]

Her manner was practical

(JW, 97/91)

154b) Vyjadřoval se bleptavě a nesrozumitelně
[(he) expressed himself splutteringly and indistinctly]
His utterance was spluttering and indistinct

(Con, 139/116)

154c) Postupoval pomalu
[(he) progressed slowly]
His progress was slow

(HGW, 52/64)

154d) Vyjadřovala se rozvláčně, nepřesně ...
[(she) expressed herself redundantly, defectively ...]
Her account was redundant, defective ...

(HGW, 119/129)

7.13.1 The adjective of the pattern can be replaced by a nominal qualifying predicate, e.g.

155a) Tvářila se teď podezřívavě
[(she) (made) face - refl - now suspiciously]
Her expression now was one of suspicion

(JB, I 136/131)

155b) Jednal velmi uhlazeně
[(he) acted very elegantly]
... his attitude was a very elegant one

(Th, 255/67)

155c) Mluvila zvučným hlasem
[(she) spoke (with) rich_{INS} voice_{INS}]
Her voice was a rich contralto

(Con, 17/25)

7.13.11 This pattern is frequently encountered with subjects expressing various qualities, e.g. length, height, thickness, weight, width, breadth, temperature, age, depth, duration, speed, distance, price, etc.

156a) Meřím 170 cm

[(I) measure_{1sg} 170 cm]

My height is 170 cm

156b) Panu Pollymu bylo přesně třicet sedm a půl roku

[(to) Mr. Polly_{DAT} was exactly thirty-seven and a half years]

Mr. Polly's age was exactly thirty-seven and a half

(HGW, 11/23)

156c) Přes hrudník měřila 36 palců

[Around bust (she) measured 36 inches]

The inches round her bust were six-and-thirty

(Radio Times, 22.6.77)

In Czech the qualities are expressed mostly by verbs: 'měřit'

(measure), 'vážit' (weigh), 'stát' (cost), 'trvat' (last), or by adjectival

predicates: 'být dlouhý' (be long), 'být široký' (be wide), etc. The

English version of (156c) is meant to be facetious and is therefore

stylistically marked, but structurally it is quite typical of subject-raising in constructions of this kind.

7.13.2 Such subjects are often abstract nouns like 'effect',

'situation', 'position', 'atmosphere', 'cause', whose main role is

formal and whose semantics refers to some general aspect of the

situation:

157a) Vypadalo to daleko lépe

[Looked it far better]

The effect was perceptibly better

(KA, 65/75)

157b) ... padala na ně jistá rozpačitost

[... fell on them certain embarrassment]

... the atmosphere became a little strained

(Č, Kr 224/319)

157c) Způsobila to helikoptéra ...

[Caused it_{ACC} helicopter ...]

The cause of it was a glimpse ... of a helicopter ...

(JW, 203/201)

O + V

7.14 Czech: V (T) + S (R) or Adv + V (T) + S (R)

158a) Hovoří Fritz Siegel

[Speaks Fritz Siegel]

Our speaker is Fritz Siegel

(BBC)

158b) Zprávu o počasí přečte Michael Fish

[Report_{ACC} about weather will read Michael Fish_{NOM}]

The weatherman is Michael Fish

(BBC)

158c) Diriguje Daniel Barenboim

[Conducts Daniel Barenboim]

The conductor is Daniel Barenboim

(BBC)

The thematic verb is rendered by agent nouns. This is a very productive pattern. Agent-nouns together with the definite articles have a broader semantic and referential potential than the Czech verb - they make a much clearer reference to the implicit object and can actually incorporate them, cf. 'the weatherman', i.e. 'man who reports the weather'. Czech verbs in the T must therefore often be reinforced by the explicit mention of the particular Object referred to, cf. (158b) 'Zprávu o počasí přečte'. Similarly such agent nouns as 'the soloist', 'the announcer' and many others have to be rendered in Czech by an 'O + y' group to make up for the semantic features imparted to the particular English noun by the combination of the definite article and the incorporated deep-structure object, cf.

- 158d) The soloist is Josef Suk
(Houslové) sólo hraje Josef Suk
[(Violin) solo_{ACC} plays Josef Suk]

(BBC)

- 158e) The drummer is Jack Stewart
Na bubny hraje Jack Stewart
[On drums plays Jack Stewart]

- 158f) The goalkeeper is Stan Smith
V bránce je Stan Smith
[In goal is Stan Smith]

Colloquially:

Chytá Stan Smith
[Catches Stan Smith]

7.15 Verbs of existence and appearance on the scene

Verbs of existence or appearance on the scene are very topicworthy.

In unmarked Czech sentences, i.e. in the state of 'syntactic tranquillity' (cf. Chapter 3, Section 2.2), they precede their subjects, e.g.

- 159a) Objevilo se auto
[Appeared - refl - car]

used to describe an unexpected event as against:

- 159b) Auto se objevilo
[(the) car - refl - appeared]

which would be used when it was expected to happen or perhaps as part of an argument about the car's appearance or otherwise. In English, (159a) is expressed essentially in two ways: (1) by shifting the subject before the V and marking it as R by means of an indefinite article, i.e.

- 159a₁) A car appeared

or (2) by using a dummy subject 'there' and thereby achieving the desired T-R order, i.e.

159a₂) There appeared a car

At the moment we will concentrate on the latter, since the use of articles for purposes of FSP has already been dealt with in Chapter 4.

In Czech, existential sentences of this type are introduced by a variety of verbs, most of which are not semantically limited to the notion of 'existence' or 'appearance on the scene' but contribute to the meaning of the sentence by some additional semantic features, e.g. 'ozvat se' (sound), 'je vidět', 'je slyšet' (impersonal is seen, is heard), 'zet' (gape), 'vyzařovat' (emanate), 'dojít k něčemu' (to come to something), 'zavládnout' (govern) - as in 'zavládlo ticho' (governed silence), 'vynořit se' (rise), etc. In English it is common to render most of these by the V 'be' unless the situation requires verbal specification (as in 159a₂). Examples:

160a) There was no reply

Neozvala se žádná odpověď

[Not - sounded - refl - no answer]

(GG, 139/113)

160b) There was a face at the window

V okně se objevila tvář

[In window_{LOC} - refl - appeared face]

(JB, L 194/187)

160c) There was complete silence in the room

V pokoji zavládlo naprosté ticho

[In room_{LOC} (started to) govern complete silence]

(GG, 57/45)

160d) There was no sound

[Neozvalo se nic]

[Not sounded - refl - nothing]

(JB, L 144/140)

160e) Suddenly there resounded a frightful cry

[Náhle zazněl strašný výkřik]

[Suddenly sounded terrible cry]

(C, Kr 20/23)

The examples demonstrate the tendency in English to avoid filling the verb in existential constructions with specific semantic import. If it has to be expressed, it is found preferable to put it in the R proper (in nominal form); such is the case, for instance, in (160d) which is a good example of the differences in distribution of semantic features between the two languages, i.e. Czech: 'semantically full V + semantically empty O'; English: 'semantically empty V + semantically full O' (we will disregard the negative semantic import for the moment).

(160e) uses a semantically full V in both languages, although the English version would be quite acceptable with the V 'be':

160e₁) Suddenly there was a frightful cry

The use of the V 'resound' intensifies the action. In Czech 'zazníť' cannot be replaced by 'být' (be); the sentence would be unacceptable, cf.

160e₂) *Náhle byl strašný výkřik

This is another example of a closer semantic link between the Czech subject and the V.

In (160b) and (160c) we can observe another difference between the two languages, i.e. in the position of sentential adverbials such as are not part of the valency structure of the V⁴⁰. Czech tends to

put them at the beginning since their CD is the lowest of all the members of the sentence - they only refer to the general setting in which the act of communication is effected. In English they are usually at the end, which position, however, does not render them rhematic unless they receive contrastive stress. But they can also appear at the beginning of the sentence. The level of CD of OUTER LOCATIVES is so low that in English they are often completely omitted as redundant. Czech finds it less easy to delete them unless they have previously been specifically defined:

161a) (He waited for nearly two minutes) but there was only silence

... ale v telefonu se nic neozvalo

[... but in telephone - refl - nothing not -- sounded]

(GG, 102/82)

161b) There was an excellent one to London at 3.20

Z hlavního nádraží jede do Londýna rychlík ve 3.20

[From main station goes (on wheels) to London express at 3.20]

(KA, 240/269)

161c) (But in those days) there were no secret police

... tam ještě neměli tajnou policii

[... there yet not had secret police]

(GG, C 73/73)

161d) There's another man, a Russian

Je v tom ... ještě jeden člověk, Rus

[Is in it ... still another man, (a) Russian]

(JW, 33/30)

The ease of omission of the OUTER LOCATIVE in English can be explained by two factors. Firstly, we may assume that the dummy 'there' still retains a certain degree of its original semantics as a deictic locative adverb and thus discharges both the function of the dummy

subject and indirectly the function of reference to some general locative aspects of the situation. Secondly, there is considerable difference in the interpretation of verbal semantics between Czech and English, including that of 'to be' and 'býti'. The relative fixedness of lexical semantics in Czech (previously mentioned) does not easily allow an *ad hoc* interpretation of the meaning of the verb. If (161a) were translated without a locative specification, e.g.

161a₁) ... nic se neozvalo
[... nothing - refl - sounded]

it would be understood 'absolutely', i.e. 'all around everything was silent'. Similarly:

161c₁) ... nebyla ještě tajná policie
[... not was yet secret police]
161d₁) ... je ještě jeden člověk, Rus
[... is still another man, (a) Russian]

The understanding would be 'no secret police existed in general' (161c₁) and 'there exists another man (161d₁)'. Although the latter versions are marginally acceptable, they are felt to be ambivalent and marked by unclear reference to the situation.

Our assumption about a 'locative trace' in the dummy 'there' seems to be valid in particular in sentences like (161c) where the explicit mention of another 'there' is perfectly possible but somewhat unusual in written English and quite dispensable, cf.

161c₁) ... there were no secret police there

Against this assumption, on the other hand, would speak the fact that we have sentences in which 'there' appears as a completely separate introductory formal particle, dissociated from the rest of the sentence both semantically and syntactically, cf.

162a) (... for except what he does ...) there's nothing comes
out but the most lowest stuff in nature

... nevychází nic než sprostý, bezcenný brak

[... not appears nothing but lowly, worthless stuff]

(OG, 59/76)

162b) There's a man wants to speak to you

Chce s tebou mluvit nějaký muž

[Wants with you speak some man]

(Poldauf, 1972:118)

These latter two examples combine the use of the dummy subject with the placement of the real subject before the verb, its rhematic function being marked by the use of the indefinite article.

7.16 One-member verbal sentences

A number of verbs referring to various actions which cannot be attributed to any agent very often appear as one-member sentences not taking any obligatory syntactic actants. Such are references to various natural phenomena, like rain, snow, etc., cf.

163a) Prší

[Rains]

It rains

163b) Sněží

[Snows]

It snows

163c) Mrzne

[Freezes]

There's a frost

163d) Hřmí

[Thunders]

There's a thunder

These sentences have no overtly expressed T. English requires the use of a formal subject (and T) even here, employing dummy subjects 'it' or 'there'⁴¹

In certain situations Czech introduces these sentences by 'dummy' Outer Locatives, e.g.

164a) Venku prší
[Outdoors rains]

164b) Venku mrzne⁴²
[Outdoors freezes]

164c) Mrzne tam
[Freezes there]

164d) Leje tam
[Pours there]

These Locative Adverbials are optional and their semantic import is minimal in comparison with such adverbials as in:

165) Na horách prší
[In mountains rains]

which contribute to the meaning of the sentence in a more substantial measure. Adverbials like 'venku' or 'tam' can be compared to the dummy 'it' or 'there' since semantically they are largely redundant and their main function is to act as thematic introducers. This is obvious from the fact that they are almost invariably deleted when there is another actant introduced, e.g. a Time Adverbial, cf.

166) Včera (*tam, *venku) pršelo
[Yesterday (*there, *outdoors) rained]

which satisfies the need for a two-member FSP arrangement.

On the other hand, they are not semantically as empty as the English 'it' because they can be used only in situations which are semantically compatible, i.e. when the participants of the discourse

are indoors. If such sentences were uttered in the open, 'venku' and 'tam' would be obligatorily deleted.

7.2 Czech: initial thematic group 'V + Adv' or 'Adv + V'

Apart from the more usual method of WH-cleaving, in some specific circumstances there are also other ways of making 'V + Adv' groups thematic in English.

7.21 Czech: 'Adverb + V + S'

Examples:

167a) Nejvíc ... trpěl jeho sluha

[Most suffered his batman]

The man who suffered most was his batman

(Š, 656/189)

167b) Nejraději jsem měl Honzu

[Best (I) - aux - liked Honza]

The one I liked best was Honza

(HK, 53/57)

167c) Nejvíc si to odkašle redaktor ...

[Most - refl - it will catch (the) editor ...]

The man who's going to catch it hottest is the editor ...

(Š, 375/360)

In English we have another variety of an equative construction. The subject 'one', 'the man' is an empty structural copy of the actual Agent (or Experiencer) which is rhematic and therefore placed at the end of the sentence. This 'empty' subject is used as a formal headword on which the thematic 'V + Adv' group is appended and the resulting cluster ('the one [the man] + rel. clause') is equated with the rhematic actant. In our materials we have encountered examples of such formal subjects referring to human beings only ('the one', 'the man', 'the person', 'the woman', etc.). However, they can also be used with

other subjects, e.g. 'the animal' or 'the city', 'the continent', etc.

7.22 Czech sentences whose Ts contain quantifying words such as 'jen' (only), 'nic než' (nothing but)

Examples:

168a) Chtělo se mu jen spát ...

[Wanted_{3sgNEU} - refl - (to) him_{DAT} only (to) sleep ...]

All he wanted was to sleep ...

(Č, Kr 22/27)

168b) Mohu jen vysvětlvat ten omyl ...

[(I) can only explain that mistake ...]

All I can do is to explain this error

(MK, 211/206)

168c) Nezbyvá než zavolat policii

[Not remains but to call (the) police]

The only thing to do is to call the police

(GG, 59/47)

168d) Zbývá ještě ... nějak chytře si zapamatovat tu šestku

[Remains only ... somehow cleverly - refl - remember that six]

All that's to be done is to be clever and remember the six ...

(Š, 556/104)

The English versions resemble the 'WH-cleft constructions with the quantifier words ('the only thing' - 'all') standing for the 'WH-word', cf.

168a₁) What he wanted was to sleep

168b₁) What I can do is to explain the error

as alternatives when the quantifier is absent.

7.22.1 A similar cleft-sentence type is used with such words as 'the first', 'the last', e.g.

169a) První se vzpamatoval mon oncle Charles
[First - refl - recovered mon oncle Charles]
The first to recover was mon oncle Charles
(Č, Kr 161/229)

169b) ... nejdřív se vynořil Honza, Brňák
[... first - refl - emerged Honza, Brno man]
The first to emerge from the murk was Honza from Brno
(MK, 51/55)

7.3 Czech: initial predicative adjective or passive participle

Besides the WH-cleft construction (cf. 6.2 above), we have observed two other commonly used constructions for keeping adjectives (or their nominal equivalents) in the T.

7.3.1 The meaning of the Czech initial passive participle is expressed by a noun which is then equated with the qualifying predicate

Examples:

170a) Ušitý byl ledabyle
[Sewn (it) was poorly]
(... gown). The stitching was poor
(JB, R 13/12)

170b) Oblečený jsem byl svátečně
[Dressed (I) - aux - was holiday-like]
My clothes were my Sunday best
(JB, R 7/5)

170c) Oblečená byla trochu lépe než obvykle
[Dressed (she) was a bit better than usual]
Her dress was somehow a little smarter than usual
(Th, 256/268)

7.32 Predicative adjectives proper can appear in the initial position together with the prop-word 'thing'

In a similar fashion to the words 'the one' and 'the man' in 7.21, this word is empty of semantics and serves as a formal head-word for adjectival attributes, thereby allowing them to assume the thematic position without violating the usual syntactic constraints. Examples:

- 171a) ... divné bylo, že ho nenazvala ... nijak
[... strange was that him (she) not called nohow]
The odd thing was she called him nothing at all
(GG, 48/38)

- 171b) ... nejlepší je vykašlat se na všechno ...
[... best is to cough - refl - on everything]
... the best thing to do was not to give a damn
(Š, 227/236)

- 171c) Strašné na náletu je, že pokračuje dál ...
[Awful about raid is that (it) goes on ...]
The awful thing about a raid is that it goes on

This construction appears with particular frequency with adjectives in the superlative:

- 172a) To nejkrásnější v Anglii jsou však stromy
[It - most beautiful in England are however trees]
The most beautiful things in England, however, are the trees ...
(Č, 131/170)

- 172b) Horší ještě bylo, že ...
[Worse even was, that ...]
The worst of it was that ...
(Č, Kr 191/269)

In the Czech version of (172a) the adjective is reinforced by the thematizing word 'to' (it) which has a nominalizing effect similar to the English prop-word 'thing'. It is usually used in simple

sentences and is generally omitted when the right-hand side of the copula is filled with a predicative clause, e.g. in (171a) and (171c) and (172b). It could be omitted in (172a) also - the thematic part is here syntactically sufficiently 'heavy'; in the following sentence, however, the omission would not be stylistically correct - the adjectival theme would be (syntactically) too light:

173) To hlavní byla jeho slabost

[It - main was his weakness]

The main thing was his weakness

(MK, 156/152)

8. Thematizing words and phrases

Both Czech and English possess certain lexical means of defining the T. In Czech they are the following words and phrases: 'zase' (in contrast), 'pokud jde o' [as far as goes about], 'pokud se týče' ('týká') + Genitive [as far as concerns] and 'co se týče' ('týká') + Genitive [what concerns]. In English they are in particular: 'as regards', 'as for', 'as far as s.t. (s.b.) is concerned', 'as to', 'for s.b.'s part', 'concerning', etc.

