

Univerzita Karlova v Praze

Filozofická fakulta

Ústav anglického jazyka a didaktiky



Adéla Balcarová

**Syntactic, Semantic and FSP Aspects of Ditransitive Complementation: a study of
blame and *provide***

**Syntaktické, sémantické a aktuálněčlenské aspekty ditranzitivní komplementace:
analýza sloves *blame* a *provide***

DIPLOMOVÁ PRÁCE

vedoucí práce: PhDr. Gabriela Brůhová, PhD.

2013

Ráda bych poděkovala PhDr. Gabriele Brůhové, PhD. za odborné vedení, ochotné poskytnutí cenných rad a připomínek, vytrvalou podporu a za všechny čas, který nad mou prací strávila.

„Prohlašuji, že jsem diplomovou práci vypracovala samostatně, že jsem řádně citovala všechny použité prameny a že práce nebyla využita v rámci jiného vysokoškolského studia či k získání jiného nebo stejného titulu.”

V Praze dne 15.srpna 2013

Souhlasím se zapůjčením diplomové práce ke studijním účelům. / I have no objections to this MA thesis being borrowed and used for study purposes.

Abstrakt

Předmětem této diplomové práce jsou syntaktické, sémantické a aktuálněčlenské aspekty ditranzitivní komplementace. Všechny tyto aspekty jsou zkoumány nejen teoreticky, ale zejména prakticky v analýze dvou ditranzitivních sloves: *blame* a *provide*. Pro účely analýzy obou sloves bylo excerpováno celkem 200 vět (100 pro každé sloveso) z britského národního korpusu (British National Corpus). Zkoumaná ditranzitivní slovesa vstupují do dvou alternujících větných konstrukcí. V první z těchto konstrukcí jsou podmět a přísudek doplněny předmětem přímým a předložkovým (SVO_dO_{prep}); v druhé, alternativní konstrukci se pak jedná o podmět a přísudek doplněné předmětem nepřímým a předložkovým (SVO_iO_{prep}). Jedním z předmětů analýzy je kvantitativní vyjádření výskytu obou konstrukcí v excerpovaném materiálu. U ditranzitivní konstrukce se lze v jistých případech setkat s vypuštěním jednoho nebo druhého předmětu (častěji však předmětu nepřímého). Analýza se věnuje možnostem vypuštění předmětů v ditranzitivních konstrukcích tvořených oběma zkoumanými slovesy. U zkoumaných ditranzitivních konstrukcí je dále určeno, jakým slovním druhem jsou předměty vyjádřeny; možnosti jsou čtyři, v závislosti na tom, zda jsou oba předměty vyjádřeny nominálně či pronominálně, případně kombinací těchto dvou slovních druhů. Určení slovnědruhového vyjádření předmětů je klíčové, protože pronominální vyjádření může být znakem kontextuální zapojenosti předmětu. Právě kontextuální zapojenost či vypojenost obou předmětů je dalším předmětem zkoumání. Pro získání relevantního předchozího kontextu nutného pro určení kontextuální zapojenosti či vypojenosti obou předmětů v ditranzitivní konstrukci bylo užito českého národního korpusu. I u kontextuální zapojenosti pracujeme se čtyřmi možnostmi. Pokud se věta řídí standardním rozložením výpovědní dynamičnosti, první předmět bude patrně kontextuálně zapojený (téma), zatímco druhý vypojený (vyjadřuje tedy novou informaci - réma). Druhou možností je pořadí opačné, tedy první předmět vypojený a druhý zapojený. Posledními dvěma možnostmi jsou oba předměty vypojené, anebo oba zapojené (v tomto případě je třeba nalézt novou informaci ve větě – réma – v jiném větném členu). Závěrečným předmětem analýzy je sémantická charakteristika obou zkoumaných sloves a předmětů, které se v konstrukcích s těmito slovesy vyskytují. U předmětů je kromě sémantické charakteristiky zařazena také jejich sémantická analýza a analýza jejich životnosti. Cílem práce je tedy komplexně popsat ditranzitivní konstrukce s oběma zkoumanými slovesy a všechny zkoumané aspekty prakticky ukázat na excerpovaném dokladovém materiálu.

Abstract

The present thesis is concerned with the syntactic, semantic and FSP aspects of ditransitive complementation. All these aspects are discussed not only theoretically, but mainly practically in an analysis of two ditransitive verbs: *blame* and *provide*. For the purpose of the present analysis, 200 sentences (100 for each of the analyzed verbs) were excerpted from the British National Corpus. The analyzed verbs enter into two possible sentence structures. The first construction includes a subject and verb as well as a direct object and a prepositional object (SVO_dO_{prep}); the alternative construction includes a subject and verb as well as an indirect object and a prepositional object (SVO_iO_{prep}). One of the points of analysis is a quantitative formulation of the number of occurrences of each of the respective sentence structures for the analyzed verbs within the excerpted material. Within the ditransitive construction we may sometimes encounter object omission of either of the objects (more commonly the indirect object). The analysis concentrates on the possibilities of object omission within ditransitive constructions with the two analyzed verbs. Part-of-speech representation of both objects is also a matter of analysis; there are altogether four possible part-of-speech patterns depending on whether both objects are nominal or pronominal or the objects are a combination of these parts of speech. Determination of part-of-speech representation is important due to the possible context dependence of pronominal objects. Context dependence or independence of both objects is a focal topic in the analysis. To obtain relevant preceding context necessary for the determination of context dependence, the Czech National Corpus (český národní korpus) was consulted. The context dependence of the objects may follow four patterns. The sentence may order its elements on the basis of communicative dynamism and thus the first object would be context-dependent (=theme) and the second object context-independent (=rheme). The second possibility is that of the first object being context-independent and the second object context-dependent. Lastly, both objects may be context-independent or context-dependent (in this case, it is necessary to seek the rheme among the remaining sentence elements). Finally, the analysis is concerned with the semantic characterization of both of the analyzed verbs and the objects which appear in constructions with these verbs. The objects are not analyzed only from the point of semantics, but also from the point of their animateness. The aim of the present thesis is to complexly describe ditransitive constructions with the analyzed verbs and to demonstrate all analyzed aspects of the constructions on the excerpted material.

List of Abbreviations

A	agent argument
ActE	acting entity
AfE	affected entity
Adv	adverbial
BNC	British National Corpus
CamGr	Cambridge Grammar of the English Language
C	complement
CD	communicative dynamism
CGEL	Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language
dep	context-dependent
DV	ditransitive verb
FSP	functional sentence perspective
indep	context-independent
N	noun
NP	noun phrase
O _d	direct object
O _i	indirect object
O _{prep}	prepositional object
PoS	part of speech
Pro	pronoun
R	recipient-like argument
Rh	rheme
Rh _{comp}	rheme component
Rh _{prop}	rheme proper
S	subject
SVOO	ditransitive construction
T	theme argument
TE	transferred entity
Th	theme
UCNK	český národní korpus (Czech National Corpus)
V	verb

List of Tables

Table 1	Typology of Ditransitive Complementation.....	20
Table 2	Overview of Prepositions Introducing Group 2 DV.....	21
Table 3	Overview of Prepositions Introducing Group 6 DV.....	24
Table 4	Overview of Prepositions Introducing Group 7 DV.....	25
Table 5	Overview of Semantic Roles Taken by Objects of Group 7 DV.....	25
Table 6	Semantic Categorization of DV.....	30
Table 7	Frequency of Occurrence of Alternating Constructions with <i>blame</i> in the BNC.....	48
Table 8	PoS Representation of Objects in SVOO Constructions with <i>blame</i>	49
Table 9	PoS Representation of Objects in SVO _i O _{prep} Constructions with <i>blame</i>	49
Table 10	PoS Representation of Objects in SVO _d O _{prep} Constructions with <i>blame</i>	49
Table 11	Distribution of CD within SVOO Constructions with <i>blame</i>	50
Table 12	Distribution of CD within SVO _i O _{prep} Constructions with <i>blame</i>	50
Table 13	Distribution of CD within SVO _d O _{prep} Constructions with <i>blame</i>	54
Table 14	Semantic Categorization of O _{prep} in SVO _i O _{prep} Constructions with <i>blame</i>	61
Table 15	Semantic Categorization of O _d in SVO _d O _{prep} Constructions with <i>blame</i>	62
Table 16	Frequency of Occurrence of Alternating Constructions with <i>provide</i> in the BNC.....	68
Table 17	PoS Representation of Objects in SVOO Constructions with <i>provide</i>	68
Table 18	PoS Representation of Objects in SVO _i O _{prep} Constructions with <i>provide</i>	69
Table 19	PoS Representation of Objects in SVO _d O _{prep} Constructions with <i>provide</i>	69
Table 20	Distribution of CD within SVOO Constructions with <i>provide</i>	70
Table 21	Distribution of CD within SVO _i O _{prep} Constructions with <i>provide</i>	71
Table 22	Distribution of CD within SVO _d O _{prep} Constructions with <i>provide</i>	73
Table 23	Semantic Categorization of O _d /O _{prep} in SVOO Constructions with <i>provide</i>	80

Table of Contents

1	INTRODUCTION	10
2	BASIC ASPECTS OF THE DITRANSITIVE (SVOO) CONSTRUCTION	11
2.1	The Object	12
2.1.1	The Direct Object	15
2.1.2	The Indirect Object	17
2.1.3	The Prepositional Object	19
2.2	Variants of the Ditransitive Construction	20
2.2.1	Ditransitive Verb + (O _i +O _d , O _d +O _{prep} , O _i + O _{prep})	21
2.2.2	Ditransitive Verb + (O _i +O _d , O _d +O _{prep})	21
2.2.3	Ditransitive Verb + (O _i +O _d , O _i + O _{prep})	22
2.2.4	Ditransitive Verb + (O _i +O _d)	22
2.2.5	Ditransitive Verb + (O _d +O _{prep} , O _i + O _{prep})	23
2.2.6	Ditransitive Verb + (O _d +O _{prep})	23
2.2.7	Ditransitive Verb + (O _i +O _{prep})	25
2.3	Passivization of the Ditransitive Construction	26
3	SEMANTICS OF THE DITRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTION	28
3.1	Semantics of the Ditransitive Verb	28
3.2	Semantics of the Subject in the Ditransitive Constructions	32
3.3	Semantics of the Indirect Object in the Ditransitive Construction	33
3.3.1	O _i as Recipient Participant	33
3.3.2	O _i as Beneficiary Participant	33
3.3.3	O _i as Malefactive Participant	34
3.3.4	O _i as Affected Participant	34
3.4	Semantics of the Direct Object in the Ditransitive Construction	35
4	FSP IN THE SVOO CONSTRUCTION	36
4.1	Key Factors of Communicative Dynamism	36
4.1.1	Linear Modification	36
4.1.2	Semantic Factor	37
4.1.3	Retrievability of Information from the Immediate Context	37
4.2	FSP Factors Governing the Position of Objects in SVOO	40
5	METHODOLOGY	42
5.1	Material	42
5.2	Method	43
6	ANALYSIS	44

6.1	SVOO Constructions with <i>blame</i>	44
6.1.1	Omissibility of Objects in SVOO Constructions with <i>blame</i>	44
6.1.2	Frequency of SVOO Constructions with <i>blame</i>	47
6.1.3	Part-of-speech Representation of Objects in SVOO Constructions with <i>blame</i>	48
6.1.4	Context-dependence of Objects in SVOO Constructions with <i>blame</i>	49
6.1.4.1	Context dependence of Objects in SVO _i O _{prep} Constructions with <i>blame</i>	50
6.1.4.2	Context-dependence of Objects in SVO _d O _{prep} Constructions with <i>blame</i>	54
6.1.5	Semantic Classification of <i>blame</i>	56
6.1.5.1	Semantic Classification of Objects in SVOO Constructions with <i>blame</i>	58
6.1.5.2	Semantic Analysis of Objects in SVOO Constructions with <i>blame</i>	60
6.1.5.2.1	Semantic Analysis of Objects in SVO _i O _{prep} Constructions with <i>blame</i>	60
6.1.5.2.2	Semantic Analysis of Objects in SVO _d O _{prep} Constructions with <i>blame</i>	62
6.1.6	Animateness of Objects in SVOO Constructions with <i>blame</i>	63
6.1.6.1	Animateness of Objects in SVO _i O _{prep} Constructions with <i>blame</i>	63
6.1.6.2	Animateness of Objects in SVO _d O _{prep} Constructions with <i>blame</i>	64
6.2	SVOO Constructions with <i>provide</i>	65
6.2.1	Omissibility of Objects in SVOO Constructions with <i>provide</i>	65
6.2.2	Frequency of SVOO Constructions with <i>provide</i>	67
6.2.3	Part-of-speech Representation of Objects in SVOO Constructions with <i>provide</i>	68
6.2.4	Context-dependence of Objects in <i>provide</i> SVOO Constructions with <i>provide</i>	70
6.2.4.1	Context-dependence of Objects in SVO _i O _{prep} Constructions with <i>provide</i>	70
6.2.4.2	Context-dependence of Objects in SVO _d O _{prep} Constructions with <i>provide</i>	73
6.2.5	Semantic Classification of <i>provide</i>	76
6.2.5.1	Semantic Classification of Objects in SVOO constructions with <i>provide</i>	78
6.2.5.1.1	Semantic Analysis of Objects in SVOO Constructions with <i>provide</i>	79
6.2.6	Animateness of Objects in SVOO Constructions with <i>provide</i>	80
6.2.6.1	Animateness of Objects in SVO _i O _{prep} Constructions with <i>provide</i>	81
6.2.6.2	Animateness of Objects in SVO _d O _{prep} Constructions with <i>provide</i>	81
7	CONCLUSION	82
8	REFERENCES	88
9	RÉSUMÉ.....	89
10	APPENDIX	96
	<i>BLAME</i>	97
	<i>PROVIDE</i>	102

1 INTRODUCTION

The present thesis is concerned with the syntactic, semantic and FSP analysis of two selected ditransitive verbs: *blame* and *provide*. The theoretical part of the thesis introduces and summarizes the concept of ditransitive verbs as presented in selected representative grammars. Firstly, a basic characteristic of the ditransitive construction (SVOO) is presented with a description of the objects (direct, indirect, prepositional) entering into it. Subsequently, variants of the SVOO construction are discussed and examples of ditransitive verbs for each of the variants are provided. The theoretical part is further concerned with object omissibility within the SVOO construction and the possibility of omitting each or both of the objects present in the construction. Passivization of the SVOO construction is discussed with specific emphasis on the variants of the passive construction which are dependent on which object of the active construction becomes the subject of the passive one. Lastly, the semantics and FSP aspects of the SVOO construction are discussed in detail. Specific emphasis is given to the principles of *end-focus* and *end-weight* and their use in SVOO constructions. Lastly, the concept of context-dependence/independence is introduced.

The practical part of the present thesis is concerned with the analysis of 200 sentences (100 for each verb). These example sentences were excerpted from the British National Corpus and further analyzed by means of the Czech National Corpus (český národní korpus) which provided the necessary preceding context for each of them. The analysis concentrates on several focal topics. Firstly, the frequency of occurrence of the two existing sentence patterns for each verb (SVO_iO_{prep} and SVO_dO_{prep}) is determined. The analysis further concentrates on the object omissibility within the SVOO constructions with practical examples of the possibility/impossibility of omission. Part-of-speech patterns are determined in all analyzed sentences with specific emphasis on determining the frequency of occurrence of each of the possible patterns (noun+noun, noun+pronoun, pronoun+noun, pronoun+pronoun). The context-dependence/independence of both objects is analyzed in each sentence on the basis of the immediately preceding context of each of the excerpted sentences and the use of *end-focus* and *end-weight* is ascertained or contradicted. Lastly, the semantics of the ditransitive verbs are discussed. The semantic roles of the objects in the SVOO constructions are ascertained and the objects are also characterized and categorized from the point of their meaning. Lastly, the animateness of the objects is discussed.

2 BASIC ASPECTS OF THE DITRANSITIVE (SVOO) CONSTRUCTION

In a *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* Quirk et al. (1985: 54) define ditransitive verbs as verbs appearing in the SVOO construction. Distributionally, in the SVOO construction, the former object tends to be the indirect object and the latter the direct object. Although the indirect object is more central in regard to position, in other respects it is more peripheral than the direct object. This means that the indirect object is more likely to be the object of deletion or paraphrase by an adverbial phrase (Quirk et al., 1985: 54). Quirk et al. (1985: 56) provide a typical example of a ditransitive construction:

S V O_i O_d
We all wish you a happy birthday.

The two objects are not in a copular relationship and this distinguishes them from complex-transitive complementation (Quirk et al., 1985: 1208):

- a. *He found her a loyal friend.* (= *She was a loyal friend*) [SVOC]
- b. *He found her an apartment.* (= *The apartment was for her*) [SVOO]

The examples of ditransitive complementation above show objects that are realized as noun phrases. It is necessary, however, to consider here the different approaches that respective grammars have to the realization forms of the object. Quirk et al. (1985: 1208) state that “ditransitive complementation in its basic form involves two object noun phrases: an indirect object which is usually animate and placed directly after the verb and a direct object which is normally concrete.” However, Quirk et al. (1985: 1171) are the only ones who also consider and propose complementation of the ditransitive verbs by means other than the basic SVO_iO_d pattern (see 2.2). In *Ditransitive Verbs: Aspects of Theory, Description and a Usage-based Model* Joybrato Mukherjee (2005:65) gives the definition of the ditransitive construction by stating that “a ditransitive verb (DV) is a trivalent verb that requires a subject (S), a direct object (O_d) and an indirect object (O_i) for a complete syntactic complementation. It is necessary for all clause elements to be realizable as noun phrases (NPs).” In *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language* Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 248) consider only such constructions ditransitive where the verb is complemented by an indirect and direct object. Constructions in which the indirect object is replaced by a prepositional construction are not considered to be ditransitive. Hence the following examples extracted from *CamGr* (2002: 248):

- c. *I sent Sue a copy.* (SVO_iO_d)
- d. *I sent a copy to Sue.* (SVO_dC)

For Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 248), only example (c) shows a ditransitive construction as they do not consider the prepositional phrase *to Sue* in (d) to be an object. They substantiate this opinion by dividing clause complements into *core* and *non-core*. Core complements are expressed by noun phrases whereas non-core complements are expressed by means of prepositional phrases. Noun phrases as core complements are directly linked to the verb whereas noun phrases which are connected to the verb by means of a preposition are linked only indirectly (such noun phrases are referred to as *obliques*). Thus, any other expression of an object other than a noun phrase is not considered to be a valid member of a ditransitive construction. To complete the summary of various views of the ditransitive construction, *The Longman Grammar of Spoken and written English* must be taken into consideration as well. Biber et al. (1999: 150) are in agreement with Mukherjee, Huddleston and Pullum and Quirk et al. in that the ditransitive construction in its basic form consists of a verb complemented by an indirect and direct object. Similarly to Mukherjee and Huddleston and Pullum, Biber et al. do not propose any other possibilities of complementation of a ditransitive verb other than by noun phrases. Thus it seems that only Quirk et al. consider the SVOO construction to have more possible variants apart from the typical SVO_iO_d pattern.

2.1 The Object

The object in English is a clause element which complements the verb. Depending on the verb, the object may be either an obligatory clause element or an optional one. In languages with richer case systems than English, direct and indirect objects are characteristically marked by the accusative and dative case respectively (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 245). English has lost its earlier dative case, so that the two types of object are somewhat more alike. When compared to Czech, where the obligation or impossibility of complementation by an object is distinctly determined by the valency of the verb (the verb is either transitive or intransitive and the crossover between these two categories is accompanied by a formal change), in English there are many verbs which are neutral from this point of view (Dušková et al., 2006: 423). In English we distinguish three types of object: the direct object, the indirect object and the prepositional object.

Both the direct and the indirect object share some common characteristics which justifies why they share the same term. The shared common characteristics as presented by Quirk et al. (1985: 726-727) can be seen below:

1. **Form**

Like the subject, the object is normally a noun phrase or a nominal clause. There are constraints on the types of nominal clauses that can be indirect object.

2. **Position**

The object normally follows the subject and verb. If both objects are present, the indirect object normally comes before the direct object.

3. **Syntactic Function**

(i) The object function requires the objective form for pronouns that have distinctive case forms:

- a. *They amuse me. (O_d)*
- b. *They gave me (O_i) some chocolate.*

(ii) If an object is coreferential with the subject, it usually requires a reflexive pronoun which agrees with the subject in person and, where relevant, in number and gender. Similar agreement is required for an emphatic genitive within the object.

- c. *You (S) can please yourself (O_d).*
- d. *I (S) have given myself (O_i) a treat.*
- e. *They type their own letters (O_d).*

(iii) The object of an active clause may generally become the subject of the corresponding passive clause (for *passivization* see 2.3).

- f. *We have finished the work (O_d). The work (S) has been finished.*

If both objects are present, it is often possible to make either of them the subject of a corresponding passive construction, however, the transformation of an indirect object is far more common (see examples below):

- g. *We sent Jack (O_i) a copy of the letter (O_d).*
- h. *Jack (S) was sent a copy of the letter (O_d).*
- i. *A copy of the letter (S) was sent Jack (O_i). [Instead of the retained O_i a prepositional paraphrase is more usual – A copy of the letter was sent **to** Jack]*

(iv) The indirect object generally corresponds to a prepositional phrase which is usually placed after the direct object:

- j. *I'll send Charles another copy. x I'll send another copy to Charles.*
- k. *Pour me a drink. x Pour a drink for me.*

- (v) The indirect object can generally be omitted without affecting the semantic relations between the other elements:

l. *David saved me a seat.*

David saved a seat.

Therefore, if there is only one object present, it is generally the direct object. But with a few verbs that are normally ditransitive, the indirect object may be retained while the direct object is omitted. In that case the only present object is the indirect object:

m. *You can pay me [= the money] instead.*

Here, it is necessary to further elaborate on the notion of the omissibility of the object as presented by Quirk et al. In *Object Deletion in Ditransitive Verbs and its Semantic Consequences* Brůhová (forthcoming) discusses two types of object omissibility according to D.J.Allerton. Allerton makes a differentiation between *contextual* and *indefinite* deletion where contextual deletion is based on the recoverability of the object from the context (this recoverability is crucial for full understanding of the utterance) and indefinite deletion in which the omission of the object is acceptable in that it does not affect the understanding of the utterance.

According to Dušková et al. (2004: 435), the deletion of the indirect object is easier than that of the direct object. Brůhová (forthcoming) comments on the omissibility of the indirect object by stating that the easier omissibility of the indirect object is caused by its not particularly strong connection to the verb. Generally, the indirect object can be omitted without loss of grammaticality or change in the meaning of the verb.

Although the indirect object is always implied by the semantic structure of the verb, it is not syntactically indispensable and most ditransitive verbs can be used without it (Dušková et al., 2004: 435). Hence the omission of the indirect object in example (l) above causes only a slight shift in meaning and does not render the utterance incomprehensible.

Brůhová (forthcoming) also comments on cases, where the omission of the indirect object is not possible. Firstly, certain verbs (e.g. *wish*) do not permit this omission:

n. *They wished us a safe journey.*

o. **They wished a safe journey.*

Secondly, there are cases in which the indirect object may be omitted only under certain conditions (Brůhová, forthcoming). The verb *give*, for example, permits the omission of the O_i in certain cases (see (p) below), but does not permit the omission in others (see (q) below):

- p. *They gave us \$100.* (omissible O_i)
q. *They gave us a beating.* (non-omissible O_i)

In (p) the indirect object is not omissible as it is part of a construction with an eventive object in which the verb is a 'light' verb. (Brůhová, forthcoming)

The omission of the direct object is less common than that of the indirect object. The presence of the direct object is more important, because in many cases the omission of the direct object makes the indirect object lose its typical recipient role and it becomes the direct object (Dušková et al., 2004: 435):

- r. *I found her a corner.* (SVO_iO_d)
s. *I found her.* (SVO_d)

Brůhová further mentions one more possibility of object omission and that is either the omission of the direct object or the indirect object within one construction (i.e. the ditransitive verb allows the omission of one or the other). Verbs permitting this type of omission include: *ask, bet, charge, cost, envy, excuse, forgive, owe, pay, refuse, show, teach, tell* (Brůhová, forthcoming).

2.1.1 The Direct Object

The direct object is a progressing clause element which elaborates the verb. According to Biber et al. (1999: 126) the direct object stands postverbally in a declarative sentence (it connects only to transitive verbs), although there may be an intervening indirect object. Depending on the nature of the verb the object may be an obligatory or optional element of the clause (Dušková et al., 2006: 423):

- a. *The nurse (S) called the doctor (O_d).*
b. *I (S) wish you (O_i) a pleasant journey (O_d).*

Also in interrogative sentences with a nominal interrogative adverb or other interrogative expression concerning the subject, the object is typically postverbal (Dušková et al., 2006: 423):

- c. *What caused this complication (O_d)?*

An exception to the postverbal position of the direct object is represented by open questions where, when questioning the object, the position of the verb and direct object is inverted (Dušková et al., 2006: 424):

- d. *What did this complication (O_d) cause?*

The postverbal position may also be occupied by an adverbial. If the adverbial is expressed by a noun or a prepositional noun phrase it is formally indistinguishable from the object. These two clause elements may, however, be distinguished by a question test or by creating a passive construction. The question determining the object is usually *what* and the object may become a subject in a passive construction. The adverbial, on the other hand, is usually determined by means of question words such as *when*, *where*, *why*, *how* etc. and passivization is not possible (Dušková et al., 2006: 424).

e. *They rehearsed the whole play (O_d).*

In example (e) the question enquiring about the object is *what* and the whole sentence may be transformed into a passive construction: *The whole play was rehearsed* (Dušková et al., 2006: 424).

f. *They rehearsed the whole day (Adv).*

In example (f) the question enquiring after the adverbial is *how long* and the construction can not be turned into a passive one:

**The whole day was rehearsed*

Similarly, in prepositional constructions, the distinction between an object and an adverbial may be made by means of a question test and the possibility or lack of possibility of a passive construction (Dušková et al., 2006: 424).

g. *They departed from the usual procedure (O_d).*

In example (g) the question enquiring after the object is *what* and the construction can be turned into a passive one: *The usual procedure was departed from.*

h. *They departed from platform 2.*

In example (h) the question enquiring after the adverbial is *from where* and the passive construction is not possible:

**Platform 2 was departed from.*

In most cases the question test and formation of the passive construction are criteria which may clearly distinguish between an object and an adverbial. However, sometimes a postverbal clause element shows signs of both an object and an adverbial (Dušková et al., 2006: 425):

- i. *He wrote a lot. (how much x what) [Adv x O_d]*
- j. *It costs five pounds. (how much x what) [Adv x O_d]*

In example (i) the selection of a question word is inconclusive but the passive construction is possible (*A lot was written.*). In example (j) the selection of a question word is inconclusive and, furthermore, the passive construction is not possible (**Five pounds was cost.*)

These examples show that there is no clear boundary between the object and adverbial and a great role in deciding upon the element is attributed to its semantics (Dušková et al., 2006: 425).

2.1.2 The Indirect Object

The indirect object is an object of the dative type and it occurs only in ditransitive verbs (Biber et al., 1999: 128). It denotes a second, mostly animate, participant who occurs in the clause apart from the participant expressed by the direct object. Formally it is positioned before the direct object. It often alternates with the prepositional object introduced by prepositions such as *for* or *to* and it may become the subject of a passive construction. The indirect object expresses the actual or intended recipient of the object of the predicate. In the most typical cases the relationship between the indirect and direct object is possessive because, as a result of the action, the recipient has or has not got the direct object in its possession.

The indirect object can be expressed solely by means of a noun or a pronoun (Dušková et al., 2006: 433):

- a. *Have you given the secretary my message?*
- b. *I wish you a pleasant journey.*

Exceptions to the rule that the indirect object precedes the direct object may be found. If both objects are realized by a personal pronoun, there are three ways of dealing with the order of the objects (Dušková et al., 2006: 433):

- (i) *Give it to me.* (A construction with a preposition where the O_i precedes the O_d)
- (ii) *Give me it.* (A construction with the ordinary word order without a preposition – more typical in AmE)
- (iii) *Give it me.* (A construction with the reversed order of the two objects – more typical on BrE)

Brůhová (2010: 46) treats construction (iii) as anomalous, since it is not a pattern normally found with noun phrases. According to the findings of Brůhová, construction (iii), i.e. SVO_dO_i, is least frequent of the three constructions, because the syntactic

relationships are not clearly marked (Brůhová, 2010: 45). Brůhová concludes on this matter:

Since both objects are context dependent, the only new (i.e. rhematic) element is the verb. Thus we can only agree that where the recipient needs to be emphasized, the *to-phrase* (O_{prep}) is employed, since it is assumed to be more easily stressed than the indirect object.

Brůhová (2010: 46)

Although the indirect object is always implied by the semantic structure of the verb, it is not syntactically fundamental and most ditransitive verbs can be used without it (for *object deletion* see 2.1) (Dušková et al., 2006: 434).