174a) As to your present hint, I protest ...

Pokud jde o to, nač narážíte, protestuji ...

[As far as goes about that (to) which you hint I protest ...]

(OG, 57/67)

174b) And as for honesty that's always a jolly good thing ...

A co se týká poctivosti, je to vždycky moc hezká věc ...

[And what concerns honesty, it is always a very nice thing ...]

(Š, 170/183)

174c) ... but for my part, I don't much like him ...

Ale pokud jde o mne, mně se celkem moc nelíbí

[But as far as goes about me, (to) me_{DAT} he doesn't appeal ...]

(OG, 33/45)

Despite the fact that thematizing words and phrases are used in both languages, it is important to realize that there are certain differences in their usage. In general it is possible to say that there is more need to use them in English than in Czech, where the usual word order permutations suffice to discharge the same function. In the majority of cases the use of these words and constructions in English can be considered as just another means of reconciliation between the structural and FSP requirements, in particular of keeping those constituents of the sentence which cannot easily be made into subjects in the initial position. In Czech such sentences would not normally employ the thematizing constructions:

175a) And as for you ... I'll take you with me

A tebe ... vezmu s sebou

[And you_{ACC} (I) take with you_{INS}]

(Š, 342/332)

175b) ... as for the chits about town, there is no bearing them ...

Ty městské fifleny člověk kolem sebe nesnese

[These town chits one around himself does not bear ...]

(OG, 59/77)

175c) As for princesses there are swarms of them

A princezen je tam jako smetí

[... and princesses_{GEN} is there ... many]

(Š, 347/37)

175d) And as regards leave the situation was particularly bad
A s vycházkou to teď bylo vůbec zlé

[And with leave_{INS} it now was particularly bad]

(MK, 88/89)

The thematizing construction cannot, however, be left out so easily where contrast is implied:

176a) ('Bloody hell, I've never had such a blasted silly war.

I thought it would be quite different ...' ... said Vodička).

'As for me, I'm quite happy', said Švejek

Já jsem zas docela spokojenej

[I am - in contrast - quite happy]

(Š, 387/370)

176b) ... (I began to feel rather pleased with the results).

She, for her part, seemed able for a time to forget all that
had happened

Pokud šlo o Suzanu, zdálo se, že ... prozatím zapoměla na
všechno ...

[As for Susan, it seemed that ... for the time being she
forgot everything ...]

(JW, 212/203)

There are also other ways of defining the T, with various levels of explicitness and contrast being involved. One of them is the intonational separation of the T from the rest of the sentence, e.g.

177) And Vladimír, I've had trouble with him the last few weeks

A Vladimír. S tím jsem měl v posledních týdnech starosti

[And Vladimír. With him (I) had in the last weeks troubles]

(MK, 124/123)

The Czech version of (177) is just a variant of:

- 177a) A s Vladimírem jsem měl ... starosti
[And with Vladimír (I) had ... troubles]

Only the T is more contrastive.

A variety of such methods is especially typical of colloquial speech. In English as spoken in Scotland there are interesting instances of such contrastive thematization combined with the use of thematizing 'see', cf. ⁴³

- 178a) See my man, he doesn't like fish
T R
- 178b) See fish, my man doesn't like it
T R T
- 178c) See my man, see fish, he doesn't like it
T R

Czech colloquial speech, too, has many similar ways of strong thematization, for example:

- 179) (Jo) práce? Tak tu nemám rád
[(Well), work_{NOM}? So that_{ACC} (I) do not like]

Or:

- Jo práci? ... tu nemám rád
[Well, work_{ACC}? ... that_{ACC} (I) do not like]

In both languages strong thematization of this sort involves a repeated mention of the T; first it is mentioned explicitly and then, after the silent stress and intonational break, it is referred to by a pronominal copy, cf. examples (177):

- (a) my man - he; (b) fish - it; (c) my man:fish - he - it⁴⁴.

Timberlake (1976:562) adduces examples from colloquial Russian where the T of this kind does not require a pronominal copy if it is a subject, e.g.

179a) Petja? Ne prichodil ešče

[Petja_{NOM} - not arrived yet]

Have you seen Petja?

If the thematized constituent is not a subject a pronominal copy is used:

180) Petja? Ego poslali v magazin

[Petja_{NOM} him (they) sent to (the) store]

As for Petja, he was sent to the store

Dahl (1969:14) gives a Russian example in which even the latter case is used without a pronominal copy left behind:

181) Jabločnyj sok ... nalejte stakančik⁴⁵

[Apple juice ... give (me) a glass]

As for apple juice ... give me a glass

8.1 Concluding Remarks

In the preceding pages we have discussed some syntactic and lexical mechanisms used in English for safeguarding the initial position for such thematic elements as are expressed in Czech by object cases or by such parts of speech as cannot normally appear at the beginning of the English sentence (e.g. verbs, adjectives and some adverbs). The syntactic mechanisms are: (1) the use of thematizing periphrastic constructions of the types 'this (that) is + what-clause' and 'what-clause + is ...'; (2) the use of dummy subjects 'there' and 'it'; and (3) the conversion of Czech verbs or adjectives into nouns, and their use as thematic subjects. A more explicit means of thematization can be achieved by the employment of thematizing words or phrases which unambiguously mark segments as Ts, e.g. 'as for', 'as far as', 'as regards' and the like. Strong thematization can be achieved by dividing the T from the rest of the sentence by markers of the intonational break, e.g.

by the question mark, exclamation mark, full stop, etc. Such strong Ts usually leave a pronominal copy in the remaining part of the sentence.

B. SHIFTS RELATING TO RHEME

9. General

So far in this chapter we have concentrated on those mechanisms in English which make it possible to place thematic elements in initial position despite the rigidity of its syntax. Most of these mechanisms were shown to concentrate on one thing, i.e. turning the deep structure thematic actant into the grammatical subject. This operation was effected at the expense, so to speak, of the semantic level of the sentence. While in Czech (as also in Russian, German, etc.) the category of Subject is still closely related to the semantic role of Agent, in Modern English this relationship is of secondary importance. We have seen that English subjects can stand for virtually any deep structure actant, the relationship between subject and Theme (grammatical and FSP levels) superseding in importance that between subject and the relevant deep structure actant (grammatical and semantic levels). We have also mentioned in passing some consequences of this for the behaviour of the English verb so far as it directly concerns thematic shifts. In the second part of this chapter we will be concerned with those syntactic characteristics of English which allow the rhematic constituents to gravitate towards their favoured final position in the sentence or which mark them otherwise as carriers of the highest degree of communicative dynamism. In this connection we will look in greater detail at some further fundamental differences between the Czech and English predicative verb and at the typical methods of its right-hand complementation.

10. Rheme and the Predicate

10.0 The relevance of the relationship between the Predicate (or the Verb Phrase) and Rheme is analogous to that between the Subject and Theme. The closeness of these relationships is also reflected in the terminology of some linguists (e.g. 'psychological subject' - 'psychological predicate' - Gabelentz, Steinthal, Admoni; 'logico-grammatical subject' - 'logico-grammatical predicate' - Panfilov, Pumpjanskij, etc., cf. Chapter 1, Section 2).

10.1 The Verb in Czech and English

Contrastive research into the two languages reveals substantial differences in the behaviour of verbs on all three levels of our descriptive model, i.e. those of syntax, semantics and FSP. Let us consider some of these differences in detail⁴⁶.

I. Syntax

10.11 Analytical Verb in English

When comparing Czech verbs with their English counterparts we can see that in English the segment of meaning contained in one Czech verb is very often spread over two or even more naming elements, e.g. 'take a drink' - 'napít se' [drink - refl], 'be in a hurry' - 'spěchat', 'pay a visit' - 'navštívit', etc.⁴⁷. Typically these verbal units consist of a finite verb, which is relatively empty of meaning and whose primary function it is to carry the temporal and modal exponents of the sentence (TMEs)⁴⁸, and of a notional component (noun, participle, adjective, adverb, preposition, etc.), which carries the lexical meaning of the unit. A certain tendency towards this dissociation of functions is also observable in Czech but the degree of usage of such verbal complexes is considerably smaller. Let us compare the most typical manifestations of this phenomenon in the two languages.

10.11.1 Inflection of Verb

The afore-mentioned tendency towards an analytical verbal form in English can be clearly demonstrated by the way it conveys the various aspects of such predicative categories as tense, aspect, mood and person⁴⁹. Let us compare a selection of the English 'inflection' forms of the verb 'call' with their Czech counterparts; we will limit ourselves to the 1st and 3rd persons singular.

I. Active

		English	Czech
present	simple (s)	I call he calls	volám volá
	expanded (e)	I am calling he is calling	
present perfect	s	I have called he has called	zavolał jsem zavolał
	e	I have been calling he has been calling	
past	s	I called he called	volal jsem volal
	e	I was calling he was calling	
past perfect	s	I had called he had called	zavolał jsem zavolał
	e	I had been calling he had been calling	
future	s	I shall call he will call	zavolám/budu volat zavolá/bude volat
	e	I shall be calling he will be calling	
fut. perf.	s	I shall have called he will have called	zavolám zavolá
	e	I shall have been calling he will have been calling	

II. Passive

		English	Czech
present	s	I am called he is called	jsem volán je volán
	e	I am being called he is being called	
past	s	I was called he was called	byl jsem volán byl volán
	e	I was being called he was being called	
	etc.		

III. Conditional

		English	Czech
present	s	I should call he would call	(za)volal bych (za)volal by
	e	I should be calling he would be calling	
past	s	I should have called he would have called	byl bych (za)volal byl by (za)volal
	e	I should have been calling he would have been calling	
	etc.		

These tables demonstrate the essential differences in the formulation of predicative categories in the two languages. Czech tends to conflate as many grammatical functions as possible into the synthetic form of the verb itself, resorting to auxiliaries only when absolutely necessary. In the active form of the

indicative the auxiliary 'býti' (be) is used only in the future of non-perfective verbs and in the 1st and 2nd persons⁵⁰ (sg and pl) of the past tense. The future of non-perfective verbs resembles the situation in English; the auxiliary 'býti' (be) carries all the relevant primary grammatical categories (person, tense and number) while the infinitive form 'volat' (to call) is reduced to the function of signalling lexical meaning only. The past forms need the auxiliary only to convey the category of person (1st and 2nd), the other three, i.e. mood, tense and number ('volal jsem' (I) called - aux, 'volali jsme' (we) called - aux), being expressed by the past participle of the verb 'volat' (call). A similar situation can be observed in the conditional forms where the auxiliary particles, 'bych' (1sg), 'bys' (2sg), 'by' (3sg and pl), 'bychom' (1pl), 'byste' (2pl), express the categories of tense, mood and person and share the conveyance of the category of number with the notional component. The past conditional is used very rarely and is often replaced by its present counterpart. The array of the passive forms resembles the situation in English, the main difference consisting only in the ability of the Czech passive participle to express number - 'volán' (1st, 2nd sg, 3rd sg MASC), 'volána' (3sg FEM), 'voláno' (3sg NEU), 'voláni' (1st, 2nd pl, 3pl MASC), 'volány' (3pl FEM), 'volána' (3pl NEU). The use of this type of passive is, however, extremely limited. It appears with some frequency only in technical and scientific texts. In less bookish styles it is mostly replaced by the reflexive passive or by the impersonal (3rd person pl) form (cf. above, section 3), e.g.

volá se Petr

[call_{3sg} - refl - Peter]

volají Petra

[(they) call Peter]

In general we may say that with the exception of the future tense (of non-perfective verbs) the general tendency in Czech is for the notional component of the verb to express either all the primary categories (present tense, future perfective tense, preterite 3rd person singular and plural and the colloquial proclitic 2nd person singular) or a substantial share of them⁵¹ (tense, mood and number - 1st, 2nd person sg and pl of the preterite). In the conditionals and the infrequently used participial passives the notional component retains the ability to express number.

In English, on the other hand, the tendency is for the notional component to shed the function of conveying grammatical categories and to limit itself to the expression of lexical meaning. The only verbal form able to express all the primary categories independently is the simple present 3rd person singular ('calls'). The other forms of the simple present, like those of the simple preterite, depend on the use of the explicit pronominal subject for reference to the categories of person and number. The share of the notional component is still more diminished in the more complex inflection forms where further auxiliaries are added to convey the grammatical categories while the notional components serve only as their CO-CONVEYORS. Thus, for example, in the perfect tenses the notional components of such forms as 'I have (had) called' can only co-convey the categories of mood and tense. In the future tense and in the conditionals

(e.g. 'I shall/should call', 'I shall/should have called') the role of the notional component is limited to the co-conveyance of the category of tense while in the passive and expanded forms ('I was called', 'he is calling') the contribution of the participial forms to the expression of primary categories is zero. The notional components are functionally dissociated from the auxiliary ones, the former expressing lexical meanings, the latter conveying grammatical categories.

10.11.2 Analytical Tendencies in the Sphere of Verbal Denomination

We agree with Renský (1966) that, "it is of fundamental methodological importance to distinguish between nominal tendencies in the sphere of denomination and in the sphere of syntax."

(p.290). In the latter, analytical forms are used primarily to make up for the absence of the respective synthetic verbal inflectional markers, while in the former a part or the whole of the notional meaning is completely disengaged from the conveyance of the above-mentioned grammatical functions in the entire array of inflection forms.

10.11.21 Verb-Adverb Combinations

We will use this term to refer to verbal compounds of the type 'carry out', 'take off', 'put on' and the like⁵². In these verbal compounds, part of the total meaning of the unit is detached from the basic verbal element in the form of an adverbial. The expression of the primary verbal categories is confined to the basic verbal element (+ auxiliaries) which is usually semantically rather weak. In Czech these combinations have no counterpart since the adverbial component ('separated prefix') is always added to the verb in the form of an inseparable prefix or is expressed lexically by the use of a different verb, cf.

182a) I have packed up everything
Zabalil jsem všechno
[(I) up - packed - aux - everything]

182b) Put on your coat
Obleč si kabát
[Dress - refl - coat]

The relationship between the Czech 'prefix + V' and the English 'V + Adverb' is by no means of a one-to-one nature as in (182a). In (182b) we can see that Czech approaches the situation differently, i.e. by using a more specific verb. In colloquial Czech it is not entirely impossible to use a similar construction, i.e.

182b₁) Dej si na sebe kabát
[Put - refl - on - yourself - (a) coat]

where the Locative 'na sebe' on yourself must be used to make the situation explicit. The differences between the usage of the above-mentioned verbal formatives in the two languages involve a host of far-reaching problems of both a grammatical (e.g. category of aspect) and a semantic nature (collocability of the V and its actants) which are not strictly comparable, and we do not consider it necessary to treat them in any greater detail here⁵³.

10.11.22 Verbo-Nominal Compounds

A still further polarization between the grammatical and semantic functions is achieved in a very productive group of compounds consisting of a verb of broad semantics and a nominal element, i.e. noun, for example, 'to make an investigation' (prozkoumat - [through - investigate]), adjective, e.g. 'to be silent' (mlčet), or adverbial phrase, e.g. 'be in a hurry' (spěchat [hurry])⁵⁴.

In Czech, verbo-nominal phrases are much less common and very often stylistically marked as formal⁵⁵. In the majority of cases the Czech counterparts of these verbal complexes are single verbs. We will devote more attention to this question later on (see section 10.13.1 of the present chapter).

10.11.3 In the preceding pages we have attempted to point out some typical differences between the Czech and the English verb in the sphere of syntax. We have seen that the Czech predicative verb is a structurally autonomous unit whose flexible morphology allows it to discharge the duties both of a conveyor of predicative categories and of a carrier of lexical meaning without having to rely too much on auxiliaries either in the sphere of inflection or denomination. In English, on the other hand, we have seen a strong tendency towards splitting the verb into two components, the first of which is used predominantly as a conveyor of predicative categories and the second (nominal or adverbial) as a carrier of the verbal unit's semantics. This is observable both in the system of inflection and, in particular, in the sphere of verbal denomination. Let us now have a closer look at the behaviour of the Czech and English verbs in the sphere of sentence semantics.

II. Semantic level

10.12 Semantic Relations between the Verb and its Actants

Earlier in this chapter (section 1) we mentioned in passing certain differences between the two languages in the closeness of the semantic tie between the subject and the predicative verb. We noted that in Czech there is a strong interdependence between the lexical semantics of the two constituents and their semantic and syntactic roles. This semantic bond between the subject and the predicative verb imposes considerable restrictions on the

selection of actants for the role of subjects, an observable tendency being to identify subjects with deep structure Agents. In English, on the other hand, the semantic bond between the predicative verb and the subject is more relaxed, which makes it possible to raise virtually any semantic actant into the role of the subject.

In this section we want to demonstrate that distinctions of a similar kind also hold for the collocability of the verb with its right-hand actants.

The said tendency of the English verb towards dissociating the grammatical and notional aspects of action is also reflected in the sphere of verbal complementation. To demonstrate let us consider the following examples:

183a) John put on his coat

Jan si oblékl kabát

[John - refl - dressed coat]

183b) John put on his new tie

Jan si uvázál novou vazanku

[John - refl - tied new tie]

183c) John put on a nice pair of shoes

Jan si obul hezké boty

[John - refl - shod nice shoes]

183d) John put on his gloves

Jan si navlékl rukavice

[John - refl - put on (by pulling) gloves]

183e) John put on his army belt

Jan se opásal vojenským opaskem

[John - refl - girdled (with) military_{INS} belt_{INS}]

Sentences (183a) to (183e) are representative of the differences in the ways verbs in Czech and English collocate with their right-hand complements. They describe the 'putting on' of five different items of clothing or footwear. In English all five sentences use the same general verb 'put on' with all five objects. In Czech each object requires a specific verbal partner to match it semantically. Schematically:

	<u>English</u>	←	<u>Czech</u>	
put on	coat	←	obléct si	[(to) dress]
	tie	←	uvázat si	[(to) tie]
	shoes	←	obout si	[(to) shoe]
	gloves	←	navléknout	[(to) pull on]
	belt	←	opásat se	[(to) girdle - refl]

We can see that, in a similar fashion to the various forms of verbal compounds in the 'V + O' collocations, English tends to shift the specific features of the action onto the complement, the V_f being reserved predominantly for the expression of predicative categories, contributing only with those features of lexical semantics which are not expressed in the complement.

In Czech we can observe the need of repeating in the verb the semantic feature referring to the specific object of apparel concerned. Further examples of this nature were adduced in Chapter 2 (section 3.3)⁵⁶.

This state of affairs is not limited to the 'V + O' groups; it can also be observed in sentences with adverbial complements. Let us demonstrate with examples referring to the position of objects in space:

184a) It (picture) is still at the municipal gallery
Ještě visí v městské galerii
[Still hangs at municipal gallery]

(JB, R 115/116)

184b) Along the bank there was a path ...
Tudy vedla cestička ...
[Here led path ...]

(MK, 25/31)

184c) Hilfe was at the window ...
Hilfe stál u okna ...
[Hilfe stood at window ...]

(GG, 35/45)

184d) And there was the sofa ...
A tam stávala pohovka ...
[And there (used to) stand sofa ...]

(JB, R 93/93)

184e) It (the Abbey) was solid on a foundation of centuries
Pevně spočívalo na stoletých základech
[Firmly rested on century (old) foundations]

(JW, 152/145)

184f) On the window-sill were a razor, a stick of shaving-
soap, a tube of toothpaste ...
Na okně se povaloval holicí strojek, váleček holicího
mýdla, tuba zubní pasty ...

[On window-sill lay (a) razor, a stick of shaving-soap ... etc.]

(JB, R 14/13)

184g) There were two cherry trees next to it
 Vedle rostly dvě třešně
 [Next (to it) grew two cherry trees]

(JB, R 15/14)

These sentences reveal the following correspondences of the
 'V + AdvLoc' group in the two languages:

<u>English</u>			<u>Czech</u>
picture	in the gallery	← viset	[(to) hang]
path	along the bank	← vést	[(to) lead]
person	at the window	← stát	[(to) stand]
sofa	there	← stát	[(to) stand]
the Abbey	on a foundation	← spočívát	[(to) rest]
razor	on the window-sill	← povalovat se	[(to) lie]
shaving soap			
cherry tree	next to an apple tree	← růst	[(to) grow]

(cf. also 10.14.154).

In the English versions of these sentences the verb is entirely empty of meaning⁵⁷ and depends semantically on both the subjects and on the Locative Adverbials. These sentences are referring to semantically UNMARKED situations, i.e. situations in which objects are positioned in a manner which is usual for them. In such situations English can manage perfectly with the verb 'be', although in some sentences the more specific position verbs are also possible ('a picture was/hung on the wall', 'a path was/led along the bank', etc.). The more specific verbs become obligatory when describing semantically MARKED situations, e.g.

- 184g₁) *Next to it lay two cherry trees
(e.g. after somebody's orchard was vandalized)

Or:

- 185) *The bedside table hung on the door handle
(e.g. as a result of a practical joke).

III. FSP Level

10.13 The Communicative Value of the Finite Verb

Having considered some of the most conspicuous syntactic and semantic differences between Czech and English verbs we will now turn to the repercussions these differences have for the FSP in the two languages.

One of the major consequences of the tendency in English towards dissociating the verb into formal and notional segments is that the communicative value of its finite verb is generally lower than that of the Czech verb. As a result it can appear very rarely in the role of the R. On the other hand, the Czech finite verb, which is heavily loaded with semantic content both of a grammatical and notional kind, can have a very high communicative value and is therefore one of the favourite candidates for the rhematic role and, indeed, it appears with considerable frequency in the final position of the sentence.

From the FSP viewpoint, we may say that the dissociation between the grammatical and notional components also brings about a polarization between those semantic features which constitute the R proper and those which refer to such aspects of the situation as are usually expressed by the predicative categories (in particular those of person, tense, number and mood).

This is a state of affairs wherein there are basically three qualitatively different types of communicative units, i.e. (a) thematic, (b) rhematic, and (c) those primarily reserved for the conveyance of the afore-mentioned grammatical categories. Firbas (elsewhere) refers to the last as TRANSITION, thus adopting a tripartite FSP conceptual framework, i.e. Theme - Transition - Rheme (cf. Chapter 1, Section 2). This conception seems quite plausible for English but in languages such as Czech or Russian, where it is not so easy to isolate the 'transitional' communicative units from those of the T or R, it is superfluous⁵⁸.

Let us now have a closer look at the individual syntactic shifts which make it possible in English to avoid using the Vf in the final position and to replace it with the communicatively heavier nominal elements.

10.13.1 Czech: V, English: V + N of action

Examples:

185a) ... after he had taken a swig

... když se napil

[... when he (perf) drank]⁵⁹

(JB, R 114/114)

185b) In 1947 we took our final exams

V sedmačtyřicátém jsme maturovali

[In 1947 we - aux - took A Levels]

(MK, 136/134)

185c) Mr. Brown has a luncheon appointment with you

Pan Brown s vámi dnes obědvá

[Mr. Brown with you today lunches]

(JB, R 202/206)

185d) I must have a word with him

Musím si s ním promluvit

[(I) must - refl - with him (perf) talk]

(JB, R 109/110)

185e) He gave another yell

Znovu zakvílel

[Again (he) yelled]

(KA, 144/163)

185f) She made no reply

Neodpověděla

[(she) not answered (perf)]

(KA, 18/22)

185g) She does the organizing

Ta to tady řídí

[That _{FEM} it here organizes]

(JW, 168/161)

These examples are representative of a very broad group of 'analytical verbs' in English. The most productive verbs used in these combinations are:

to have (a look, a drink, a talk, a drive, a chat, fun, etc.);

to take (a look, a glance, a puff, a *fancy*, notice, etc.);

to give (a smile, a giggle, a sigh, a chuckle, a bark, a snort, a cough, etc.);

to make (a start, a plunge, a reply, a statement, etc.).

Other verbs appearing with some frequency are 'get' (get the hang of, get revenge), 'do' (do acting, do research), 'pay' (pay attention) and 'put' (put a stop to)⁶⁰.

10.13.11 'v + Adverbial phrase'

This is another variety of the same pattern. Examples:

- 186a) The lift was out of order

Výtah nejezdil

[Lift not ran]

(JB, 120/121)

- 186b) Bretschneider lapsed into silence

Bretschneider umkl

[Bretschneider (perf) fell silent (in one word)]

(S, 7/44)

10.13.12 Czech: AdvMan + V; English: V + Adj + N of action

With noun phrases of this kind adverbial modification of the verb is invariably downgraded to the position of an attribute of the N of action. This 'condensation' of two actants (cognate object + AdvMan) into one nominal group makes it possible to adhere to the favoured SYO arrangement⁶¹. Examples:

- 187a) He gave a quiet groan

Tiše zasténal

[Quietly (he) groaned]

(KA, 60/70)

- 187b) Dixon gave a sad, nostalgic smile

Dixon se smutně, tesklivě usmál

[Dixon - refl - sadly, nostalgically (perf) smiled]

(KA, 106/121)

This linear arrangement is retained even in those cases where the adverbial actant is the R proper:

- 188a) He had a pleading expression

Zatvářil se prosebně

[(he) gazed - refl - pleadingly]

(JB, L 141/137)

- 188b) He had a rough deal
Odkákal to šeredně
[(he) caught it roughly]

(St, 165/150)

The rhematicity of the attributes here is clearly recognizable because of their obviously heavier semantic load compared to that of the head nouns.

10.13.2 Czech: V + (Adverb); English: V + (Adj) + N of Agent

Examples:

- 189a) I am a learner
Ja se učím
[I - refl - learn]

(GG, 162/133)

- 189b) They're the world's worst dressers

(Daily Record, 12.1.78)

Oblékají se nejhůř na světě
[(they) dress - refl - worst in world]

- 189c) I am a heavy smoker

(Zandvoort, 204)

Hodně kouřím
[Much (I) smoke]

- 189d) He is a deadly marksman

(BBC, 14.1.78)

Střelí se smrtící přesností
[(he) shoots with deadly_{INS} accuracy_{INS}]

This is another productive pattern in English. The notional component of action is expressed by deverbatives which

are frequently formed *ad hoc*, for this purpose only, and are otherwise in many cases nonce-words. Compare the following examples:

189e) I'm an electric shaver

(Sunday Times, 15.1.78)

Holím se elektrickým strojkem

[(I) shave - refl - (with) electric_{INS} machine_{INS}]

189f) If you're a bully-beef maniac ...

Jestli si potrpíte na hovězí konzervy ...

[If - refl - like - beef tins]

(St, 14/13)

Again we have here the symmetrical pattern of a Vf with one actant on each side. The grammatical pattern tallies with the FSP pattern of Firbas's tripartite kind, cf.

S - Vcop - Predicative Complement

T - Transition - R.

The right-hand side complement containing the R proper is a condensed NG which can contain a number of deep-structure actants. The deverbative is in the final position even if it is not R proper. In a similar fashion to sentences (188a) and (188b) the attribute can be semantically heavier and therefore marked as rhematic. A significant factor in a wide-range productivity of this pattern is the fact that the deverbative nouns can refer not only to permanent qualities and actions (cf. 189c and d) but also to temporary ones (e.g. 189a)⁶².

10.13.3 Czech: 'Verb'; English: 'V + Adjective'

10.13.31 'Be + Adjective (past participle)'

Examples:

190a) He certainly was not wrong

Určité se nemylil

[Certainly - refl - (he) not erred] (Š, 168/182)

190b) It wasn't very important
Na tom nijak nezáleželo
[On that in no way mattered]

(JB, R 116/116)

190c) I should be unscrupulous
Nerozpakoval bych se
[(I) not hesitate - should - refl]

(GG, 43/34)

190d) You are compromised
Ty ses kompromitoval
[You - refl - compromised]

(JB, R 179/181)

As we have already noted earlier in this chapter (see 4.12.2), English can easily use this kind of predication since its adjectives have the ambivalent semantic ability of referring to both permanent and temporary qualities, the difference being resolved by context and by structural means, cf.

190c) I should be unscrupulous (temporary)

190c₁) I am an unscrupulous man (permanent)

Example (190c) points up a frequent difference in semantic focus between the two languages, Czech highlighting the action itself, English the result of the action.

10.13.32 Change of State V + Adjective

The typical finite verbs used here are: 'get', 'become', 'grow', 'go' and 'turn'. In Czech the change of state is expressed by change of state verbs and by change of state prefixes (e.g. the perfective 'z' in 'ztloustnout', example 191a):

191a) She ought to get fatter
Měla by ztloustnout
[(she) ought - aux - fatten]

(MK, 122/122)

- 191b) The people round me grew quiet
Lidé kolem me utichli
[People round me 'quietened']

(MK, 168/168)

English change of state verbs can incorporate the deep structure Instrument in such resultative constructions as:

- 192) We drank ourselves sober
Samým pitím jsme vystřízlivěli
[By (the) very drinking (we) - aux - sobered]

(JB, R 195/198)

i.e. 'We became sober by means of drinking'. Other typical instances of this kind are 'push the door open', 'worry o.s. sick', 'talk o.s. hoarse', etc.

10.13.4 Czech: Verb Incorporating a Deep Structure Actant.

10.13.41 English: V + O

The considerable degree of semantic specificity in the Czech verb frequently makes it possible to dispose of the explicit mention of the right-hand actant altogether. Examples:

- 193a) Pouze přikývl
[Only (he) (perf) nodded]
He merely nodded his head

(St, 14/13)

- 193b) Zazvonil jsem
[(I) rang - aux]
I rang the bell

(MK, 32/37)

- 193c) A dupají
[And (they) stamp]
And they stamp their feet

(Č, LS 245/147)

193d) Nikdo se ani neohlédl
[Nobody - refl - even not looked (back)]
Nobody even turned his head
(KA, 212/238)

193e) Zaplatil jsem
[(I) (perf) paid - aux]
I paid the bill
(JB, R 223/227)

193f) ... oni smekali
[they + v denoting taking off headgear]
... and they took off their hats
(Š, 152/166)

193g) Ja nelžu
[(I) not lie]
I don't tell lies
(JB, R 116/116)

In sentences (193a, b, c and d) the verbs incorporate the Instrumental, in (e), (f) and (g) the Objective. It is, of course, true that the English verb, too, has the capacity to incorporate deep-structure actants⁶³. Nilsen (1973:154ff) shows that this is the case in particular with the Instrumentals, e.g. verbs like 'to butter', 'to cement', 'to bite', 'to finger', etc. Our research suggests that in the R the tendency is almost invariably to use the analytical construction with the explicit mention of the rhematic actant, which is in line with the general tendency towards unburdening the finite verb of the rhematic semes.

The verbs 'nod' (193a) and 'stamp' (193c) incorporate the Instrumentals 'head' and 'feet' quite unmistakably and yet in the R these Instrumentals are mentioned. The situation is different

in the other examples since the verbs do not contain the semantic features referring to the respective right-hand actants and therefore the latter are mentioned obligatorily. The Czech verbs are so explicit that an overt mention of the actants is in most cases barred as tautological⁶⁴. It is impossible to say 'přikývli hlavou' since 'přikývnout' is reserved for 'head-nodding'. On the other hand, in (193f) the object may be used since 'smekat' refers to headgear in general. In that case the V would cease to be R unless it was used emphatically.

10.13.42 English: V + Adv

Examples:

194a) Jdi pryč až nastoupím

[Go away when (I) board (the train)]

And walk away when I board the train

(JB, R 185/188) .

194b) ... když odešla (my translation)

[... when (she) left]

... when she'd left the room

(JB, R 13/13)

194c) Žádnýmu se nechce padnout

[(to) no-one - refl - (it) wants (to) fall]

No one wants to fall in action

(Š, 153/169)

Czech abounds with verbs incorporating adverbial actants, in particular Locatives. The actants are not usually mentioned since the specificity of the V and the context (or situation) makes them redundant. In English these actants are usually mentioned principally for structural reasons (in (c) for semantic

reasons also). The finite verbs differ from the preceding cases in that they are Rs. They are recognizable as such because of their informational value in the sentences, which is higher than that of the adverbial actant (marked as GIVEN by the definite article).

10.14 Right-hand Actants in R

Objectival and adverbial complements which stand for OBLIGATORY and POTENTIAL actants are the favourite candidates for the role of the Rheme. Under conditions of contextual and semantic neutrality (syntactic tranquillity)⁶⁵ their communicative importance surpasses that of the finite verb. Firbas (1971a:137) attributes this phenomenon to the operation of the semantic structure. In his words:

"An object expresses the goal (outcome) of an action conveyed by the accompanying verb. Provided it is contextually independent, it will carry a higher degree of CD than the verb. This is because from the point of view of communication, an unknown goal (outcome) of an action appears to be more important than the action itself. A contextually independent object will carry a higher degree of CD than the verb irrespective of the positions occupied within the linear arrangement."

To demonstrate he uses an English sentence with its German counterpart whose verb is structurally bound to the final position, i.e.

195) I have read a fine book

Ich habe ein schönes Buch gelesen

(p.137)

The same goes for independent adverbial elements, e.g.

196) I flew to London

Ich habe nach London geflogen

(p.137)

In Firbas's words, "... communicatively speaking, an unknown direction or destination of a motion is more important than the motion itself."⁶⁶.