As stated previously, the most common semantic role of the indirect object is that of *recipient*. However, occasionally, the indirect object may also take on an *affected* role with a few verbs that combine with an eventive object. The most common verb combining with the eventive object is *give* (Quirk et al., 1985: 753):

- c. *She gave me a push.* [*She pushed me.*]
- d. *I gave Helen a nudge.* [*I nudged Helen*]
- e. *We gave the baby a bath.* [*We bathed the baby*]
- f. *I should give the car a wash.* [*I should wash the car*]

In special cases, the indirect and direct object may be condensed into one object (e.g. *She gave me a push.* → *She pushed me*). This is possible in such cases where, semantically, we are dealing with only two participants – a subject and an object (direct). It is a case of univerbation and is not possible with all ditransitive verbs. In such cases where the action in the clause contains three participants - a subject, an affected object (O_d) and a recipient (O_i) (see example (g) below) – both the objects must remain in the construction (Dušková et al., 2006: 436):

- g. *They sent us a catalogue.*

In relation to verbal regimen the indirect object alternates with a prepositional object with *to*. The construction with *to* occurs frequently in verbs of French or Latin origin (*dedicate, submit etc.*) but also in other verbs. The animate participant is often omitted (Dušková et al., 2006: 436):

- h. *May I introduce my cousin [...]?* (omitted O_i → *to you*)

In verbs belonging to this category the prepositional object does not alternate with the indirect object (Dušková et al., 2006: 437). Compare:

- i. *I gave my key to the porter.* *I gave the porter my key.*
j. *He dedicated the book to his wife.* **He dedicated his wife the book.*

In example (i) the verb *give* allows alternation in between the indirect object and the prepositional object. In (j) the verb *dedicate* does not permit this alternation.

2.1.3 The Prepositional Object

The prepositional object does not differ, syntactically or semantically from the direct object. It would be easier to speak of the object of prepositional phrases rather than of the prepositional object, because the verb and the preposition form a semantic and formal unit which is followed by a complementation not dissimilar to the direct object (cf Dušková et al., 2006: 439). Prepositional objects require a mediating element, a preposition or direct object. In this they are similar to indirect objects (Biber et al., 1999: 130).

Similarly to the direct object, the prepositional object is usually expressed by means of nouns and pronouns (Dušková et al., 2006: 439).

- a. *The bank lent money to a speculator.* (Noun) (SVO_iO_{prep})¹
b. *You could have lent it to me.* (Pronoun) (SVO_iO_{prep})²
c. *Take off those shoes, you'll thank me for it later.* (Pronoun)³

The prepositional object alternates with the infinitive in some cases. Usually both possibilities of expression (prepositional/infinitive) are not interchangeable. The infinitive in the function of a prepositional object is used after the preposition *for*, which does not, however, direct the infinitive itself, but its object (Dušková et al., 2006: 440):

- d) *She longs for her son to complete his father's work.*

The prepositional object may also be expressed by a gerund (Dušková et al., 2006: 440):

- e) *I object to being treated as an errand-boy.*

¹ Excerpted from the BNC [ABG 3244]

² Excerpted from the BNC [BMW 1703]

³ Excerpted from the BNC [ASV 302]

2.2 Variants of the Ditransitive Construction

As stated in Chapter 1, Quirk et al., unlike other authors, distinguish several variants of the ditransitive constructions including those where the object is not realized by a noun phrase. Let us now consider the six types that Quirk et al. (1985: 1171) distinguish:

- a. **Noun phrases as O_i and O_d** (*They offered her some food.*)
- b. **Constructions with a prepositional object** (*Please say something to us.*)
- c. **O_i + *that*-clause** (*They told me that I was sick.*)
- d. **O_i + *wh*-clause** (*He asked me what time it was.*)
- e. **O_i + *wh*-infinitive clause** (*Mary told us what to do.*)
- f. **O_i + *to*-infinitive** (*I advised Mark to see a doctor.*)

Firstly, let us consider the first two groups. The SVOO construction typical of ditransitive verbs can be either complemented by an indirect object and a direct object or the complementation may, in fact, be realized by a direct object/indirect object and a prepositional object. Prepositional verbs form an important group. Alongside the ordinary indirect object and direct object patterns, two main prepositional patterns may be distinguished (Quirk et al., 1985: 1208):

- a. *direct object + prepositional object*
- b. *indirect object + prepositional object*

Some ditransitive verbs enable all three possible constructions (i.e. O_i+O_d ; O_d+O_{prep} ; $O_i+ O_{prep}$), some allow only two of them and some allow only a single one. The table below is a simplified version of a table presented by Quirk et al. (1985: 1209). It shows selected verbs and the possible constructions:

Verb	Object Pattern
tell	O_i+O_d O_d+O_{prep} $O_i+ O_{prep}$
offer	O_i+O_d O_d+O_{prep}
envy	O_i+O_d $O_i+ O_{prep}$
wish	O_i+O_d
blame	O_d+O_{prep} $O_i+ O_{prep}$
say	O_d+O_{prep}
warn	$O_i+ O_{prep}$

Table 1 Typology of Ditransitive Complementation

2.2.1 Ditransitive Verb + (O_i+O_d, O_d+O_{prep}, O_i+ O_{prep})

Let us now further comment on the groups from Table 1.⁴ The first group of ditransitive verbs consists of verbs which allow three possible constructions. Either the ditransitive verb may be complemented by an indirect object and a direct object, by a direct object and a prepositional object or by an indirect object and a prepositional object.

For illustration of the constructions formed with this group of verbs, see the sentences below:

- a) Minton **paid** him money. (SVO_iO_d)⁵
- b) He **paid** the money to them. (SVO_dO_{prep})⁶
- c) He used to **pay** me with cheese. (O_i+ O_{prep})⁷
- d) Mary **told** only John the secret. (SVO_iO_d)⁸
- e) Mary **told** the secret only to John. (SVO_dO_{prep})⁹
- f) Mary **told** only John about the secret. (O_i+ O_{prep})¹⁰

2.2.2 Ditransitive Verb + (O_i+O_d, O_d+O_{prep})

Ditransitive verbs belonging to this group allow two possible constructions. Either the verb may be followed by an indirect object and a direct object or by a direct object and a prepositional object. In the construction containing the prepositional object, this object substitutes the indirect object from the O_i+O_d construction and the direct object moves forward to the first object position. Compared to the previous group (1) which Quirk et al. substantiated by only four example verbs, this group is exemplified by 23 verbs which are further broken down into three groups according to the preposition which introduces the prepositional object.

For clarity, the table below presents the verbs as selected by Quirk et al. and sorted according to the preposition introducing the prepositional object:

Verb Pattern →	O _i +O _d	O _d +O _{prep}
Preposition ↓	Ditransitive verbs ↓	Ditransitive verbs ↓
to	<i>bring, deny, gift, grant, hand, leave, lend, offer, owe, promise, read, send, show, teach, throw</i>	<i>bring to, deny to, gift to, grant to, hand to, leave to, lend to, offer to, owe to, promise to, read to, send to, show to, teach to, throw to</i>
for	<i>do, find, make, order, reserve, save, spare</i>	<i>do for, find for, make for, order for, reserve for, save for, spare for</i>
of	<i>ask</i>	<i>ask of</i>

Table 2 Overview of Prepositions Introducing Group 2 DV

⁴ If not stated otherwise, example sentences were drawn from the British National Corpus (BNC).

⁵ Excerpted from the BNC [F9U 980]

⁶ Excerpted from the BNC [HV3 96]

⁷ Excerpted from the BNC [CJX 1820]

⁸ Quirk et al, 1985: 1209

⁹ Quirk et al, 1985: 1209

¹⁰ Quirk et al, 1985: 1209

- a) John **offered** Mary some help. (O_i+O_d)¹¹
- b) John **offered** some help to Mary. (O_d+O_{prep})¹²
- c) The Billeting Office **found** us accommodation. (O_i+O_d)¹³
- d) He **found** a first edition **for** us. (O_d+O_{prep})¹⁴
- e) I want to **ask** you a favour. (O_i+O_d)¹⁵
- f) The lad **asked** a favour **of** an old shipmate. (O_d+O_{prep})¹⁶

Brůhová (2010) points out that Table 2 in which Quirk et al. subsumed verbs introduced by three prepositions (*to*, *for*, *of*) should be further enriched by other exemplary verbs. Brůhová gives the example of *bear/bear against* and *play/play with* as other examples of verbs which may enter into the DV+ O_i+O_d or DV+ O_d+O_{prep} constructions (Brůhová, 2010: 11).

2.2.3 Ditransitive Verb + ($O_i+O_d, O_i+ O_{prep}$)

This group of verbs includes such ditransitive verbs which allow the ditransitive verb to be followed by an indirect object and a direct object or an indirect object and a prepositional object. The prepositional object, when it occurs, alternates with the direct object from the O_i+O_d construction. The only preposition introducing the prepositional object in this group of verbs is *for* (according to Quirk et al). In this group of verbs, unlike the preceding ones, the order of the objects is not reversed (the indirect object remains in the position of the first object and the second object alternates between the direct object and the prepositional object.)

- a) She **envied** John his success. (O_i+O_d)
- b) She **envied** John for his success. ($O_i+ O_{prep}$)

2.2.4 Ditransitive Verb + (O_i+O_d)

This group of ditransitive verbs includes verbs which are followed by an indirect and direct verb with no possibility of alternation with a prepositional verb. Verbs included in this group by Quirk et al. are: *allow*, *charge*, *fine*, *refuse*, *wish*.

- a) They **wished** him good luck.¹⁷
- b) We only **charged** him fifty percent.¹⁸

¹¹ Quirk et al, 1985: 1209

¹² Quirk et al, 1985: 1209

¹³ Excerpted from the BNC [AMC 243]

¹⁴ Excerpted from the BNC [GWN 1025]

¹⁵ Excerpted from the BNC [BP0 2103]

¹⁶ Excerpted from the BNC

¹⁷ Quirk et al, 1985: 1209

¹⁸ Excerpted from the BNC [CKE 1975]

2.2.5 Ditransitive Verb + (O_d+O_{prep}, O_i+ O_{prep})

This group of ditransitive verbs includes verbs which may be followed by both the direct object and indirect object in the first object position and always by the prepositional object in the second object position. Thus the direct object from one construction becomes the prepositional object in the alternative construction and the prepositional object of the first construction becomes the indirect object of the second construction. The preposition in both constructions differs:

- a) Helen **blamed** the divorce **on** John.¹⁹
- b) Helen **blamed** John **for** the divorce.²⁰
- c) NHS has always **supplied** blood **for** any patient.²¹
- d) Kirov has already **supplied** us **with** a list.²²

2.2.6 Ditransitive Verb + (O_d+O_{prep})

This group of ditransitive verbs includes verbs which are followed by a direct object and a prepositional object with no possible alternative construction. Verbs included in this group by Quirk et al. (1985: 1209) are: *address to*, *communicate to*, *announce to*, *explain to*, *say to*.

- a) Why didn't anybody **say** this **to** me?
- b) We **addressed** our remarks **to** the children.

A special group of ditransitive verbs which is recognized by both Quirk et al. and Dušková et al. should be mentioned here as well as it syntactically adheres to the pattern typical of group 6, but semantically it behaves differently. These verbs form an idiomatic expression with the verb and the direct object and all three members of the construction (DV, O_d, O_{prep}) form one unit (Quirk et al, 1985: 1211). The meaning of this unit cannot be deduced from the individual elements. Dušková et al. (2004: 443) states that constructions of this type are fixed expressions which are on the transfer towards idiomatic combinations of verb and object, which may be proven by the way they form passive constructions (cf 2.3):

- | | | | |
|---|---|----------------|-------------------|
| S | V | O _d | O _{prep} |
| a) Premature death put an end to his brilliant career. (ACTIVE) | | | |
| S | V | by-agent | |
| b) His brilliant career was put an end to by his premature death. (PASSIVE) | | | |

¹⁹ Quirk et al, 1985: 1209

²⁰ Quirk et al, 1985: 1209

²¹ Excerpted from the BNC [K56 548]

²² Excerpted from the BNC [CDA 805]

The formation of the passive is identical to that formed by monotransitive verbs (the expression *put an end to* behaves like a one-word verb which takes on a single, prepositional, object). Subsuming these verbs in question among ditransitive verbs taking two objects can be, according to Dušková et al. (2004: 443), justified by the fact that they also form a different passive which points to the independence of the direct object:

- S V O_d by-agent
- c) *An end was put to his brilliant career by his premature death.* (PASSIVE)

The direct object from the active construction can thus become subject in a passive construction. Verbs which Dušková et al. and Quirk et al. subsume under this category can be seen in the table below:

Preposition	ditransitive verb
<i>of</i>	<i>catch sight, lose sight, lose track, make fun, make a mess, take account¹, take advantage¹, take care¹, take notice¹, make use¹, take note¹</i>
<i>with</i>	<i>find fault, lose touch, shake hands¹, keep pace</i>
<i>to</i>	<i>give way, put an end to¹, set fire to, give place, put a stop, pay attention¹</i>
<i>over / about</i>	<i>make a fuss¹</i>
<i>for</i>	<i>make allowance¹, make room</i>

Table 3 ²³ Overview of Prepositions Introducing Group 6 DV

As Dušková et al. (2004: 443) state, constructions made with these verbs are formal and less common and are used preferably when the direct object is somehow modified.

Quirk et al. (1985: 1212) make the same point concerning the passivization of constructions formed by this group of ditransitive verbs. The example which Quirk gives to prove this point can be seen below:

- S V O_{prep}
- d) *Allowance was made for loss of earnings.* (PASSIVE)

This sentence can be transformed into the active voice showing that the direct object became subject of the passive construction:

- S V O_d O_{prep}
- e) *They made an allowance for loss of earnings.* (ACTIVE)

²³ For completeness, the verbs in table 4 have been supplemented with a raised '1' anywhere where the verb in question enters into a passive construction in which S is represented by the O_d of the corresponding passive construction.

As can be seen in Table 3 above, the group of verbs subsumed under this category by Dušková et al. and Quirk et al. seems to be quite small and closed. There is one point on which the authors are not in agreement and that is the verb *put an end to*, which Dušková et al. subsume under verbs where the direct object may become subject in the passive and Quirk et al. do not. A search was conducted in the BNC and no hits were returned for construction where the direct object became subject in the passive, this verb is thus debatable from this point of view.

2.2.7 Ditransitive Verb + (O_i+O_{prep})

This group of ditransitive verbs includes verbs which are followed by an indirect object and a prepositional object. No alternations are possible in this case. This category includes a large number of verbs:

Object Pattern →	O _i /O _d +O _{prep}
Preposition ↓	Ditransitive verbs ↓
<i>for</i>	<i>thank for</i>
<i>from</i>	<i>prevent from, protect from</i>
<i>in</i>	<i>interest in</i>
<i>of</i>	<i>accuse of, assure of, convict of, convince of, deprive of, inform of, persuade of, relieve of, remind of, rob of, suspect of, warn of</i>
<i>on</i>	<i>congratulate on</i>
<i>to</i>	<i>confine to, introduce to, refer to, sentence to, subject to, treat to</i>
<i>with</i>	<i>charge with, compare with</i>

Table 4 Overview of Prepositions Introducing Group 7 DV

There seems to be a problem here with determining whether the object directly following the ditransitive verb is direct or indirect. While Quirk et al. (1985: 1211) indicate that it is a case of the indirect object, Dušková et al. (2004: 442) state that it is a case of the direct object. The problem would be that the direct object is traditionally an object in the *affected* role and the indirect object is an object of the *recipient* role. While up until now all the verbs in groups 1-6 adhered to this pattern, verbs in group 7 are a combination of both these cases (see below):

Verb case	
Verbs taking the <i>affected</i> object	Verbs taking the <i>recipient</i> object
<i>accuse, assure, charge, compare, convict, convince, cure, deprive, interest, introduce, persuade, protect, refer, relieve, rob, sentence, subject, suspect, treat, prevent</i>	<i>congratulate, remind, thank, warn</i>

Table 5 Overview of Semantic Roles Taken by Group 7 DV

Problems may arise from the fact that semantically the indirect object most often takes on the role of the *recipient* and in only a few cases from the verbs listed in the table

would the non-prepositional object be classified as being a recipient of the action denoted by the verb. (e.g. *congratulate*, *thank*). Mukherjee (2005: 12) also expresses his doubts about this group by saying that “the inclusion of a very heterogenous group of prepositional verbs in the ditransitive type is rather extreme and not very useful.” Mukherjee (2005: 12) further states that “these prepositional verbs have nothing in common with the shared abstract meaning of genuinely transitive verbs, namely an underlying proposition denoting an event type in which a provided entity is transferred to an affected entity.” Based on the findings in the present thesis and on the arguments presented by Mukherjee it would be possible to suggest the transfer of the *affected* objects from group 7 to group 6 with the verb pattern $O_d + O_{prep}$.

It seems that group 7 would need reclassification, perhaps along the lines of Table 5 (see above). Verbs taking the direct object in the role of *affected* object could be transported to group 6 and the verbs taking the indirect object in the role of *recipient* could remain in group 7. Such regrouping would provide lucidity in the division of ditransitive verbs.

2.3 Passivization of the Ditransitive Construction

The ditransitive construction can occur both in the active and passive voice. Generally, ditransitive verbs in English can form two differing passive constructions, because both objects present in the active voice can become subjects of the passive (Dušková et al., 2006: 252).

The same point is made by Quirk et al. (1985: 1208) who state that the ditransitive construction may form two possible passive constructions depending on which object is turned into the subject in the passive. Quirk et al. (1985: 1208) term the two passives as *first* and *second passive* and state that the first passive construction in which the indirect object becomes the subject of the passive construction is the more common one of the two. In place of the second passive, which is far less common, a prepositional paraphrase can be formed, which is more typical. For examples from Quirk et al. (1985: 1208) see below:

1. *He gave the girl a doll. (ACTIVE)*
2. *The girl was given a doll. (PASSIVE – $O_i \rightarrow \text{subject}$)(FIRST PASSIVE)*
3. *A doll was given the girl. (PASSIVE – $O_d \rightarrow \text{subject}$)(SECOND PASSIVE)*
4. *A doll was given to the girl. (PASSIVE – $O_d \rightarrow \text{subject}$)(PREP.PARAPHRASE)*

Note the difference between the passivization in (3) and (4). Both are cases of the passive where the direct object of the active voice has been turned into the subject of the passive voice. In (4) the indirect object is introduced by *to* whereas in (3) the identical

construction omits *to* before the indirect object. According to Dušková et al. (2006: 252), the indirect object of the passive tends to be introduced by *to*. They note that cases of the indirect object unIntroduced by *to* are rare and often depend on the verb in question. Although Quirk et al. present the second passive as an acceptable possibility of the passive in ditransitive verbs; they also attest that the prepositional paraphrase with *to* is more usual as an alternative to the second passive. All in all, it is understood that the first passive in which the indirect object becomes the subject is the more common variety.

The choice of the object which becomes subject in the passive voice depends greatly on functional sentence perspective. The subject is represented by the object with a lower degree of discourse dynamics. Passivization is often applied when the subject of the active construction is context dependent, meaning that the subject does not bring new information into the sentence; that is the function of the rheme, which would be represented by the object (Dušková et al., 2006: 252). The ordering of clause elements is governed by their degree of communicative dynamism (see 4) and the passive construction may be chosen to front the information that is more crucial.

There are certain restrictions to forming the passive construction in ditransitive verbs:

- a) If the direct object is expressed by an infinitive, only the indirect object may become the subject of the passive construction (Dušková et al., 2006: 252):
 - a. *They told us to come at three. (ACTIVE)*
 - b. *We were told to come at three. (1st PASSIVE)*
 - c. **To come at three we were told. (2nd PASSIVE)*
- b) If the direct object is a clause, the second passive is unacceptable (Quirk et al., 1985: 1212):
 - a. *John convinced me that he was right. (ACTIVE)*
 - b. *I was convinced (by John) (that) he was right. (1st PASSIVE)*
 - c. **That he was right was convinced me. (2nd PASSIVE)*
- c) If the indirect object is followed by a *wh*-clause object, only the first passive is permitted (Quirk et al., 1985: 1214):
 - a. *John asked me what time the meeting would end. (ACTIVE)*
 - b. *I was asked (by John) what time the meeting would end. (1st PASSIVE)*
- d) If the indirect object is followed by a *wh*-infinitive clause, only the first passive is possible (Quirk et al., 1985: 1215):
 - a. *The instructor taught us how to land safely. (ACTIVE)*
 - b. *We were taught (by the instructor) to land safely. (1st PASSIVE)*

3 SEMANTICS OF THE DITRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTION

3.1 Semantics of the Ditransitive Verb

From the semantic point of view, the previously quoted definitions of the ditransitive construction will not suffice as they described the construction from the point of syntax. In *Ditransitive Constructions: a Typological Overview* Haspelmath et al. (2007: 2) provide a different outlook on the problem of the ditransitive construction. According to them a ditransitive construction is such a construction which consists of a ditransitive verb (DV), an agent argument (A), a recipient-like argument (R) and a theme argument (T). The structure of the construction would thus look as follows:

Ditransitive construction : A – DV – R – T

Applied to an English sentence, the construction would accommodate the clause as follows:

A DV R T
Mary gave John a pen.

The definition according to Haspelmath et al. thus puts greater stress on the meaning of the construction rather than its syntactic structure. Ditransitive constructions are the most typical three-argument structures. They must be differentiated from other three-argument structures, in which the number of arguments is identical to the ditransitive construction but in which the two non-agent arguments are not (R) and (T).

1. *Mary gave John a pen.* (SVO_iO_d) or (A-DV-R-T)
2. *Mary put the pen in the box.* (SVO_dAdv)

Examples like the one in (2) are not ditransitive constructions and are not considered in the frame of this thesis.

Verbs which may appear in ditransitive constructions are a relatively closed group which share semantic properties. According to Haspelmath et al., verbs which participate in the ditransitive construction can be divided into three groups. The first group constitutes verbs of *physical transfer* which describe a situation in which an agent participant causes an object to pass into the possession of an animate receiver (= recipient). Examples of such verbs include *give, lend, hand, sell, return etc.* Similarly to verbs of physical transfer, Haspelmath et al. also distinguish verbs of *mental transfer* and *less central transfer*. The former being verbs such as *show* or *tell* and the latter being verbs such as *offer, bequeath* or *promise* (Haspelmath et al., 2007: 2). The idea of ditransitive verbs being characterized as verbs of transfer is also supported by Mukherjee (2005: 83) who attests that ditransitive

verbs require three semantic roles in the situation type *transfer*. Mukherjee classifies the ditransitive verb as one denoting an action in which the acting entity (ActE) transfers a transferred entity (TE) to the affected entity (AfE). This definition can be compared with that of Haspelmath et al. and is shown on the example sentence below:

<u>Haspelmath et al.</u>				<u>Mukherjee</u>			
<i>A</i>	<i>DV</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>ActE</i>	<i>DV</i>	<i>AfE</i>	<i>TE</i>
<i>Mary gave John a pen.</i>				<i>Mary gave John a pen.</i>			

Let us now consider the verbs which were classified as verbs of physical, mental or less central transfer by Haspelmath et al. and compare these categories with the findings of Mukherjee.

Mukherjee provides a different semantic division of ditransitive verbs to Haspelmath. He divides the verbs into *typical ditransitive verbs* (1), *habitual ditransitive verbs* (2) and *peripheral ditransitive verbs* (3). Verbs in group (1) are ditransitive verbs which are used frequently in general but also frequently in a specific ditransitive syntax (*give, tell*). Verbs in group (2) are used fairly frequently in general but not in an explicit ditransitive syntax in the clear majority of all cases in which they occur (*ask, send, show, offer*). Verbs in group (3) are ditransitive verbs which are used only sporadically in general and which are used only rarely in an explicit ditransitive syntax (*spare, supply, share, teach*) (Mukherjee, 2005: 83-84). While Haspelmath's division provided an overview of the semantics of most common ditransitive verbs, Mukherjee's division is more tangible and exact in that it provides categories of ditransitive verbs according to the frequency of occurrence in general and the frequency of occurrence of the verbs in an explicit syntax.

Mukherjee searched the ICE-GB (The International Corpus of English) for ditransitive verbs in order to create a table including verbs that could be characterized as being typically ditransitive. Mukherjee introduces his findings by stating that the extent to which a specific verb is typical of a given verb class is relevant to both the description of language use and the modelling of language cognition. Typical ditransitive verbs (e.g. *send*) can be taken to predetermine the usage of novel verbs (e.g. *fax, email*) in ditransitive patterns. Also, typical ditransitive verbs are cognitively entrenched as prototypical entries around which less typical, but semantically similar verbs orbit (Mukherjee, 2005: 81).

Mukherjee identified altogether 71 verbs (1741 occurrences in the corpus) which occurred in the basic form of ditransitive complementation (S:NP – DV – O_i:NP – O_d:NP).

The semantics of the verbs in question prove that both Haspelmath et al. and Mukherjee have come to the same conclusion regarding the semantics of ditransitive verbs. The verbs from Mukherjee's corpus search can be fitted into Haspelmath's frame of *physical*, *mental* and *less central transfer* framework as can be seen in Table 6 below:

Physical transfer verbs	Mental transfer verbs	Less central transfer verbs
award, bring, buy, deliver, feel, fine, give, get, hand, leave, lend, pass, purchase, sell, send, serve, set, supply, throw, cause, earn, file, keep, lose, pay/overpay, take, prescribe	show, tell, allow, assign, assure, bet, call, charge, deal,, deny, grant, guarantee, teach, order, owe, permit, quote, read, write	offer, promise, wish

Table 6 Semantic Categorization of DV

Overall, of the 70 verbs which were attested by Mukherjee as ditransitive and received the highest number of hits in the corpus, it was possible to assign 50 of them to one of the three categories determined by Haspelmath et al. It can be seen that ditransitive verbs are a relatively close-knit group with similar semantics. Thus a presupposition that Haspelmath et al. put forward is proven, i.e. that English has far fewer ditransitive verbs than transitive verbs.

A different view on the semantics of the ditransitive construction is presented by Gropen et al. (1989) in '*The Learnability and Acquisition of the Dative Alternation in English*'. They state that the ditransitive (= syntactic) aspect of a verb is given by its semantics. Gropen et al. try to explain the process of dativization of verbs and thus proceed to categorize verbs not from the point of physical, mental or less central transfer as we have seen above, but from the point of their dativizability.

Gropen et al. (1989: 243) use the terms broad-range and narrow-range dative rules to explain the concept of dativizability. The broad-range dative rule dictates the properties a double-object construction must have if it exists. The necessary condition for the existence of the double-object construction is the *causation of change of possession*. This condition is a necessary one, nevertheless, it is not sufficient because some verbs that are, in fact, compatible with the causation of change of possession broad-range rule, do not enter into the double-object construction. Therefore, the narrow-range dative rules must be formed to aid in differentiating between verbs which do allow the dative construction and those that do not.

Each narrow-range rule incorporates some version of the semantic operation of the broad range rule, but applies only to narrow sets of verbs with similar kinds of meanings which we will call *narrow conflation classes*. The narrow-range rules are existence-predicting; if a verb falls into a narrow

conflation class that a narrow range rule applies to, it automatically gets assigned a double-object structure. [...] Formulating a set of narrow conflation classes to which narrow-range dative rules apply allows one to account for the subtle patterns of dativizability that the simple prospective possessor constraint misses.

(Gropen et al., 1989: 243)

Thus Gropen et al. explain that the division of verbs into groups according to their ability to dativize is based on their semantics. The notion of some sort of *transfer* (similar to Gropen et al.'s *causation of change of possession*) being crucial to the ditransitive construction has already been seen above in Haspelmath's division of ditransitive verbs. However, Gropen et al. take this concept further by saying that this is not the only sufficient presupposition of a ditransitive verb and that ditransitive verbs can be further subdivided into narrower groups (see definition of *narrow-range rules* above).

It is important to note that what differentiates the subclasses of verbs with different syntactic privileges is not the general kinds of events they refer to, represented in conceptual scripts or stereotypes such as those for acts of *physical transfer* or of *communication*. Rather, it is the specific aspects of events that verbs are selective about – that precisely define the kinds of situations that the verb could truthfully describe – that count in delineating the classes.

(Gropen et al., 1989: 243)

Gropen et al. sum up the concept of dativizability by saying that the double-object dative involves an actor acting on a recipient and thus causing the possession of something. According to Gropen et al. (1989: 244) verbs that suggest that the receiver is the causee of the action are more likely to dativize. The example given is of the verb pair *ask x shout* where the argument is that when somebody asks us something then we, as the receivers, are the causees of the action of answering, whereas when somebody shouts at us, we as receivers are not involved in any action and the verb can be defined solely on the properties of the speaker alone. Syntactically, as can be seen in the examples below, dativization of a verb is its connection to an indirect object without the means of a preposition. On the contrary, if a verb is non-dativizable, it cannot be connected to an indirect object without a preposition.

The subclasses of ditransitive verbs according to Gropen et al. are presented below. They are divided into two main groups on the basis of the dativizability or non-dativizability of the verb in question (Gropen et al., 1989: 243-244).

Ditransitive verbs that allow the ditransitive as well as prepositional construction:

- a) **Verbs that inherently signify acts of giving:** *give, pass, hand, sell, pay, trade, lend, loan, serve*
- b) **Verbs of instantaneous causation of ballistic motion:** *throw, toss, flip, slap, kick, poke, fling, shoot, blast*
- c) **Verbs of sending:** *send, mail, ship*

- d) **Verbs of continuous causation of accompanied motion in a deictically-specified direction:** *bring* (i.e. 'cause to go here') *take* ('cause to go away from here')
- e) **Verbs of future having (commitments that a person will have something at some later point):** *offer, promise, bequeath, leave, refer, forward, allocate, guarantee, allot, assign, allow, advance, award, reserve, grant*
- f) **Verbs of type of communicated message (differentiated by something like 'illocutionary force'):** *tell, show, ask, teach, pose, write, spin, read, quote, cite*
- g) **Verbs of instrument of communication:** *radio, e-mail, telegraph, wire, telephone*
- h) **Verbs of creation:** *bake, make, build, cook, sew, knit, toss (when a salad results), fix (when dinner results), pour (when a drink results)*
- i) **Verbs of obtaining:** *get, buy, find, steal, order, win, earn, grab*

The second group of ditransitive verbs was created by Gropen et al. (1989: 244) to subsume ditransitive verbs that do not allow any other than the prepositional construction (i.e. the dative construction)

- a) **Verbs of fulfilling:** (X gives something to Y that Y deserves, needs, or is worthy of) *credit, entrust, trust, supply, present* (**I presented him the award*) These verbs are all fully acceptable only if the preposition *with* is used to mark the theme. (*I presented him with the award*)
- b) **Verbs of continuous causation of accompanied motion in some manner:** *pull, carry, push, schlep, lift, lower, haul* (*I pulled the box to John*/**pulled John the box*)
- c) **Verbs of manner of speaking:** *shout, scream, murmur, whisper, shriek, yodel, yell, bellow, grunt, bark* (**John shouted/screamed [...] Bill the news.*)
- d) **Verbs of communication of propositions and propositional attitudes:** *say, assert, claim, question, think aloud about, doubt* (**I said/asserted/questioned[...] her something*)
- e) **Verbs of choosing:** *choose, pick, select, favour, indicate, prefer, designate* (**I chose/picked/selected/favoured/indicated/preferred/designated her a dress.*)

Gropen et al. hypothesize about the reasons beyond the fact that some ditransitive verbs permit the dative constructions while others do not:

Since the double-object dative involves an actor acting on a recipient causing him to possess something (as opposed to acting on an object causing it to go into someone's possession), we would expect that verb subclasses which suggest that the action inherently involves the possessor as causee in some direct fashion would be more likely to enjoy dativization.

(Gropen et al., 1989: 244)

Gropen's categorization seems to be most detailed and also the most clear. Compared to Mukherjee's or Haspelmath's subdivision of ditransitive which leaves more space for dispute, Gropen et al. have created a clear and precise subdivision.

3.2 Semantics of the Subject in the Ditransitive Constructions

According to Quirk et al., the subject has only one semantic role in the SVOO construction, that of the agentive participant. The agentive participant instigates or causes the happening denoted by the verb (Quirk et al., 1985: 741).

- a) *He gave the girl a doll.* (Quirk et al., 1985: 1208)

3.3 Semantics of the Indirect Object in the Ditransitive Construction

The number of semantic roles of the indirect object may differ in various works. According to Quirk et al. (1985: 754) the indirect object in the SVOO construction can have two possible semantic roles: the *recipient* object and the *affected* object. Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 310-311) differentiate between two different semantic roles - the *recipient* and *beneficiary* role. Let us now consider the different roles in detail.

3.3.1 O_i as Recipient Participant

The most common role of the indirect object is that of the *recipient* participant, i.e. of the animate being that is passively implicated by the happening or state (Quirk et al., 1985: 741):

a) *He gave **the girl** a doll.* (Quirk et al., 1985: 1208)

Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 310-311) state that “with such verbs as *give*, *hand* or *throw* there is actual transfer of the theme (expressed by O_d) to the recipient. With other ditransitive verbs such as *bequeath*, *offer*, *owe* or *promise* there is an arrangement or commitment for the recipient to receive the theme later.” A further group of ditransitive verbs like *tell*, *read*, *show* or *teach* are aligned with less central cases of recipient and theme:

The O_i comes to hear, see, or learn what is expressed by O_d, rather than have it. Verbs of verbal communication, of saying, characteristically belong to the *to*-only class: *He said something offensive to us*, not “*He said us something offensive*.” *Tell* is the main exception, but there is also a productive set expressing means of communication (*cable*, *fax*, *phone* etc.).

(Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 310-311)

3.3.2 O_i as Beneficiary Participant

Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 310-311) state that two kinds of the beneficiary construction can be differentiated:

1. Beneficiary of goods – e.g. *I'll get another glass for you.* (the glass is for you)
2. Beneficiary of services – e.g. *Let me open the door for you.* (the deed is for you)

Brůhová (2010: 22) refers to Huddleston and Pullum in quoting that a few verbs can take an object in either a recipient or beneficiary role. “In the prepositional construction, the particular meaning is denoted by the preposition; however, in the non-prepositional ditransitive construction an ambiguity may arise” (Brůhová, 2010: 22):

- a) *Could you rent **me** your cottage for the week-end?* – “to-me” – recipient
- b) *Could you rent **me** a car for the week-end?* (when said by boss to secretary) – “for-me” – beneficiary

Quirk et al. differentiate between *intended recipient* (=beneficiary) and *actual recipient*. The intended recipient corresponds to a *for*-phrase followed by a noun phrase (Quirk et al., 1985: 697). The intended recipient may or may not be the actual recipient but was intended to be by the subject of the sentence:

- d) She made **her daughter** a beautiful doll.
- e) He cooked **her** a dinner.
- f) She made a beautiful doll **for her daughter**
- g) He cooked a dinner **for her**.

The *actual recipient* corresponds to a *to*-phrase followed by a noun phrase (Quirk et al., 1985: 697) and should be subsumed under *recipient* role (see 3.3.1):

- i) I gave **my friend** the book. x I gave the book **to my friend**.

It is interesting to say here that Haspelmath et al. state that the difference between a benefactive and ditransitive construction is in that the benefactive construction may also be formed by means of a monotransitive verb (*She sang for me.*) Therefore the benefactive construction should not be subsumed under the ditransitive construction but listed as one of its possible paraphrases (Haspelmath et al., 2007: 3). It may be seen, therefore, that the approach to the semantics of the indirect object differs in various grammars.

3.3.3 O_i as Malefactive Participant

Haspelmath et al. (2007: 46) mention another role of the indirect object – the *malefactive* role. This role stands in opposition to the beneficiary role. While the beneficiary indirect object gained from the subject in the sentence, the malefactive indirect object becomes the source of something for the subject.

- a) I robbed **him** of money.

3.3.4 O_i as Affected Participant

The indirect object may also have the semantic role of the *affected* participant. The occurrence of the indirect object in the role of an affected participant is rarer than that of the recipient participant. The indirect object takes the affected role when it appears with one of the verbs that combine with an eventive object (cf 3.4) The most common verb in the affected participant construction is *give* (Quirk et al., 1985: 753).

- 1. She gave **me** a push. [“She pushed me.”]
- 2. I gave **Helen** a nudge. [“I nudged Helen.”]
- 3. We gave **the baby** a bath. [“We bathed the baby.”]

The indirect object has the same role as the affected direct object in the paraphrases. Unlike the recipient indirect object, the affected indirect object is not normally paraphrasable by a prepositional phrase.

4. I gave **Helen** a nudge. *I gave a nudge **to Helen**.

This type of construction is intended to focus on the nominal equivalent of the verb and therefore the direct object should receive *end-focus* (Quirk et al., 1985: 753).

3.4 Semantics of the Direct Object in the Ditransitive Construction

The most typical semantic role of the direct object is that of an *affected* participant – a participant, animate or inanimate, which does not cause the happening denoted by the verb, but is directly involved in some other way (Quirk et al., 1985: 741).

- a) He gave the girl **a doll**.

Another possible semantic role of the direct object in the SVOO construction is that of an *eventive* direct object. An eventive object is a frequent type of object that generally takes the form of a deverbal noun preceded by a common verb of a general meaning (*do, give, have, make*). This eventive object is semantically an extension of the verb and bears the major part of the meaning (Quirk et al., 1985: 741).

- b) She gave me **a push**.

The last possible semantic role of the direct object in this type of construction is that of the *resultant* object. A resultant object is an object whose referent exists only by virtue of the activity indicated by the verb (Quirk et al., 1985: 741).

- c) John painted me **a picture**.

4 FSP IN THE SVOO CONSTRUCTION

In this section, the concept of functional sentence perspective (FSP henceforth) shall be introduced mainly on the basis of *Functional Sentence Perspective in Written and Spoken Communication* (Firbas, 1992). By functional sentence perspective we understand a theory developed by the Prague School describing the information structure of a sentence. The main feature of FSP is *communicative dynamism* (CD henceforth).

Quirk et al. (1985: 1356) state that CD refers to the variation in communicative value as between different parts of an utterance. Firbas (1992: 8) defines CD by saying that the elements of a clause, independent or dependent, differ in the extent to which they contribute towards the further development of the communication and since some elements are more dynamic than others, we speak of communicative dynamism. Firbas states that CD is an inherent quality of communication and is constantly present in the development towards accomplishing a communicative goal. Quirk et al. (1985: 1356) say that CD can range from very low, to medium to very strong. It is common for the range of communicative dynamism to increase from low to high as the utterance progresses. Firbas (1992: 9) defines the degree of CD as the relative extent to which a linguistic element contributes towards the further development of the communication.

To determine the degree of CD, Firbas (1992: 10) determines three key factors:

- a) *Linear modification*
- b) *Semantic factor*
- c) *The retrievability of information from the immediate context*

4.1 Key Factors of Communicative Dynamism

4.1.1 Linear Modification

By linear modification we understand the ordering of the elements in a sentence on the basis of their CD – the information that is least dynamic precedes the information that is more dynamic. This means that the elements which carry less information will come before the elements which carry more information. Here it is necessary to coin the term *end-focus* as defined by Quirk et al. (1985: 1357): *end-focus* shall be the term used to refer to the “processing of information in a message so as to achieve linear presentation from low to high information value”. According to this principle the information considered to be the most important in a sentence would always be positioned sentence-finally.

4.1.2 Semantic Factor

The term *semantic factor* covers the impact that the semantic characters of a linguistic element, as well as the character of its semantic relations, have on the distribution of CD (Firbas, 1992: 41). In regard to FSP the semantic character of a communicative unit is, as a rule, of greater relevance than its syntactic status. Thus, although syntactically we agree that the finite verb is the most important constituent in a sentence, semantically this can only be true in the absence of other elements. Firbas comments on the small semantic importance of the verb in a sentence as follows:

A finite verb completes the development of the communication and hence serves as the most dynamic element only if it operates in the absence of an element expressing a phenomenon to be presented or one expressing a specification. In this way, such elements are successful competitors of the finite verb in the dynamics of communication; they prevent it from becoming the most dynamic element within the clause, independent or dependent.

(Firbas, 1992: 7)

According to Brůhová (2010: 51) the verb is assigned the FSP function of *transition* because it usually constitutes the boundary between the elements with low and high degree of CD. The least dynamic elements constitute the *theme* and the most dynamic elements, i.e. those that develop the communication beyond the transitional elements function as the *rheme*.

The key sentence element in the present study is the object of the SVOO construction. Thus let us consider the semantic factor of the object which makes it a more important sentence element than the verb. According to Firbas (1992: 42), no matter whether the object is context-dependent or independent (see 4.1.3), the information conveyed by it amplifies the information conveyed by the verb. The object does so by stating the goal or result or recipient of the action denoted by the verb. This amplification is less obvious when the object is context-dependent. When the object is context-independent, the information conveyed by the object becomes communicatively more important than that conveyed by the verb and in consequence dynamically stronger: it carries a higher degree of CD.

4.1.3 Retrievability of Information from the Immediate Context

In this section we will consider the concept of *retrievability* and *irretrievability* of information in the immediate context of a sentence. This information is crucial in deciding whether the elements in the SVOO construction are “new” or “old” and thus could determine the ordering of clause elements.

In *Functional Sentence Perspective in Written and Spoken Communication* Firbas

(1992:31) coins the terms *context-dependent* and *context-independent* to label elements that are either retrievable or irretrievable from the immediate context of a sentence (Firbas (1992:24) determines the length of the immediate context at seven sentences). In *Retrievability Span in Functional Sentence Perspective* Firbas (1995:18) defines context-dependence/retrievability as “tangible presence of a piece of information in the text”:

The moment a piece of information actually appears in the flow of communication, it becomes retrievable from it. From a static point of view it stays there and remains retrievable even if not re-expressed in the further development of the communication. [...] If not re-expressed a piece of information evidently gradually loses its retrievability in regard to the everchanging immediately relevant context.

Thus, it follows that irretrievable or context-independent information is such that has either not been mentioned in the text previously or has been mentioned a long time ago and it is out of the scope of the immediate context.

Now that retrievability (context-dependence) has been introduced and explained, it is necessary to determine by what means retrievable information is marked syntactically in a text (i.e. how do we recognize “old” information). Firbas (1995: 20) gives us four possible ways of signalling that information is “old” or “known” (the fifth possibility is taken from Brůhová, 2010: 52):

- a) **pronominalization** (use of pronouns to replace clause elements that have been previously mentioned)
- b) **repetition** (repeating clause elements that have been previously mentioned)
- c) **ellipsis** (omitting clause elements that can be retrieved from previous text)
- d) **close or loose synonymy** (use of synonyms to avoid repetition – the synonymy guarantees the connection with the previous mention of the clause element and thus guarantees retrievability)
- e) **anaphoric articles** (use of the definite article to indicate the previous mention of the clause element in preceding text)

Firbas (1995: 22) further states that there are also cases where information that should be considered as retrievable for both sender and addressee appears as “new” or “unknown” in regard to the immediately relevant communicative step to be taken. This sort of information then seems to be on the border between retrievable and irretrievable.

Firbas (1995: 22) has labelled five different types of such cases of borderline retrievability/irretrievability:

f) **selection** (although the piece of information in question seems to be retrievable from previous context, under the circumstances it fulfills a communicative purpose and thus acts as irretrievable information). In the example below Firbas (1995:22) explains that although the concept of *flying* in the fourth sentence is not new (it is mentioned already in

the second sentence) it presents us with new information here – that of the selection that we expected the speaker to disclose.

e.g. We have to decide. We can either go by train to London or by coach to Manchester or fly to Edinburgh. Where would you like to go? — Let's fly to Edinburgh. We haven't been there for some time.

g) contrast (although the information is retrievable from previous context, its irretrievability is reached by the additional meaning of contrast)

e.g. You thought I referred to Charles. But I did not mean him; I meant you.

h) summarizing effect (although the information is retrievable from previous context, its irretrievability is reached by the additional summarizing effect)

*e.g. Once in the rain, a van turned a corner suddenly at her and she stumbled over her boots into a ditch and then she saw herself clearly: a woman in early middle age wearing rubber boots walking in the dark looking for a white car and now falling into a ditch, prepared to go on walking and to be satisfied with the sight of the man's car in a parking lot even if the man was somewhere else with another woman. — Lydia Davies, *Break it down**

i) identification (although the information is retrievable from previous context, information is reiterated with a new function – identification – that renders it irretrievable)

e.g. In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. — The Holy Bible, New Revised Standard Version, John 1.1.

Firbas (1995: 22) comments on this example:

“In the third sentence both Word and God express retrievable information. It is, however, especially God that conveys an important piece of additional irretrievable information. For the communicative purpose of the sentence is to establish an identification. Whereas the notion of 'the Word' is the one to be identified, the notion of 'God' is the identifier. Both features, 'being identified' and 'identifying' are irretrievable, but it is the latter that is predominating in character; it completes the message, expressing its high point. The communicative purpose of the sentence examined is to state the divinity of the Word.”

j) purposeful repetition (although repetition is a natural sign of retrievability, it may convey an irretrievable message – it may act as conveyor of an attitude irretrievable from previous context)

*e.g. He then walked over Campden Hill to the Kensington Public Library, where he could read undisturbed. Undisturbed! Refreshed after sleep, the temptation of the night returned to torment him with a new vigour. — P. P. Read, *A Season in the West*.*

Firbas (1995:23) comments on the above example by saying that “expressing the feelings of the main character of the story, it [purposeful repetition] throws passionate doubt on the preceding statement, in fact invalidating it. Its effect is heightened by the use of the exclamation mark.

4.2 FSP Factors Governing the Position of Objects in SVOO

The object in the SVOO construction can be positioned in different ways and that shall be investigated in the present section. Let us consider the possible double-object constructions from the point of FSP and see the possible positioning of the two objects and the reasons behind it.

Ordinarily, in the ditransitive construction, the O_i precedes the O_d .

- a) *She gave her brother a signet ring.*
- b) *She gave him a signet ring.*

Thus it seems that regardless of whether O_i is realized by a noun phrase or is pronominalized, it carries less CD compared to the O_d . If the case be opposite and the O_i were considered to have more CD, the O_i would be replaced by an O_{prep} and placed after the O_d .

- c) *She gave a signet ring to her brother.*

According to Quirk et al., there is also a third possibility of the placement of objects and that is placing the O_{prep} before the O_d (Quirk et al., 1985: 1396):

- d) *She gave to her brother a signet ring.*

Quirk et al. state that the O_d in (d) has the same rhematic force as in (a). The communicative dynamism of the O_i has been raised in (d) above its level in (a) but not to the level of (c).

Thus on the basis of Quirk et al., we may distinguish three syntactic patterns of object ordering:

1. SVO_iO_d
2. SVO_dO_{prep}
3. $SVO_{prep}O_d$

However, when considering other verbs than *give*, which was the ditransitive verb in examples (a) – (d), we may also distinguish a fourth pattern: SVO_iO_{prep} . This pattern appears typically in groups 1, 3 and 5 of Quirk et al.'s classification of ditransitive verbs (see 2.2.1, 2.2.3 and 2.2.5)

Having now considered the possibilities of ordering the objects in a sentence, let us consider the principles, which may be responsible for this ordering. The principle of *end-focus* has already been discussed in 4.1.1. Thus if we consider the examples above and apply the principle of *end-focus* to them, in (a) *the signet ring* would be the information carrying highest information value while in (c) it is *the brother* (the

recipient of the ring) who is considered to be of highest information value. One sentence can, by repositioning the objects, be made into several sentences each of which would communicate a different message depending on which element would be considered to have highest information value and thus be positioned finally. There is also a second principle, which often operates together with the principle of *end-focus*. This is the *end-weight* principle. The principle of *end-weight* is explained by Quirk et al. (1985: 1361-1362) as follows:

The new information in each sentence is the focus of the message. Since the new information often needs to be stated more fully than the given, it is not unexpected that an organizational principle which may be called *end-weight* comes into operation along with the principle of *end-focus*.

This signifies, that whichever object is expressed more heavily (i.e. in greater length) will be placed in the final position. As Brůhová (2010: 42) states: “Items that are new to the discourse tend to be complex, while items that are given tend to be simple.”

As quoted above, both the principles (i.e. *end-focus* and *end-weight*) often operate together because information that is new (and thus placed sentence-finally to accentuate its information value) may often need to be expressed in greater length than information already given. Thus the positioning of objects is greatly dependent on the aforementioned principles and these must be taken into consideration when conveying information at hand in such a manner that the reader/hearer understands the information value in the same way as the speaker/writer does.

5 METHODOLOGY

In the theoretical part of this thesis, the general characteristic of the SVOO construction was presented. The individual elements of the SVOO construction were discussed from a syntactic, semantic and FSP point of view. Variants in the SVOO construction in general were described, as were variants of the individual elements of the construction. In the present analysis, only one specific group of ditransitive verbs shall be considered. These verbs form a ditransitive construction either with the clause pattern SVO_dO_{prep} or SVO_iO_{prep} and thus belong to the fifth group of ditransitive verbs in the classification that Quirk et al. (1985: 1209) present. The two verbs selected for the present analysis are *blame* (abbreviated as *Bla*) and *provide* (abbreviated as *Pro*). These verbs are typically characterized by the fact that the direct object from one construction becomes the prepositional object in the alternative construction and the prepositional object of the first construction becomes the indirect object of the second construction. The preposition in both constructions differs. The ordering of the verbs in these constructions is not part of the present analysis as the O_{prep} always appears sentence-finally after either the O_i or O_d .

5.1 Material

The material for the present analysis was excerpted from the British National Corpus (BNC). The BNC is a 100 million word collection of samples of written and spoken language from a wide range of sources, designed to represent a wide cross-section of British English from the later part of the 20th century, both spoken and written. The written part of the BNC (90%) includes, for example, extracts from regional and national newspapers, specialist periodicals and journals for all ages and interests, academic books and popular fiction, published and unpublished letters and memoranda, school and university essays, among many other kinds of text. The spoken part (10%) consists of orthographic transcriptions of unscripted informal conversations (recorded by volunteers selected from different age, region and social classes in a demographically balanced way) and spoken language collected in different contexts, ranging from formal business or government meetings to radio shows and phone-ins.²⁴ To determine the context-dependence or context-independence of the studied objects, the Czech National Corpus (Český národní korpus) was used. Using this corpus was necessary, because unlike the BNC it enables us to view not only the sentence in question (i.e. the sentence in which the searched verb appears), but also the immediately preceding context and thus enables us to

²⁴ Taken from <http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/corpus/index.xml?ID=intro> [31st July 2013]

determine whether the objects are retrievable or irretrievable.

The lemma for the BNC query was {provide/V} or {blame/V} depending on the analyzed verb. The BNC returned 51335 hits for the lemma {provide/V} and 4214 hits for the lemma {blame/V}. Out of these returned hits, 100 example sentences were excerpted for each of the verbs. The 100 excerpted sentences for each verb represent the first 100 sentences that adhered either to the SVO_dO_{prep} pattern or the SVO_iO_{prep} pattern.

5.2 Method

The 200 excerpted sentences were entered into a table (see Appendix) according to the sentence pattern they represent. Thus the ratio between the two possible sentence patterns could be determined for each verb and the reasons for the imbalance could be hypothesized. In the appendix it is also possible to see the two highlighted objects in each SVOO construction. Firstly, the two objects are characterized from the point of parts of speech. It is determined by which of the following patterns the objects are represented²⁵:

- a) *Noun + Noun*,
- b) *Noun + Pronoun*
- c) *Pronoun + Noun*
- d) *Pronoun + Pronoun*

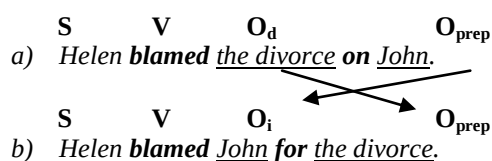
The number of object pairs represented by each of the aforementioned part-of-speech patterns is determined. Secondly, the objects are examined from the point of context-dependence (retrievability) or context-independence (irretrievability) on the basis of studying the immediate context in which they appear. The FSP properties of the sentences are analyzed. It is determined whether the principles of *end-weight* or *end-focus* could be found in the SVOO constructions. Next, the semantic properties of the objects are considered. The semantic roles of the objects are determined in each excerpted sentence as is the number of occurrences of each semantic role. Lastly, the objects are analyzed from the point of their animateness or inanimateness; the number of animate and inanimate objects is also quantitatively expressed.

²⁵ It must be noted that for the purposes of the present analysis, only sentences in which both objects were realized by a noun or pronoun (or a combination of these parts of speech) were considered.

6 ANALYSIS

6.1 SVOO Constructions with *blame*

The verb *to blame* belongs to group 5 in the classification of ditransitive verbs proposed by Quirk et al. (see 2.2.5). The ditransitive verbs in this group are followed by either the O_d or O_i in the first object position and the O_{prep} in the second object position. The O_d from one construction becomes the O_{prep} in the alternative construction and the O_{prep} of the first construction becomes the O_i of the second construction (see below examples by Quirk et al., 1985: 1209):



The two alternating constructions differ not only in the type of object that appears in the first object position, but also in the preposition which adjoins the O_{prep} to the object in the first object position. As can be seen from example sentences (a) and (b) above, the alternating prepositions occurring in the SVOO construction with *blame* are *on* (in the SVO_dO_{prep} pattern) and *for* (in the SVO_iO_{prep} pattern). Irrespective of the preposition used, the literal meaning of the sentence does not change. However, each preposition is bound to a specific sentence pattern and the use of one pattern or the other may provide means of achieving different focus.

Semantically, the verb *blame* inherently implies three participants. There has to be an agent (the subject) of the action, the recipient of the action (an object) and another object denoting the action that is being blamed upon someone/something. In section 6.1.1 below it shall be discussed whether the participation of both objects in the construction is necessary.

6.1.1 Omissibility of Objects in SVOO Constructions with *blame*

So far we have discussed the SVOO construction with *blame* as containing both objects. However, in the theoretical part of this thesis, the subject of object omission (see 2.1) in the SVOO construction was discussed. It was stated that the omission of the O_i can usually be justified, because its omission does not affect semantic relations within a sentence. The omission of the O_d is also possible, although more problematic, because its absence in a sentence may cause the O_i to lose its recipient role and become O_d . The possibility of omitting either one or the other object within one construction has also been coined as plausible, but could not be justified for the verb *blame* as it is not part of the

designated group of verbs which permit this alternating omission (see 2.1). Thus the presupposition prior to the corpus excerption was that the omission of one of the objects in the SVOO construction with *blame* could be plausible. However, the corpus excerption for the verb *blame* did not return a single sentence in which an object would be omitted²⁶. The fact that the excerpted sentences all contained both objects does not, nevertheless, mean that the omission of an object would not be possible at all. Let us consider example sentences (a) and (b) and experimentally omit each of the objects in turn:

- 1) **Helen blamed the divorce [...on John].*
- 2) **Helen blamed [...the divorce] on John.*
- 3) *Helen blamed John [...for the divorce]*
- 4) **Helen blamed [...John] for the divorce.*

From sentences (1)-(4) above, only sentence (3) would be a plausible option of omitting one of the objects. Let us now consider the reasoning beyond this. Although we have already discussed the possibility of omitting the O_i and O_d , we have not considered the possibilities of omitting the O_{prep} . It would seem that omitting the O_{prep} would be based on the possibility and commonness of omitting the other two types of object, since the O_{prep} is a counterpart to O_i or O_d in alternative constructions with *blame*. Thus we may presuppose that when the O_{prep} is a counterpart of the O_i in an alternative construction (e.g. He gave *me* [O_i] a book. x He gave a book *to me* [O_{prep}].) the O_{prep} could be omitted on the same grounds as the O_i , i.e. because its omission does not affect semantic relations within the sentence. Similarly, we may presuppose that the omission of O_{prep} when it substitutes O_d in the alternative construction would be less probable. There is an interesting parallel here with the passivization of ditransitive constructions, because it is also far more common to make the O_i the subject of the passive construction while retaining the O_d in its object position (see 2.1)

Example sentences (2) and (4) can be dealt with shortly. The omission of O_d in sentence (2) and of O_i in sentence (4) would leave both sentences with the pattern of SVO_{prep} . Although this is not a non-existent pattern (cf Brůhová: 2010, 77), it is rare and semantically not plausible in SVOO constructions with *blame* since the preposition would be redundant in the construction.

In sentence (1) the O_{prep} which corresponds to the O_i in the alternative construction has been omitted. The omission in this case could not be justified because the meaning of the original sentence has not been retained and the object receiving the action of the verb

²⁶ This was true within the 100 sentences that were deemed suitable for the purpose of the present analysis.

(i.e. the blame) is necessary in the construction in order to convey its meaning. Thus we present the first exception to the general possibility of omission of the O_i/O_{prep} . The verb *blame* is an interesting exception because in Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 213) it is argued that with verbs whose O_i is associated with the recipient role, omission of the O_i usually leaves the recipient understood:

- 5) *We haven't awarded anyone a prize.*
- 6) *We haven't awarded a prize.*

The verb *blame* inherently calls for a recipient object as there must be someone/something who is being blamed and thus becomes the recipient of the action (the accurateness of the term *recipient* used with *blame* is discussed in 6.1.6.1). However, it may safely be said that although the recipient is implied by the semantics of the verb, its omission changes the semantic properties of the sentence to such a degree that it becomes incorrect – the construction with the omitted object changes its meaning so that *the divorce* (O_d) becomes the recipient of the action.

Thus it follows that the only plausible construction with an omitted object would be (3). Even so, however, such a construction is bound to its immediate context and, without being able to retrieve the omitted object from the immediate context, the construction would not be possible, because whether expressed or unexpressed, the information given by the O_{prep} (the O_d of the alternative construction) would cause the semantic properties of *blame* to not be fulfilled.

Having analyzed the possibilities of potential object omission theoretically, attempts were made to find plausible examples of object omission in fiction and the BNC:

- 7) "I'll never be so...trusting. I was a stupid, gullible fool." She rested her elbow on the door, supporting her head with her hand. "What a bloody disaster. What a bloody..." "Candice, don't get like that," said Ed. Candice turned her head to look at him. "What?" she said sarcastically. "Don't blame myself?"²⁷

The final sentence of the excerpt above shows an example of *blame* used only with a direct object and corresponds to example sentence (3) above. The recipient (O_i) of the action is present in the sentence (*myself*) and we must find the second object (O_{prep}) in the immediately preceding context. The information required by the O_{prep} is retrievable from the first two sentences. The completed construction would then be as follows:

- 8) [...] "Don't *blame myself for being such a trusting, stupid, gullible fool?*"

²⁷ Kinsella, Sophie. *Cocktails for Three*. Transworld Publishers: 2010: 253.

According to Firbas (1995:20) the omission of the object can be categorized as *ellipsis*, i.e. omitting the information that is retrievable from previous context and would be redundantly repeated if it were not omitted. This excerpt and also the excerpt below show signs of one of Firbas's cases of borderline retrievability/irretrievability – *contrast*. This means that although the information needed is retrievable from previous context, its irretrievability is reached by the additional meaning of contrast. The fact of who is being blamed in the excerpt is obvious and yet the information is presented as new and irretrievable by using the reflexive pronoun.