However, the contextual markers (e.g. the articles) and the word order do not always suffice to define the respective CDs of the verb and its complements. Sometimes we have to take into account the lexical semantics also. Thus verbs in the negative have higher communicative importance than their complements, e.g.

197) John met his old friend

as against:

198) John didn't meet his old friend

A similar situation can be observed with verbs incorporating 'negative' specification in their meaning, e.g.

199) John ruined the table

(Fillmore, 1968:4)

as against:

200) John brought the table.

Let us now consider in greater detail some structural and semantic distinctions observable in the two languages in the sphere of marking objects and adverbials as rhematic.

10.14.1 Deep Cases in the Rheme

When describing the distinctions between the conception of the subject in the two languages, we emphasized that whereas in Czech there is a strong tendency for subjects to coincide with the actual Agents of the action expressed by the verb, in English this tie between the sentential and lexical semantics is considerably loosened, allowing virtually every type of structural actant to become the subject. In agreement with the findings of Mathesius and his followers we have postulated the prevailing tendency of the English subject to serve as a formal vehicle of the T. In

this section we would like to show that the afore-mentioned relaxation of the tie between the semantics of the verb and the selection of the subject necessarily also has important repercussions in the syntactic formulation of the rhematic actants.

In Czech the selection of the form of the objectival and adverbial complementation is to a large extent determined by the semantics of the verb and the semantic potential of the individual case forms at the speaker's disposal, i.e. by the verbal GOVERNMENT. There is a considerable degree of agreement between deep cases and surface cases. However, it is not by any means total. Instrumentals are almost invariably expressed by the surface structure instrumentals with or without the preposition 's' (with). Experiencers and Goals are very often in the dative. Adverbial actants (with the exception of those which are realized as adverbs) are expressed by prepositional cases whose prepositions clearly indicate the nature of the semantic relationship rendered by the constructions⁶⁷.

In Modern English the need to copy the semantic relations between the V and its complements is far less pronounced. Instead of prepositional complements that would give a more explicit account of the semantic relations, English shows a strong tendency towards the more opaque direct objects for both propositional and adverbial deep cases. Poldauf (1972) notes that:

"Především je třeba konstatovat, že daleko nejčastějším doplněním předmětem anglických sloves je doplnění nepředložkové. Je obdobné českému doplnění akusativním předmětem a je stejně jako ono bezpříznakové. Velmi často odpovídá českým předmětům v jiných pádech."

(p.155)⁶⁸

10.14.11 To demonstrate this let us compare a selection of semantic functions of the Czech dative case (and the typical verbs which take this case) with the situation in English. According to Kopečný (1958), the Czech dative is used with verbs denoting:

a) Spatial relations

blížití se	- approach (ACC) ⁶⁹
jítí vstříc	- meet (ACC)
utéci	- escape (from s.o.), (s.t. ACC)
vyhnouti se	- avoid (ACC)

b) Similarity, commensurability, belonging

podobat se	- resemble (ACC) be similar (to)
rovnat se	- equal (ACC)
patřit	- belong (to)
rozumět	- understand (ACC)

c) Favour or disfavour

děkovat	- thank (ACC)
blahopřát	- congratulate (ACC)
pomoci	- help (ACC)
důvěřovat	- trust (ACC)
nadávat	- abuse (ACC)

d) Superiority and inferiority

vládnout	- rule (over) or (ACC) dominate (over) or (ACC) reign (over)
podléhat	- be subordinate (to)
lichotit	- flatter (ACC)
poklonkovat	- cower (to), bow (to), fawn (up) (on)
holdovat čemu	- pay homage (to)

e) Admiration and pleasure

tleskat	- applaud (ACC)
obdivovat se	- admire (ACC)
těšit se	- enjoy (ACC)
divit se	- wonder (at)

(Kopečný, 1958:209-211)

These are only a few examples but they confirm our point. In Czech the deep-structure Experiencer is overtly marked by the dative ending while in English it is unmarked in the majority of cases. Examples:

201a) She doesn't trust any of the men in Prague

Nevěří žádnému mužskému v Praze

[Not trusts no_{DAT} man_{DAT} in Prague]

(Š, 196/206)

201b) He enjoyed the affection of his men

Těšil se oblibě u vojáků

[(he) enjoyed - refl - affection_{DAT} with soldiers_{INS}]

201c) I applauded my own skill

Zatleskal jsem v duchu své vlastní obratnosti

[(I) applauded - aux - in mind - my_{DAT} own_{DAT} skill_{DAT}]

(JB, R 159/160)

Some examples of other cases

10.14.12 Instrumental

202a) Both shook their heads

Oba zavrtěli hlavou

[Both shook head_{INS}]

(MK, 34/39)

202b) ... how I drove the car

... jak jsem dojel s vozem

[... how I came (on wheels) with car_{INS}]

(JB, R 191/194)

10.14.13 Locative

203a) ... without demur they left their nets, their boats ...
... bez odmluv odcházeli od svých sítí ...

[... without demur went away from their_{GEN} nets_{GEN}]
(MK, 213/208)

203b) ... he continually picked his nose
... rýpal se v nose

[... (he) picked in nose_{LOC}]
(Š, 32/66)

203c) They now occupied the same bedroom
Teď spolu spaly ve stejném pokoji

[Now together (they) slept in same room]
(Th, 292/114)

203d) She stroked my hand
Pohládila mne po ruce

[(she) stroked me on hand]
(JB, R 228/233)

(203c) is an interesting example of how the two languages distribute the components of meaning in the sentence. English uses a semantically indistinctive verb and specifies the nature of action in the complement. Czech, on the other hand, specifies the action in the verb and, consequently, can use a less explicit complement. Schematically the rearrangement of the components of meaning can be represented as follows:

<u>English</u>	<u>Czech</u>
Verb: [occupation]	[occupation]
Complement: [room]	[for purposes of sleeping]
[for purposes of sleeping]	[room]

This is an example of an economic rendering of the situation in both languages. Czech, however, is quite often more redundant in repeating some of the semantic components in both the V and the complement (compare 10.12).

10.14.14 Iterativity of Semes in 'V + O (Adv)' Groups

The tendency towards the transitive rendering of verbal action in English is helped by the fact that there is not such a strong need for semantic iterativity as there is in Czech. As was pointed out above, English can select a semantically neutral transitive verb (take, have, share, use, etc.) as a vehicle of predicative categories and rely on the semantically explicit complement for a further specification of action:

204a) (It was as if) we shared the same lungs
... jakobychom dýchali jedněmi plícemi
[... as if we breathed (with) same_{INS} lungs_{INS}]
(JB, R 107/107)

204b) I have taken Charles' advice
Zařídil jsem se podle Charlesovy rady ...
[I acted - aux - refl - according to Charles' advice]
(JB, R 106/107)

204c) You have to have all the facts
Musíte se seznámit se všemi fakty
[(you) must - refl - acquaint with all facts_{INS}]
(GG, 36/28)

204d) I'd used the living room
Býval jsem v obývacím pokoji
[(I) lived - aux - in living_{LOC} room_{LOC}]
(JB, R 12/11)

204e) I took some awful jobs
Dělala jsem v hrozných zaměstnáních
[(I) worked - aux - in terrible jobs] (JB, R 100/100)

10.14.15 Manner Case in R

English reveals a considerable degree of resistance to the use of adverbs in the R, presumably because syntactically they are not weighty enough to constitute a suitable symmetrical counterpart to the subject, as is the case with the favoured SVO construction. They are also largely avoided when other right-hand participants are present, again, it appears, for reasons of syntactic symmetry. To avoid their use English resorts to a number of syntactic reconstructions.

Czech: 'Verb + (O) + Adv'

10.14.151 Conversion of Manner Adverb into O

Examples:

205a) Mario speaks no English

Mario nemluví anglicky

[Mario not speaks in - English]

(GG, T 106/106)

205b) He played a blinder

Hrál úžasně

[(he) played tremendously]

(St, 26/23)

10.14.152 Conversion of Manner Adverb into 'Attributive Adjective +

(Prop) Noun'

Examples:

206a) The Marchesa led a still, whispering existence

Markýza si žila tiše, pošeptu

[Marchesa - refl - lived quietly, whisperingly]

(Con, 60/57)

206b) You couldn't have ... looked a lovelier thing

Nemohla jste ... vypadat půvabněji

[(you) could not - aux - look lovelier (Adv)]

(JW, 88/82)

206c) We ate huge meals

Jedli jsme velice mnoho

[(we) ate - aux - very much]

(JB, 191/194)

206d) I lead a very pleasant life here

Žiju si tady velmi příjemně

[(I) live - refl - here very pleasantly]

(GG, 115/92)

This is a very common method of achieving the afore-mentioned SYO symmetry. The adverb is converted into an adjective, which is then placed as an attribute to the nominal part of a particular phrasal verb (cf. 10.13 above). With rhematic manner adverbs this noun is very often just a prop-word, tautologically repeating the semantics of the verb, e.g. 'eat' - 'meal' in (c) or 'lead' - 'existence' in (a) and even 'lead' (or 'live') - 'life' as in (d), or having very broad meaning ('thing', 'course', 'expression'). Although these appear at the end of the sentence, due to their semantic insignificance, they merely provide head words for the rhematic Manner cases in the form of adjectival attributes⁷⁰.

Another variety of this construction is rendering 'ManAdv' as an attributive genitive to a prop-noun. Examples:

207a) His care had an effect of charm

Jeho pečlivost působila půvabně

[His care looked charmingly]

(GG, 43/33)

207b) It'll do you a power of good

Udělá vám to moc dobře

[(Will) do you it much well]

(KA, 211/248)

207c) She had an air of self-possession

Působila jistě a klidně

[Looked (she) surely and calmly]

(JW, 97/91)

10.14.153 Czech: 'V + O + Adv'; English: 'V + (Attr + O)'

When there is an object present, it will serve as a head-word for the rhematic attribute. Here there is a certain degree of FSP ambivalence in English. Compare:

208) Will you give me a free sample?

Dáte mi vzorek zadarmo?

[(Will you) give me sample free (Adv)?]

(JB, R 227/231)

Depending on the nucleus, the rheme proper can either be the attribute or the 'Attr + O' group. The FSP reading can be disambiguated by the use of an adverbial alternative in the final position. In this case English prefers a weightier nominal paraphrase to a simple adverb, i.e.

208₁) Will you give me a sample free of charge?

Similarly:

209a) *He looked at me greedily

He gave me a greedy look

He looked at me with greed (in a greedy manner/way)

Czech: Podíval se na mě chamtivě

[Looked (he) - refl - at me greedily]

209b) He added softly (quietly)
[He added in a quieter voice]

Czech: Dodal tlumeně
[Added (he) muffled/ly]

(GG, 56/44)

10.14.154 Czech: 'V of action + Adv'; English: 'V be + Adj'

Examples:

210a) I feel I have been very stupid
Asi jsem jednala strašlivě hloupě
[Probably - aux - (I) acted extremely stupidly]

(KA, 198/222)

210b) Welch was always very straightforward
Welch postupoval vždy přímo
[Welch proceeded always directly]

(KA, 81/93)

210c) Her ... eyes were tender and amused
Její ... oči se dívaly něžně a pobaveně
[Her ... eyes - refl - looked tenderly and amusedly]

(JB, R 97/98)

210d) We have to be realistic ...
Musíme uvažovat realisticky
[(We) must think realistically]

(JW, 265/257)

210e) If you would be frank with me
Kdybyste se mnou mluvil otevřeně
[If you would with me speak frankly]

(GG, 101/108)

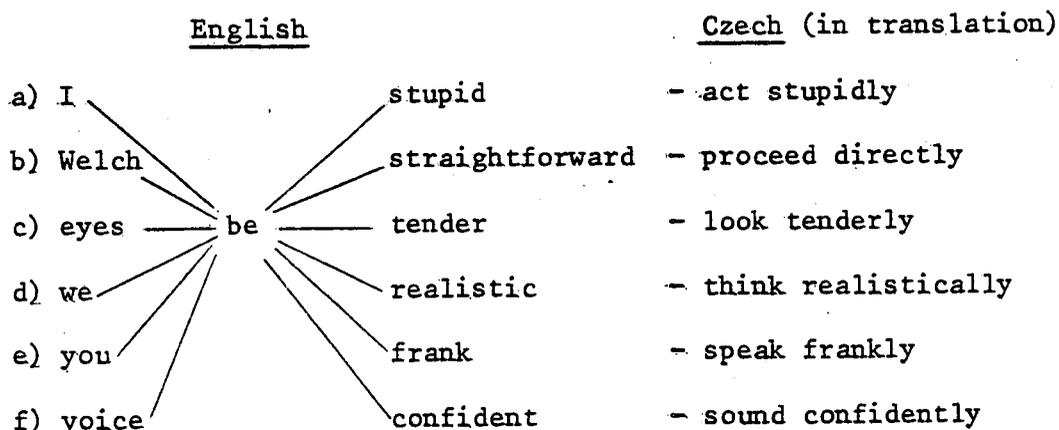
210f) The voice was confident again

Hlas zněl opět sebevědomě

[(The) voice sounded again confidently]

(KA, 193/217)

These are instances of quasi-qualification. The adjectives refer to a temporary quality⁷¹. In Givón's analysis they are verb-based adjectives paraphrasable with the verbs 'act/ behave + adverb', the verb being represented in the surface structure by 'be' (Givón, 1970:830ff). When compared with Czech we can see that there the underlying verb is used explicitly in strict accordance with the needs of semantic concord between the verb and its actants. Let us sum up the relationships schematically:



When decoding the various meanings of the verb 'be' in these sentences the translator must refer to the semantics of the actants on both sides as well as to the context and the situation. This is yet another example of a higher degree of contextual dependence of the English sentence constituents than is the case in Czech.

11. Czech Predicative Adjectives in the R and their English

Counterparts

One of the basic ways of describing qualities of the subject in Czech is the use of the 'copula + predicative adjective'. In

English, as was shown in the preceding pages, the adjectives of the 'be + Adj' predications very often designate a temporary feature of the action and are therefore related to the deep structure verb of the 'act-behave' type. In other words they fulfil the function normally discharged by adverbs, i.e. that of modifying verbal action. When translating the Czech 'be + pred Adj' constructions, in which the adjective is called upon to single out certain characteristics of the subject, English has to resort to certain syntactic changes. In general we may say that there is a strong tendency towards translating the Czech adjective by a nominal expression.

11.1 Equative construction with the use of a generic substitute⁷²

In this construction the Czech adjective is expressed by a group 'Adjective + N (Pronoun)'. Examples:

211a) You are a funny chap, Joe

(JB, R 110)

Ty jsi legrační, Joe (my translation)

[You are funny, Joe]

211b) ... people are erring creatures ...

... lidi jsou chybující ...

[... people are erring]

(Š, 28/63)

211c) In Sarajevo it must have been a pretty ugly business

V tom Sarajevu to muselo být ošklivý

[In that Sarajevo it must have been ugly]

(Š, 8/46)

- 211d) The officer was a good man
... velitel byl slušný
[... (the) officer was decent]

(MK, 76/78)

- 211e) ... life is a splendid thing
... život je nádherný ...
[... life is splendid ...]

(MK, 186/181)

- 211f) My first thoughts were selfish ones
Mé první myšlenky byly sobecké
[My first thoughts were selfish]

(GG, C 57/18)

The generic substitutes include such words as 'man', 'boy', 'woman', 'girl', 'child', 'fellow', 'chap', or the more general 'lot' ('We humans are a rubbishy lot'), 'thing', 'business', 'one' ('ones'). These words serve as nominal heads for the respective adjectives. They are prop-words and as such they have only a very loose semantic bond with the noun (subject) for which they stand as substitutes. Thus, for example, the word 'thing' can easily be used even as a substitute for a noun having the feature [HUMAN], cf. 'She is a nice little thing'. In Poldauf's words: "Tedy a strong man je svého druhu substantivisací adjektiva strong. Znamená prostě nositele jmenované vlastnosti, nikoli tedy snad nutně jen člověka, který má jmenovanou vlastnost v nápadné míře."⁷³ (Poldauf, 1972:204). This phenomenon can be seen as another aspect of the English tendency towards nominalization. From the FSP viewpoint it agrees with the tendency to express R by means of nominal elements which are structurally more suited for this role than such word classes as verbs or adjectives.

Poldauf points out that in Czech it is also possible to express qualities by means of nominal predicates of the type 'on je hlupák' [he is a fool], 'on je dobrák' [he is a good (man)], but they seldom mean just simply a 'bearer of a certain quality'. They suggest an extraordinary degree of the particular quality. This larger degree of the quality can be expressed by means of intensifying adjectives like 'regular', 'positive', 'precious', 'downright', etc., e.g. 'a regular fool', 'a downright ass', etc. (Poldauf, 1972:203). It may be suggested that the use of an indefinite article in such constructions as:

212a) He is a nuisance

212b) She is a dear

212c) He is a pain in the neck

implies a considerable degree of the particular quality. They are very often used in exclamatory sentences, e.g.

213) What a bore she is

In Czech this is often expressed by the use of intensifying particles, e.g.