- 9) “I thought she liked me. I thought we were best friends. She told me what I wanted to hear, and I ...” a fresh wave of humiliation passed through Candice. “And I fell for it.” “Come, on Candice,” said Ed. “She fooled everyone. You can’t just blame yourself.”²⁸

The BNC was also consulted to see if any instances of object omission would appear:

- 10) “You were the same when mum died,” she wailed. “She wanted to tell you so many things, but you were too busy talking to listen. She needed to know that you loved her; so you told her all about the new drugs she could get from the Arcturans, or the huge advances in radiation treatment since rho mesons had been discovered. She didn’t want any more pain, she wanted to be held. You never told her that you loved her.” “Do you blame me? After what she did?” His voice was quiet and bitter.²⁹

Thus we may see that cases of object omissibility in the SVOO constructions with *blame* are very limited. The BNC did not retrieve any within the first 100 hits and examples were found only when the search was directed strictly at object omission. Two cases were found in fiction (in reproduced conversation) and the example from the BNC is also from fiction (classified as fiction for teenagers) and that points to the fact that omission of the object in constructions with *blame* in formal written work would not be common as no such examples were retrieved.

6.1.2 Frequency of SVOO Constructions with *blame*

On the basis of the excerption of 100 example sentences which contain the verb *blame*, it is possible to determine the approximate ratio between the numbers of occurrences of each of the two possible sentence patterns.

The two different possible SVOO constructions with *blame* (SVO_dO_{prep}/ SVO_iO_{prep}) provide a means of achieving different focus. Constructions with *blame* are specific in that they always have the O_{prep} in the second object position and thus analyzing the order of the objects would be futile. What we concentrate on here is rather the choice of the object in the first object position and the ratio between the occurrence of one or the other sentence pattern.

²⁸ Kinsella, Sophie. *Cocktails for Three*. Transworld Publishers: 2010: 241.

²⁹ Excerpted from the BNC [G1M 2656]

To explain the imbalance in the occurrence of each of the two sentence structures, it is necessary to take into account both the principle of *end-focus* and *end-weight* and determine whether either one of them or both play a role in the choice of sentence pattern. We reiterate that *end-focus* is based on the linear distribution of information in a sentence structure with the less important information given prior to the most important and *end-weight* is based on ordering the elements in a sentence structure so that the element which needs to be expressed most fully will be placed sentence-finally. Table 7 below shows the ratio between the occurrences of the two sentence patterns within the 100 excerpted sentences from the BNC for the SVOO construction with *blame*.

SVOO pattern / preposition	Number of occurrences in BNC ³⁰
SVO _i O _{prep} / for	66 ³¹
SVO _d O _{prep} / on	34 ³²

Table 7 Frequency of Occurrence of Alternating Constructions with *blame* in the BNC

Table 7 clearly shows that there is a tendency to prefer the SVO_iO_{prep} pattern in ditransitive constructions with *blame*. In this construction the O_i is placed in the first object position and the O_{prep} corresponding to the O_d of the alternative construction is in the second object position. The fact that 66% of the excerpted sentences preferred this structure to its alternative would suggest that information provided by the O_{prep}/O_d would probably be deemed more important than that given by the O_i since it is placed sentence-finally. However, this is merely a speculation and it is necessary to prove this speculation by analyzing the excerpted sentences. If the sentences prove to contain an O_{prep} that expresses new information (positioned sentence-finally on the basis of the principle of *end-weight*) or information that is not only new but also expressed in greater length than the O_i (positioned sentence-finally on the basis of the principle of *end-focus*) we would be able to state that the information provided by the O_i is more important than that provided by the O_d and thus explain the discrepancy in Table 7.

6.1.3 Part-of-speech Representation of Objects in SVOO Constructions with *blame*

The method of ascertaining the novelty of information expressed by O_{prep} is based on determining by which part of speech the two objects in SVO_dO_{prep} constructions with *blame* are expressed. Table 8 below shows the overall numbers of occurrences of four

³⁰ Number of occurrences within the 100 excerpted sentences – does not apply for the entire number of sentences returned for the lemma {blame/V}

³¹ Appendix (examples Bla1-Bla66)

³² Appendix (examples Bla67-Bla100)

different part-of-speech patterns (noun + noun, pronoun + noun, noun + pronoun, pronoun + pronoun) within the 100 excerpted sentences:

Verb	Parts of Speech				Total
	Noun+ Noun	Pronoun + Noun	Noun + Pronoun	Pronoun+ Pronoun	
<i>blame</i>	76	17	1	6	=100

Table 8 PoS Representation of Objects in SVOO Constructions with *blame*

The importance of the part-of-speech representation of the objects lies in the fact that pronominalization is one of the possible signs of retrievability of the clause element from previous context (see 4.1.3). If the clause element is retrievable from its immediate context, it cannot be considered context-independent (new information) and thus is not important from the point of proving why one of the clause patterns with *blame* is more common than the other as we presuppose that the choice of one sentence pattern over the other may be governed by the principles of *end-focus* and/or *end-weight*.

Table 9 shows how many excerpted sentences adhering to the SVO_iO_{prep} pattern represented each part-of-speech pattern:

Verb	Parts of Speech				Total
	Noun+ Noun	Pronoun + Noun	Noun + Pronoun	Pronoun+ Pronoun	
<i>Blame + for</i>	52	7	1	6	=66

Table 9 PoS Representation of Objects in SVO_iO_{prep} Constructions with *blame*

Table 10 shows how many excerpted sentences adhering to the SVO_dO_{prep} pattern represented each part-of-speech pattern:

Verb	Parts of Speech				Total
	Noun+ Noun	Pronoun + Noun	Noun + Pronoun	Pronoun+ Pronoun	
<i>Blame + on</i>	24	10	-	-	=34

Table 10 PoS Representation of Objects in SVO_dO_{prep} Constructions with *blame*

6.1.4 Context-dependence of Objects in SVOO Constructions with *blame*

When determining the context-dependence/independence of the objects in the example sentences, the BNC was accessed through the UCNK (Český národní korpus) to be able to study a relevant amount of the immediate context and not the example on its own. The UCNK provides the context of approximately 7 sentences preceding the example sentences and the same amount of sentences following the example sentence. The objects were sorted into four possible groups according to the context dependence/independence of the objects:

- a) [O_{i/d} – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]
- b) [O_{i/d} – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th]
- c) [O_{i/d} – dep=Th; O_{prep} – dep= Th]
- d) [O_{i/d} – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]

The first pattern describes such a sentence in which the object in the first position provides information retrievable from previous context and the object in the second position provides information that is new and irretrievable. The second pattern is the exact opposite of the first, i.e. the first object gives new/irretrievable information and the second object gives known/retrievable information. The third pattern describes a sentence in which both objects provide information that is known/retrievable and the last pattern is again the opposite of its predecessor, i.e. describes a sentence in which both objects provide information that is new. Prior to the analysis of the excerpted sentences it was presumed that pattern 1 would be most commonly represented as we expected the new information to be placed sentence-finally. Table 11 below shows the overall representation of the four patterns in the 100 excerpted sentences with *blame*:

Verb	Context-dependence and FSP function				Total
	1 st O: dep (Th) 2 nd O: indep (Rh)	1 st O: indep (Rh) 2 nd O: dep (Th)	1 st O: dep (Th) 2 nd O: dep (Th)	1 st O: indep (Rh) 2 nd O: indep (Rh)	
<i>blame</i>	59 (62%)	25 (22%)	7 (6%)	9 (9%)	=100

Table 11 Distribution of CD within SVOO Constructions with *blame*

Table 11 provides proof of our theory that the [O_{i/d} – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh] pattern would be the most common, however the numbers are not entirely convincing and the fact that only slightly over half of the example sentences adhered to this pattern shows that *blame* may, in fact, distribute its objects with more variety than expected.

6.1.4.1 Context dependence of Objects in SVO_iO_{prep} Constructions with *blame*

To be able to accurately determine the most common patterns of object distribution, it is necessary to further break down Table 11 into two tables on the basis of the two differing sentence patterns:

Verb	Context-dependence and FSP function				Total
	1 st O: dep (Th) 2 nd O: indep (Rh)	1 st O: indep (Rh) 2 nd O: dep (Th)	1 st O: dep (Th) 2 nd O: dep (Th)	1 st O: indep (Rh) 2 nd O: indep (Rh)	
<i>Blame</i> <i>+ for</i>	33 (50%)	21 (32%)	7 (11%)	5 (7%)	=66

Table 12 Distribution of CD within SVO_iO_{prep} Constructions with *blame*

Table 11 show that among the 66 examples of *blame*-constructions adhering to the SVO_iO_{prep} pattern, 31 (47%) sentences adhere to the basic pattern of distribution of CD, i.e.

the elements which are new are placed sentence-finally. These 31 examples represent the principle of *end-focus* – the information that is new is placed sentence-finally. Regarding the application of the principle of *end-weight*, the results are not nearly as conclusive. Out of the 31 sentences, 16 (52%) exhibit the use of the principle of *end-weight* (Bla1, Bla5, Bla7-11, Bla18, Bla26, Bla28, Bla34, Bla42-43, Bla56, Bla58-59).

- 11) **Bla01** Minister David Maclean has blamed the KGB for poor publicity surrounding the launch of a series of food safety guides from the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries & Food .

Further 15 (48%) sentences exhibit both objects as being equally “heavy” in length and differentiated only by their retrievability/irretrievability (Bla4, Bla6, Bla17, Bla19, Bla21, Bla24-25, Bla30, Bla32, Bla35, Bla46, Bla51, Bla62, Bla63, Bla64)

- 12) **Bla04** Bill Morris, of the Transport and General Workers' Union, also blamed government neglect of public services for the tragedies at Lockerbie, Clapham and Zeebrugge .

In the SVO_iO_{prep} pattern the O_i represents the *recipient* of the action (the recipient of the blame) and O_{prep} represents the *affected* entity (i.e. that which is being blamed). It is thus possible to say that in 50% percent of the cases examined, the affected object was deemed more important from the point of FSP than the recipient object. Since the SVO_iO_{prep} pattern has overall been determined as the more common of the two possible examples (66%), it is possible to say that in general the SVOO constructions tend more towards the SVO_iO_{prep} pattern with the basic distribution of CD.

However, as the number of example sentences adhering to the above determined tendency is 47%, we must deal with the remaining examples which deviated from it. We have found that altogether 35 examples (53%) represent a deviation to the basic distribution of CD. In these sentences the position of the rheme and theme has either been interchanged or both objects are context-dependent/context-independent. While trying to find justification for the deviation to the basic principles of CD, the 35 example sentences were analyzed on the basis of the “heaviness” of the objects. In such cases where the context-dependent object was preceded by a context-independent one, a second-position object “heavier” than the first-position object would explain its final position despite its context-dependent function. Interestingly, most of the examples exhibited objects that were expressed with equal “weight” and thus the placement of the context-dependent object post-rhematically cannot be justified.

Firstly let us consider the sentences in which the context-independent object preceded the context-dependent object. There were altogether 23 instances of such constructions. With this particular distribution of CD we would expect the principle of *end-*

focus to not operate because the information towards which the communication is perspectived has been fronted to the first-object position. The results of the analysis more or less confirmed this hypothesis.

In 12 (34%) of the sentences, the two objects were expressed in equal length and heaviness and thus the principles of *end-weight* and *end-focus* did not operate:

- 13) **Bla53** Whenever you experience anger, jealousy or any other destructive emotion, it is all too easy to blame other people for these feelings.

In 9 (39%) of the sentences the context-independent object was expressed in greater length (“heaviness”) than the context-dependent object. The example sentence below (ex 14) proves that the context-independent object, even when it is not in the sentence-final position, may take its “heaviness” with it. In this case the principle of *end-weight* and *end-focus* did not operate:

- 14) **Bla61** The Canadian scientists on the working party blame political interference from Washington for their failure.

In only 2 sentences (10%) was the context-dependent object expressed in greater heaviness and thus the principle of *end-weight* operated while *end-focus* did not.

- 15) **Bla03** For example, Ron Todd of the Transport and General Workers' Union blamed the systematic bias and ignorance of the courts, and the new freedom to dismiss strikers granted by this Government, for the failure of the dock strike.

In general, therefore, sentences which do not adhere to the basic pattern of distribution of CD (the context-independent object is placed before the context-dependent one) tend to favour either expressing both objects with equal weight or the context-independent object takes its “heaviness” with it. The heavier expression of the context-dependent object is rare:

- 16) **Bla33** He blamed Serbians for the rapidly deteriorating situation, saying they were trying to thwart international recognition of Bosnia.

The second possibility of distribution of CD which occurred among the 66 excerpted sentences and represented a deviation from the basic distribution of CD was the pattern consisting of two context-dependent objects. Altogether 7 instances were identified (Bla13, Bla27, Bla31, Bla39, Bla47, Bla49, Bla50). In such structures as these where neither of the two objects carries new information, the rheme of the sentence must be found among the remaining clause elements. In 6 of the 7 sentences, the verb *blame* was identified as the rheme in the structure:

- 17) **Bla49** “Things weren’t going badly for them but I do know there were problems. I suppose it built up over the years.” “But why?” “I don’t know all the reasons, but I know one or two. Elsie couldn’t have children, you see. I think that was important. Simon wanted children very much, you know, and after that it just wasn’t possible. *I think Simon blamed her for this.* More than a trifle unreasonably, I would say.”³³

The sentence above (ex 17) clearly shows the contextual dependence of both of the objects and the only non-dependent element in the sentence is the verb which has thus been identified as the rheme. Very similar instances of the rhematic verb *blame* can be found in the following sentences: Bla 13, Bla27, Bla31, Bla39, Bla47. The most problematic case of rheme identification occurred in the following sentence (ex 18):

- 18) **Bla37** An attempt by Mr John Taylor to become the first black Tory MP failed last night when the Liberal Democrats overturned a 4896 Conservative majority to win Cheltenham. Mr Taylor. selected 18 months ago amid much controversy as Tory candidate in the spa town seat, was beaten by Nigel Jones of the Liberal Democrats, who polled 30351 votes to Mr Taylor’s 28683. ***Even** before his defeat some senior Tories in the constituency were blaming the selection of a black candidate for the lost seat, but immediately afterwards one constituency officer insisted they would be asking Mr Taylor to fight again.*³⁴

In example 18 both of the objects are, again, context dependent and it is necessary to search for the rheme amid the other clause elements. In this particular sentence the adverb *even* acting as rhematizor introduces the phrase *even before his defeat* which is then in contrast with the adverbial of time phrase *immediately afterwards*.

Thus we may conclude that for the sentence pattern SVO_iO_{prep} it is common for the verb *blame* to adhere to the $[O_i - dep=Th; O_{prep} - indep= Rh]$ distribution of objects. The objects are ordered according to their degree of CD (according to the principle of *end-focus*) and it is probable that *end-weight* may also be identified in the structure. If the basic structure of CD is not adhered to, the sentence will probably adhere to the $[O_i - indep=Rh; O_{prep} - dep= Th]$ pattern and the objects will most probably be of equal “weight” or the context-independent object will take its “heaviness” with it to the first-object position. If the two objects both represent the same FSP function, it may be said that most probably neither of the objects will be of greater length than the other and that they will represent equal FSP elements within the structure.

³³ This example sentence is here, for clarity, presented with its immediately preceding context. The appendix contains only the italicized, originally excerpted sentence.

³⁴ This example sentence is here, for clarity, presented with its immediately preceding context. The appendix contains only the italicized, originally excerpted sentence.

6.1.4.2 Context-dependence of Objects in SVO_dO_{prep} Constructions with *blame*

Let us now consider the second sentence pattern and the occurrence of various possibilities of distribution of CD within it:

Verb	Context-dependence and FSP function				Total
	1 st O: dep (Th) 2 nd O: indep (Rh)	1 st O: indep (Rh) 2 nd O: dep (Th)	1 st O: dep (Th) 2 nd O: dep (Th)	1 st O: indep (Rh) 2 nd O: indep (Rh)	
<i>Blame</i> + <i>on</i>	26 (76%)	4 (12%)	0	4 (12%)	=34

Table 13 Distribution of CD within SVO_dO_{prep} Constructions with *blame*

It can be seen from Table 13 that the number of possibilities of CD distribution with the sentence pattern SVO_dO_{prep} differs in distribution from the SVO_iO_{prep} pattern. Primarily, the [O_d – dep=Th; O_{prep} – dep= Th] is not represented at all. Secondly, the [O_d – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh] is represented dominantly when compared to the numbers in Table 12.

Within the 26 example sentences of the SVO_iO_{prep} pattern representing the [O_d – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh] distribution of CD, all sentences demonstrated the use of *end-focus*. However, in only 13 sentences - 50% - (Bla67, Bla69, Bla76, Bla81, Bla82, Bla83, Bla84, Bla85, Bla89, Bla90, Bla94, Bla95) *end-weight* also operated (see example below):

- 19) **Bla67** Graf never blamed her upsets on family problems, flu, food poisoning, sinus trouble and a variety of other problems.

Further 12 (46%) were sentences in which both the context-dependent and context-independent object were represented in equal length/heaviness and *end-weight* was not applied (see example below):

- 20) **Bla75** Delhi has blamed the unrest on Islamabad, accusing it of arming, training and inspiring the subversives, a charge Pakistan denies.

Only one sentence (ex 21) expressed the context-dependent object in greater length than the context- independent object, which undermines the principle of *end-weight* in that the information expressed in the most lengthy manner is ordinarily presented sentence-finally and also that the information expressed in greater length tends to be part of the context-independent object, not the context-dependent one.

- 21) **Bla68** It must be confusing and I have no answer to the criticism, except to blame the clearly short-sighted attitude on management.

The remaining 24% of the sentences adhering to the SVO_iO_{prep} pattern were represented by four instances of the [O_d – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th] distribution of

objects and four instances of the $[O_d - \text{indep}=\text{Rh}; O_{\text{prep}} - \text{indep}=\text{Rh}]$ distribution of objects. All these sentences deviated from the standard distribution of CD. The sentences in which the context-independent object preceded the context-dependent one were scarce and 3 out of the 4 sentences had the objects expressed equally in length/heaviness while one sentence expressed the context-independent object in the first-object position in greater length than the context-dependent object in the second-object position and this proved what had already been stated in the previous chapter, i.e. that the context-independent object takes its “heaviness” with it when it is not placed sentence-finally (ex 22):

22) **Bla80** Ian Westwood, head of the federation's Manchester branch, blamed the demise of the traditional bobby on the beat.

The last sentences that remain to be commented upon are the instances of two context-independent objects within one construction. Again, 3 out of 4 instances are represented by sentences in which the two objects are of equal weight. Only one sentence expresses one of the two context-independent objects in much greater length than the other (ex 23):

23) **Bla72** The leaders blamed the disenchantment of their young people on an international conspiracy by reactionary forces aimed at, according to Mr Honecker, ‘confusing people and sowing seeds of doubt in the power and advantages of socialism’.

In cases like the example above where there are two context-independent elements and one of them is clearly more dynamic (giving more information in greater length) than the other, we may break down the context-independent elements into two subgroups: the rheme component (Rh_{comp}) and the rheme proper ($\text{Rh}_{\text{proper}}$). The former marks the less dynamic part of the context-independent section of the structure while the latter marks the more dynamic section (the element conveying the piece of information towards which the communication is perspectived) (Firbas, 1992: 72). When applied to the sentence above (ex 23) we may say that the first context-independent object would represent the Rh_{comp} while the second context-independent object would represent the $\text{Rh}_{\text{proper}}$.

Thus we may conclude that in general the $\text{SVO}_d\text{O}_{\text{prep}}$ pattern favours the traditional distribution of CD from the least dynamic elements (Th) to the most dynamic elements (Rh). When this principle of CD is adhered to, the sentence will exhibit the use of *end-focus* and possibly (but not necessarily) *end-weight*. When deviation from the standard distribution of CD occurs, it is likely that the less and more dynamic elements of the sentence will interchange their position and the objects will have equal length/heaviness.

If the situation be that the context-independent object is placed before the context-dependent object and is greater in length, it retains its length and this disrupts the standard notion of *end-weight*. If both objects are context-independent, we may presuppose the objects will most likely be of equal weight.

6.1.5 Semantic Classification of *blame*

Looking back at the classification of the semantics of the SVOO construction, we have classified DV according to Haspelmath et al. (2007: 2) into the following three groups: DV of *physical transfer*, DV of *mental transfer* and *less central* DV verbs (see 3.1). It is relatively problematic to fit the verb *blame* into any of the three groups. It is not a verb of *physical transfer*, because *blame* cannot be physically transferred from one entity to another. However, the verb does not seem to fit into the category of *mental transfer* (Haspelmath et al. provide examples like *show* or *tell* for this category) or *less central transfer* (*bequeath*, *promise*) either, because the semantics of the verbs provided as examples by Haspelmath et al. all seem to include a tangible *recipient* at the end of the transfer, whereas *blame* does not. This is caused by the semantics of the verb itself, as the meaning, though implying *transfer*, does not imply the actual acceptance of the transferred entity by the affected entity. Although it may be argued that in cases such as *I gave him a slap* the affected entity does not also willingly accept the transferred entity (*a slap*) either, the semantics of the verb imply that whether voluntarily or involuntarily, the transferred entity reaches the affected entity (there is a physical proof for it). In SVOO constructions with *blame* it seems that there is a recipient to fulfill the criteria of the transfer from one entity to another (hence the difficulty with object omissibility – see 6.2), but the recipient is not necessary for completion of the transfer, as he/she does not openly receive the transferred entity – he rather absorbs it and is a *negative recipient* in this case of transfer – one who is in the transfer involuntarily. If we were, nevertheless, to select a group from Haspelmath et al. to which we could designate the verb *blame*, we would select the second group – *mental transfer*. This selection would be supported by the subclassification of DV by Mukherjee, which was also presented in Chapter 3: *typical ditransitive verbs*, *habitual ditransitive verbs* and *peripheral ditransitive verbs*. Mukherjee's categories fit in with Haspelmath's classification and when comparing the semantics of the verbs which were selected for each group by Mukherjee, we would select the second group – *habitual ditransitive verbs*. One of the verbs selected as an example of *habitual DV* by Mukherjee is *charge*. Semantically, it seems to be the closest verb to *blame* in that it does not entail any voluntary participation of the recipient. Thus we may say that *blame*, although not clearly

categorizable, would fit best among *mental transfer verbs/habitual ditransitive verbs*.

When considering the categorization of DV as proposed by Gropen et al. (1989: 243-244) we must first consider the dativizability/non-dativizability of *blame*. According to Gropen et al., verbs that suggest that the receiver is the causee of the action are more likely to dativize (for examples see 3.1). As we can safely say that in DV constructions with *blame* the receiver/recipient is not the causee of the action (compare with e.g. *ask* where the recipient is the causee of the action of answering) we may ascertain that *blame* can be defined solely on the properties of the speaker alone (further supporting our concept of *negative recipient* above). Having thus ascertained that *blame* is a non-dativizable verb from the semantic point of view, it is necessary to further support this by concentrating on the syntactic aspect of the construction. Non-dativizable constructions do not allow any other than the prepositional constructions (see below):

- c) *Helen blamed John for the divorce.* X **Helen blamed John the divorce.*
d) *Helen blamed the divorce on John.* X **Helen blamed the divorce.*

Thus not only semantically but also syntactically have we categorized *blame* as non-dativizable according to Gropen's classification. What remains now is to select the appropriate semantic subgroup into which *blame* would fit. Gropen proposes five groups:

1. Verbs of fulfilling
2. Verbs of continuous causation of accompanied motion in some manner
3. Verbs of manner of speaking
4. Verbs of communication of propositions and propositional attitudes
5. Verbs of choosing

Of these five groups, it is difficult to select one into which it would be possible to include *blame*. Group (1) is ruled out as semantically it includes verbs which imply the giving of something on the basis of the recipient deserving, needing or being worthy of the transferred entity. Group (2) is also not a suitable option for the obvious reason of there being no physical motion in *blame* constructions. Group (3) is not appropriate as the action of *blame* does not denote a manner of speaking as such. Passing over group (4) for the moment we may exclude group (5) as semantically unsuitable as *blame* does not involve any selection/choice on the part of the agent. We are left with group (4) - verbs of communication of propositions and propositional attitudes – which may seem the likeliest for our needs. Nevertheless, when looking at the verbs which serve as examples in this group (*say, assert, claim, question, think aloud about, doubt*), none of them seems to be semantically linked with *blame* in any way. Therefore we propose that there may be need

for an additional group to be formed – one that would simultaneously subsume all verbs that fit in the frame of involving a recipient who is not the causee of the action (a necessary presupposition for their non-dativizability) and verbs that semantically indicate an action that implies wrong-doing and the subsequent faulting of the recipient with no participation of the recipient in the transfer. The group, possibly classed as *verbs of communication of negative propositions* would supplement the existing groups and more accurately class verbs such as *blame*, *accuse* or *charge* which were not included in Gropen’s classification.

6.1.5.1 Semantic Classification of Objects in SVOO Constructions with *blame*

The semantic role of clause elements in SVOO constructions has been previously discussed in Chapter 3. Let us now apply the various approaches to the semantic roles in the ditransitive construction to constructions with the verb *blame*. Haspelmath et al. (2007: 2) define an SVOO construction as consisting of an *agent argument* (A), a *recipient-like argument* (R) and a *theme argument* (T). Mukherjee (2005: 83) classifies the ditransitive verb as one denoting an action in which the *acting entity* (ActE) transfers a *transferred entity* (TE) to the *affected entity* (AfE). When applied to the *blame* ditransitive construction, the two principles would apply as follows:

- a) *Helen blamed the divorce on John.* [SVO_dO_{prep}] (A-DV-T-R) (ActE-DV-TE -AfE)
- b) *Helen blamed John for the divorce.* [SVO_iO_{prep}] (A-DV-R-T) (ActE-DV-AfE -TE)

In both examples, the subject corresponds to the *agent argument* (Haspelmath) or *acting entity* (Mukherjee). By means of a ditransitive verb (DV) the action denoted by the DV is transferred onto the objects. In example (a) the *recipient-like argument* (Haspelmath) or *affected entity* (Mukherjee) is represented by the O_{prep} and the *theme argument* (Haspelmath) or *transferred entity* (Mukherjee) is represented by the O_d. In example (b) the *recipient-like argument* or *affected entity* is represented by the O_i and the *theme argument* (Haspelmath) or *transferred entity* (Mukherjee) is represented by the O_{prep}. In other words, when applied to the verb *blame*, the “recipient” of the blame (i.e. that/who is being blamed) will always represent the *recipient-like argument/affected entity* and that which is being blamed onto someone/something will be represented by the *theme argument/transferred entity*.

In chapter 3.3 a different classification of semantic roles of the O_i and O_{prep} is proposed on the basis of Quirk et al. and Huddleston and Pullum. According to this classification, the O_d (O_{prep}) in *blame* ditransitive constructions can be dealt with quickly as the only possible semantic role fitting this object is that of an *affected object* – i.e. a

participant, animate or inanimate, that does not cause the happening denoted by the verb, but is directly involved in some other way (Quirk et al., 1985: 741):

c) Helen blamed John for the divorce.

d) Helen blamed the divorce on John.

The semantic role of the O_i is slightly more problematic to deal with. Quirk et al. and Huddleston and Pullum coin altogether four possible semantic roles of the O_i : *recipient*, *beneficiary*, *malefactive* and *affected*. We may rule out the possibility of the O_i in *blame* SVOO constructions having a beneficiary role, as the beneficiary O_i is, inherently, supposed to benefit somehow from the *transfer* in the construction. The *affected participant* role is also not a semantic possibility for the O_i in constructions with *blame*. The indirect object takes the affected role when it appears with one of the verbs that combine with an eventive object – *blame* is not such a verb – hence the ruling out of the *affected participant* role. We are left with two possibilities – *malefactive* and *recipient* role. The former would seem to be a good option as semantically it is the opposite of *beneficiary*. Nevertheless, while the beneficiary indirect object gained from the subject in the sentence, the malefactive indirect object loses something to the detriment of the subject. This does not correspond to the semantics of *blame* (the O_i is not a source for S). Thus we are left with the semantic role of *recipient*. The *recipient participant* is characterized by Quirk et al. (1985: 741) as the animate being that is passively implicated by the happening or state. However, the present analysis has shown that the O_i is/can be inanimate (see 6.1.6.1). The animateness of the O_i is, therefore, by no means compulsory in ditransitive constructions with *blame* (see example below).

24) Bla06 But the Journal also comes up with some curious contradictions: 36 per cent blame the microwave for poorer flavour, 20 per cent think it makes food soggy.

On the other hand, the characterization of O_i being “passively implicated by the happening or state” is accurate, because it is exactly the passive role of the O_i that we missed in the semantic characterization of *blame* by Haspelmath et al. and Mukherjee. Thus we may state that O_i in *blame* constructions is indeed a *recipient participant*. If we were to further specify its role and differentiate it from other examples of DV taking *recipient participants* (e.g. *bequeath*, *offer*, *owe* or *promise*) we may class the O_i as an *involuntary recipient participant*.

6.1.5.2 Semantic Analysis of Objects in SVOO Constructions with *blame*

In the previous chapter, we dealt with the semantic classification of the objects in the *blame* SVOO construction on a theoretical level concentrating on categorization of the objects according to classifications proposed in representative grammars or in representative works. It is, however, also necessary to look at the semantics of the objects practically, i.e. analyze the objects on the basis of their meaning and see if the objects are semantically coordinated or not.

6.1.5.2.1 Semantic Analysis of Objects in SVO_iO_{prep} Constructions with *blame*

The semantic analysis of objects in the SVO_iO_{prep} pattern turned out to be particularly interesting from the point of the prepositional object which in this sentence pattern represents the *transferred entity*. Although the verb *blame* inherently carries a negative connotation with it, as one would hardly blame someone/something for a positive thing, the uniformity of negative connotation across the entire range of prepositional objects in the 66 sentences adhering to the SVO_iO_{prep} pattern was surprising. 63 objects (96%) could be classified as carrying a negative meaning (only 3 objects did not fit this description). Out of this number, 47 prepositional objects (75%) needed no premodification or postmodification to express this negative meaning (i.e. the negative meaning was inherently clear from the noun on its own). Furthermore, 4 sentences in which the O_{prep} was expressed by means of a pronoun could also be subsumed under this group because the immediately relevant context provides us with the nouns for which the pronouns were substituted and, again, these nouns carry negative connotation:

25) **Bla51** It is far easier to blame equipment for failure than oneself.

26) **Bla38** Mr Taylor refused to blame the race row that greeted his adoption 18 months ago for his defeat by Mr Nigel Jones, who won with a six per cent swing to the Liberal Democrats.

27) **Bla27**³⁵ Do n't be silly , Charles . What happens to a woman who leaves her husband anyway ? It 's always her fault , is n't it ? And do you think he 'd let me have the children ? He 's got John riding every day , and the child is only four . And Grace , too , has her pony . *He does n't show much interest in Arthur because Arthur cries all the time .* **He blames Thompson for this** . He says she 's too young for the job . She 's twenty-three and has been nursing babies since she was fourteen .

Further 10 prepositional objects (16%) achieved negative meaning by modification that changed the neutral meaning of the noun on its own:

³⁵ Sentence *Bla45* is cited here with its immediately preceding context excerpted from the UCNK. Only the text in bold (the original excerpted sentence from the BNC) appears in the appendix. The text in italics indicates the relevant preceding context in this case – the pronoun substitutes for the underlined text, i.e. *the fact that Arthur cries all the time*.

- 28) **Bla33** He blamed Serbians for the rapidly deteriorating situation, saying they were trying to thwart international recognition of Bosnia.
- 29) **Bla36** Yet we must be careful before blaming politicians for this mundane campaign, since in many respects it has been a reflection of ourselves.
- 30) **Bla01** Minister David Maclean has blamed the KGB for poor publicity surrounding the launch of a series of food safety guides from the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries & Food .

In two sentences (3%), the negative meaning of the prepositional object was ascertained by referring to the immediately preceding context:

- 31) **Bla 45**³⁶ Some of the world 's most important aquifers are currently affected by this problem . Much of South-east England depends on the Chalk aquifer for water . Here , *low winter rainfall and dry summers* for two successive years have caused record low water levels in wells . The Ogallala aquifer , which supplies many farms in the US Midwest , is suffering the same problem , as also are aquifers in Spain , Greece and elsewhere in Europe . **It is too early to blame climatic changes for these effects** .
- 32) **Bla53** Whenever you experience anger, jealousy or any other destructive emotion, it is all too easy to blame other people for these feelings.

The use of the demonstrative pronoun in example sentences (g) and (h) is an anaphoric device which indicates that these objects were previously mentioned in the immediately relevant context. In these two cases, the context aided us in identifying the semantically negative connotation of the prepositional objects.

Within the 47 prepositional objects which were deemed as carrying a negative meaning without the aid of any modification, 8 groups were identified which encompassed semantically connected objects³⁷. For clarity, Table 14³⁸ (see below) has been produced:

Name of Semantic Group	O _{prep} Included in Group
Nouns denoting a terminal negative state of affairs	<i>failure (7), tragedy, crisis(3), defeat</i>
Nouns denoting an unpleasant state of affairs	<i>troubles, problems (2), misfortunes, miseries, difficulties</i>
Nouns denoting a downward movement of affairs	<i>slide, recession, depreciation, deficit</i>
Nouns denoting the falling apart of affairs	<i>breakdown, break-up, crash,</i>
Nouns denoting the harm done to sth./sbd.	<i>injury, damage, defect</i>
Nouns with a negative prefix/suffix	<i>disappearance, disappointment, impossibility, joblessness</i>
Nouns connected to death	<i>kill, death (4³⁹)</i>
Miscellaneous nouns	<i>platitude, truancy, redundancies, acidification, sins, cancellation, omission, lack, war, explosion</i>

Table 14 Semantic Categorization of O_{prep} in SVO_iO_{prep} Constructions with *blame*

³⁶ Sentence *Bla45* is cited here with its immediately preceding context excerpted from the UCNK. Only the text in bold (the original excerpted sentence from the BNC) appears in the appendix. The text in italics indicates the relevant preceding context in this case.

³⁷ Each group subsumes objects which are semantically similar and one group subsumes the objects which did not fit into any of the identified groups

³⁸ Numbers in brackets indicate the number of occurrences of the objects.

³⁹ The four examples refer to two sentences in which the object was explicitly expressed by the noun *death* and two sentences in which a demonstrative pronoun referred to *death*.

Regarding the O_i in the SVO_iO_{prep} pattern, no groups of semantically similar objects were identified and thus the O_i is not subject to the present semantic analysis. It seems that only the *affected participant* tends to be semantically coherent within the excerpted sentences and the *recipient participant* is selected from an indefinite group of nouns. We may, therefore, conclude that the O_{prep} in *blame* SVOO constructions is, in fact, predictable in that it practically always carries a negative meaning and that the choice of the O_{prep} is often limited to several semantic groups.

6.1.5.2.2 Semantic Analysis of Objects in SVO_dO_{prep} Constructions with *blame*

In the previous chapter it was the O_{prep} which was subject to an in-depth semantic analysis while the O_i did not exhibit any interesting data for analysis. The O_{prep} in the SVO_iO_{prep} pattern is equivalent to the O_d of the corresponding SVO_dO_{prep} pattern and it is, therefore, not surprising that in the SVO_dO_{prep} pattern the O_d will be subject to semantic analysis while O_{prep} (corresponding to O_i) will not. Out of the 34 objects (direct) excerpted within the examples sentences, 25 (76%) were again classified as carrying a negative meaning. Out of the 26 objects, 24 carried the negative meaning with no modification and 2 objects were rendered negative by means of modification.

33) **Bla76** As the Kremlin issued strong signals to the dictatorship, and the Hungarian Socialist and Yugoslav Communist parties broke links with the Romanian party, President Ceausescu went on national television to blame the violence on ‘hooligans, terrorists and spies’ organised from abroad.

34) **Bla73** She was profoundly scarred by her father's suicide in 1976, and blames the tragedy on the mental stress caused by the Wilson government's reneging on a fighter bomber deal he had set up with Sweden.

35) **Bla79** European luxury-goods firms blamed their poor Christmas performance on Iraq's August invasion of Kuwait.

Further 6 sentences contained objects which were represented by pronouns. In 5 sentences the noun for which the pronoun substituted carried a neutral meaning. In only one case did the pronoun substitute for a modified noun with a negative connotation:

36) **Bla69** She blamed it (=uneasy stomach) on the after-effects of the trial and feta cheese in the salad.

Similarly to the previous chapter, the objects were analyzed from the point of semantic similarity and divided into groups according to meaning:

Name of Semantic Group	O_d Included in Group
Nouns denoting a terminal negative state of affairs	<i>tragedy, defeat</i>
Nouns denoting an unpleasant state of affairs	<i>upsets, difficulty, setback</i>
Nouns denoting a downward movement of affairs	<i>decrease, downfall, fall</i>
Nouns denoting the falling apart of affairs	<i>breakdown, break-up, crash,</i>

Nouns denoting the harm done to sth./sbd.	<i>damage</i>
Nouns with a negative prefix/suffix	<i>disenchantment, inadequacies</i>
Nouns connected to death	<i>killings, death</i>
Nouns denoting violent situations	<i>unrest, violence, riot, terror</i>
Nouns connected to illness	<i>ills (2), symptoms, side-effects</i>

Table 15 Semantic Categorization of O_d in SVO_dO_{prep} Constructions with *blame*

We may conclude that the semantics of the O_d in the SVO_dO_{prep} pattern are again predictable and that the selection of the O_d seems to be made from a close-knit group of nouns which are semantically similar in that they inherently carry a negative meaning.

6.1.6 Animateness of Objects in SVOO Constructions with *blame*

It has already been stated in Chapter 2 that an indirect object is usually animate and placed directly after the verb (Quirk et al., 1985: 1208). In chapter 3.4 we said that the direct object is normally an animate or inanimate participant, who does not cause the happening denoted by the verb, but is directly involved in some other way (Quirk et al., 1985: 741). Thus it could be presupposed that an O_i would be animate in a ditransitive construction and that the O_d could be both animate or inanimate. The present chapter has been included in this study to acknowledge the fact that Quirk et al.'s classification of animate/inanimate objects is not entirely accurate and certainly cannot encompass the entirety of ditransitive verbs.

6.1.6.1 Animateness of Objects in SVO_iO_{prep} Constructions with *blame*

Upon analyzing the 66 example sentences which adhered to the SVO_iO_{prep} pattern we see that 66 (100%) of the prepositional objects are inanimate. Among the indirect objects 44 (64%) are inanimate while 25 (36%) are animate. We see that the number of analyzed indirect objects is larger than the number of analyzed sentences. This is caused by the fact that several sentences had a multiple object and all components of the object were analyzed. Thus approximately two thirds of the indirect objects are inanimate which goes against our preliminary presupposition based on Quirk et al. (see 2.1.2), i.e. that indirect objects would be animate. The 25 animate indirect objects presented no problem for the analysis.

- 37) **Bla18** Police said the three-page letter found in the killer's back pocket blamed women for the disappointments in his life.

However, the 44 inanimate indirect objects were a subject to close study. While some of them were clear examples of inanimateness (ex 24), a certain number were not. These problematic objects in question were the following: *the KGB, London, Britain,*

European Tour, Lambeth 1958, band, world, State Intelligence Service, Nazi regime, coalition, government, West Germany.

- 38) **Bla07** Condemning Britain for its irresponsible actions anderroneous stand on Hong Kong, China yesterday blamed London for the crisis of confidence that has gripped the colony since the military assault on Tiananmen Square four months ago.

It is disputable whether a noun to which we may refer as *it* (as with inanimate nouns) but which we use with a plural verb (meaning that the noun actually represents a group of people) is inanimate or not. With collective nouns such as these it is clear that they represent a group of people (*e.g London* → *a group of Londoners*) and, therefore, an animate object. We, therefore, suggest that these nouns be considered animate and thus the ratio between animate and inanimate objects would change – 39 animate objects and 30 inanimate objects. This number would show a tendency to favour an animate object, nevertheless, the percentage of animate objects (57%) is not entirely convincing and it would have to be concluded that the animateness of the indirect object in the SVO_iO_{prep} pattern is neither predominantly animate nor inanimate. On the other hand, the inanimateness of the prepositional object is basically given.

6.1.6.2 Animateness of Objects in SVO_dO_{prep} Constructions with *blame*

Within the 34 example sentences adhering to the SVO_dO_{prep} pattern, we find that 34 (100%) of the direct objects are inanimate and 24 (71%) of the prepositional objects were also inanimate. We therefore again have to argue that while Quirk et al. state that the indirect object is mostly animate, we see here that, in fact, almost ¾ of the prepositional objects (which in the SVO_dO_{prep} pattern are counterparts to the O_i in the SVO_iO_{prep} pattern) are inanimate.

- 39) **Bla67** Graf never blamed her upsets on family problems, flu, food poisoning, sinus trouble and a variety of other problems.

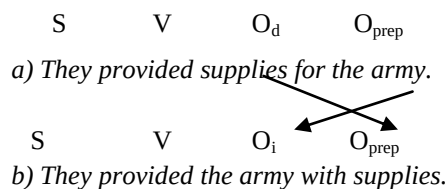
The direct objects are without exception inanimate in this sentence pattern and Quirk et al. state that the O_d may be both animate and inanimate.

- 40) **Bla73** She was profoundly scarred by her father's suicide in 1976, and blames the tragedy on the mental stress caused by the Wilson government's reneging on a fighter bomb deal he had set up with Sweden.

Therefore, we argue that the animateness of the objects in the ditransitive construction is very particular to each of the verbs and as such cannot be generalized for the entire group of ditransitive verbs.

6.2 SVOO Constructions with *provide*

The verb *provide* belongs to Quirk et al.'s group 5 in their classification of ditransitive verbs. As with the verb *blame*, the verb *provide* is followed by an O_i or O_d in the first-object position followed by an O_{prep} in the second-object position.



The two example sentences (a) and (b) exhibit the two alternating ditransitive constructions occurring with the verb *provide*. As with the verb *blame*, there is again a prepositional alternation in the two constructions. In construction (a) the ditransitive verb is followed by a direct object and a prepositional object and the two objects are conjoined by means of the preposition *for*. The alternative construction comprises a ditransitive verb followed by an indirect object and a prepositional object with the two objects being conjoined by the preposition *with*. Both constructions provide identical information with the possibility of achieving different focus by using one or the other alternatively.

6.2.1 Omissibility of Objects in SVOO Constructions with *provide*

So far the verb *provide* has been discussed as being part of a ditransitive construction in which both objects are expressed. However, as discussed in chapter 2.1 the possibility of omitting an object in an SVOO construction exists; the absence of an O_i can be justifiable as its omission should not affect semantic relations within a sentence and the omission of the O_d within a ditransitive construction has also previously been discussed (see 2.1) and has been described as problematic due to the possible loss of the recipient role assigned to the O_i which may take on the role of the O_d .

Prior to analyzing the excerpted sentences, the presupposition was that omitting objects in SVOO constructions with *provide* may be possible. When looking closely at the 100 excerpted sentences, however, we see that in none of them did object omission occur. This is, in fact, the same situation as in chapter 6.1.1 where we determined that there was no instance of object omission within the excerpted sentences with the verb *blame*. However, as with *blame*, we may ascertain whether object omission in *provide* constructions is not possible at all or whether it did not occur in the excerpted sentences but is otherwise plausible. Let us consider example sentences (a) and (b) from 6.2 and experimentally omit each of the objects in turn:

- 41) *They provided supplies [...for the army].*
 42) *They provided [...supplies] for the army.*
 43) *They provided the army [...with supplies].*
 44) *They provided [...the army] with supplies.*

It is interesting that while in 6.1.1 it was ascertained that out of the four possible constructions with *blame* (each omitting a different object) only one was grammatically plausible, here we may see something different.

A search in the BNC has ascertained that the omission of the O_d in the SVO_dO_{prep} constructions is, in fact, possible. Therefore, example sentence (41) is a valid example of a ditransitive construction with *provide* with the O_{prep} omitted. The BNC provides the following example sentence which further supports the plausibility of the omission:

- 45) Clelia had provided help [...for Martin] instantly, by holding the baby, and looking after it, and changing, with increasing expertise, its nappy, and then at the end of the day she had invited Martin and his child home.⁴⁰

The sentence above (ex 45) contains the ditransitive verb *provide* followed directly by an O_d which is, however, not followed by an O_{prep} which has been omitted. It must be noted that the omitted O_{prep} is retrievable from the sentence and thus the omission may be based on this retrievability. This is further supported by the fact that all other instances of omission of the O_{prep} in similar constructions which were found in the BNC also enabled the retrieving of the omitted object from the immediate context. On the other hand, it must also be said that even if the object were not retrievable from the sentence, grammatically, the construction would lack nothing. On the grounds of meaning there would also be no doubt as to the sentence being fully intelligible. However, as the verb is ditransitive and should, therefore, transpire not only what is provided, but also to whom, it must be pointed out that the full semantic potential of the verb is lost in the object omission. It may thus be said that in SVO_dO_{prep} constructions with *provide* the O_{prep} may be omitted without inflicting any problems regarding the grammar aspects of the sentence.

When looking at example sentence (42) we are looking at a different instance of object omission. The omission of the O_d in the SVO_dO_{prep} construction creates a new construction altogether. Dušková (2006: 435) comments on the new construction and points out the greater importance of the O_d ; the omission of the O_d causes the O_{prep} to lose its recipient role and become the O_d . The omission of the O_d creates a construction with the phrasal verb *provide for*. According to the OED the meaning of this phrasal verb is *to give somebody the things that they need to live, such as food, money and clothing*. In this use,

⁴⁰ Excerpted from the BNC [EFP 901]

the verb requires only one object, not two and thus does not fit into our frame of ditransitive verbs. Thus the omission of the O_d is plausible grammatically – the sentence is grammatically correct without the object, but there is a change of the transitivity of the verb from ditransitive to monotransitive. Semantically the sentence is different, as on the basis of the meaning of the phrasal verb, the range of items which are to be provided for somebody is narrowed down to those that are inevitable for the person or people to survive.

Example sentence (43) is interesting yet from another point of view. We have stated previously that the omission of the O_d may be problematic because the O_i may take on the role of the omitted O_d and lose its recipient role. In sentence (43) the O_{prep} is omitted. As we are here concerned with the sentence pattern SVO_iO_{prep} we see that, in fact, it is the O_{prep} which stands for the O_d of the alternative SVO_dO_{prep} construction that has been omitted. Thus we are concerned here precisely with what we have stated above – the O_{prep}/O_d is omitted and we are left with an O_i which in the complete construction had a recipient role but in the omitted construction loses it and takes on the function of the O_d . Thus the meaning of the sentence is changed – from *the army* being the recipient of something, we now have *the army* which has become the entity that is to be provided to someone else. Thus we may conclude that the omission of the O_{prep}/O_d is plausible grammatically but semantically leads to complete change of meaning within the construction.

Lastly, let us consider construction (44). This sentence is the only one which may be dealt with shortly as it is, thus constructed, grammatically incorrect and may not be used. The only case in which the verb (preceded by the auxiliary *to be*) would be directly followed by the O_{prep} would be a passive construction in which the O_i would become the subject and would thus be fronted while the O_{prep} would remain in the postverbal position. In the active voice, however, sentence (44) is a non-existent construction.

6.2.2 Frequency of SVOO Constructions with *provide*

On the basis of the excerption of 100 example sentences which contain the verb *provide*, it is possible to determine the ratio between the numbers of occurrences of each of the two possible constructions. Similarly to the sentences containing the verb *blame*, all 100 excerpted sentences containing the ditransitive verb *provide* follow the identical pattern of having either the O_i or O_d in the first-object position and the O_{prep} in the second-object position. Rather than discussing the order of the objects, which would be redundant, it is again more important to discuss the ratio between the number of sentences adhering to one or the other sentence pattern, as this can show us which object is considered to be more

important in these constructions and is thus intentionally placed sentence-finally. The explanation of the imbalance between the number of occurrences of the two sentence patterns will require taking into account the principles of *end—focus* and *end-weight* (see 6.1.2). Table 15 below shows the ratio between the occurrences of the two varying sentence patterns within the 100 excerpted sentences from the BNC for the SVOO construction with *provide*:

SVOO pattern / preposition	Number of occurrences in BNC ⁴¹
SVO _i O _{prep} / for	39 ⁴²
SVO _d O _{prep} / on	61 ⁴³

Table 16 Frequency of Occurrence of Alternating Constructions with *provide* in the BNC

From Table 15 it is possible to see that in SVOO constructions with *provide* it is more common (61%) to make use of the SVO_dO_{prep} pattern. This would suggest that information provided by the O_{prep}/O_i would be deemed more important than that given by the O_d since it is placed sentence-finally. This is a speculation which needs to be further analyzed (see 6.2.4.2). As with the verb *blame* (which, on the contrary, proved to favour the SVO_iO_{prep} pattern) we would be able to state that the information provided by one of the objects (in this case the O_{prep}/O_i) is more important and thus explain the imbalance in Table 15.

6.2.3 Part-of-speech Representation of Objects in SVOO Constructions with *provide*

The reason for ascertaining the part-of-speech representation of objects in ditransitive constructions with *provide* is the fact that pronominalization of objects can be one of the possible signs of retrievability of the object from previous context. If the object is retrievable, it does not constitute new information (it is not context-independent) and, therefore, cannot contribute towards ascertaining or controverting the use of either *end-focus* or *end-weight*. Table 16 shows the overall number of occurrences of four different part-of-speech patterns within the 100 excerpted sentences:

Verb	Parts of Speech				Total
	Noun+ Noun	Pronoun + Noun	Noun + Pronoun	Pronoun+ Pronoun	
<i>provide</i>	82	18	0	0	=100

Table 17 PoS Representation of Objects in SVOO Constructions with *provide*

⁴¹ Number of occurrences within the 100 excerpted sentences – does not apply for the entire number of sentences returned for the lemma {provide/V}

⁴² Appendix (examples Pro1-Pro39)

⁴³ Appendix (examples Pro40-Pro100)

We can see that the distribution of part-of-speech representation of objects in *provide* SVOO constructions differs to that of *blame*. In 6.1.3 we note that while the Noun+Noun representation is also the most common, there are representations of all the other part-of-speech patterns as well. In Table 16 it can be seen that ditransitive constructions with *provide* tend to favour the representation of both objects by nouns or, far less frequently, the representation of the object in the first-object position by a pronoun and the O_{prep} by a noun. There are, however, no instances of the second object represented by a pronoun or both objects represented by a pronoun.

Tables 17 and 18 below show us the part-of-speech representation of objects in *provide* SVOO patterns broken down according to the sentence pattern of the construction.

Verb	Parts of Speech				Total
	Noun+ Noun	Pronoun + Noun	Noun + Pronoun	Pronoun+ Pronoun	
<i>provide</i> + <i>with</i>	21	18	0	0	=39

Table 18 PoS Representation of Objects in SVO_iO_{prep} Constructions with *provide*

While Table 17 shows a relative balance between the Noun+Noun and Pronoun+Noun part-of-speech pattern, there is an obvious absence of a pronoun in the second-object position, which suggests that potentially all prepositional objects in *provide* SVO_iO_{prep} constructions may be, in fact, context-independent.

Verb	Parts of Speech				Total
	Noun+ Noun	Pronoun + Noun	Noun + Pronoun	Pronoun+ Pronoun	
<i>provide</i> + <i>for</i>	61	0	0	0	=61

Table 19 PoS Representation of Objects in SVO_dO_{prep} Constructions with *provide*

Table 18 provides similar data to Table 17 with the difference that 100% of the excerpted sentences adhered to the Noun+Noun pattern.

This distribution of part-of-speech patterns in *provide* SVOO constructions goes hand in hand with the presupposition that an object (mainly O_{prep} as it is placed sentence-finally) represented by a noun may be a context-independent object and thus that *end-focus* and *end-weight* may be heavily used. In the following chapter concerned with context dependence of objects we shall ascertain whether the present presupposition was correct.

6.2.4 Context-dependence of Objects in *provide* SVOO Constructions with *provide*

The method of ascertaining whether an object is context-dependent or independent has been described previously and, therefore, shall not be repeated here as the method of analysis is identical to that presented in 6.1.4. However, differences began to arise once the analysis had been completed. The objects in the excerpted sentences were, again, sorted into four possibilities according to the distribution of CD:

- a) [O_{i/d} – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]
- b) [O_{i/d} – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th]
- c) [O_{i/d} – dep=Th; O_{prep} – dep= Th]
- d) [O_{i/d} – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]

Table 20 below shows the overall representation of the four patterns in the 100 excerpted sentences with *provide*:

Verb	Context-dependence and FSP function				Total
	1 st O: dep (Th) 2 nd O: indep (Rh)	1 st O: indep (Rh) 2 nd O: dep (Th)	1 st O: dep (Th) 2 nd O: dep (Th)	1 st O: indep (Rh) 2 nd O: indep (Rh)	
<i>blame</i>	61 (61%)	33 (33%)	-	6 (5%)	=100

Table 20 Distribution of CD within SVOO Constructions with *provide*

Table 20 clearly shows that there is a prevailing tendency to place the context-independent object sentence-finally and thus the abovementioned presupposition (see 6.2.3) was correct. The preference of a sentence-final context-independent object points to the use of *end-focus* and probably *end-weight* and characterizes the verb *provide* as one which tends to make use of one or both of these principles often. In comparison to the same data provided for the verb *blame* (see 6.1.4) we see that the number of occurrences of the four possibilities of distribution of CD differs in both verbs. While Table 20 shows that over 93% of the excerpted sentences adhered to either the [O_{i/d} – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh] or [O_{i/d} – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th] distribution of CD and only 7% were represented by the remaining two possibilities, the verb *blame* showed greater diversity with twice as many sentences represented by the [O_{i/d} – dep=Th; O_{prep} – dep= Th] and [O_{i/d} – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – indep= Rh] distributions of CD. In the following chapters we shall discuss the context-dependence of the two objects in SVOO constructions with *provide* based on the two differing sentence patterns (SVO_iO_{prep} and SVO_dO_{prep}).

6.2.4.1 Context-Dependence of Objects in SVO_iO_{prep} Constructions with *provide*

In the present chapter, we shall further break down the data presented in 6.2.4 according to the sentence pattern used. Table 21 below shows the number of occurrences

of the four possibilities of distribution of CD within the 39 excerpted sentences which adhered to the SVO_iO_{prep} pattern:

Verb	Context-dependence and FSP function				Total
	1 st O: dep (Th) 2 nd O: indep (Rh)	1 st O: indep (Rh) 2 nd O: dep (Th)	1 st O: dep (Th) 2 nd O: dep (Th)	1 st O: indep (Rh) 2 nd O: indep (Rh)	
<i>provide</i> + <i>with</i>	38 (97%)	1 (3%)	0	0	=39

Table 21 Distribution of CD within SVO_iO_{prep} Constructions with *provide*

Table 21 shows that the distribution of CD within the SVO_iO_{prep} pattern is fairly uniform in that 97% of the sentences adhered to the basic pattern of distribution of CD with the new information being placed sentence-finally. This clearly demonstrates the practically sole use of this pattern to the detriment of the remaining three. It may thus be concluded that for the SVO_iO_{prep} constructions with *provide* the final position of the context-independent object is commonplace and the principle of *end-focus* is prominent in these structures. Further research was made as to the use of the principle of *end-weight* although “heaviness of the final constituent is symptomatic of its relative newness, so that in most cases *end-weight* and *end-focus* come into operation along with each other” (Mukherjee, 2005: 184).

The overall result of the research on the use of *end-weight* was conclusive in that 37 (97%) sentences adhering to the the basic pattern of distribution of CD made use of this principle (Pro1-7, Pro9-16 Pro18-39). Example sentence (46) below exemplifies the use of *end-weight* in a sentence with basic distribution of CD (the context-dependent nature of the first-position object is accentuated by the use of the possessive pronoun):

- 46) Pro16** The established family farms were, mostly, already profitable and the farmers were looking for sufficient income to provide their families with a reasonable standard of living plus sufficient capital to re-invest in the farm and provide for retirement.

It must be noted that out of the 34 sentences adhering to the basic pattern of distribution of CD and the principle of *end-weight*, 17 (50%) represented the Pro+N part-of-speech pattern. The pronominal objects were always represented by a personal pronoun which suggests that whenever a personal pronoun appears in the first-object position, the second-position context-independent object should be longer and heavier when compared to a one-word personal pronoun (ex 47):

- 47) Pro20** Recent developments of Darwinian Theory provide us with a new and deeper understanding of the processes of natural selection.

Only one of the 38 sentences adhering to the basic pattern of distribution of CD exhibited objects which were expressed with equal heaviness; the principle of *end-focus* operates while *end-weight* does not. Example sentence (48) below thus proves that there may also be cases where the pronominal object may, in fact, not precede an object which is “heavier”. It has been stated above that the use of a pronoun in the context-dependent first-object position would most probably render the context-independent second object longer and heavier in order to express the new information. The sentence below, however, gives us a pronominal context-dependent first object and a context-independent second object which is not expressed more heavily than the first and thus proves that a pronominal context-dependent object does not always precede a “heavy” context-independent object:

48) Pro8 The Revolution had impinged on their consciousness only in so far as it provided them with land, or took away foodstuffs during War Communism.

The only example sentence which deviated from the basic pattern of distribution of CD must also be dealt with. Among the 39 excerpted sentences with the SVO_iO_{prep} pattern one sentence (Pro17) was initially presupposed to adhere to the sentence pattern of [O_{i/d} – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th]. However, upon closer analysis, it was ascertained that, in fact, the context-dependence of the second object was questionable. Firbas (1995) coins an interesting concept revolving around the idea that a context-dependent element need not always be strictly dependent but may also carry a certain piece of information that is new:

An internal, member of a string conveys retrievable information and is therefore thematic if occurring within the retrievability span opened or kept open by its predecessor; but this condition need not always be fulfilled, for an internal member can occur beyond the retrievability span provided by its predecessor.

(Firbas, 1995: 20)

The above cited passage from Firbas suggests, that a thematic sentence element may also carry certain “new” and irretrievable information which then makes the sentence element heterogenous in that it contains both “old” and “new” information simultaneously. If retrievable information predominates within the sentence element, the heterogenous element is deemed thematic and vice-versa, if irretrievable information predominates, the heterogenous element is deemed rhematic.