212c₁) Ten je ale otravný

[He is - intensifier - unpleasant]

213₁) Ten je ale nudný

[He is - intensifier - boring]

11.1.1 A further degree of nominalization can be seen in such cases where the attributively placed adjective is changed into an of-phrase postmodifier of the nominal substitute, e.g.

214a) Her expression was one of intentness

Výraz měla napjatý

[Expression (she) had intent]

214b) This was an act of courage

Bylo to odvažné

[Was it courageous]

(MK, 237/231)

11.2 Very often the Czech rhematic adjective is translated analytically by means of a nominal prepositional phrase, cf.

215a) My situation was almost beyond hope

Má situace byla téměř beznadějná

[My situation was almost hopeless]

(MK, 233/227)

215b) Their contribution ... was of equal worth

Jejich podíl ... byl rovnocenný

[Their share ... was equal]

(MK, 138/136)

Other phrases of this kind which are frequently used are, for example, 'of importance' (důležitý), 'of relevance' (relevantní), 'of influence', 'of use', etc. The use of these 'analytical adjectives' has an added advantage in that they can be further qualified by adjectives instead of adverbs (e.g. 'the theory was of considerable relevance' instead of 'the theory was very relevant'), which yields a structurally favoured symmetrical construction with a compact nominalized predicative.

11.3 Certain English adjectives are not able to appear independently in the predicate. In certain meanings they are so closely connected with their head word that they would be felt as semantically deficient on their own. In this case it is quite common to see the head word repeated "without producing the sensation of excessive redundancy that they do elsewhere" (Bolinger, 1967:16).

Examples:

216a) Most of the Andalusian dances are solo dances

Andaluské tance jsou většinou sólové

[Andalusian dances are mostly solo (Adj)]

(Č, LS 236/133)

216b) The novelists we studied were mostly regional novelists

(ones)

(Bolinger, 1967, 16)

Novelisté, které jsme studovali byli většinou regionalní

[The novelists which - aux - (we) studied were mostly

regional⁷⁴]

The capacity for independence in the predicate is obviously connected with the degree to which adjectives are semantically integrated with their nouns⁷⁵. Generally we may say that Czech adjectives are more independent than English ones. But when a Czech adjective becomes a part of a compound word, it cannot easily be detached from its nominal head word either, cf.

217) These nouns are common nouns

Tato jména jsou jména obecná

[These nouns are names common]

(Bolinger, 16)

11.2.1 Repetition is sometimes avoided by shifting the thematic noun into the final position. In this case a cataphoric⁷⁶ pronominal copy is left in T (demonstrative pronoun 'this', 'that', or an independent possessive, e.g. 'mine', 'yours'). Examples:

218a) This was a cruel religion

Toto náboženství bylo kruté

[This religion was cruel]

(MK, 222/216)

218b) Mine was not a destructive profession

Moje povolání nebylo destruktivní

[My profession was not destructive]

(GG, 160/165)

218c) But theirs was a successful match

Ale jejich manželství bylo úspěšné

[But their marriage was successful]

(Con, 73/66)

Despite the fact that the nouns stand in the final position, the nucleus falls on the attributive adjective and it is obviously felt to be the most dynamic segment in the sentence in the same way as in those cases where generic substitutes are used.

12. Rheme in Non-final Position

12.0 So far we have concentrated on mechanisms in English which make it possible for the R to assume its favourite position at the end or towards the end of the sentence, i.e. on grammatical reconstructions that allow a linear arrangement of the verb and its actants, which is similar to that typical of languages with 'free' word order. The syntactic constraints of the English sentence do not always allow this arrangement. To compensate for this, English has at its disposal a number of devices which mark out the R in an unambiguous fashion regardless of its position in the sentence. One of them - the use of the indefinite article - has already been treated (Chapter 4). In this section we will have a closer look at the other major methods, i.e. (1) syntactic shifts (periphrastic constructions), (2) use of lexical rhematizers, (3) italicization, and (4) use of emphatic 'what (a) ...' and 'such (a) ...' constructions.

12.1 Periphrastic Rhematizing Constructions

12.11 Cleft sentence

It is (was) ... R ... that (which, who, θ) + Quasi-relative Clause (T)

According to Quirk *et al.* (1972):

"the usefulness of the cleft sentence partly resides in its unambiguous marking of the focus information, where the clue of intonation is absent. The highlighted element has the full implication of contrastive focus: the rest of the clause is taken as given."

(p.951)

The cleft construction can give prominence to most sentence members,

e.g.

1. Subject

219a) It was the Serbs who did it

To udělali Srbové

[It_{ACC} did (the) Serbs_{NOM}]

(Š, 9/46)

219b) It was I that wrote that letter

Ten dopis jsem psal já sám

[That letter - aux - wrote I myself]

(OG, 78/101)

219c) It was the smell which had upset me most

Nejvíc mne tenkrát rozrušil ten pach

[Most me_{ACC} that time upset the smell_{NOM}]

(MK, 181/177)

219d) It was the intensity of his manner that was more noticeable

Ale mnohem nápadnější byla náruživost jeho chování

[But more noticeable was intensity (of) his manner]

(JW, 99/93)

219e) It was Bertrand who won the contest

Ze soutěže vyšel vítězně Bertrand

[From (the) contest came out victoriously Bertrand]

(KA, 51/60)

This type of construction is very convenient for marking the subject as R since, as we showed earlier in this chapter, English subjects are almost exclusively reserved for thematic positions. But it is also frequent with those members of the sentence which are more rhemeworthy, cf.

2. Direct Object

220a) For it is builders that we must become

Neboť my se musíme stát staviteli

[For we - refl - must become builders]

(JW, 115/109)

220b) It was my wife I murdered

Zabil jsem svou vlastní ženu

[(I) murdered - aux - my own wife]

(GG, 37/28)

3. Indirect Object

221) It was for her I took that old battle

(Poldauf, 1972:121; from Galsworthy)

Do té bitvy jsem se dal kvůli ní (my translation)

[Into that battle (I) went for her]

4. Adverbial of Time

222a) It was in September I first noticed it

(Quirk *et al.*, 1972:953)

Všiml jsem si toho poprvé y září

[(I) noticed - aux - refl - it in September]

- 222b) It was yesterday that George flew to Prague
Do Prahy letěl Jiří včera
To Prague flew George yesterday

(Firbas, 1967:141)

5. Adverbial of Place

- 223) ... it was here that the major lived (my translation)
... zde vlastně bydlí starosta
... here actually lives (the) major

(Š, 643/177)

12.11.1 This construction can accommodate rhematic elements of various kinds and length - individual words, phrases, clauses, and even larger stretches of text 'condensing' several predications, cf.

- 224) It was the memory of the red-headed young man who had fired on us that conditioned my choice of a route to Westminster

(JW, 151)

In this sentence the cleft construction puts into relief a conflation of two predications, i.e. 'I remembered a red-headed young man', 'The red-headed young man had fired on us'.

The cleft construction cannot be used for highlighting adjectives or finite verbs. As was shown earlier in this chapter, these two parts of speech are not very suitable for the rhematic function without being converted into constructions containing nominal elements. The same method can be applied in the case of focussing qualities and actions by means of cleft sentences. Thus, for example, in the sentence:

- 225) John teaches to earn a living

the action of teaching can be highlighted as rhematic after the verb is put into the gerund, the expression of grammatical categories having been shifted to the auxiliary 'do', i.e.

226) It is teaching that John does to earn a living

Similar conversions can be applied to adjectives, e.g.

227) What I hate is that he is (so) stupid

228) It is his extreme stupidity (or stupid behaviour) that

I hate

12.11.2 Cleft sentences are generally treated as a kind of relative clause. Jespersen (1927) refers to them as "restrictive clauses introduced by 'it is'". He points out, however, that they are interesting from the logical point of view "because it is not really the antecedent (or what looks like an antecedent) that is restricted by a relative clause" (p.88). In sentences like:

229) It is the wife that decides

or:

230) It was the battle of Waterloo that decided the fate
of Europe

the predicatives following after 'it is' (i.e. respectively 'the wife' and 'the battle of Waterloo') are so definite that they cannot be restricted any further ((229) could be understood restrictively only when referring to a polygamous society).

Jespersen therefore comes to the conclusion that "the relative clause ... might be said to belong rather to 'it' than to the predicative following after 'it is'" (p.89).

In his Analytic Syntax (first published 1937) Jespersen reconsidered his treatment of this construction and suggested an analysis which is close to that of the Prague Scholars; he

proposes to take 'it is (is it) + the connective word' (if any such is found) as a kind of extraposition and "treat the rest of the sentence as if there had been no intercalation"⁷⁷. When dealing with the function of the construction, he came to the conclusion that it:

"serves as a demonstrative gesture to point at one part of the sentence to which the attention of the hearer is to be drawn especially. In some ... cases ... this construction may be considered one of the means by which the disadvantages of having a comparatively rigid grammatical word order (SVO) can be obviated."

(p.76)

This latter fact, he suggests, explains why similar constructions are not found, or rather not used extensively, in languages in which the word order is considerably less rigid, e.g. Slavonic languages, German or Spanish⁷⁸.

Our research has shown that Czech uses this construction very rarely. There is no intrinsic need for its use, since, as we can see from examples (219-222), most English cleft sentences can be rendered quite adequately by non-cleft Czech sentences with the respective Rs in the final position. In modern Czech prose we have encountered only a few examples of a Czech variety of the cleft sentence, i.e. 'byl(-a, -o, -i, -y, -a) to + R + co (který, -á ...)' 'was (inflection endings) it + R + what (which)' and in all cases it could have been expressed by the more usual means of word order and/or the rhematizing lexical means. Example:

231a) Byla to jen ta prázdnota v duši, která ji k němu táhla

Was it only that emptiness in soul which her_{ACC} to him_{DAT} drew

[It was just the emptiness of her soul which drew her to him]

(MK, 226/220)

This sentence can be viewed as a stylistic variant of the less marked alternatives such as:

- 231b) Táhla ji k němu ta prázdnota v duši
[Drew her to him that emptiness in soul]
- 231c) Táhla ji k němu právě ta prázdnota v duši
[Drew her to him precisely that emptiness in soul]
- 231d) Právě ta prázdnota v duši ji k němu táhla
[Precisely that emptiness in soul her_{ACC} to him drew]
- 231e) To ta prázdnota v duši ...
[It (expletive) that emptiness in soul ... etc.]

It appears that the various methods of signalling the R in Czech, such as we can see in (231a) to (231d), reflect a certain cline of differing degrees of emphasis imparted to the R by means of (1) the position in the sentence, (2) lexical rhematizers, (3) periphrasis, and (4) a combination of (1) - (3). A further criterion which must be taken into account is that of the interaction between the thematic and rhematic segments and the context. Within the 1st instance (cf. Chapter 1, Section 3) in Czech, we can observe at least three distinct levels of emphasis on R: (1) UNMARKED, i.e. signalled by the end position only - as in (231b), (2) MARKED, i.e. signalled by the usual end position + a rhematizing word such as 'právě', 'jenom' (only), etc. - example (231c), and (3) STRONGLY MARKED - signalled by rhematizing words and/or the expletive particle 'to' in the non-final position and/or by cleaving - examples (231a) and (231d). Unlike the 2nd instance sentences (which copy almost exactly a sentence from the preceding context, singling out one member for the purposes of emphasis, e.g.

- 232) John did not win
But he did win),

these methods of emphasis depend less heavily on the immediate context. There is a clearly observable tendency, however, towards the use of more emphatic means as the dependency on the immediate context increases.

The use of the cleft sentence is stylistically marked as rather rhetorical and very often appears in political speeches or in polemical articles. Daneš (1957) exemplifies the construction with the following examples:

233) Byla to strana, která Jaroslava Haška změnila ...

[Was it (the) Party, which_{NOM} Jaroslav_{ACC} Hašek_{ACC} changed ...]

It was the Party which changed Jaroslav Hašek

234) Byla to především národní hesla, která měla oklamat

dělnickou třídu ...

[Were it before all national slogans, which ...]

It was the nationalistic slogans which were to deceive

the working class ...

(p.77)

In less elevated styles the marked degrees of emphasis are preferably catered for by lexical rhematizers.

The English cleft sentence construction appears to be able to express all these shades of meaning, the degree of emphasis being further specified by contextual means (and intonation in spoken discourse). It can bring into relief an element which is completely NEW. Example (beginning of a new chapter):

235) (In the majority of cases the modern traveller traverses foreign countries in a direction which, so to speak, runs counter to the course of history). Usually it is the chief railway station of the chief city which forms the starting point of his investigations ...

This is an example of UNMARKED emphasis (Grade 1); as was shown earlier, in Czech it is normally rendered by word-order means, cf.

235a) Na začátku jeho nových poznatků stojí obyčejně hlavní
nádraží ...

(Č, H 284/8)

[At (the) beginning (of) his new findings stands usually
(the) main station]

In English it can easily be paraphrased by the passive in order to put the R in the final position, for example:

235b) The starting point of his investigation is usually
formed by the chief railway station

A certain degree of contrastive emphasis is introduced when this rhematic element is semantically (along the paradigmatic axis)⁷⁹ related to some element in the preceding context, cf.

236) (Once, it was true, ... she had broken down, said she wanted to die, not to wait: that was hysteria)
Later it was her endurance and her patience which he had found most unbearable

(GG, 89/71)

In Czech this is best rendered by the MARKED (Grade 2) emphasis, e.g.

Později mu připadala nanejvýš nesnesitelná zase její
vytrvalost a trpělivost

[Later (to) him_{DAT} seemed most unbearable again (rhematizer)
her endurance and patience]

The STRONGLY MARKED degree of emphasis (Grade 3) can be demonstrated by the following piece of text:

237) (You remember the dogs, dear. They are in the photo)
It was them gave Curran the idea

(GG, T 39/38)

Here the cleft construction puts into relief an element clearly defined in the preceding context. In Czech it is best expressed by the non-final position and the use of rhematizers, i.e.

Právě ti přivedli Currana na ten nápad

[Precisely they brought Curran to that idea]

Or:

To oni přivedli Currana na ten nápad

[It (expletive) they brought Curran to that idea]

Typical of this emphatic use of the construction is that the R is carrying the lowest degree of CD. The rest of the sentence is introduced for the first time although it is not entirely NEW - it can be said to belong to the STOCK OF SHARED KNOWLEDGE (cf. Chapter 1, Section 2) - it is part of the memories of the participants in the discourse. We wish to stress again that here even this contrastive emphasis does not go beyond the boundaries of the 1st instance although it is coming very close to it.

This grade of emphasis can sometimes be expressed in English by the combination of 'cleft construction + lexical rhematizer', e.g.

238) (He had conveyed as clearly as he dared that)

it was for him alone the battle was over ...

... že on sám má už dobojováno

[... that he himself has already finished fighting]

(GG, 190/156)

The question of marking emphasis in written texts is an extremely complex one and we would not like to claim that our three-grade scale is in any way complete enough to cover all the possible shades of emphasis. The fact that the overt markers function in a close relationship with the particular contextual

conditions makes it rather opaque and difficult to describe in terms of precise rules. The general tendency which we have tried to demonstrate with the use of the English cleft construction and its Czech counterparts can be formulated as follows: the English cleft construction serves as an overt marker of the R but it does not provide for a more delicate signalization of the various shades of emphasis the R can carry, the latter task being left to contextual means. Yet again the decoding of the English sentence is shown to be more dependent on the contextual (and situational) environment than the Czech sentence, which tends to express the various shades of emphasis placed on the R overtly.

The impossibility of formulating exact rules in this sphere is perhaps one of the reasons for the frequent imprecisions perpetrated by translators who do not fully appreciate the delicate balance between the various means the two languages have at their disposal.

In translations from English we very often encounter instances of under-emphasis caused by omitting lexical rhematizers.

Examples:

239) He felt that it was things like this that kept him going

Cítil, že zážitky toho druhu v něm živí neutuchající

plamen optimismu

[(He) felt that things of that kind in him (are)

feed(ing) (the) unquenchable flame of optimism]

(KA, 174/196)

The omission of a rhematizer (e.g. 'právě' - 'precisely') changes the FSP reading. 'Zažitky toho druhu' things of that kind is presented as a T while 'neutuchající plamen optimismu' [unquenchable flame of optimism] is felt to be the R. Similarly:

240) It's we who are materialists

A my jsme materialisté

[And we are materialists]

(GG, 120/97)

Instead of:

To my (or, právě my) jsme materialisté

[(expletive) we (or, precisely we) are materialists]

In English, on the other hand, we can see numerous cases of 'over-emphasis' or the unnecessary use of lexical rhematizers in combination with cleft constructions. A typical example is the use of 'precisely' in cleft constructions. Although it is not an obvious mistake, it typically appears with extreme frequency in translated materials rather than in original writing as a counterpart to the frequently used rhematizer 'právě'.

Examples:

241) And it is precisely this minor seventh which I love

in our folk songs ...