Upon consulting the UCNK, the relevant preceding context to sentence (49) was excerpted:

49) Pro17 They told Miller to hire *a house* lately called the New Tavern for his residence, provided the rent does not exceed £20 per annum. Whether he did this is questionable, as in the following months he made a kitchen in the east end of the greenhouse. This may have been for meals during the day

while living elsewhere, or perhaps it was to make existing *accommodation* there more adequate for his use. **It is evident that he did live there in his later years as the Minutes of 1771 agree to provide his successor with lodgings in Chelsea until such time as Mr. Miller has quit his apartments in the greenhouse.**⁴⁴

We have stated previously that the second object is context-dependent. It may be said that *lodgings* may be seen as co-referential with *house* and *accommodation*. However, *in Chelsea* is new information and it is perhaps the key information within the object and thus makes the object context-independent. Thus we may say that, in fact, the initial presupposition that the sentence goes counter to the basic distribution of CD by reversing the *dep-indep* object pattern was wrong, because both objects are, in fact, context-independent. The principle of *end-weight* operates in (49) as the second object is modified by an adverbial of place and this makes it “heavier” than the first object which is modified only by a personal pronoun. As there is only one instance of this sentence pattern, it can be considered as an exception to the otherwise almost sole use of the *theme-rheme* distribution within the SVO_iO_{prep} sentences with *provide*.

6.2.4.2 Context-dependence of Objects in SVO_dO_{prep} Constructions with *provide*

Let us now consider the sentence pattern SVO_dO_{prep} and the distribution of CD within the excerpted sentences:

Verb	Context-dependence and FSP function				Total
	1 st O: dep (Th) 2 nd O: indep (Rh)	1 st O: indep (Rh) 2 nd O: dep (Th)	1 st O: dep (Th) 2 nd O: dep (Th)	1 st O: indep (Rh) 2 nd O: indep (Rh)	
<i>provide</i> + <i>for</i>	24 (39%)	31 (53%)	0	6(8%)	=61

Table 22 Distribution of CD within SVO_dO_{prep} Constructions with *provide*

Table 22 shows that compared to the SVO_iO_{prep} pattern the most heavily represented possibility of distribution of CD here is [O_{i/d} – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th]. However, there is relatively substantial representation of [O_{i/d} – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh] as well as minor representation of constructions where both objects are context-independent. This constitutes an altogether different distribution to that in 6.2.4.1. Out of the 61 sentences the principle of *end-weight* was identified in 17 (28%) sentences, while equal heaviness was identified in 40 (68%) sentences and violation of *end-weight* by transporting the heavier object to the first-object position was identified in 3 (4%) sentences. This is in contrast to the sole use of *end-weight* identified in the excerpted

⁴⁴ Sentence Pro49 is cited here with its immediately preceding context excerpted from the UCNK. Only the text in bold (the original excerpted sentence from the BNC) appears in the appendix. The text in italics indicates the relevant preceding context in this case.

sentences in 6.2.4.1.

Let us now consider the most heavily occurring possibility of distribution of CD; [O_{i/d} – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th] was identified in 31 of the 61 excerpted sentences adhering to the SVO_dO_{prep} pattern. Similarly to sentence (49) in 6.2.4.1 where heterogeneity was identified within the context-dependent object, a case of borderline dependence was also identified within the 32 sentences adhering to the [O_{i/d} – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th] pattern. Sentence (50) was originally deemed one of the sentences in which the first object is context-independent while the second is context-dependent and where *end-weight* operates. However, upon consulting the UCNK, it was ascertained that the second object is, in fact, independent and this sentence was thus transferred to the [O_{i/d} – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – indep= Rh] pattern. The reason for reassessing the context-dependence of the second object was the fact that although *the grandparents* are retrievable from previous context, *sheer delight* has been deemed the “new” information that is more important than the reiteration of *grandparents*. Hence the second object, according to Firbas’s terminology, is a heterogenous object in which irretrievability predominates:

50) **Pro55** Added to this is the inevitable realization of elderly people that they are less able to build new friendships, new relationships, take on new responsibilities and tasks. It is often said that elderly people are glad to take on the role of *grandparent* or even great-grandparent. There’s all the fun and none of the responsibility! While this is undoubtedly true, many elderly people are not *grandparents*, and the lack of role can itself cause considerable grief. **Much pressure can overtly or unwittingly be put on grown up children, to provide grandchildren for the sheer delight of the grandparents.**⁴⁵

Out of the 31 sentences adhering to the [O_{i/d} – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th] pattern, the use of the principle of *end-weight* was identified in 7 (22%) of them (Pro43, Pro56, Pro62, Pro66, Pro68, Pro95-96). Example sentence (51) below gives an example of such a sentence:

51) **Pro96** Their 10-year-old daughter, Jessica, who is likely to be seen with her head buried in The Beano or a Roald Dahl novel, has provided inspiration for many of her parents' books.

Many more examples were found of such sentences in which both objects were expressed with equal heaviness and thus the use of *end-weight* was not identified. In all, 23 sentences (72%) adhered to this pattern (Pro40, Pro44-45, Pro49-53, Pro57-58, Pro60,

⁴⁵ Sentence Pro55 is cited here with its immediately preceding context excerpted from the UCNK. Only the text in bold (the original excerpted sentence from the BNC) appears in the appendix. The text in italics indicates the relevant preceding context in this case.

Pro62, Pro65, Pro67, Pro70-73, Pro81, Pro88, Pro90, Pro94, Pro99-100). Sentence (52) below provides an example of such a sentence:

- 52) **Pro45** The final retail sales figures for August — barely changed on the provisional statistics — provide no simple explanation for the trade figures.

Lastly, two sentences (6%) included a first object which was represented more heavily than the second (ex 53-54). We have come across instances of such object representation already (ex 22). This sentence shows that the context-independent object has the ability to take its heaviness with it irrespective of its sentence position.

- 53) **Pro78** Maintaining or increasing the number of pupils is crucially important in providing the 'bread and butter' finance for the school.

- 54) **Pro59** The upper storey of 180 feet provided accommodation for the library, committee room and living quarters for the gardener.

Overall, within the $[O_{i/d} - \text{indep} = \text{Rh}; O_{\text{prep}} - \text{dep} = \text{Th}]$ pattern it is most common to opt for both objects represented with equal heaviness. It is far less common to make use of *end-weight* and virtually exceptional to transport the heaviness of one of the objects (if one is heavier) to the first-object position.

The second most common distribution of CD within the $SVO_d O_{\text{prep}}$ sentences was $[O_{i/d} - \text{dep} = \text{Th}; O_{\text{prep}} - \text{indep} = \text{Rh}]$. It was identified in 24 sentences out of 61. Within the 23 sentences, equal heaviness of objects was identified in 16 (65%) of the sentences.

- 55) **Pro61** In the centre of all this activity are our tents and caravans which are set among shrubs and trees and provide accommodation for 2-4 persons.

The use of *end-weight* was confirmed in 8 (35%) of the sentences. This is in great contrast to the data provided in 6.2.4.1 where 89% of the sentences with the same distribution of CD made use of *end-weight*.

- 56) **Pro77** The mill was originally run as part of the adjacent farm, and, not surprisingly, was used to provide power for a number of other uses.

The last remaining possibility of distribution of CD to be dealt with is that where both elements were context-independent. Overall, there were 7 sentences in which both of the objects were context-independent (Pro 55, Pro63-64, Pro75-76, Pro89). In 4 of these sentences the two objects were expressed with equal heaviness (Pro 63-64, Pro76, Pro89):

- 57) **Pro63** The barn is the building closest to the road providing easy access for carts through its double width entranceway

58) **Pro64** The old library and conservatory, conveniently linked to the drawing-room, now provide a most attractive setting for a bar and dining area.

59) **Pro76** It provided employment for many hands over many decades, eventually being taken over by Kleeman Ltd, which later became part of the Mobil Chemicals group.

60) **Pro89** The intention was that managers should provide a positive and supportive climate for professionals to deliver health care.

Two of the instances of two context-independent objects appearing within one sentence were exceptional within the 6 overall occurrences of this pattern in that they expressed one of the objects in greater heaviness than the other (ex 50 and ex 61).

61) **Pro75** The government was urged to provide funds for the training of staff and additional support for dealing with the more difficult pupils.

It has been said previously (see 6.1.4.2) that when two context-independent objects appear within one sentence and one of them is clearly more dynamic (conveys the information towards which the communication is perspectived) than the other, the FSP function of the two objects can further be broken down into Rh_{comp} and Rh_{proper} . Within example sentences (61) and (50) it is possible to identify the first-position object as the Rh_{comp} while the second object would be the Rh_{proper} .

6.2.5 Semantic Classification of *provide*

In order to semantically classify the verb *provide* we must again look back to the various classifications of ditransitive verbs provided in 3.1. Let us begin with Haspelmath et al.'s three groups of ditransitive verbs: DV of *physical transfer*, DV of *mental transfer* and *less central* DV. The verb *provide* seems to fit both into the group of *physical transfer* and *mental transfer* and as such is on the crossover between these two. What speaks for including the verb in the group of *physical transfer* is the fact that actual physical transfer goes on when *providing sth for sb*. Also, Haspelmath et al. give the example of *supply* being a DV of *physical transfer* and as this verb is semantically similar to *provide* it would follow that both verbs would fall under the same category.

62) **Pro24** This lavish book provides us with a full-colour holiday brochure; a 'sightseer's guide for anyone journeying through this brave new world'.

In example sentence (62) the reader is the recipient of the brochure and as such takes this brochure and this completes the act of *physical transfer* – the transfer of a

physical entity from point A to point B. Example sentence (63) below provides evidence for categorizing the verb *provide* among DV of *mental transfer* as well:

- 63) **Pro49** Many law firms have already laid off employees: a large Midlands firm has got rid of 35; a firm in East Anglia is about to shed some conveyancing staff; and the Law Society's Young Solicitors Group has set up a helpline to provide counselling and advice for young lawyers who have been made redundant.

In the sentence above, the entity being transferred is not physical but mental. What is being transferred is “*advice and counselling*” and as such is not tangible or visible. However, the transfer from point A to point B is completed nonetheless. Therefore, in the classification of Haspelmath et al., we should rather speak of a dual membership of *provide* as it fulfills criteria to belong to both DV groups.

When looking at the classification of Mukherjee, we reiterate that he divides DV into three groups: *typical* DV, *habitual* DV and *peripheral* DV. Interestingly, we have above used the verb *supply* (as a near synonym to *provide*) to help us ascertain how to categorize the verb *provide*. Mukherjee also uses the verb *supply* – he uses it to exemplify peripheral DV which are “used only sporadically in general and which are used only rarely in an explicit ditransitive syntax” (Mukherjee, 2005: 83-84). However, as we have seen previously, the verb *provide* is rarely used in any other than ditransitive syntax (see 6.2.1) and the corpus did not excerpt any monotransitive sentences during the initial search. Thus if we were to consider *supply* and *provide* as similar verbs, we would have to contradict Mukherjee and categorize *provide* as a typical ditransitive verb as it is used frequently in a specific ditransitive syntax.

Lastly, let us consider the classification of DV as proposed by Gropen et al. (1989: 243-244). Firstly, we must consider the dativizability/non-dativizability of *provide*. When doing this same analysis for *blame*, it was easily justified that the receiver/recipient was not the causee of the action (the verb could be defined solely on the properties of the speaker alone) and thus the verb was non-dativizable (see 6.1.5). Therefore, when the verb does not entail any action that is required by the recipient, it should be non-dativizable. The verb *provide* entails the transfer of one entity to another by the acting entity without any action required by the recipient. Therefore, as with *blame*, we may say that *provide* is a non-dativizable verb. This can furthermore be supported by assessing the verb syntactically. Non-dativizable verbs permit none other than the prepositional construction. As we know that *provide* enters into two possible sentence structures both of which are prepositional, we may only ascertain that the verb is non-dativizable.

Having thus dealt with the dativizability of *provide*, we now proceed to its

categorization according to the subgroups of non-dativizable verbs that Gropen et al. propose. There are 5 possibilities:

1. Verbs of fulfilling
2. Verbs of continuous causation of accompanied motion in some manner
3. Verbs of manner of speaking
4. Verbs of communication of propositions and propositional attitudes
5. Verbs of choosing

The choice of group into which to include the verb *provide* is fairly simple here. The only group that fits the semantics of *provide* is group (1) which according to Gropen et al. (1989:244) subsumes verbs which express actions in which “X gives something to Y that X deserves, needs or is worthy of”. As the definition of *provide* is in accord with the definition of *verbs of fulfilling*, we may safely say that it belongs in group 1 and, in this case, there is no need to suggest a new group under which to subsume it.

6.2.5.1 Semantic Classification of Objects in SVOO constructions with *provide*

The semantic role of clause elements has been discussed in detail in chapter 3 and further elaborated upon in 6.1.5.1. We shall, therefore, analyze the semantic classification of objects in SVOO constructions with *provide* without further theoretical background. According to Haspelmath’s and Mukherjee’s classification of semantic roles of clause elements in ditransitive constructions, we may construct the two following models:

- a) *They provided supplies for the army.* [SVO_dO_{prep}] (A-DV-T-R) (ActE-DV-TE-AfE)
- b) *They provided the army with supplies.* [SVO_iO_{prep}] (A-DV-R-T) (ActE-DV-AfE-TE)

The subject in the sentences corresponds to the *agent argument/acting entity*. By means of a DV the action denoted by the DV is transferred onto the objects. In the first example, the *theme argument/transferred entity* represents that which is being provided and is realized by an O_d. The *recipient-like argument/affected entity* is that to whom/which the entity is provided and is realized by the O_{prep}. In the alternative construction, the *theme argument/transferred entity* is realized by means of the O_{prep} and the *recipient-like argument/affected entity* is realized by an O_i. Thus the transferred entity is always realized by means of an O_d or O_{prep} in the function of an O_d while the affected entity will always be realized by an O_i or an O_{prep} in the function of an O_i.

Let us now consider the semantic classification of clause elements as presented by Quirk et al. and Huddleston and Pullum (see 3.2-3.4). The role of the subject can be dealt with shortly as there is only one assigned role of the subject in the SVOO construction – the *agentive participant*.

When analyzing the semantic role of the O_i we have a choice of four roles: *beneficiary*, *malefactive*, *affected* and *recipient*. The *affected* role may be ruled out first, because this role is assigned to indirect objects joined together with a verb to form an eventive construction. As *provide* is not an eventive verb, the impossibility of assigning the *affected* role is thus explained.

The *malefactive* role also does not suit our purpose because a malefactive object becomes the source of something for the subject. This is not the semantic characteristic of constructions with *provide* and thus the malefactive role is also ruled out. We are left with the possibility of both O_i as *recipient* and *beneficiary*.

The *recipient* role of the indirect object is defined as “that of the animate being that is passively implicated by the happening or state” (Quirk et al., 1985: 741). We have already ascertained above that in SVOO constructions with *provide* the *recipient-like argument/affected entity* is realized by the O_i and thus it seems that the *recipient* role would be most suitable. However, there is a problem with assigning the *recipient* role to the O_i because we have specifically said above that the *recipient* role is “that of the animate being”. However, we will see in the following chapter that the O_i is not always represented by an animate entity and thus this definition would be contradicted.

Lastly, we may consider the *beneficiary* role. In benefactive constructions the O_i benefits from the action denoted by the DV. In the present SVOO constructions, the O_i benefits from the transfer of “something being provided by A for B”. Thus it seems that the *benefactive* role would suit our purposes best.

6.2.5.1.1 Semantic Analysis of Objects in SVOO Constructions with *provide*

In 6.2.5.1 we dealt with the semantic classification of objects in the *provide* SVOO construction on a theoretical level by categorizing them on the basis of previously suggested classifications in representative grammars. As with the verb *blame*, however, we have here also attempted to analyze the objects on the basis of their meaning to see whether the objects are semantically coordinated or not.

Unlike the semantic analysis of objects in SVOO constructions with *blame* in which altogether 86% of the objects were semantically coordinated, the constructions with *provide* exhibited altogether 52% of semantically coordinated objects. Although this number is significantly smaller, it has, nevertheless, been deemed substantial enough for detailed analysis. Due to the smaller number of semantically coordinated objects the analysis subsumes both sentence patterns (SVO_iO_{prep} and SVO_dO_{prep}) within one chapter.

The objects which turned out to be semantically coordinated were the O_d of the SVO_dO_{prep} pattern and the O_{prep} of the SVO_iO_{prep} – in both cases the objects which represent the *transferred entity*. The number of objects analyzed was 99 as one of the objects (see Pro43) was expressed by means of a pronoun and the immediate context did not provide information on what the pronoun substituted for.

Out of the 99 analyzed objects, we were able to categorize 51 (52%) into 11 narrow semantic groups:

Name of Semantic Group	O _{d/prep} Included in Group
Nouns denoting places of living/work	<i>lodgings, shelter (2), facilities, headquarters, housing, sites, accommodation, offices, seat, meeting place, home, refuge</i>
Nouns denoting economic affairs	<i>to finance (2), funds (2), cover (2), tuition, endowment</i>
Nouns denoting a foundation for belief/action	<i>grounds, basis, substance</i>
Nouns denoting the action or object of informing/advising	<i>guidance, advice, counselling, information</i>
Nouns denoting favourable circumstances	<i>opportunity (4), scope</i>
Nouns connected to employment	<i>work, job, employment</i>
Nouns connected to the custody of a person	<i>care, aftercare, carer, service (2), back-up</i>
Nouns denoting general feeling/mood	<i>climate, atmosphere</i>
Nouns denoting a stimulus/force	<i>impetus, incentive</i>
Nouns denoting room for something	<i>space, platform</i>
Nouns denoting a scene or background	<i>setting, back-drop</i>

Table 23 Semantic Categorization of O_d/O_{prep} in SVOO Constructions with *provide*

Although it is not possible to say that objects in SVOO constructions with *provide* are chosen from a very narrow, semantically coherent group and are thus predictable, we may say that it is probable that a noun belonging to one of the above coined groups may appear in the O_d/O_{prep} position. Apart from the nouns belonging to the group *nouns denoting places of living/work* we may also ascertain that nouns appearing as O_d/O_{prep} in the present constructions often tend to be rather abstract rather than concrete nouns.

6.2.6 Animateness of Objects in SVOO Constructions with *provide*

In 6.1.6 we discussed the fact that the general rule put forward by Quirk et al., i.e. that an indirect object in a ditransitive construction is generally animate and that the direct object may be both animate and inanimate may not be entirely accurate. In ditransitive constructions with *provide*, we are faced with the same problem. A detailed analysis of the animateness/inanimateness of both of the objects in each of the two possible sentence patterns revealed that for this particular verb the rules may, in fact, have to be modified.

6.2.6.1 Animateness of Objects in SVO_iO_{prep} Constructions with *provide*

A detailed analysis of all the objects within the 39 sentences adhering to the SVO_iO_{prep} pattern revealed that 38 (98%) of the indirect objects were animate while 39 (100%) of the prepositional objects were inanimate:

64) **Pro33** This degree will provide the graduate with an excellent basis for pursuing a professional qualification with one of the accountancy bodies.

65) **Pro39** In the past children's reading was seen to have the heavy purpose of providing the young reader with moral guidance and, indeed, moral direction.

These numbers show that within this sentence pattern, the animateness of each of the objects is basically given. The one exceptional sentence (66) containing an inanimate indirect object does not prove that its use is even marginally common:

66) **Pro26** This has provided the tramway with a singular advantage over buses operating in the congested traffic, however the close proximity of thousands of strolling holiday-makers to the traffic, can present problems for tram drivers.

For this particular sentence pattern in sentences with *provide* we may say that the indirect object will almost certainly be animate and that the prepositional object (counterpart to the O_d in the alternative sentence structure) will be inanimate.

6.2.6.2 Animateness of Objects in SVO_dO_{prep} Constructions with *provide*

Upon analyzing the 61 sentences adhering to the SVO_dO_{prep} pattern we may see that 59 (97%) of the direct objects are inanimate (ex 67) while only 2 (3%) are animate (ex 68).

67) **Pro40** Gone are the days when Grandma lived down the road and Auntie Maud was just around the corner, each of them providing a comforting and experienced shoulder for the young mother to lean upon.

68) **Pro55** Much pressure can overtly or unwittingly be put on grown up children, to provide grandchildren for the sheer delight of the grandparents.

Similarly to 6.2.6.1 we may say that the animateness of the direct object is basically given within this sentence pattern containing the verb *provide*.

The animateness of the prepositional object is slightly less explicit. Out of the 61 instances of the O_{prep}, 24 (39%) were animate (ex 67) while 37 (61%) were inanimate (ex 68). Unlike the direct object, whose animateness is given, the O_{prep} provides the possibility of both inanimateness and animateness (tending more towards inanimateness) and this contradicts the presupposition of Quirk et al. that the indirect object (in this construction represented by the O_{prep}) is usually animate.

7 CONCLUSION

The subject of the present thesis is an analysis of the ditransitive verbs: *blame* and *provide*. The study focuses on the syntactic, semantic and FSP aspects of ditransitive constructions with the two analyzed verbs. Both *blame* and *provide* enter into two types of constructions: **SVO_iO_{prep}** and **SVO_dO_{prep}**.

As regards the **frequency of occurrence of the two alternating constructions** with each verb, the SVO_iO_{prep} (*blame sb for sth*) is more frequent (66%) in constructions with *blame* than the SVO_dO_{prep} pattern (*blame sth on sb*). In SVOO constructions with *provide* the more frequently occurring sentence pattern (61%) is SVO_dO_{prep} (*provide sth for sb*) rather than SVO_iO_{prep} (*provide sb with sth*).

Regarding the **part-of-speech patterns** occurring within the 200 excerpted sentences, the analysis works with four possible patterns (**noun+noun, pronoun+noun, noun+pronoun, pronoun+pronoun**). In SVOO constructions with *blame*, the N+N pattern occurs most frequently (76%) while the Pro+N (17%), N+Pro (1%) and Pro+Pro (6%) are far less common. All of the N+Pro and Pro+Pro patterns occur in the SVO_iO_{prep} constructions with *blame*. In SVOO constructions with *provide* the N+ N pattern also occurs most frequently (82%) while the Pro+ N pattern occurs far less frequently (18%) and the N+Pro and Pro+Pro patterns have no representation at all. All the Pro+N patterns occur in SVO_iO_{prep} constructions with *provide* as the SVO_dO_{prep} constructions adhere solely to the N+N pattern.

Proceeding to the **context-dependence** of the two objects we note that in SVOO constructions with *blame*, the overall most frequently occurring CD distribution (59%) is [O_i – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]. The second most frequent possibility is [O_i – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th] (25%) while the remaining two possibilities, [O_i – dep=Th; O_{prep} – dep= Th] (7%) and [O_i – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – indep= Rh] (9%), are less frequent. It follows that the basic pattern of distribution of CD [O_i – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh] is the most common.

As regards the distribution of CD within **SVO_iO_{prep} constructions** with *blame*, the most common (50%) is again [O_i – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]. The second most frequently occurring possibility is [O_i – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th] (32%) while [O_i – dep=Th; O_{prep} – dep= Th] occurs in 11% of the sentences and [O_i – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – indep= Rh] in 7% of the sentences.

Within all the sentences adhering to the **basic pattern of distribution of CD**, the principle of *end-focus* operates, the principle of *end-weight*, however, operates in 16 (48%)

of them. Further 15 (47%) sentences exhibit both objects with equal weight and in the remaining two sentences (5%) the principle of *end-weight* operates counter to *end-focus* as the object in the first position (context-dependent) is expressed in greater length than the second (context-independent) one.

The CD distribution of $[O_i - \text{indep}=\text{Rh}; O_{\text{prep}} - \text{dep}= \text{Th}]$ occurs altogether in 21 sentences. Our initial hypothesis (i.e. that *end-focus* would not operate in these sentences because the information towards which the communication is perspective is fronted to the first-object position) is confirmed - in 12 (57%) of the sentences, the two objects are expressed with equal heaviness and thus neither *end-focus* nor *end-weight* operate; in 9 (33%) of the sentences the context-independent object is expressed in greater heaviness and thus proves that when fronted to the first-object position, it may take its heaviness with it – hence neither *end-focus* nor *end-weight* operate. In 2 (10%) of the sentences is the context-dependent object expressed in greater heaviness – thus *end-weight* operates while *end-focus* does not.

The CD distribution of $[O_i - \text{dep}=\text{Th}; O_{\text{prep}} - \text{dep}= \text{Th}]$ occurs in 7 (11%) of the sentences. In these constructions in which both objects are context-dependent, the context-independent clause element has to be found among the other clause elements. In 6 (9%) of cases, the verb *blame* is identified as the rheme. In one case (1%) the adverb *even* is identified as the rhematizer in the clause.

As regards the findings on context-dependence within **the SVO_dO_{prep} pattern**, the most common (76%) is again $[O_i - \text{dep}=\text{Th}; O_{\text{prep}} - \text{indep}= \text{Rh}]$. The second most frequently occurring pattern is $[O_i - \text{indep}=\text{Rh}; O_{\text{prep}} - \text{dep}= \text{Th}]$ (12%); $[O_i - \text{indep}=\text{Rh}; O_{\text{prep}} - \text{indep}= \text{Rh}]$ is also identified in 12% of the sentences and the $[O_i - \text{dep}=\text{Th}; O_{\text{prep}} - \text{dep}= \text{Th}]$ pattern does not occur at all.

Regarding the most frequently occurring possibility of CD distribution - $[O_i - \text{dep}=\text{Th}; O_{\text{prep}} - \text{indep}= \text{Rh}]$ - we note that all sentences demonstrate the use of *end-focus*. In 13 (50%) of the sentences *end-weight* is used while 12 (46%) express both objects in equal weight and one (4%) expresses the context-dependent object in greater length than the context-independent one thus operating counter to the principle of *end-weight*.

The $[O_i - \text{indep}=\text{Rh}; O_{\text{prep}} - \text{dep}= \text{Th}]$ is represented by 4 sentences among which three demonstrate objects with equal heaviness and one demonstrates a heavier context-independent object thus again proving the possibility of taking the heaviness of the object to the first-object position.

The $[O_i - \text{indep}=\text{Rh}; O_{\text{prep}} - \text{indep}= \text{Rh}]$ pattern occurs within 4 constructions. In 3

of them, both objects are expressed with equal heaviness. One of the sentences demonstrates the sentence-final object expressed in much greater length than the first object; the first object is identified as Rh_{comp} and the second as Rh_{proper}.

In general we may conclude that **SVOO constructions with *blame*** tend to **favour the SVO_iO_{prep} pattern** and **the basic pattern of distribution of CD**. When a deviation from the basic pattern of CD occurs, it is most likely to be a case of the [O_i – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th] pattern; the occurrence of both objects in the same FSP function (theme/rheme) is far less frequent. The use of ***end-focus* and *end-weight* is typical** in sentences adhering to the basic distribution of CD; in other possibilities of CD distribution, the objects are likely to be of equal weight or the context-independent object may take its heaviness to the first object position.

In SVOO constructions with *provide* the overall prevailing distribution of CD is [O_i – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh] (62%). Further 32% of the sentences are represented by the [O_i – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th] pattern. The remaining 6% of sentences are represented by the [O_i – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – indep= Rh] pattern and there are no occurrences of constructions with both objects context-dependent.

The **distribution of CD** is further analyzed separately for each sentence pattern. As regards the **SVO_iO_{prep} constructions**, by far the most common (97%) is again [O_i – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]. The almost absolute adherence to the basic distribution of CD guarantees the use of *end-focus*. Also, 97% of sentences adhering to the basic distribution of CD are found to use *end-weight* and only 3% (one sentence) exhibit both objects expressed with equal heaviness (*end-focus* operates; *end-weight* does not). The one remaining sentence which presents a deviation to the basic distribution of CD turned out to be problematic. Its second-position object was initially recognized as context-dependent, nevertheless thorough analysis showed that the object was heterogenous (i.e. consisted of retrievable and irretrievable information) and it was reclassified as context-independent.

As regards the **SVO_dO_{prep} constructions** (61 sentences) the most common are sentences adhering to the [O_i – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th] pattern (31 sentences - 51%). Out of the 31 sentences, 23 (74%) demonstrate objects with equal weight, while 7 (23%) demonstrate the use of *end-weight* and one sentence (3%) demonstrates a context-independent object that is heavier than the context-dependent one.

The second most common possibility of CD distribution within the SVO_dO_{prep} constructions is [O_i – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]. It occurs in 24 (39%) sentences. Equal heaviness of objects is attested in 14 (61%) of the sentences while *end-weight* is found

operating in 8 (35%) of the sentences.

The CD distribution of [**O_i – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – indep= Rh**] is found in 6 sentences (10%). In five of the sentences both objects are expressed with equal weight while one sentence exhibits one of the objects expressed in greater heaviness than the other. The two rhematic elements of the sentence are ascertained as Rh_{comp} (first object) and Rh_{proper} (second object).

In general we may conclude that **SVOO constructions with *provide*** tend to favour the SVO_dO_{prep} constructions. The CD distribution most commonly found is [**O_i – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh**]. *End-weight* is fairly common within this CD distribution, though more common in SVO_iO_{prep} constructions. The [**O_i – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th**] is less common and tends to favour both objects expressed with equal heaviness as does the fairly rare [**O_i – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – indep= Rh**] pattern.

As regards the **semantic classification of the analyzed ditransitive verbs**, *blame* is subsumed under *mental transfer verbs/habitual ditransitive verbs* according to Haspelmath's and Mukherjee's classifications. According to Gropen's notion of dativizability *blame* is classed as non-dativizable (the recipient is not the causee of the action denoted). The classification of *blame* into one of Gropen's five semantic groups of non-dativizable verbs is problematic and thus we propose a new, sixth, group – ***verbs of communication of negative propositions***. This group can subsume verbs like *blame*, *charge* or *accuse* which indicate an action that implies wrong-doing and the subsequent faulting of the recipient with no participation of the recipient in the action.

Regarding the semantic classification of *provide*, it has been deemed to have dual membership in Haspelmath's classification by belonging both among groups of *mental transfer* and *physical transfer*. Under Mukherjee's classification *provide* is subsumed under *typical ditransitive verbs*. Under Gropen's classification of dativizability *provide* is subsumed among non-dativizable verbs, specifically among *verbs of fulfilling*. In the case of *provide* there is no need for the proposition of a new semantic group.

The **semantic classification of the objects** in SVOO constructions with the analyzed verbs brings similar results in that the subject is given the role of *agent argument/acting entity* and the O_d is given the role of *affected object*. Different results are found in the classification of the semantic role of O_i: in SVOO constructions with *blame* a new semantic role has been suggested – *involuntary recipient*; in SVOO constructions with *provide* the O_i is classed as a *beneficiary participant*.

As regards the **semantic analysis** of objects in SVOO constructions with the

analyzed verbs, the results are again similar.

In SVO_iO_{prep} constructions with *blame*, 96% (63) of the analyzed prepositional objects are found to carry a negative meaning. Out of these 63 objects, 47 (75%) imply negative meaning without the aid of premodification, 4 (6%) are expressed by a pronoun which is found to be a substitute for a previously mentioned noun with a negative meaning), 10 (16%) imply negative meaning with the aid of premodification and in 2 (3%) of the objects, the negative meaning is ascertained by consulting the immediately preceding context. The analyzed prepositional objects are sorted into 8 newly created semantic groups. It is ascertained that in a vast majority of cases O_{prep} in SVO_iO_{prep} constructions with *blame* is chosen from a fairly limited group of nouns with a negative meaning (e.g. tragedy, crisis, death, ills)

In SVO_dO_{prep} constructions with *blame* 29 (85%) out of 34 direct objects carry negative meaning. Out of the 29 objects, 26 (90%) carry negative meaning without the need of premodification, 2 (7%) objects are rendered negative by means of premodification and one object (3%) is represented by a pronoun which substitutes for a noun with negative premodification. The analyzed direct objects are sorted into 9 semantic groups two of which are unique to this sentence pattern and do not appear among the semantic groups created for the SVO_iO_{prep} pattern.

As regards the semantic analysis of objects in SVOO constructions with *provide*, the objects are analyzed as one group (not divided into SVO_iO_{prep} and SVO_dO_{prep}) as the number of semantically coordinated objects is smaller than in SVOO constructions with *blame*. Altogether 52% of the direct objects in the SVO_dO_{prep} constructions (prepositional objects in the alternative SVO_iO_{prep} constructions) are found to be semantically coordinated. There are altogether 99 objects out of which 51 (52%) can be grouped into 11 newly created semantic groups (e.g. *nouns denoting places of living*, *nouns denoting favourable circumstances*, *nouns denoting a stimulus/force* etc.).

The analysis of **animateness of the objects** is carried out separately for each sentence pattern of each of the analyzed verbs.

In the SVO_iO_{prep} constructions with *blame*, 66 (100%) of the prepositional objects are inanimate. Of the indirect objects, 39 (57%) are animate and 30 (43%) are inanimate. The inanimateness of the O_{prep} seems to be given within this construction.

In the SVO_dO_{prep} constructions the O_d is inanimate in 34 (100%) of the sentences and the O_{prep} is inanimate in 24 (71%) of the sentences. There is a tendency to prefer inanimate prepositional objects and the inanimateness of the direct object is given.

In SVO_iO_{prep} constructions with *provide* the tendency is to select an animate indirect object (98% of the sentences) and an inanimate prepositional object (100% of the sentences). The animateness for both objects is, again, basically given.

In SVO_dO_{prep} constructions with *provide* 59 (97%) of the direct objects are inanimate. The animateness of the prepositional object is not nearly as uniform, nevertheless, a majority (61% - 37 objects) are inanimate. Thus the animateness of the O_d is, again, basically given, while the O_{prep} may vary in its animateness.

The overall results of the analysis of animateness of objects shows that what Quirk et al. (1985) state (i.e. that the O_i is almost always animate while the O_d can be both animate and inanimate) does not apply to ditransitive verbs in general. The analyzed ditransitive verbs exhibit an inanimate O_d/O_{prep} in 99% of cases throughout the 200 excerpted sentences. This number does not point to a choice between animateness and inanimateness with this particular object. The O_i/O_{prep} which is characterized as usually animate by Quirk et al., in fact, demonstrates a balanced ratio between the occurrence of animate and inanimate objects. Thus it is concluded that the animateness of objects in ditransitive constructions cannot be uniformly characterized and is probably unique to each individual verb.

We hope to have provided a systematic and complex analysis of the syntactic, semantic and FSP aspects of ditransitive complementation of *blame* and *provide*.

8 REFERENCES

- BIBER, D. et al. (1991) *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*. Harlow: Longman.
- BRŮHOVÁ, G. (2010) *Syntactic, Semantic and FSP aspects of ditransitive complementation: a study of give, lend, send, offer and show*. Dissertation Thesis. Prague: Charles University.
- BRŮHOVÁ, G. (forthcoming) 'Object deletion in ditransitive verbs and its semantic consequences - Vilém Mathesius, Ivan Poldauf, and beyond', in M. Malá and P. Šaldová (eds) "A Centenary of English Studies at Charles University: From Mathesius to Present-day Linguistics." Praha: Univerzita Karlova v Praze, Filozofická fakulta.
- DUŠKOVÁ, L. et al. (2006) *Mluvnice současné angličtiny na pozadí češtiny*. Praha: Academia.
- FIRBAS, J. (1992) *Functional Sentence Perspective in Written and Spoken Communication*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- FIRBAS, J. (1995) 'Retrievability Span in Functional Sentence Perspective'. *Brno Studies in English* 21, pp. 17-45.
- GROPEN, J., PINKER, S., HOLLANDER, M., GOLDBERG, R. AND WILSON, R. (1989) 'The Learnability and Acquisition of the Dative Alternation in English'. *Language* 65: 203-257.
- HASPELMATH, M. et al. (2010) *Ditransitive Constructions: a Typological Overview*. In: *Studies in Ditransitive Constructions: A Comparative Handbook*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. 1-64.
- HUDDLESTON, R., PULLUM, G.K. (2002) *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- MUKHERJEE, J. (2005) *English Ditransitive Verbs: Aspects of Theory, Description and a Usage-based Model*. Amsterdam – New York: Rodopi.
- QUIRK, R. et al. (1985) *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London: Longman.

SOURCES

- British National Corpus – available at [last accessed 1st August 2013]
- Český národní korpus – available at <http://ucnk.ff.cuni.cz/> [last accessed 1st August 2013]
- Kinsella, S. (2010) *Cocktails for Three*. London: Transworld Publishers.

9 RÉSUMÉ

Cílem této diplomové práce je komplexní popis a analýza syntaktických, sémantických a aktuálněčlenských aspektů ditranzitivní komplementace u dvou vybraných sloves: *blame* a *provide*. Práce je metodologicky založena na získání 200 příkladů z britského národního korpusu (British National Corpus) – tedy 100 příkladů pro každé sloveso. Každé ze zkoumaných sloves tvoří dvě alternující konstrukce – **SVO_iO_{prep}** a **SVO_dO_{prep}**. V první zmíněné konstrukci je přísudek doplněn nepřímým (O_d) a předložkovým předmětem (O_{prep}), v druhé pak přímým (O_d) a předložkovým předmětem. Předložkový předmět je u každé z konstrukcí uvozen jinou předložkou: u slovesa *blame* je to v konstrukci SVO_iO_{prep} předložka *for*, u SVO_dO_{prep} potom *with*; u slovesa *provide* je to v konstrukci SVO_iO_{prep} předložka *with* a u SVO_dO_{prep} *for*.

V analytické části práce je u každého slovesa nejprve vyjádřena **četnost výskytu obou větných konstrukcí**: u slovesa *blame* se konstrukce SVO_iO_{prep} vyskytla v 66% příkladů, zatímco konstrukce SVO_dO_{prep} v 34% příkladů. U slovesa *provide* byl poměr četnosti výskytu konstrukcí opačný: konstrukce SVO_iO_{prep} se vyskytla v 39% příkladů, zatímco konstrukce SVO_dO_{prep} v 61% příkladů. Určení četnosti výskytu obou konstrukcí je důležité, protože preference některé z konstrukcí může naznačit, který z předmětů je považován za důležitější z hlediska výpovědní dynamičnosti.

Dalším předmětem analýzy bylo **určení slovnědruhového vyjádření obou předmětů** v excerpovaných větách. Možnosti vyjádření byly čtyři, v závislosti na tom, zda byly oba předměty nominální (N+N) či pronominální (Pro+Pro), anebo byly kombinací těchto dvou slovních druhů - (N+Pro), anebo (Pro+N). Určení slovnědruhového vyjádření předmětů je klíčové, neboť pronominální vyjádření může být znakem kontextuální zapojenosti, která je jedním ze stěžejních témat analýzy.

U slovesa *blame* se nejčastěji vyskytovala kombinace dvou nominálních předmětů (76%), zatímco výskyt pronominálního a nominálního předmětu (17%), nominálního a pronominálního předmětu (1%) a dvou pronominálních předmětů (6%) byl daleko méně častý. Všechny konstrukce mající kombinaci nominálního a pronominálního předmětu a dvou pronominálních předmětů se vyskytly pouze u konstrukce SVO_iO_{prep}.

V konstrukcích se slovesem *provide* byla opět nejčastější kombinace dvou nominálních předmětů (82%), zatímco kombinace pronominálního a nominálního předmětu se vyskytla jen v 18% příkladů a zbývající dvě kombinace (N+Pro, Pro+Pro) se nevyskytly vůbec. Kombinace pronominálního a nominálního předmětu se vyskytla pouze u konstrukce SVO_iO_{prep}.

Analýza se dale věnuje již zmíněné **kontextuální zapojenosti obou předmětů**. Možnosti kontextuální zapojenosti jsou celkem čtyři: pokud se věta řídí základním rozložením výpovědní dynamičnosti, předmět kontextuálně nezapojený - vyjadřující novou informaci (réma) - je zařazen na konec výpovědi za předmět vyjadřující informaci již známou (=téma); pořadí předmětů může být také obráceno, tedy téma bude zařazeno na konec výpovědi a bude mu předcházet réma; poslední dvě možnosti kontextuálního zapojení předmětů jsou ty, kdy jsou oba předměty ve větě kontextuálně zapojené (=tématické), anebo jsou oba předměty kontextuálně nezapojené (=rématické); v případě dvou nezařazených předmětů je třeba rématický element hledat v jiném větném členu. Řazení předmětů může být ovlivněno dvěma principy: *end-focus* a *end-weight*. První z principů je založen na řazení předmětů ve větě dle základního rozložení větné dynamičnosti – tedy předměty jsou řazeny tak, aby ten, který přináší nové informace byl zařazen na konec věty. Druhý princip je založen na postpozici nejrozvitějšího větného členu.

U **ditranzitivních konstrukcí s *blame*** se předměty nejčastěji řadí dle základního rozložení větné dynamičnosti (59%). V těchto větách tedy kontextuálně zapojený předmět předchází předmětu kontextuálně nezapojenému (pořadí téma-réma). Druhou nejčastěji se vyskytující konstrukcí je ta, kdy naopak kontextuálně nezapojený předmět zaujímá ve větě pozici před předmětem kontextuálně zapojeným (29%). Zbývající dvě možné konstrukce, tedy ty, kde jsou oba předměty zapojené (7%), anebo oba nezapojené (9%) byly mnohem méně časté.

Zaměříme-li se na **rozložení větné dynamičnosti v SVO_iO_{prep} konstrukcích s *blame***, nejčastěji se opět vyskytlo základní rozložení výpovědní dynamičnosti (50%). K postpozici kontextuálně zapojeného předmětu došlo ve 32% vět, zatímco konstrukce s oběma zapojenými předměty se vyskytly v 7% případů a konstrukce s oběma nezapojenými předměty jen v 7% případů. U všech konstrukcí se základním rozložením větné dynamičnosti bylo identifikováno užití principu *end-focus*, ale princip *end-weight* (tedy postpozice nejrozvitějšího členu) byl použit jen u 16 (48%) případů. Dalších 15 (47%) vět vyjadřovalo oba předměty stejně rozvitě (princip *end-weight* není použit) a ve dvou větách byl použit princip *end-weight*, přestože *end-focus* uplatněn nebyl (kontextuálně zapojený předmět, který je vyjádřen jako první je rozvitější, než kontextuálně nezapojený předmět v postpozici).

V **SVO_iO_{prep} konstrukcích s *blame***, ve kterých kontextuálně nezapojený předmět předchází předmětu zapojenému (pořadí réma-téma) – celkem 21 vět – byla počáteční

hypotéza taková, že princip *end-focus* nebude užit, neboť nová informace ve větě (réma) není v postpozici. Tato hypotéza byla potvrzena – ve 12 (57%) větách byly oba předměty stejně rozvitě a ani *end-focus* ani *end-weight* nebyly použity. V 9 (33%) větách byl kontextuálně nezapojený předmět vyjádřen rozvitěji, přestože nebyl v postpozici za předmětem kontextuálně zapojeným (nebyl využit princip *end-focus* ani *end-weight*); z toho plyne, že kontextuálně nezapojený předmět si svou rozvitost může ponechat nezávisle na pozici ve větě. Ve 2 (10%) větách byl kontextuálně zapojený předmět vyjádřen rozvitěji než kontextuálně nezapojený – princip *end-weight* byl užit, ale *end-focus* ne. U vět s oběma předměty zapojenými (celkem 7 vět) bylo nutné hledat rématický element ve větě v jiném větěném členu. V 6 (9%) větách bylo sloveso indetifikováno jako réma, zatímco v jedné (1%) z vět bylo coby réma identifikováno adverbium *even*.

V SVO_dO_{prep} konstrukcích s *blame* se opět nejčastěji vyskytlo základní rozložení výpovědní dynamičnosti (76%). Druhou nejčastěji se vyskytující konstrukcí byl ta, v níž kontextuálně nezapojený předmět předchází předmětu kontextuálně zapojenému. Konstrukce s oběma předměty nezapojenými se vyskytly v 12% případů a výskyt konstrukcí s oběma předměty zapojenými nebyl zaznamenán vůbec. U konstrukcí se základním rozložením větné dynamičnosti bylo ve 100% případů zaznamenáno užití principu *end-focus*. Ve 13 (50%) větách bylo užito principu *end-weight*, zatímco ve 12 (46%) případech byly oba předměty vyjádřeny stejně rozvitě. Jen v jedné větě byl kontextuálně zapojený předmět vyjádřen rozvitěji než kontextuálně nezapojený, čímž se věta postavila proti principu *end-weight*. U vět, v nichž kontextuálně nezapojený předmět předcházel kontextuálně zapojenému (pořadí réma-téma) – celkem 4 věty – byly ve třech případech předměty vyjádřeny stejně rozvitě a pouze v jediném případě byl kontextuálně nezapojený předmět vyjádřen rozvitěji než kontextuálně zapojený, čímž se opět potvrdilo, že kontextuálně nezapojený předmět si svou rozvitost může ponechat nezávisle na pozici ve větě. Konstrukce s oběma předměty nezapojenými se vyskytly celkem čtyřikrát. Ve třech z nich byly oba předměty stejně rozvitě, zatímco v jednom případě byl druhý předmět vyjádřen mnohem rozvitěji než první – v takovémto případě lze kontextuálně nezapojené předměty dále rozdělit na Rh_{comp} (méně rozvitý předmět) a Rh_{prop} (rozvitější předmět).

Můžeme tedy shrnout, že ditranzitivní konstrukce s *blame* se častěji objevují jako SVO_iO_{prep} se základním rozložením výpovědní dynamičnosti. Pokud se věta nadržuje základního rozložení výpovědní dynamičnosti, nejčastěji se setkáme s kontextuálně nezapojeným předmětem předcházejícím předmětu kontextuálně zapojenému; výskyt obou předmětů zapojených či nezapojených je spíše ojedinělý. Principy *end-focus* a *end-weight*

jsou typické pro věty se základním rozložením výpovědní dynamičnosti. U vět, které nedodrží základní rozložení výpovědní dynamičnosti je typická spíše stejná rozvitost obou předmětů, případně větší rozvitost předmětu kontextuálně nezapojeného a to i tehdy, kdy není v postpozici.

U **ditranzitivních konstrukcí se slovesem *provide*** se nejčastěji vyskytují věty se základním rozložením výpovědní dynamičnosti (pořadí téma-réma) (62%). V dalších 32% vět předchází kontextuálně nezapojený předmět předmětu zapojenému (pořadí réma-téma). Zbývajících 6% vět je představováno větami, ve kterých jsou oba předměty kontextuálně nezapojené (réma-réma). Věty, ve kterých jsou oba předměty zapojené se v této konstrukci nevyskytují.

V **SVO_iO_{prep} konstrukcích s *provide*** je zdaleka nejčastější základní rozložení výpovědní dynamičnosti (97%). Takto vysoké procento vět se základním rozložením výpovědní dynamičnosti zaručuje užití principu *end-focus*. Ve všech těchto větách bylo užito také principu *end-weight* kromě jedné, ve které byly oba předměty stejně rozvité. Jedna jediná věta s konstrukcí SVO_iO_{prep} se nedržela základního rozložení výpovědní dynamičnosti a byla nejprve identifikována jako příklad konstrukce *réma-téma*, nicméně detailnější analýza ukázala, že druhý předmět je ve skutečnosti heterogenní, tedy obsahuje jak nové informace (=réma), tak staré informace (=téma). Tento předmět byl tedy ohodnocen jako kontextuálně nezapojený a celá věta tedy nakonec spadá pod konstrukce, kde jsou oba předměty kontextuálně nezapojené (pořadí réma-réma).

V **SVO_dO_{prep} konstrukcích s *provide*** (celkem 61 vět) je nejčastější konstrukce s pořadím předmětů *réma-téma* (celkem 31 vět -51%). Z těchto 31 vět byly ve 27 větách oba předměty stejně rozvité, zatímco v 7 větách bylo užito principu *end-weight* a v jedné větě byl kontextuálně nezapojený předmět rozvítější než kontextuálně zapojený. Druhou nejčastější SVO_dO_{prep} konstrukcí s *provide* je ta, ve které je dodrženo základní rozložení výpovědní dynamičnosti (pořadí téma-réma). Takovýchto konstrukcí bylo celkem 24 (39%). Stejně rozvité předměty se objevily v 14 (61%) větách a princip *end-weight* v 8 (35%) větách. Vět s oběma předměty nezapojenými bylo v SVO_dO_{prep} konstrukcích identifikováno celkem 6 (10%). V pěti z těchto vět byly oba předměty stejně rozvité, zatímco v jedné větě byl první předmět výrazně méně rozvítý než druhý – první předmět byl označen jako Rh_{comp} a druhý jako Rh_{proper}.

Lze tedy shrnout, že ditranzitivní věty se slovesem *provide* více tíhnou ke konstrukci SVO_dO_{prep}. Nejčastěji se ve větách uplatňuje základní rozložení výpovědní dynamičnosti. Užití principu *end-weight* je u vět se základním rozložením výpovědní

dynamičnosti poměrně časté, i když spíše u konstrukcí SVO_iO_{prep}. Pořadí předmětů *réma-téma* je méně časté a v těchto konstrukcích obvykle bývají vyjádřeny stejně rozvitě (totéž platí i pro konstrukce s oběma předměty kontextuálně nezapojenými).

Dalším předmětem analýzy je **sémantická klasifikace** zkoumaných ditranzitivních sloves. V klasifikaci dle Haspelmatha a Mukherjeeho je sloveso *blame* zařazeno mezi slovesa *vnitřního přenosu* (=mental transfer). Dle Gropena a jeho konceptu dativizace se sloveso *blame* řadí mezi slovesa nedativizující (recipient ve větě nezpůsobuje činnost vyjádřenou slovesem). Z pěti sémantických skupin, které pro ditranzitivní slovesa vytvořil Gropen se *blame* neřadí přímo ani do jedné a proto navrhuje novou, šestou skupinu, již jsme nazvali *slovesa záporných propozic* (=verbs of communication of negative propositions). Tato skupina může zahrnovat slovesa jako *blame*, *charge* či *accuse*, jež označují činnost, která obviňuje recipienta a implikuje nekalé jednání na jeho straně; recipient nemá v činnosti *obviňování* žádnou roli.

Co se týče sémantické klasifikace slovesa *provide*, zdá se, že je nutné ho dle Haspelmatha zařadit do dvou skupin, a to do sloves *vnitřního přenosu* (=mental transfer) a *fyzického přenosu* (=physical transfer). Dle kategorizace Mukherjeeho se sloveso *provide* řadí mezi *typická ditranzitivní slovesa* (=typical ditransitive verbs). Dle Gropena se *provide* řadí mezi slovesa nedativizující, konkrétně mezi tzv. *verbs of fulfilling* (=slovesa naplnění/dokončení). U slovesa *provide* tedy nevystala potřeba pro vytvoření nové sémantické skupiny.

Sémantická klasifikace předmětů u obou zkoumaných ditranzitivních sloves ukázala, že podmět i přímý předmět mají u obou sloves stejné sémantické role, a to roli *konatele* (=agent) – podmět – a roli *zasazeného předmětu* (=affected object) – předmět. Rozdílně byla naopak vyhodnocena sémantická role nepřímého předmětu. U slovesa *blame* byla navržena nova sémantická role, a to role *nedobrovolného recipienta* (=involuntary recipient). U slovesa *provide* byla pro nepřímý předmět vybrána role tzv. *prospěšného příjemce* (tedy toho, který má z dané situace prospěch – *beneficiary recipient*).

Dále byla provedena **sémantická analýza předmětů** u obou ditranzitivních sloves a její výsledky byly poměrně jednoznačné. U slovesa *blame* v konstrukci SVO_iO_{prep} bylo celkem 96% (63) předložkových předmětů charakterizováno jako záporných z hlediska jejich významu. Z těchto 63 předmětů celkem 47 (75%) předmětů implikovalo záporný význam bez jakékoli premodifikace, 4 (6%) předměty byly vyjádřeny pronominálně (záporný význam byl nalezen u substantiva, jež zájmeno zastupovalo), 10 (16%) předmětů vyjadřovalo záporný význam za pomoci premodifikace a u 2 předmětů (3%) byl jejich

záporný význam vyvozen z předcházejícího kontextu. Analyzované předložkové předměty byly utříděny do osmi nově vzniklých sémantických skupin. Bylo potvrzeno, že valná většina předložkových předmětů v SVO_iO_{prep} konstrukci se slovesem *blame* je vybírána z poměrně úzkého okruhu podstatných jmen se záporným významem.

V SVO_dO_{prep} konstrukcích s *blame* bylo 29 (85%) z celkového počtu 34 přímých předmětů záporných. Z těchto 29 předmětů mělo celkem 26 (90%) záporný význam bez nutnosti premodifikace, 2 předměty (7%) měly záporný význam díky premodifikaci a jeden předmět (3%) byl vyjádřen zájmenem, jež zastupovalo záporné substantivum s premodifikací. Nepřímé předměty byly zařazeny do celkem devíti nově vzniklých sémantických skupin z nichž se sedm shoduje s těmi, jež byly navrženy výše pro konstrukce SVO_iO_{prep} a dvě jsou zcela nové.

Sémantická analýza předmětů u slovesa *provide* byla provedena pro obě alternující větné konstrukce najednou, neboť počet sémanticky blízkých předmětů byl nižší. Celkem 52% přímých předmětů z konstrukce SVO_dO_{prep} (předložkový předmět z konstrukce SVO_iO_{prep}) bylo shledáno sémanticky blízkými. Z celkového počtu 99 předmětů bylo 51 předmětů zařazeno do 11 nově vzniklých sémantických skupin (např. *substantiva označující místa k bydlení, substantiva označující podněty* apod.).

Závěrečným tématem výzkumu byla **analýza životnosti předmětů** u zkoumaných ditranzitivních sloves. V SVO_iO_{prep} konstrukcích s *blame* bylo celkem 66% předložkových předmětů neživotných. Z nepřímých předmětů bylo 39 (57%) životných a 30 (43%) neživotných. Neživotnost předložkového předmětu je tedy v této konstrukci dána.

V SVO_dO_{prep} konstrukcích s *blame* byl přímý předmět neživotný ve 34 (100%) případech a předložkový předmět byl neživotný ve 24 (71%) větách. Je zde tendence preferovat neživotný předložkový předmět a neživotnost přímého předmětu je dána.

V SVO_iO_{prep} konstrukcích s *provide* převažuje tendence zvolit životný nepřímý předmět (98%) a neživotný předložkový předmět (100%). Životnost obou předmětů je opět dána.

V SVO_dO_{prep} konstrukcích s *provide* bylo celkem 59 (97%) přímých předmětů neživotných. Životnost předložkového předmětu není takto jasně dána; 37 předložkových předmětů (61%) bylo neživotných, zatímco 24 (39%) bylo životných. Životnost přímého předmětu je tedy opět dána a předložkový předmět nabízí obě možnosti životnosti.

Celkový výsledek analýzy životnosti ukázal, že navzdory tomu, co říkají Quirk a kol. (1985) – tedy, že nepřímý předmět je téměř vždy životný a nepřímý předmět může být životný i neživotný, je životnost ditranzitivních sloves více různorodá. Slovesa

analyzovaná v této práci na sebe téměř bez výjimky (v 99% případů) vážou neživotný předložkový předmět (přímý předmět alternativní konstrukce). Nezdá se tedy, že by u přímého/předložkového předmětu byla možnost volby mezi životností a neživotností. Nepřímý předmět (předložkový předmět alternativní konstrukce) je dle Quirka a kol. téměř vždy životný, nicméně náš výzkum ukázal vyrovnaný poměr mezi životností a neživotností tohoto předmětu. Je tedy nutné podotknout, že životnost předmětů u ditranzitivních konstrukcí nelze generalizovat a je třeba ji vymezit konkrétně pro každé sloveso.

Tato práce měla za cíl poskytnout systematickou a komplexní analýzu syntaktických, sémantických a aktuálněčlenských aspektů ditranzitivní komplementace sloves *blame* a *provide*.

10 APPENDIX

Data cited herein have been extracted from the British National Corpus, distributed by Oxford University Computing Services on behalf of the BNC Consortium. All rights in the texts are reserved.

SVO _i O _{prep}			
No.	BNC Code	PoS	Excerpted Sentence
Bla01	A0C 206	N+N	Minister David Maclean <u>has blamed</u> the KGB for poor publicity surrounding the launch of a series of food safety guides from the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries & Food . [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla02	A2H 111	N+N	The company <u>blamed</u> higher interest rates and reduced consumer spending for the problems. [O _i – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – dep= Th]
Bla03	A2J 209	N+N	For example, Ron Todd of the Transport and General Workers' Union <u>blamed</u> the systematic bias and ignorance of the courts, and the new freedom to dismiss strikers granted by this Government, for the failure of the dock strike. [O _i – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – dep= Th]
Bla04	A2P 124	N+N	Bill Morris, of the Transport and General Workers' Union, also <u>blamed</u> government neglect of public services for the tragedies at Lockerbie, Clapham and Zeebrugge . [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla05	A2W 29	N+N	From that possibility, he goes on to <u>blame</u> bad potty-training for all her character defects. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla06	A3C 104	N+N	But the Journal also comes up with some curious contradictions: 36 per cent <u>blame</u> the microwave for poorer flavour , 20 per cent think it makes food soggy. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla07	A3U 437	N+N	CONDEMNING Britain for its 'irresponsible actions' and 'erroneous stand' on Hong Kong, China yesterday <u>blamed</u> London for the crisis of confidence that has gripped the colony since the military assault on Tiananmen Square four months ago. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla08	A46 508	N+N	The latest move comes a day after Ke Zaishuo, the senior Peking representative to the Joint Liaison Group — the Anglo-Chinese body overseeing Hong Kong's return to mainland sovereignty in 1997 — <u>blamed</u> Britain for the crisis of confidence in the territory after the Chinese army assault on Tiananmen Square. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla09	A4H 424	N+N	Yesterday, the Soviet Union <u>blamed</u> Britain for the cancellation of a visit by a human rights delegation, saying British officials insisted on sending Mr Michael Bourdeaux of Keston College — someone they knew would not be given a Soviet visa. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla10	A4P 297	Pro+N	'I realise the European Tour will not be too happy but I <u>blame</u> them anyway for the clash of dates, ' Faldo said. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla11	A66 33	N+N	Many, therefore, <u>blamed</u> Callaghan for the explosion in union wage claims that followed in the early seventies. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla12	A68 2417	N+N	Those who afterwards <u>blamed</u> Lambeth 1958 for platitudes did not know what they were talking about. [O _i – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla13	A6A 1798	N+N	As a result, the landlord <u>blames</u> the band for the poor attendance and refuses to pay. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – dep= Th]
Bla14	A6F 335	N+N	Alt has <u>blamed</u> oil for this depreciation , while other economists have blamed the government's tight money policies and high interest rates.