A já mám v našich lidových písních rád právě tu malou

septimu

[And I like in our folk songs precisely the minor
seventh]

(MK, 128/127)

- 242) ... that it was precisely her artlessness and ignorance
which made me so fond of her
... právě její neumělosti a neznalosti jsou mi drahé ...
[... precisely her artlessness and ignorance are to me dear]
(MK, 76/78)

- 243) Later it was this very ordinariness which touched
and attracted me
... me později právě tato obyčejnost dojímala a
přitahovala
[... me later precisely this ordinariness touched and
attracted]
(MK, 63/66)

12.12 Periphrasis with Generic Substitutes - 'one - ones -
people - person - ť', etc.

Examples:

- 244) (... I have found myself in real need of assistance and)
he was the one who always rendered it to me
... a právě on mi vždycky pomohl
[... and precisely he (to) me_{DAT} always helped]
(MK, 209/205)
- 245) ... that I had been the one who wanted to hear about him
... že jsem se jí přece já sám na něho ptal
[... that - aux - refl - her_{GEN} precisely I myself
about him asked]
(MK, 205/197)
- 246) ... that those were the people I liked
... že mám právě takové lidi ráda
[... that (I) precisely such people like]
(MK, 22/26)

These constructions discharge the same task as the 'it is ... that' construction and can be paraphrased by it, cf.

244a) ... it was he who always rendered assistance

245a) ... it was I who wanted to hear about him

The examples suggest that the nouns which are highlighted by this construction are always heavily emphasized. The construction is thus one of the means of expressing Rs carrying Grade 3 emphasis.

12.12.1 Similar to this type are also paraphrases with 'the only', 'the first', etc. + inf:

247) Flamville (R) are the only people to do it

A pomoct vám může jenom firma Flamville

And (to) help (to) you_{DAT} can only (the) firm Flamville

(JB, L 201/194)

248) Mark (R) was the first to see me

První mě uviděl Mark

First me_{ACC} saw Mark

(JB, L 145/141)

The shifting of Rs into non-final positions and the variation of emphasis on the R is not, however, limited to the cleft constructions only. Let us now deal in greater detail with the alternative means used for this purpose in written texts, notably the use of lexical rhematizers and of italicization (the use of articles having been treated in Chapter 4).

12.2 Lexical Rhematizers

When dealing with the question of the FSP homonymy revealed by the English 'it is ... that' cleft construction, we mentioned some lexical rhematizers used in Czech to correspond to the said English construction. In the present section we will have a closer look at the problem.

Linguistic literature quotes numerous languages having at their disposal particles which unambiguously distinguish between the thematic and rhematic information.

Kuno (1969, 1972) presents an analysis of the Japanese particles 'wa' and 'ga'; the former is used to mark the T, the latter the R, cf.

249) John wa watakusi no tomodati desu

[John 's friend is]

John is my friend

250) John ga baka desu

[John fool is]

It is John who is stupid

(1972:270-271)

Kotsoudas (1966) adduces examples of the use of the rhematizing particle 'na' in Krio, a language in Sierra Leone:

251a) i go it banana

He will eat banana

251b) na banana i bay

He bought bananas (R)

Similarly:

252) na di kičin i it binc

He ate beans in the kitchen (R)

253) na ɾ go it rɛs

He (R) will eat rice

(p.222)

According to Panfilov (1968) some of the Altaic languages (e.g. Niykhi and Jukahir) use suffixes for the marking of the R:

"In the Nivkhi language, for instance, whenever the logical predicate of the judgement is expressed not by the grammatical predicate but by some other member of the sentence, the latter takes on a specific predicative suffix -ma, -na, -da."

Examples:

254) Hevgun vid'la?⁸⁰ hevgun vid'ra

Is Hevgun coming? Yes, Hevgun is coming

As against:

255) Hevgunla vid'? Hevgunda vid'

Is it Hevgun coming? Yes, it is Hevgun coming

(p.22)

In European languages there are no specific particles whose sole function would be marking the FSP segments, but the same role is frequently discharged by restrictive and additive adjuncts whose semantics makes them suitable for marking out the R, since it very often involves some degree of emphasis.

Quirk *et al.* (1972) list the following 'FOCUSSING ADJUNCTS' operating in English:

I. RESTRICTIVES

a) EXCLUSIVES, i.e. such adjuncts as restrict the application of the communication exclusively to the part focussed: 'alone', 'exactly', 'exclusively', 'just', 'merely', 'only', 'precisely', 'purely', 'simply', 'solely'.

b) PARTICULARIZERS, i.e. such adjuncts as restrict the application of the communication particularly or mainly to the part focussed: 'chiefly', 'especially', 'largely', 'mainly', 'mostly', 'notably', 'particularly', 'primarily', 'principally', 'specifically'; 'at least', 'in particular'.

II. ADDITIVES

'again', 'also', 'either', 'equally', 'even', 'further',
'likewise', 'neither', 'nor', 'similarly', 'too'; 'as well',
'in addition'.

There are of course many other synonymous words and expressions that can appear in this function, the most notable being the adverb 'really' (in its particularizing sense); analytical phrases suggesting exclusiveness, e.g. 'all ... but', 'nothing ... but', 'no more than'; particularizing adjectives⁸¹, e.g. '(the) very', '(the) particular', '(the) precise'; emphatic reflexive pronouns; and the use of 'do' (for focussing verbs).

In Slavonic languages these adjuncts represent the only alternative means of marking FSP to the use of word order (in written texts). Since they involve various degrees of emphasis⁸², they supersede the FSP functions of word order⁸³.

The most frequently used Czech rhematizing particles and adverbs are the following: 'také' (also), 'i' (also, even), 'ani' (not even), 'již', 'už' (already), 'ještě' ((the) very), 'právě' (precisely), 'zrovna' (just), 'dokonce' (even), 'aspoň' (at least), 'jedině', 'jenom' (only), 'pouze' (only), 'přece' (equivalent to 'do' in focussing verbs), 'samý' (nothing ... but), etc.⁸⁴. Examples:

256) Even these discomforts added to my pleasure

I tyhle nepříjemnosti zvyšovaly mé uspokojení

[Even these discomforts increased my satisfaction]

(JB, R 7/5)

- 257) Only the extremely wealthy customers could afford to
buy those

(Quirk *et al.*, 1972:431)

Tyhle si mohli dovolit jenom obzvláště bohatí zákazníci

[These_{ACC} could afford only extremely wealthy customers]

- 258) The very prohibition imposed the necessity of success

(BBC, 24.5.78)

Právě ten zákaz jim velel zvítězit

[Just that prohibition commanded them to win]

- 259) And even if by chance he does succeed in preparing it

Kdyby se mu to přece jen podařilo sestrojít

[If - refl - (to) him_{DAT} it - (rhematizer) - succeed

to prepare]

(Č, Kr 248/354)

- 260) ... I believe she did write something of the sort

... snad něco takového psala

[... perhaps something such_{GEN} (she) wrote]

(MK, 38/33)

12.3 Italicization

One of the most important markers of the R in spoken language is intonation. The placing of the nucleus on a word makes it automatically the R proper regardless of the presence of other FSP markers in the sentence and of the context. Due to its rigidity of word order, English relies on intonation much more than Czech, without necessarily creating emphatic rhemes.

Thus, the sentence:

- 261) John plays chess in his club every day

can have at least four Czech word order alternatives according to the placing of the nuclear stress:

- a) Jan hraje šachy ve svém klubu každý den
[John plays chess in his club every day]
- b) Jan hraje ve svém klubu každý den šachy
[John plays in his club every day chess]
- c) Jan hraje šachy každý den ve svém klubu
[John plays chess every day in his club]
- d) Šachy hraje ve svém klubu každý den Jan
[Chess plays in his club every day John]

It is little wonder, therefore, that there is a tendency in English to mark out non-neutral positions of the intonational nuclei in written texts also. This is achieved by italicization of the stressed words. As with the cleft construction, italicization caters for various degrees of emphasis on the R.

12.31 In Czech, italics correspond to the simple final position (Grade 1 Emphasis). Examples:

- 262) (Do you know when I come into this pub, I don't even have to order)? They *automatically* issue a pint of wallop

(JB, R 86)

Nalejí mi püllitr automaticky (my translation)

[They issue (to) me_{DAT} (a) pint_{ACC} automatically]

- 263) A person doesn't have to be *rich* to be clean

(JB, R 14)

Na to, aby udržoval čistotu, nemusí být člověk žádný

boháč (my translation)

[To keep clean (one) needn't be any rich man]

In neither of these sentences is there any need to render the italics other than by word order. The translators used italics (p.86 and p.13 respectively) but they are superfluous and, indeed, intrusive.

12.32 Italics correspond to Grade 2 Emphasis, in which the final position of the R is reinforced by rhematizers, or Grade 3, where the R, reinforced by rhematizers, is placed outside the final position. Italics (in English) are typically, and with considerable frequency, used to mark out grammatical words which carry very little or no notional information.

12.32.1 Verbs

12.32.11 'Be'

12.32.111 Existential

264) There *is* love at first sight

(HGW, 109)

Láska na první pohled přece tedy existuje

[Love at first sight then really exists]

12.32.112 Auxiliary

265) We *are* besieged

Jsme tedy opravdu obklíčeni

[(we) are then really besieged]

(GG, 102/82)

266) ... but I *am* scared

... ale já se opravdu bojím

[... but I - refl - really fear]

(GG, 103/82)

12.32.113 Copulative

267) He *was* Anna's brother

To je přece Annin bratr

[It is after all Anna's brother]

(GG, 218/180)

268) You *are* funny

Vy jste ale legrační

[You are - rhematizer (but) - funny]

(HGW, 108/119)

269) (It was like a parody on a State funeral) - but this
was a State funeral

... ale tohle přece byl státní pohřeb

[... but this after all was a State funeral]

(GG, 86/68)

12.32.12 Modal auxiliaries and constructions

270) We *must* do something ...

(JW, 125)

Něco přece udělat musíme (my translation)

[Something after all (to) do (we) must]

271) (But I'm pretty certain of one thing, and that is that)
there *could* be danger in them

... že by *mohli* být nebezpeční

[... that - cond particle - they *could* be dangerous]

(JW, 49/46)

272) (How was I to explain that) I *needed* to hate him

... že ho *potřebuju* nenávidět

[... that him_{ACC} (I) *need* (to) hate]

(MK, 263/255)

273) It's the Party's *duty* not to trust me

Strana má *povinnost* nedůvěřovat

|(the) Party has (a) *duty* to distrust me|

(MK, 97/97)

12.32.13 Other Auxiliaries

274) This time I *have* killed him

Tentokrát jsem ho opravdu zabil

[This time (I) - aux 'be' - him really killed]

(GG, 171/174)

275) I *will* take a glass of sherry

Přece si jen vezmu sklenici sherry (my translation)

[After all - refl - (I) will take (a) glass of sherry |

(HGW, 76)

276) And we *would* have been disappointed ...

A nás by to opravdu zklamalo ...

[And us would it really disappoint ...]

(JB, L 188/187)

277) Why *did* you come Arthur?

Proč jsi vlastně přišel, Arture?

[Why (you) - aux 'be' - actually came, Arthur?]

(GG, 84/66)

As can be seen from the examples, in Czech the use of italics for the focussing of verbs is only marginal. It is used naturally without any other rhematizing means only in the case of modal verbs or their paraphrases (cf. (271) to (273)). Even there, however, it is possible to use alternative strategies, e.g. shifting the modal verb to the final position (271, 272) and omitting the italicization (the final position of an auxiliary verb automatically signals emphasis) or inserting the rhematizer 'přece' ('after all') before 'potřebuju' (272) and 'povinnost' (273). In general we may say that italicization for purposes of emphasizing the R is possible in Czech predominantly in those cases where action is expressed analytically, i.e. by a

combination of grammatical and notional segments (future, the past conditional, the passive, constructions with modal verbs, etc.), but in all cases it can be replaced by the more common alternatives demonstrated above. The fact that English abounds in analytical verbal forms makes it particularly suitable for marking out certain grammatical features of verbal action as R proper. Italicization may thus be applied to single out a specific verbal category (e.g. aspect in (274), tense in (275) and (277), the conditional in (276), etc.) without changing the emphasis put on the notional part of the verb. In Czech, on the other hand, the synthetic forms have to be emphasized *en bloc* and the assigning of the R to a particular semantic feature of such verbs can be done only on the basis of the context (should such an analysis be needed).

An interesting situation arises with the verb 'do'. As we have already suggested (12.2), it can be considered as one of the lexical rhematizers for the focussing of verbs. However, that is possible only in the affirmative or in such contexts where it is not called upon to discharge its duties as an auxiliary verb, i.e. when used as an emphatic verb. When it is tied up with its duties as a dummy verb for the formation of the interrogative or the negative, it can be made emphatic like any other auxiliary verb by means of italicization (cf. 277). In the affirmative no italicization is needed, since there 'do' is automatically emphatic.

12.4 Pronouns

Pronouns - personal, possessive and demonstrative - are the second major category which lends itself to frequent italicization. Being intrinsically thematic, they require special marking when

they are to appear as Rs, and when used as such they carry similar degrees of emphasis as rhematic auxiliaries, which we discussed earlier.

12.4.1 Pronominal subjects

Examples:

278) *He* gave me a black eye

To mi udělal na oku modřinu

[rhematizer - he (to) me_{DAT} made on eye (á) black spot]

(GG, C 139/135)

279) Just the woman *you* love most

Žena, kterou ty nejvíc miluješ

[Woman, which you most love]

(JB, R 180/182)

280) What are *you* doing, my sweet?

Copak tu děláš ty, holubinko?

[What then here do you, (my) sweet?]

(JB, R 173/174)

281) But if *they* make the rule

Ale když to nařídí oni

[But if it_{ACC} order they]

(JW, 124/118)

282) I don't know why *you* should ask

Nevím, proč se *me* na to ptáte zrovna vy

[(I) not know why - refl - *me*_{ACC} about it ask particularly
you]

(GG, C 36/38)

Rhematic subjects expressed by the italicized personal pronouns carry varying degrees of emphasis which in Czech is reflected overtly in the various forms of rhematic marking. The variety

of combinations of rhematic markers is even greater than with auxiliaries. The possible combinations are as follows:

1. Overt expression of the pronominal subject in non-final position without rhematizers (279). The degree of contrast is minimal. The very fact of the overt mention of the subject, in opposition to the neutral situation where pronominal subjects are omitted, suffices to indicate this degree of contrast.
2. Overt expression of the pronominal subject in the final position without the use of rhematizers (280, 281). The degree of contrast is greater than in (1).
3. Further degrees of emphasis are achieved by adding a rhematizer (e.g. (282) - 'zrovna vy' [particularly you]) and by shifting the group 'rhematizer + subject' away from the naturally rhematic final position (278 - 'to on' [deictic rhematizer + he]).

In Czech, italics are used quite rarely to mark emphasis on personal pronouns. With the presence of so many other effective markers they are not necessary. But occasionally they do appear as an additional means of emphasis:

- 283) ... jen *já* ho ponesu, jen *já* sám sebe odsoudím
[... only I it (sin) shall bear, only I myself_{ACC} condemn]
... only *I* shall bear it, only *I* shall condemn it
(MK, 233/226)

12.4.2 Possessive and Demonstrative Pronouns

Examples:

- 284) It will be *my* sin
Bude to přece *muj* hřích
[Will be it after all *my* sin]
(MK, 226/233)

- 285) It's a case of *your own* safety
Jde přece také o *váši* bezpečnost
[Goes after all about your safety]

(MK, 282/272)

- 286) (You know the men?) I don't know *these* men, but ...
Neznám zrovna tyhle lidi ...
[(I) not know precisely these men]

(GG, 177/146)

There is a stronger case for using italics in Czech to mark out attributive pronouns since they are more or less limited to the position preceding their head nouns. The word order constraints imposed on the Czech attributive qualifiers are similar to the rigid word order constraints in English and it is therefore quite logical to use italics. Nonetheless, even here they are usually superfluous because contrast is regularly reinforced by rhematizers (cf. the use of two rhematizers plus italics in (285)).

12.5 Exclamatory sentences

Emphatic Rs can also be marked by means of exclamatory constructions introduced by 'what' or 'how'. These constructions involve an emphatic initial placement of rhematic subjects, objects, adverbials or complements. Examples:

- 287) What a great season it was!

(BBC, 29.4.78)

To byla ale báječná sezóna!

[It was - rhematizer - great season]

- 288) And what a shindy there was!

Ale to bylo boží dopuštění!

[But it was a shindy]

(Š, 516/70)

289) What breasts the woman has!

Ta ženská má poprsí!

[That woman has breasts]

(Š, 358/346)

290) How frightfully glad the military administration

would be

A pro vojenskou správu byla by taková věc strašně vítanou

[And for military administration would be such thing

frightfully welcome]

(Š, 585/129)

The most common Czech counterparts realize the exclamatory marking by means of the emphatic 'ale' (literally 'but') and/or the exclamation mark. Where no strong emphasis is involved the simple end position of the R is sufficient (e.g. in 290).

We have now exhausted the main aspects of our investigation and we will conclude the thesis by a summary of the most relevant points arrived at and some suggestions for further research.

Notes

1. With the possible exception of imperative sentences, sentences starting with 'as' ('... as follows') and 'than' ('... better than usual'), idiomatic expressions such as 'Here's to you', 'Here goes' and the archaic 'Methinks'. Cf. Poldauf (1972:108).
2. Cf. Li and Thompson (1976:467).
3. For example, Hyman and Zimmer (1976), Kuno (1976), Hawkinson and Hyman (1975) and Givón (1976). All of these studies show personal actants to be more likely to become Ts and, consequently, in languages like English, subjects also (cf. in particular Givón, p.151ff).
4. Cf. also the findings of Firbas (1956:96ff).
5. Malblanc observes that this feature is typical of French in contradistinction to German. Gak (1975) shows the same difference to hold true between French and Russian, e.g.
Le musée abrite beaucoup de tableaux de valeur
V etom muzeje chranitsja mnogo cennykh kartin
[In this museum keep - refl - many valuable pictures]

(p.11)

Similar examples can be found in Gak and Rojzenblit (1965:78ff).
6. Lees (1960:8) refers to them as "middle verbs" whose presence in a kernel sentence blocks the application of Tpas.
7. This example is borrowed from Olsson (1961:70).
8. Quoted after Svartvik (1966:2). Similar examples are also given by Eckersley (1961:222), e.g. 'He had a good breakfast before he went to work' := 'A good breakfast was had by him before he went to work'.

9. Charleston (1960) paraphrases this idea of Jespersen's as follows: "When the active form is chosen, prominence is given to the agent. When the passive form is used, the 'sufferer' is given prominence as subject of the passive construction. The choice of the active or the passive voice is therefore subjective." (pp.286-7). Quoted after Azevedo (1973:22).
10. For a detailed interpretation of these formulae see Chafe (1970:220ff). A comprehensive assessment of Chafe's model can be found in M.M. Azevedo's monograph on passive sentences in English and Portuguese (Azevedo, 1973:31ff). Azevedo uses Chafe's model in combination with some of the Prague Scholars' ideas as a basis for his investigation into the passive voice.
11. Huddleston (1971) refers to these sentences as pseudo-passives. He shows that their use is limited and subject to a number of semantic constraints. Thus, while it is acceptable, for instance, to say 'the bed has been slept in', it would be less acceptable to say 'the village has been slept in'. In Huddleston's opinion, "in the deep structure of such a sentence as 'that bed has been slept in' 'that bed' fills two roles, affective and locative ('... in that bed'): it would then be the affected role that was relevant to passivization." (pp.95-6).
12. On transitive tendencies of the French verb in comparison with Russian, see Gak, Rojzenblit (1965) and Gak (1975).

13. A widely accepted dichotomy of Curme's (cf. 1947:53). He demonstrates the difference between the two on the following examples: "As I passed by, my coat got caught (act) on a nail" but "I had to stop since my coat was caught (state) on a nail".

Mathesius (1947) notes that 232 pages of Karel Čapek's stories, written in a distinctly colloquial style, yielded only 7 truly actional participial passives (p.298).

14. Passive sentences represent only a part of sentences with suppressed agents and they cannot be considered fully identical; otherwise passives would also have to include ... sentences with non-object verbs ([danced_{NEU3sg} - refl - till the morning] and others). For this reason it is necessary ... to consider the category active-passive only as a sub-category of agency-suppressed agency).

15. These sentences can also have an overt subject (DS object), e.g. 'Tato kniha se (mi) dobře čte' [This book - refl - (to me) - well read_{3sg}], i.e. 'I find this book easy to read'. Here it is impossible to use the passive even in English.

16. At this stage we do not make a full analysis of all the changes in the predicate; we deal with the Vf only as far as it pertains to the problem of the establishment of T. Later in this chapter we will concentrate on this problem in greater detail.

17. "It seems that in the early stages of Indo-European languages the theme expressed the doer of some activity specified by the predicate ..., e.g. 'Father goes'."

18. For a detailed comparative (German - English) treatment of similar cases, see Zimmermann (1972).
19. In his monograph on The Instrumental Case in English Nilsen (1973) subclassifies the Instrumental into 4 classes: (1) tool, (2) force, (3) body part, and (4) material. In our investigation we will consider MATERIAL as belonging to SOURCE since unlike all the other groups it lacks the semantic feature CAUSE.
20. The agentive understanding of this actant further supports our contention expressed above, i.e. that the presence of Agent does not necessarily disqualify an Instrument from being marked as a subject. Interlanguage investigations suggest that what we label as deep structure should probably be viewed as a multilevel phenomenon. The deepest level is that of an aspect of situation representing various relationships between the individual actants; in the process of further specification of the relations in accordance with the particular needs of communication the choice is made of the Vf and of its partners which are to appear in the surface structure and receive their respective syntactic markings. If, for instance, the actant 'that car' were to be rhematic and the Agent thematic then it is likely that the V 'carry' would be exchanged for 'drive', i.e. 'The fat frogs (Ag) drove that car (I)'. The alternative use of the passive would mark the human participants as Os ('were carried', or 'were driven').
21. According to Zimmermann (1972b:176), the same situation can be observed in German.

22. Such cases can be found, for instance, in Russian, cf.
'Snegom zamelo dorogu' [(by) snow covered_{NEU3sg} (the)
road_{ACC}].
23. Rohdenburg (1969) refers to these verbs as
'agent-simplifizierende Verben' (p.43ff). Fillmore (1968:30,
Note 39) speaks of "suppletion" and "surface lexical
variation".
24. "This may be true for verbs like 'like' and 'please'.
These words may be described as being synonymous. Each
has the frame feature + [- O + D]; they differ only in
their subject selection features. The verb 'like', in
fact, has in its history the subject selection feature
possessed by 'please'." (Fillmore, 1969:30). Other examples
adduced by Fillmore are 'see' - 'show' and 'die' - 'kill'.
25. The French examples are taken from Gak (1975:218). The
Russian equivalents given are construed analogically as in
Czech, i.e.
- 32a) Ot utomlenija u nego nyli koleni
[From fatigue_{GEN} at him_{DAT} trembled knees_{NOM}]
- 33a) Ot tvoego golosa vzdragivaet serdce
[From your voice stirs heart_{NOM}]
26. For more about COMPLEX CONDENSATION see also Vachek (1961:31ff)
and Hladký (1961); Rohdenburg (1969:50) refers to the
phenomenon simply as NOMINALISIERUNG.
27. The double apostrophe (') marks the nucleus.
28. This term is used here in Fillmore's sense (1968:30, fn. 39).
Dealing with pairs of verbs such as 'see' - 'show', 'die' -
'kill', 'know' - 'learn', he suggests that, "by extending
the range of acceptable surface variants of verbs to
suppletion ..." it may be possible to interpret the contrasts

exemplified by these verbs as "surface lexical variation". The term should not, therefore, be understood in the usual sense of 'suppletion' for the purposes of conjugation (e.g. 'go' - 'went' or 'be' - 'was/were').

29. Examples (103), (104) and (105) are taken from Rohdenburg (1969:55-6). The respective German counterparts and also some other examples show that German comitative constructions are similar to those of Czech, cf.

1) Edward geht heute mit Judith aus

2) Der Offizier marschierte mit den Soldaten zur grossen
Brücke

3) Er fuhr mit dem Chef zum Bahnhof.

30. Using examples from Greek, Latin and Russian, Lyons (1968) comes to analogical conclusions. In his opinion the verb 'be' "is not itself a constituent of deep structure, but a semantically-empty 'dummy verb' generated ... for the specification of certain distinctions (usually 'carried' by the verb) when there is no other verbal element to carry these distinctions. Sentences that are temporally, modally and aspectually 'unmarked' (e.g. Marija krasivaja - [Mary is beautiful]) do not need the 'dummy' carrier." (pp.322-3).

Further, he comes to the same conclusion about the verb 'have': "it seems quite clear that h a v e is not a deep-structure verb, any more than b e is." (p.395).

31. The interrelation between 'be' and 'have' in various languages has received considerable attention in recent decades. From among the most important contributions to this problem let us mention the following: Benveniste (1960), Lyons (1968, in particular pp.388-395), Bach (1967), Macháček (1959), Mrázek (1973), and Alisova (1970).

32. The attribute 'existential' is somewhat confusing here. Lyons (1968) suggests that sentences like 'There is a book on the table' should be referred to as 'LOCATIVE' rather than EXISTENTIAL since they cannot be easily paraphrased with a sentence containing 'exist' unlike, for example, 'There are lions in Africa'. In this respect 'there is' differs from the German 'es gibt', which covers only the existential function proper. In Droescher's words: "Es handelt sich nicht um eine Einordnung eines Dings oder Wesens in einem Raum, sondern nur um eine Existenz "in dieser Welt" ... Eine Ortsangabe kann auch hier da sein; sie is aber nicht wesentlich." (Droescher:84) - quoted from Jindra (1965:223, Note 1).
33. Existential construction *vis-à-vis* FSP is treated extensively in the works of Prague Scholars, the most notable of them being Jindra (1965), Poldauf (1972:115-120), Mathesius (1975: 118-119), Dušková (1977), and others. The relationships between 'existential-locative' and 'possessive-locative' sentences is treated in some detail in Kirkwood (1969) and in Lyons (1967 and 1968:389-395).
34. Leech's term (1974:181).
35. Hatcher (1943) notes that the "idea of an object docilely lending itself to manipulation" makes this construction particularly suitable for use in advertising and adduces many examples of its use in this sphere, e.g. 'drawers pull out and trays lift out easily', 'lingerie tubs quickly and irons easily', 'garments pack and unpack neatly', 'machinery installs, operates; repairs easily', etc. (p.12ff).

36. The same goes for German, cf. 'this book reads well' - 'dieses Buch liest sich gut', 'it reads like a fact' - 'es liest sich als wäre es wahr' (Jespersen, 1927:351) (sic).
37. Jespersen underlines the closeness of the two types of constructions by adducing examples where both forms appear side by side having the same meaning, e.g. 'Some letters of a typewriter get more worn than others, and some wear only on one side' (Doyle - from Jespersen, 1927:349). Another interesting fact in this connection is that in some cases American English uses passives where British usage favours medio-passives, cf. 'he graduated at Oxford in 1894' (British) as against 'he was graduated from Harvard in 1894' (American) (Jespersen, 1927:340).
38. In the cited work Mathesius limits himself to the verbs 'have' and 'receive'.
39. G. Lakoff (published 1970, written 1965) postulates a special transformation for interchanging the subject and objects of some adjectives and verbs; he calls it a FLIP TRANSFORMATION. Examples: 'What he did amused me' ↔ 'I was amused at what he did'; 'I enjoy movies' ↔ 'Movies are enjoyable to me' (G. Lakoff, 1970a:126). Cf. also similar examples of S-O inversion given by Rosenbaum (1967): 'I value the book' ↔ 'The book is valuable to me'; 'I benefit from your kindness' ↔ 'Your kindness is beneficial to me' (p.99).
40. Lambert (1969) calls them OUTER-LOCATIVES; Firbas (elsewhere) NARROW SCENE.

41. Here German behaves in a similar way to English, cf. 'es regnet', 'es schneit'. However, it is not generally possible to use the existential 'es gibt' here, cf. 'es donnert', 'es blitzt' - rather than *'es gibt einen Donner' or *'es gibt einen Blitz'.
42. In Moravian dialects one can also hear 'na ulici prší' [in (the) street rains]. This is similar to the Russian 'na ulice id'ot dožd'' [in (the) street goes rain]. Another dummy Locative used in Russian is 'na dvore' [in (the) yard], e.g. 'na dvore moroz' [in (the) yard frost]. In the latter example the Locative is obligatory.
43. I am grateful to J.M.Y. Simpson for these examples.
44. The T in this example resembles the so-called Nominative Object treated in great detail by Timberlake (1974), cf. for example:
- ... a ta zemlja očistiti Matveju i Samujli
[... and the land_{NOM} (to) clean (to) Matvej_{DAT} and Samuel_{DAT}]
... the cleaning of this land should be done by Matvej and
Samuel
(p.1).
45. Cf. here Chapter 1, Section 5.
46. The various aspects of this subject have been treated by a number of Prague Scholars, in particular Mathesius (1975: 104-120), Vachek (1961:31-44), Firbas (1959b, 1961), Renský (1966), Hladký (1968, 1969) and Svoboda (1968:60ff).
47. Cf. Curme (1947): "The verb is not always a simple word ... but is often made up of an auxiliary and another verb-form, both together usually called verb-phrase: 'I have just finished my work!"; and further: "In our colloquial speech there is a marked tendency to clothe the chief idea of the

predicate in the form of a noun instead of a verb of complete predication: 'After dinner we had a quiet smoke' instead of 'We smoke quietly'... The verbs that are used here ... are all of the nature of ... copulas." (p.102).

48. Cf. Firbas (1968:38); the primary categories easily observable on a comparative basis in both languages are those of person, number, tense, mood and voice. The expression of other verbal categories, such as actuality and aspect, is not strictly comparable between the two languages (cf. Hladký, 1968:104).
49. Firbas (1959b:76) refers to them as primary predicative categories.
50. Firbas (1959b:77) notes that in colloquial speech the second person singular is also becoming independent of the auxiliary 'býti' thanks to the widening use of the preterite form with the proclitic '-s', i.e. 'volals', 'volalas', 'volalos' instead of 'volal jsi', 'volala jsi', 'volalo jsi'.
51. In Firbas's terminology they serve as CO-CONVEYORS of some of these categories since they are also expressed by the auxiliaries; thus, for example, in the forms 'volal jsem', 'volal jsi' the categories of number (sg) and mood (indicative) are expressed both in the auxiliaries and in the notional components (Firbas, 1959b:76).
52. This term has been in usage since the publication of A.G. Kennedy's "The Modern English Verb-Adverb Combination" (1920). Firbas (1959b:83-4) points out that it is not always correct to interpret the second (post-positive) element of these combinations as an adverb. Following Žluktenko (1954) and Peprník (1956) he argues that: "it cannot be considered as such if it combines with the basic

verbal element to form a new lexical unit. In this case it changes (as in 'bear out', 'own up') or at least adds some new significant shade (intensity, aspect, as in 'blot out', 'own up'); it becomes a verbal formative and can be best described as a s e p a r a t e d p r e f i x. On the other hand, it does function as an adverb if it leaves the meaning of the basic element fundamentally unaffected (as in 'bubble over', 'fall down') and in consequence could be removed from the sentence without distorting the meaning of the basic verbal element. For the purposes of this section we will use Kennedy's term to refer to both of these types of compounds, highlighting the distinction where necessary.

53. A lucid summary of these differences can be found in Firbas (1959b:83ff).
54. Stylists have often warned against the inordinate use of such verbo-nominal compounds. In his article "Politics and the English Language", George Orwell refers to these constructions as "VERBAL FALSE LIMBS". In his words, examples such as 'play a leading part in', 'make contact with', etc. "save the trouble of picking out appropriate verbs and nouns, and at the same time pad each sentence with extra syllables which give it an appearance of symmetry... The keynote is the elimination of simple verbs. Instead of being a single word, such as 'break', 'stop', 'spoil' ... a verb becomes a phrase, made up of a noun or adjective tacked on to some general-purpose verb such as 'render', 'play', 'form' ..." (1969:146). Jespersen (1924:139) also warns against the abuse of verbo-nominal phrases on the grounds that the trend towards nominalizations is typical of "languages which begin to grow old" (such as, for example, Sanskrit).

55. It is not claimed that all verbo-nominal phrases in Czech belong to formal style. There are certain set verbal phrases which are much less formal than their single-verb counterparts, e.g. 'dát vědět' [let know] as against 'informovat' [(to) inform], which is more formal on account of its foreign origin. On the whole, however, their proportion is much smaller than in English.

56. Gak (1972:379) refers to this phenomenon as "iterativity of semes" (cf. Chapter 2, Note 28). He adduces examples from Russian and French to illustrate differences similar to those we have observed between Czech and English, cf.

1) Ptica vyletela iz gnezda

[Bird flew out of nest]

L'oiseau est sorti de son nid

2) Zmeja vypolzla iz nory

[Snake crept out of lair]

Le serpent est sorti de son trou (p.387)

For more about this subject see also Apresjan (1972).

57. Lyons (1968) notes that, "what is generally referred to as 'the verb to be', in English and other languages, is a grammatical element, devoid of meaning, which serves only to 'carry' the markers of tense, mood and aspect in the surface structure of the sentence." (p.388). For more about the nature of the verb 'be' see Fillmore (1968:63ff).

58. For Chafe's criticism of this three-way conception see Note 33 of Chapter 1.

59. The abbreviation 'perf' stands for 'perfective prefix'.

60. For more examples see Renský (1966:292ff).

61. Jespersen (1924) comments on similar examples. He points out that in sentences like:
- Mowgli laughed a little short laugh (Kipling)
- She smiled a little smile and bowed a little bow (Trollope)
- "the nexus-substantive is simply introduced to give us an easy means of adding some descriptive trait in the form of an adjunct which it would be difficult or impossible to tack on to the verb in the form of a subjunct." (p.138).
62. Cf. Renský (1966:294) and Zandvoort (1967:204).
63. A lucid treatment of verbal incorporation of DS actants can be found in particular in Nilsen (1973:154-169). Other works dealing with the problems are Lambert (1969) and Langendoen (1970).
64. We do not want to suggest that English favours tautology. A certain degree of V-O tautology is much more likely in the R since the nominal element is a more suitable candidate for the rhematic position. There is less likelihood of such tautologies in the V-Adv constructions, cf. *'He walked on his feet' as against the acceptable 'He walked on his hands' (cf. Nida, 1975:152). If the verb (or the Instrumental it incorporates) were rhematic the more likely paraphrase would be 'He went on foot'.
65. On Admoni's concept of SYNTACTIC TRANQUILLITY see the Introduction. Other terms referring to this phenomenon, such as BASIC or NEUTRAL WORD ORDER (Daneš, Isačenko) and DYNAMIC EQUILIBRIUM (Kovtunova), are discussed in Chapter 3, Section 1.
66. For more on this subject see also Firbas (1959a; 1962:138; 1969:49) and Hatcher (1956:36).

67. For a detailed account of the semantics of the Czech cases and their collocability with verbs see in particular Kopečný (1958:202-244), Bauer-Grepl (1970:111-127), Havránek-Jedlička (1970:337-374) and Trávníček (1949:145-182).
68. Translation: "Firstly, it is necessary to state that by far the most frequent complementation of the English verbs is the non-prepositional complementation. It is similar to the Czech accusative complementation and like this it too is unmarked. Very often it corresponds to Czech objects in other cases."
69. The abbreviation ACC is used here to refer to the unmarked (non-prepositional) surface case. We do not wish to suggest that English possesses the same array of surface structure cases as inflectional languages like Czech or Latin.
70. Note that these analytical verbal constructions are different from those dealt with in 10.13, i.e. such as 'give a groan', where the nominal part is semantically very weighty and constitutes the R. In 'He gave a quiet groan', 'quiet' would be rhematic only in marked contexts.
71. For more about temporary adjectives see Bolinger (1967:8).
72. Strang (1968) defines a GENERIC SUBSTITUTE as "a single lexical form which may stand for any member of the class clearly specified by the co-text or context. The substitute occupies the territory of the ordinary class member, fulfilling its grammatical function without lexical repetition." (p.115).
73. "A strong man is then a kind of substantivization of the adjective strong. It means simply a bearer of the named quality - not necessarily a man who possesses the quality in a large degree."

74. Bolinger (1967:16) gives a number of other examples of this kind, cf.

The agents in this building are most theatrical (ones, agents)
The engineers in these departments are all mechanical
(engineers)
and others.

75. For a detailed treatment of the problem of attributive and predicative adjectives, see Bolinger (1967).

76. On the various types of -phoric relations compare Gutwinski (1976:66-68).

77. A similar position is held by Poldauf (1972) who views 'it is' as an introductory particle ('předrážka') for the purposes of emphasis.

78. The opposite is said to be true of French and Scandinavian languages, which are shown to depend on similar rhematizing constructions as heavily as English. Examples:

It is the wife that decides

C'est la femme qui décide

It was John we saw

Det var Jens vi sa (Danish)

(Jespersen, 1937:76-77).

79. For more about the paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations of sense, cf. Lyons (1968:428-9).

80. '-la' is an interrogative particle.

81. Bolinger (1967) calls them "intensifiers of the determiner" (p.19).

82. Pumpjanskij (1974) refers to them as ACCENTUATORS (p.73).

83. Matveenko (1969) points out that, "v slučae, kogda imejutsja prjamye pokazateli logičeskogo akcenta, pometa ob akcente stavitsja bez učeta porjadka slov (leksičeskoe ukazanie "sil'nee", čem porjadok slov)" (p.163). (When there are direct markers of logical emphasis present in the text, the emphasis is assigned without regard to the word order (lexical markers are "stronger" than word order)). He mentions the following markers as the most important in Russian: liš' (just), tol'ko (only), imenno (particularly), daže (even), i (even), takže (also), uže (already), ešče (still).
84. For more about rhematizers in Czech, see Bauer-Grepl (1970:163-4) and Daneš (1957:82ff). Slovak rhematizers are treated in considerable detail in Mistrík (1966:95ff).

Conclusions

The present thesis is an attempt at highlighting the relevance of the concept of FSP for the study of the structure of language. When constructing grammatical sentences it is not sufficient to observe rules and constraints only of a syntactic and semantic nature. We also have to take into account their communicative function in the concrete situations in which they are uttered. Different communicative situations require different arrangements of the individual blocks of information in accordance with their relative informational weight in the respective sentences. Seen from this viewpoint segments of the sentence have different PACKAGING statuses (Chafe, 1974), i.e. either that of THEME (connected with OLD or GIVEN information or presented as such) or RHEME (connected with NEW information or presented as such). In most languages there is a strong tendency to observe a T-R sequence, which arrangement, it is assumed, reflects the structure of 'human thought'. In this thesis we have tried to find out how different languages reconcile this arrangement with the strictures of syntax and semantics.

The two principal languages observed are English and Czech, with occasional reference to Russian, German and French. The methodology used is that of ANALYTICAL COMPARISON, developed by Mathesius and his Prague School followers. The entire work is centred upon the utilization of the means of expression for the purpose of fulfilling the communicative function in the two languages. We agree with Mathesius (1936, repr. in Vachek, 1964:306) that:

"general needs of expression and communication, common to all mankind, are the only common denominators to which means of expression and communication, varying from language to language, can reasonably be brought."

The basic framework of description consists of three levels, i.e. (1) grammar, (2) semantics, and (3) FSP. Each of these three levels is further observed from the viewpoint of onomatology (paradigmatic viewpoint) and syntax (syntagmatic viewpoint). Let us now conclude our thesis with a summary of the most important differences between the two languages as observed within the said three-level framework.

1. Grammar and Semantics

a) Onomatology

As a typical synthetic language Czech has at its disposal a rich array of morphological formatives for the purposes of both lexical derivation and grammatical inflection. In consequence the Czech word has a considerable capacity for carrying a large measure of semantic information of both a lexical and grammatical nature. It tends to reflect the various aspects of extralinguistic reality in a direct, concrete manner; it tends to be semantically self-contained and relatively independent of the context and/or situation.

Being a largely analytical language, English approaches the naming of the phenomena of extralinguistic reality in a different fashion. Since it is very poor in morphology, it resorts to analytical means. This tendency is most obvious in the verb. Its grammatical inflection depends almost totally on the use of auxiliaries. The naming of actions and states is also very often effected by analytical means, typically by compounding semantically empty verbs (for carrying grammatical functions) with semantically heavier adverbial or nominal elements. The English

name tends to be less concrete and more dependent on the context and/or situation.

b) Syntax

The tendency in Czech towards a direct and concrete reflection of the elements of extralinguistic reality can also be seen in the way the language reflects the various relations between these elements of extralinguistic reality by means of its syntax.

Owing to its rich inflection the Czech verb is often capable of acting as a sentence on its own. It can refer to the subject by means of its ending and it can also incorporate the right-hand semantic actants. When semantic (deep structure - DS) actants are expressed overtly they tend to copy rather closely the relationships in extralinguistic reality by means of specific overt markers. The individual semantic actants (Fillmore's deep cases) have their syntactic counterparts in surface structure (SS). Thus, for example, the DS Experiencer is mostly expressed by the SS dative, the DS Instrumental by the SS instrumental, the DS Locative by the SS locative and/or by locative prepositions or adverbials. The subject of the active sentence tends to express the DS Agent or an Agent-like Force such as 'storm', 'wind', etc. This close bond between the deep and surface structure actants is by no means of a deterministic, bi-unique nature. Rather, it is construed along the lines of Karcevskij's ASYMMETRIC DUALISM - some surface structure markers are homonymous, i.e. they express different deep structure actants, while, on the other hand, some DS actants find expression in more than one SS synonymous marker. The tendency to express deep structure roles and relations overtly makes the Czech sentence relatively self-contained and largely independent of the situation and/or context. The

individual members of the sentence are also quite clearly marked for their semantic roles and thus have a considerable degree of freedom of movement within the sentence. They also show a high measure of lexical independence. In collocations 'V + actants' we can observe a great deal of SEMANTIC ITERATIVITY, i.e. repetition of semes, especially such as are relevant for both members of the collocation, cf. for example, the seme [clothing] in 'obléct si šaty' [to 'dress' a dress] or footwear in 'obout si boty' [to 'shoe' shoes].

English syntax reveals a great many tendencies which are diametrically opposed to those typical of Czech. The bond between the semantic representation and its surface structure is much more indirect and relaxed than in Czech. In view of the paucity of morphological formatives there is a high degree of structural rigidity. This is apparent in particular in the linear arrangement of sentence members with word order sequences being used for grammatical purposes (GRAMMATICALIZED WORD ORDER).

This structural rigidity is also reflected in the nature of syntactic valency relations. The subject is no longer tied to the semantic role of Agent. We have demonstrated that it can stand for virtually any DS actant whether it be of a propositional or an adverbial nature. As a consequence English shows a great frequency of 'metaphorical' subjects, as, for example, in the sentence:

Today sees the Prime Minister facing the miners.

Since the metaphorical quality is used for structural purposes, it is not stylistically marked as would be the case in Czech, where the meaning of the verb 'vidět' (see) normally requires an animate subject and where the Time DS actant would normally be expressed by an adverb.

Similar tendencies are also observable with right-hand actants. English shows a strong predilection for the SVO sequence, the most favoured right-hand actant being the direct object. The reason is that, unlike indirect objects or adverbial complements, the direct object is semantically unmarked. The tendency towards the use of transitive constructions is reflected in the transitive reinterpretation of many verbs which were intransitive in the earlier stages of English and/or in the use of transitive verbs of general semantics whose meaning is revealed only in conjunction with the objects they take, cf. 'to take a vacation' as against the Czech 'jít na dovolenou' (to go for a vacation). There is a strong tendency for the English finite verb to concentrate on discharging the formal functions of conveyor of grammatical categories while the notional meaning is shifted onto the right-hand actants. There is much less occurrence of semantic iterativity (cf. the use of the verb 'put on' for all kinds of clothing, headgear, footwear, etc. and the Czech specific counterparts mentioned earlier). In general we may say that the English sentence is semantically much more dependent on the context and/or situation than is the Czech sentence.

2. Functional Sentence Perspective

The said differences in the interrelationships between the grammatical and semantic levels in the two languages are of considerable relevance for the communicative organization of the sentence also.

We have already mentioned the fact that most languages (English and Czech among them) tend to open the sentence with WHAT IS TALKED ABOUT, i.e. the THEME, and proceed towards WHAT IS SAID ABOUT IT - the RHEME. Czech, as well as other Slavonic languages, whose word order is unencumbered by

grammatical constraints, can, in most cases, achieve the required sequence by positional rearrangement of sentence members without any structural changes in the verbal nucleus and/or in the syntactic marking of its actants. Other means of FSP marking, such as thematizing and rhematizing words, cleft sentences, italicization, etc., are of secondary importance; when used they usually bring in various degrees of emphatic shifts which are on the borderline between the FIRST- and SECOND-INSTANCE.

The English word order, which is called upon to discharge various grammatical functions, is largely fixed and its use for the purposes of FSP is therefore very restricted. The limited instances of variations on the basic SVO order are usually connected with some additional semantic side-effects. When a change in the order of actants is required the valency structure of the verbal nucleus has to be reformulated to suit the constraints imposed by grammar.

Unlike in Czech, SS actants in English are only loosely connected with the semantic level of the sentence and consequently they can be instrumental on the level of FSP. Thus there is a strong tendency for the THEME to be identified with the subject, while the most favoured sentence member for the function of the RHEME is the direct object. Variations in the FSP are therefore very often connected with rendering the thematic segment through the role of the subject and the rhematic one through the role of the object (or other right-hand complements). This is achieved in particular by: (a) the passive transformation, (b) substitution of the verb by one with a different valency frame, (c) the use of

dummy subjects ('it', 'there'), and (d) the use of semi-cleft constructions and various equative constructions introduced by semantically empty subjects (e.g. 'the man', 'the one', etc.).

English also has at its disposal a number of means for marking out FSP segments in situations where the T-R sequence is difficult to obtain. These are in particular: (a) articles, (b) the 'it is ... that' cleft construction, (c) thematizing and rhematizing particles, and (d) italicization. The inversion of T-R is much more common than in Czech and it does not involve such a measure of emphatic shifts as in Czech.

Implications for Further Study

We have attempted to demonstrate here that the magnifying glass of FSP theory offers the student of language a great many interesting insights into the system of language which are otherwise not immediately obvious. It represents a new dimension to the study of the relationship between LINGUISTIC COMPETENCE and LINGUISTIC PERFORMANCE; it offers tools for a systemic study of the relevance for linguistic patterning of such factors of the act of communication as CONTEXT, SITUATION, PARTICIPANTS OF DISCOURSE, etc. It also sheds a new light on the interrelationships between the traditional levels of the language system. The evidence provided by our corpus points to the profitability of this methodological approach for a number of areas of linguistic research, and it is only natural that in a study such as the present one we could not do much more than present an overview of the problems involved and concentrate on a selection of such topics as were found to be of most immediate concern. There remain, of necessity, a great many questions unanswered and many problems

unresolved. It is our hope that we have managed to draw attention to such problems and that this thesis will provide a stimulus for further study.

The study of systemic aspects of linguistic performance involves a multiplicity of criteria and the results cannot, therefore, be presented as hard-and-fast rules but rather as trends and tendencies. The method of analytical comparison, involving original texts and their 'reliable' translations, is very useful for highlighting such tendencies. It does, however, allow for a certain degree of imprecision due to the unavoidable phenomenon of interference in the process of translation. Even the best of translations suffer from the intrusive effects of the syntactic and semantic patterns of the respective originals. This is particularly true of such cases as allow several alternative ways of expressing the same semantic representation, some of them being stylistically neutral, others stylistically marked, some being more central, others more peripheral, some more 'favoured' and others less so. In our thesis we have adduced numerous examples of this kind. A typical case in point is, for example, the way the two languages express the DS Locative in T. As was demonstrated in 4.14, in Czech, DS Locatives are almost invariably expressed by surface structure 'AdvLoc' constructions. In English, on the other hand, one of the most favoured methods of rendering this actant is to turn it into the subject, replacing the locative copula by verbs 'of possession'.⁵⁴ It is not, however, ungrammatical to use alternative strategies, e.g. 'AdvLoc + there is' construction or 'AdvLoc + subject of general semantics' (e.g. 'they', 'people', 'one', etc.), cf.

- a) Every house in the street had hills on it
- b) There were hills on every house in the street
- c) They had hills on every house in the street

etc.

From the viewpoint of the language system all three are perfectly acceptable. The selection of one as distinct from the others depends on a variety of conditions of the actual situation and context in which they are to be used, conditions which are not easily definable. This is very often reflected in translations. In the translations from Czech into English we have encountered a considerably higher proportion of 'LocAdv' themes than is usual in original texts. Similarly in Czech translations, where it was marginally possible, translators frequently fell prey to the intrusive effect of the original, which resulted in a high proportion of sentences of the type (a) above, the result being a somewhat stilted style.

We believe that it would be of considerable relevance for the purposes of translation theory to evaluate similar alternative strategies of T-R arrangements with regard to: (1) their relative frequency, and (2) the conditions of their occurrence in the typical stylistic registers. This would also be of great relevance for the purposes of language teaching where the danger of the native language's interference is even more pronounced.

A suitable methodology, in our opinion, may be a quantitative evaluation of such alternative means of expression with regard to their occurrence in fairly substantial representative samples of original texts taken from various stylistic registers. Our investigation points to the following areas where such additional research would be of great pertinence:

1. the relative status of the various means of expression of Deep Cases according to their communicative roles;
2. the suitability of the various syntactic actants and the various parts of speech for the two communicative roles;
3. the distribution of the components of meaning *vis-a-vis* the T-R roles; problems of semantic economy and redundancy.

Such research will be very laborious and time-consuming but if conducted on a comprehensive scale it could give us a more precise picture of the ways the various means of syntax and semantics are called upon to serve the needs of expression of the THEMATIC MEANING.

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List of Abbreviations

- AUC = Acta Universitatis Carolinae.
- BSE = Brno Studies in English. Prague.
- BSL = Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris.
- ČMF = Časopis pro moderní filologii.
- ČSAV = Československá akademie věd (Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences).
- FL = Foundations of Language.
- IRAL = International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching; Internationale Zeitschrift für angewandte Linguistik in der Spracheroziehung. Heidelberg.
- JL = Journal of Linguistics.
- Lg = Language.
- OED = The Oxford English Dictionary.
- PBML = The Prague Bulletin of Mathematical Linguistics.
- PMLA = Publications of the Modern Language Association of America. New York.
- PP = Philologica Pragensia.
- PSML = Prague Studies in Mathematical Linguistics.
- SaS = Slovo a slovesnost. Prague.
- SAY = Slovenská akadémia ved (Slovak Academy of Sciences).
- SPFFBU = Sborník prací filosofické fakulty Brněnské university (Prague).
- SPN = Státní pedagogické nakladatelství (State Pedagogical Publishing House).
- TLP = Travaux linguistiques de Prague.
- VJa = Voprosy jazykoznanija.
- ZS1 = Zeitschrift für Slawistik.

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