			[O_i – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th]
Bla15	A6M 1158	N+N	Africa will, then, be thrown increasingly inward on herself, and have increasingly less reason <u>to blame the rest of the world for her problems</u> . [O_i – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th]
Bla16	A7T 102	N+N	Shearson yesterday <u>blamed the continued slowdown in market activity and excess capacity for the redundancies</u> . [O_i – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla17	A8H 314	N+N	Last time the Democratic-controlled Congress sought to fiddle with the tax laws affecting mergers it was embarrassed when the White House sought <u>to blame lawmakers for the October 1987 crash</u> . [O_i – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla18	A95 69	N+N	Police said the three-page letter found in the killer's back pocket <u>blamed women for the disappointments</u> in his life. [O_i – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla19	ABE 645	N+N	He hopes to drum up the support of sympathetic congressmen who <u>blame the law for high fares</u> . [O_i – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla20	ABE 1338	N+N	The trial is so entangled with the standing of the ANC that the right-wing Conservative Party <u>has blamed the ‘state intelligence service’ for the disappearance</u> of an important state witness; the party's argument was that the government wanted to persuade whites of the virtue of negotiations with the ANC, and found the trial embarrassing. [O_i – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla21	ABE 3221	N+N	It is not much help <u>to blame transaction costs for every market failure</u> , as if that makes the failure somehow all right. [O_i – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla22	ABF 1336	N+N	He <u>blames foreigners for the country's troubles</u> . [O_i – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th]
Bla23	ABH 1252	N+N	Hindus <u>blame George Bush and Saddam Hussein equally for the war</u> . [O_i – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th]
Bla24	ABK 2849	N+N	It is even harder <u>to blame an over-generous welfare system for joblessness</u> among young men. [O_i – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla25	ABW 1298	N+N	Jane knew it was unfair <u>to blame the place for her misfortunes</u> . [O_i – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla26	AD0 1963	Pro+Pro	Never <u>blame yourself for anything</u> that goes wrong. [O_i – dep=Th; O_{prep} – dep= Rh]
Bla27	AD1 931	Pro+Pro	You cannot <u>blame me for that</u> . [O_i – dep=Th; O_{prep} – dep= Th]
Bla28	ADD 201	Pro+N	Nevertheless, though the currents of genuine popular opinion are now even more difficult to evaluate than they had been earlier, given the intensified persecution from 1942 onwards of even relatively trivial ‘offences’ of criticizing the regime or ‘subverting’ the wartime ordinances, every sign points towards the growth in this period of a ‘silent majority’ increasingly critical of the Nazi regime — even if the criticism was often only obliquely expressed — and ready <u>to blame it for the mounting miseries</u> of the war. [O_i – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla29	AJ6 629	N+N	They <u>blamed the republic's nationalistic coalition for the slide</u> into civil strife. [O_i – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla30	ADG 1174	Pro+Pro	The sad part is that I've come to hate my body so much, I <u>blame it for everything</u> , and now I can't let anyone get close to me, to reassure me.’ [O_i – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla31	AT4 3505	Pro+N	Biddy <u>blamed herself for the crisis</u> . [O_i – dep=Th; O_{prep} – dep= Th]
Bla32	AHT 534	N+N	A MANCHESTER-based gamesmaker <u>is blaming an international loans fraud for its failure</u> to pay creditors. [O_i – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla33	AHX 20	N+N	He <u>blamed Serbians for the rapidly deteriorating situation</u> , saying they were trying to thwart international recognition of Bosnia.

			[O_i – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th]
Bla34	B1X 696	Pro+Pro	She <u>blamed</u> herself for everything that had happened. [O_i – dep=Th; O_{prep} – dep= Rh]
Bla35	AJD 390	N+N	Significantly, farmers — generally reliable Tory supporters — <u>are blaming the Government for the sins</u> of Brussels and appear to be turning a blind eye to the Liberal Democrats' pro-European stance. [O_i – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla36	AJM 956	N+N	Yet we must be careful before <u>blaming politicians for this mundane campaign</u> , since in many respects it has been a reflection of ourselves. [O_i – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th]
Bla37	AJU 56	N+N	Even before his defeat some senior Tories in the constituency <u>were blaming the selection of a black candidate for the lost seat</u> , but immediately afterwards one constituency officer insisted they would be asking Mr Taylor to fight again. [O_i – dep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th]
Bla38	AK2 606	N+N	Mr Taylor refused <u>to blame the race row</u> greeting his adoption 18 months ago for his defeat by Mr Nigel Jones, who won with a six per cent swing to the Liberal Democrats. [O_i – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th]
Bla39	FR5 1728	Pro+Pro	She <u>blamed me for that</u> . [O_i – dep=Th; O_{prep} – dep= Th]
Bla40	AKD 783	N+N	But while many small traders blame the lenders for many of their difficulties, Mr Miller says the Royal Bank of Scotland has helped him through the downturn by being flexible. [O_i – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th]
Bla41	AKE 1565	N+N	Chapple-Hyam was inclined <u>to blame a shortfall in fitness for the colt's first defeat</u> but was equally sure the tacky ground, officially good to soft, was also a major factor. [O_i – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th]
Bla42	FPU 579	Pro+N	I thought they <u>blamed me for Miss Havisham's cold manner</u> towards them. [O_i – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla43	AM4 1047	N+N	The North West Water Authority <u>blamed acid rain for a fish kill</u> on the River Esk in the Lake District. [O_i – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla44	AN5 331	N+N	There is a tendency amongst teachers and EWOs <u>to blame parents for most instances of truancy</u> . [O_i – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th]
Bla45	ANX 1861	N+N	It is too early <u>to blame climatic changes for these effects</u> . [O_i – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th]
Bla46	ART 1587	N+N	Johnny Marr <u>blamed</u> 'record company stupidity' for the single's comparative failure . [O_i – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla47	ART 1788	N+N	However, considering the tightly controlled aloofness and the fact that Joyce (whose contributions in a musical capacity are not in doubt) has led a deliberately low profile, one cannot <u>blame Kent for the omission</u> . [O_i – dep=Th; O_{prep} – dep= Th]
Bla48	ASA 1782	N+N	Stadler <u>blamed the clinging rough for his injury</u> . [O_i – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th]
Bla49	ASN 906	Pro+Pro	I think Simon <u>blamed her for this</u> . [O_i – dep=Th; O_{prep} – dep= Th]
Bla50	ASS 739	N+N	Henry had read an article in The Times , which said that partners who lost a loved one often <u>blamed the departed for the death</u> . [O_i – dep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th]
Bla51	AT6 54	N+N	It is far easier <u>to blame equipment for failure</u> than oneself. [O_i – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla52	AT7 1547	N+Pro	He <u>blames Thompson for this</u> . [O_i – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th]
Bla53	AYK 1917	N+N	Whenever you experience anger, jealousy or any other destructive emotion, it is all too easy <u>to blame other people for these feelings</u> . [O_i – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th]
Bla54	B03 2936	N+N	Almost three in four women had ruined clothing or tights and stockings by

			'catching them' on furniture, and two in five <u>blamed</u> badly-designed office equipment for the damage. [O _i – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – dep= Th]
Bla55	B0N 767	N+N	In general the West Midlands advisers who responded to the survey did not <u>blame</u> managers for the lack of funds , but nor did they appear optimistic that more money would materialise. [O _i – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – dep= Th]
Bla56	BP7 702	Pro+N	Angrily, as if he <u>blamed</u> them for his loneliness , he set about his fried eggs and bacon. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla57	B21 1292	N+N	In the West, we <u>blame</u> the external world for our problems. [O _i – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – dep= Th]
Bla58	B30 445	Pro+N	At this point she burst into tears and <u>blamed</u> herself for the break-up of their relationship. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla59	B30 657	N+N	After this she ceased <u>to blame</u> herself for the breakdown of their marriage , but instead expressed considerable anger towards her husband. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla60	B38 699	N+N	I was reading this article in a Playboy Magazine round at my boyfriend's place, or was it Penthouse, anyway, I seem to be spending quite a lot o' time round at my boyfriend's reading magazines and here it says how these several top U.S. psychiatrists had done this survey on how your emotions can sabotage your sexlife even if you are a man and here it <u>blamed</u> the sexually aggressive female of the seventies for the sexual recession of the eighties. [O _i – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla61	B76 293	N+N	The Canadian scientists on the working party <u>blame</u> political interference from Washington for their failure. [O _i – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – dep= Th]
Bla62	B79 408	N+N	Tracer substances such as radioactive xenon are more rapidly removed from an inflamed joint — their half-life in the joint inversely correlating with the degree of inflammation — and so attempts <u>to blame</u> poor blood supply for the nutritional deficit are probably misconceived. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla63	B7J 200	N+N	The government knows that, if it tries to dictate, the cable operators will <u>blame</u> the government for any commercial failure which cable suffers. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla64	B76 1523	N+N	We can <u>blame</u> the volcano for our cold, wet June last year, but there is no need to fear, on this count at least, a cold wet summer in 1983. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla65	B7L 325	N+N	The Commission is also under pressure from the Swedes who <u>blame</u> nations like Britain and West Germany for acidification of their lakes. [O _i – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla66	JXT 4340	Pro+N	But at the funeral, in a fit of hysteria, she turned on me and <u>blamed</u> me for her father's death. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – dep= Th]
SVO _d O _{prep}			
No.	BNC Code	PoS	
Bla67	A0V 442	N+N	Graf never <u>blamed</u> her upsets on family problems, flu, food poisoning, sinus trouble and a variety of other problems. [O _d – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla68	A0X 1097	N+N	It must be confusing and I have no answer to the criticism, except <u>to blame</u> the clearly short-sighted attitude on management. [O _d – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla69	GUU 3996	Pro+N	She <u>blamed</u> it on the after-effects of the trial and the feta cheese in the salad. [O _d – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla70	A28 411	N+N	President Vinicio Cerezo has blamed the killings on right-wing extremists trying to destabilise his government. [O _d – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla71	A50 632	N+N	Don't remove the accountability of Camden to their public, allowing them <u>to blame</u> all their ills on the Government.'

			[O_d – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th]
Bla72	A57 68	N+N	The leaders <u>blamed</u> the disenchantment of their young people on an international conspiracy by reactionary forces aimed at, according to Mr Honecker, ‘confusing people and sowing seeds of doubt in the power and advantages of socialism’. [O_d – indep=Rh_{comp}; O_{prep} – indep= Rh_{proper}]
Bla73	A5K 75	N+N	She was profoundly scarred by her father's suicide in 1976, and <u>blames</u> the tragedy on the mental stress caused by the Wilson government's reneging on a fighter bomber deal he had set up with Sweden. [O_d – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla74	A6G 1175	N+N	He tended <u>to blame</u> many of the ills of the Conservative Party on the ‘self-serving’ apparatchiks of Conservative Central Office , and many of the ills of the country on the ‘petty-fogging’ of parliamentary life. [O_d – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla75	A98 468	N+N	Delhi <u>has blamed</u> the unrest on Islamabad , accusing it of arming, training and inspiring the subversives, a charge Pakistan denies. [O_d – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla76	AAC 142	N+N	As the Kremlin issued strong signals to the dictatorship, and the Hungarian Socialist and Yugoslav Communist parties broke links with the Romanian party, President Ceausescu went on national television <u>to blame</u> the violence on ‘hooligans, terrorists and spies’ organised from abroad. [O_d – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla77	ABC 1620	N+N	According to Greenpeace biologists, the dolphins all had high levels of PCBs in their tissues, although the official report <u>blamed</u> their death on poisonous algae in their fish prey. [O_d – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla78	ABD 2011	N+N	There are also complaints in Japan, where foreign suppliers have long <u>blamed</u> their difficulty in penetrating the Japanese market on the closed ranks of the keiretsu . [O_d – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th]
Bla79	ABD 2059	N+N	European luxury-goods firms <u>blamed</u> their poor Christmas performance on Iraq's August invasion of Kuwait . [O_d – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla80	ABG 1990	N+N	Ian Westwood, head of the federation's Manchester branch, <u>blamed</u> the demise of the traditional bobby on the beat . [O_d – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th]
Bla81	ACA 180	Pro+N	They have got rid of the Christian God, and now feel obliged to cling all the more firmly to Christian morality: that is english consistency, let us not <u>blame</u> it on little blue-stockings à la Eliot . [O_d – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla82	AHX 972	N+N	There were also racial overtones, with Mr Levy, a Sephardi Jew, <u>blaming</u> his political setback on the condescending attitude of Mr Shamir and his allies , who are mostly Ashkenazi, or European-born Jews. [O_i – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla83	AJ7 18	Pro+N	Mr Tutton <u>blamed</u> it on a type of narrow laser beam used in early operations and said it had not been a problem for the British patients. [O_d – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla84	AK2 552	N+N	In 1979, Left-wingers could <u>blame</u> Labour's defeat on Mr Callaghan's small ‘c’ conservatism . [O_d – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla85	AK9 120	Pro+N	Journalists <u>blame</u> this on the fact that Mr Heseltine, David Mellor and the other ‘dogs of war’ who make for the best viewing concentrated on attacking Labour. [O_d – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla86	AK9 1685	Pro+N	The Tories did come near to letting Neil Kinnock steal the election from us, but if the party either <u>blames</u> it on Chris Patten or just forgets the matter as a bad dream, it would not deserve to win next time. [O_d – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla87	AKD 58	N+N	Insurers, who have lost millions of pounds on their motor accounts in the past year, <u>blame</u> the steep increases on the poor claims record of hot hatches. [O_d – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]

Bla88	AL3 95	Pro+N	Feminists can't <u>blame</u> it on men — since time began, men have delighted in our wobbly bits, thank heaven. [O _d – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla89	CEM 2413	Pro+N	In Sliwa's last stunt he faked his own kidnapping and <u>blamed</u> it on off-duty police officers . [O _d – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla90	AMC 979	Pro+N	Sorry to be so vague, darling, but <u>blame</u> it on the unreliable British climate . [O _d – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla91	ANK 765	N+N	He <u>blamed</u> his downfall on the 'Reading affair' . [O _d – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla92	AT 880	Pro+N	Another delegate objected that all colonization was 'necessarily capitalistic and thus exploitative', but a French delegate, Rouanet, reproached him: 'it is all too easy to <u>blame</u> everything on capitalism and to saddle it with all the crimes of colonization. [O _d – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla93	AS6 164	N+N	The ambiguities and sub-clauses to be found in much of the press coverage during 1980–1 had at least acted as a countervailing tendency against the more extreme forms of discourse which <u>blamed</u> the riots completely on black people . [O _d – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla94	AS6 404	N+N	After Handsworth part of the press response was to <u>blame</u> the riot on rivalry between West Indians and Asians, and even after the arguments were criticized by local residents; and community leaders, they were used to 'explain' 'what happened'. [O _d – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla95	ASW 426	N+N	He <u>blamed</u> the fall of the city on the impiety and general degeneracy of the people , who had been so foolish as to ally themselves with Christians in the first place. [O _d – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla96	B01 558	N+N	Throughout adulthood we are constantly reinforcing our own ageist attitudes by <u>blaming</u> our own inadequacies on ageing . [O _d – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – dep= Th]
Bla97	B03 2939	N+N	A third of respondents, however, <u>blamed</u> damage on their own clumsiness , and nine in ten admitted having spilled at least one or a combination of the following on themselves; coffee, tea, correction fluid, tea, copier toner, water, cold drinks and glue. [O _d – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla98	B7E 320	N+N	Thankfully that treatment went out of fashion, but the current fashion is to <u>blame</u> the same symptoms on poor circulation in the brain and give cerebral vasodilators, remedies that enlarge blood vessels in the brain. [O _d – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla99	B7K 860	Pro+N	WHENEVER a long spell of unusual weather occurs, there are always people ready to <u>blame</u> it on carbon dioxide , a storm on the sun or the latest volcanic eruption. [O _d – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Bla100	B7K 880	N+N	He might be tempted to <u>blame</u> these fluctuations on the sun or a volcano . [O _d – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
SVO _i O _{prep}			
No.	BNC Code	PoS	Excerpted Sentence
Pro1	A03 582	Pro+N	He was originally held in Safi Prison, where he developed diabetes in 1988, but was then transferred to Marrakech where his family lives, and so could visit him regularly and <u>provide</u> him with the food necessary for his diabetic diet. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro2	A05 758	N+N	It <u>provided</u> the subjects with a soothing and uplifting hope that whenever there appeared in their lives an oppressive mischance, some tormenting difficulty, His Most Unrivalled Highness would hearten them — by attaching the greatest importance to that mischance or difficulty. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro3	ALP 163	N+N	This is because the aim of the exercise is to <u>provide</u> the participants with a practical tool for monitoring their drinking: if they want to cheat, they will only

			be cheating themselves. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro4	A1V 613	N+N	Asked if the Russians <u>had provided</u> the Afghans with the latest MiG-29s , he said: ‘Anything we desire will be given to us but we do not want to escalate the war.’ [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro5	A1Y 258	N+N	Let's have the courage to admit that there is no betrayal in <u>providing</u> the next Labour government with the scope to give Britain a leading role in a movement to a non-nuclear Europe,’ he said. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro6	A5R 295	N+N	During a debate on party organisation, some representatives complained that Conservative Central Office <u>was not providing</u> Tory workers with the necessary back-up to sustain and win support at the grass roots. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro7	ALP 181	Pro+N	After completing the AEC, participants were interviewed <u>to provide</u> them with an opportunity to reflect and comment on the course. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro8	A64 1392	Pro+N	The Revolution had impinged on their consciousness only in so far as it <u>provided</u> them with land , or took away foodstuffs during War Communism. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro9	A6U 927	N+N	In the opening sequence of Hurlement , as Levin notes, Debord <u>provides</u> the audience with a reference to a cinematic tradition in which his own work is putatively situated. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro10	A7C 44	Pro+N	Minto not only <u>provided</u> him with plenty of Screwtape- style domestic situations. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro11	ABA 121	N+N	Inclusion of projects in these latter years also <u>provides</u> the programme with its substance , and gives the projects themselves their validity. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro12	ACX 1096	N+N	The insects lay eggs in July and August, <u>providing</u> the starlings with their leatherjacket dinners . [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro13	AJ6 485	Pro+N	Further questions on unemployment ‘people don't want training they want jobs’, homelessness and the NHS left Mr Major a little wobbly but <u>provided</u> him with the best and closing line of the night . [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro14	AJJ 202	N+N	Sunset And Vine is owned by the independent television company of that name which <u>provides</u> Channel-4 Racing with much of its overseas material . [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro15	AEA 1278	N+N	Elling clung to a cliff face that lent its dwellings protection from the wind and <u>provided</u> the inhabitants with an uninterrupted view over the sound. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro16	ALC 342	N+N	The established family farms were, mostly, already profitable and the farmers were looking for sufficient income <u>to provide</u> their families with a reasonable standard of living plus sufficient capital to re-invest in the farm and provide for retirement. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro17	ALU 263	N+N	It is evident that he did live there in his later years as the Minutes of 1771 agree to <u>provide</u> his successor with lodgings in Chelsea, ‘until such time as Mr. Miller has quit his apartments in the greenhouse’. [O _i – dep=Rh; O _{prep} – indep= Th]
Pro18	ALY 738	N+N	Internationally, the new Country of the ‘Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes’ was renamed Yugoslavia, also the Lateran treaties were signed, creating a new, entirely independent, state known as Vatican City, and <u>provided</u> the Papacy with a large endowment as well as embodying a Concordat with the Italian state that acknowledged the end of temporal power. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro19	AM8 753	N+N	Independent inspection of schools will <u>provide</u> parents with straightforward reports on their child's school, together with an action plan from governors to

			remedy any weaknesses. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro20	AMC 228	Pro+N	Our billetors were obliged, wherever possible, to <u>provide us with one bath per week</u> ; where this was not possible, facilities were available at B.P., but this interfered with transport provisions, and sometimes a request for private transport was necessary, though not readily granted, and arrangements for this were in the hands of a Mrs Wildboar-Smith. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro21	AMG 216	Pro+N	Recent developments of Darwinian theory <u>provide us with a new and deeper understanding</u> of the processes of natural selection. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro22	AMG 1394	Pro+N	The apes <u>provide us with much information</u> concerning possible roots of sociable behaviour in man. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro23	AN4 1680	Pro+N	Her relationship with Freemantle seems <u>to have provided her with shelter</u> from an often upsetting social life in Brackley. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro24	B2G 83	Pro+N	This lavish book <u>provides us with a full-colour holiday brochure</u> ; a 'sightseer's guide for anyone journeying through this brave new world'. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro25	AT4 356	Pro+N	We take any four boys, and we concentrate on <u>providing them with first-class, intensive training</u> , and my contention is that we can produce a team in every way as competitive as Greycoats'. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro26	B09 81	N+N	This <u>has provided the tramway with a singular advantage</u> over buses operating in the congested traffic, however the close proximity of thousands of strolling holiday-makers to the traffic, can present problems for tram drivers. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro27	B0R 1201	N+N	The shy young visitor was soon disputing with Wordsworth almost on equal terms; and next evening, while Coleridge <u>was providing Dorothy with superfluous explanations</u> about the different notes of the nightingale, Hazlitt and Wordsworth 'got into a metaphysical argument' which may have inspired two of the most genial of the Lyrical Ballads — 'Expostulation and Reply', and 'The Tables Turned', both of them written 'in front of the house at Alfoxden'. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro28	B1G 1447	N+N	Systems such as PREPLAN can <u>provide the user with sound models</u> of the behaviour patterns of fire and are therefore of enormous value in land-use planning. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro29	B1J 132	Pro+N	It is paradoxically liberals who <u>provide me with my argument</u> for this when they argue that violent people can be 'understood' since they know no other language with which to express their inarticulate aggro. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro30	BND 1225	Pro+N	The lists in Chapter 3 <u>will provide you with a lot of ready-made ideas</u> for this chapter, but think hard before you just copy them over. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro31	B2W 1264	N+N	It is no exaggeration to say that the task of <u>providing classes of students with adequate and representative material to</u> illustrate a course on the diseases of farm animals is still one of the most intractable problems veterinary colleges face today; few have solved it satisfactorily. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro32	A15 1440	Pro+N	Roland Smith <u>has provided us with a fascinating and interesting book</u> that should whet the appetite of many hill walkers and will certainly provide a wealth of useful background information when planning a walk to some of the 'Great Viewpoints' of Britain. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro33	B3C 1198	N+N	This degree <u>will provide the graduate with an excellent basis</u> for pursuing a professional qualification with one of the accountancy bodies. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro34	BLY 983	Pro+N	Yet again the official syllabus and scheme of work may recommend the

			purchase and use of local materials gathered from the local environment when official administrative regulations preclude the headmaster from purchasing these and fail <u>to provide</u> him with any facilities for storing them once he has obtained them. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro35	AN9 902	N+N	These invitations <u>provide</u> schools with an opportunity to spell out clearly to parents the values that they hold dearly and provide an accurate picture of their schools as centres of learning and excellence. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro36	AP0 313	Pro+N	Talk was intense among the youngsters, and the young actors and actresses roaming Sunset Strip were no different to the youth of America, if not the world, in that they too were a disoriented bunch in search of idols; Clift, Brando and Dean <u>were providing</u> them with a whole new repertoire of sayings, postures, stances and gestures. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro37	AP0 890	Pro+N	In Head , Nicholson had kindly <u>provided</u> them with a suicide note for which Mike Nesmith was eternally grateful. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro38	APP 971	Pro+N	The court proceedings <u>provided</u> us with a platform ; fines and suspended sentences conferred on us an aura of minor martyrdom ... [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro39	BML 715	N+N	In the past children's reading was seen to have the heavy purpose of <u>providing</u> the young reader with moral guidance and, indeed, moral direction. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
SVO _d O _{prep}			
No.	BNC Code	PoS	Excerpted Sentence
Pro40	ASN 2192	N+N	Gone are the days when Grandma lived down the road and Auntie Maud was just around the corner, each of them <u>providing</u> a comforting and experienced shoulder for the young mother to lean upon. [O _i – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – dep= Th]
Pro41	A3J 224	N+N	Legal Protection is the only company that <u>provides</u> cover for divorce costs . [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro42	A0Y 697	N+N	Some social service departments <u>provide</u> a laundry service for people with incontinence , or who cannot manage their laundry for other reasons. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro43	CS5 757	Pro+N	The Treaty of Utrecht was not the triumphant dictation of terms to a prostrate enemy that some Whigs would have liked, but it provided something for almost all overseas commercial interests in Britain and in her possessions overseas. [O _i – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – dep= Th]
Pro44	A15 137	N+N	During his term as President of FISA he gradually reduced his role in Eduard Keller Ltd and used the company offices <u>to provide</u> a world headquarters for rowing . [O _i – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – dep= Th]
Pro45	A1S 326	N+N	The final retail sales figures for August — barely changed on the provisional statistics — <u>provide</u> no simple explanation for the trade figures . [O _i – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – dep= Th]
Pro46	A3J 227	N+N	Legal Protection also <u>provides</u> cover for a flat owner in a block of more than four flats to pursue a claim against a freeholder. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro47	A65 804	N+N	We recommend contacting Cedok once you know where you want to go as they can arrange package holidays as well as <u>provide</u> a great deal of information for the independent traveller . [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro48	A9D 150	N+N	Trading statements and bid situations continued <u>to provide</u> plenty of work for analysts and recent buoyant sectors like properties, insurances, and stores ran into profit-taking. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro49	A9L 117	N+N	Many law firms have already laid off employees: a large Midlands firm has got

			rid of 35; a firm in East Anglia is about to shed some conveyancing staff; and the Law Society's Young Solicitors Group has set up a helpline <u>to provide counselling and advice for young lawyers</u> who have been made redundant. [O _i – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – dep= Th]
Pro50	ABA 174	N+N	There has to be an operational role or ‘peg’, which <u>provides the raison d’être for each regiment</u> , if it is to survive in the harsh financial climate of our post-imperial era. [O _i – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – dep= Th]
Pro51	ABC 1590	N+N	In many ways, the St Lawrence belugas <u>have provided a perfect opportunity for the scientists</u> to study the effects of contaminants on a wild whale population, since they are isolated from other groups, and live in a river system known to be contaminated. [O _i – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – dep= Th]
Pro52	ABH 2862	N+N	The money will help Israel <u>to provide housing and jobs for immigrants</u> . [O _i – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro53	ACK 1667	N+N	‘Councils are supposed <u>to provide sites for the workers</u> but they don’t,’ I protested, feeling a sudden sympathy for an oppressed minority. [O _i – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – dep= Th]
Pro54	ACX 838	N+N	Two ‘Green Bush’ bush marrow plants <u>would have provided enough decent-sized marrows for our needs</u> , while it looks as if my two courgette plants probably won’t give enough fruit to justify their considerable demand on space in the plot. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro55	ADE 850	N+N	Much pressure can overtly or unwittingly be put on grown up children, <u>to provide grandchildren for the sheer delight</u> of the grandparents. [O _i – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – dep= Th]
Pro56	AHX 657	N+N	Local authorities are obliged under the 1981 Education Act to <u>provide tuition for special educational needs</u> , yet the institute believes only a small proportion of dyslexics receive adequate help in state schools [O _i – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – dep= Th]
Pro57	AK9 1405	N+N	It was hoped that transport would <u>provide the one really ‘big idea’ for the Tory election manifesto</u> in the form of the privatisation of British Rail. [O _i – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – dep= Th]
Pro58	ALP 459	N+N	Isaacs and his colleagues (1972) found that relatives’ failure <u>to provide basic care for elderly people</u> was often associated with their previous rejection by the elderly person. [O _i – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – dep= Th]
Pro59	ALU 252	N+N	The upper storey of 180 feet <u>provided accommodation for the library, committee room and living quarters for the gardener</u> . [O _i – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – dep= Th]
Pro60	ALV 78	N+N	However, the IEA is now turning its attention to environmental auditing and has launched a national Environmental Auditors Registration Board <u>to provide professional accreditation for environmental auditors</u> along with a set of draft criteria against which the quality of the environmental statements produced for the EC eco-audit scheme can be measured. [O _i – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – dep= Th]
Pro61	AM0 508	N+N	In the centre of all this activity are our tents and caravans which are set among shrubs and trees and <u>provide accommodation for 2–4 persons</u> . [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro62	AM0 1768	N+N	In the evening, the bar <u>provides a lively meeting place for the start</u> of most of tour Club activities. [O _i – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – dep= Th]
Pro63	AM1 79	N+N	The barn is the building closest to the road <u>providing easy access for carts</u> through its double width entranceway. [O _i – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro64	AM2 14	N+N	The old library and conservatory, conveniently linked to the drawing-room, now <u>provide a most attractive setting for a bar and dining area</u> . [O _i – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro65	AM 1495	N+N	If you only want to raise a few seedlings in spring, and <u>provide a humid atmosphere for some cuttings</u> later, an unheated propagator will be adequate.

			[O_i – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th]
Pro 66	AM8 1200	N+N	We will legislate <u>to provide</u> a new 1 per cent incentive for holders of personal pensions aged 30 and over from April 1993, when the existing incentive ends. [O_i – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th]
Pro67	AM8 1488	N+N	We will establish a new Urban Regeneration Agency to pull together our efforts to clear up and develop derelict land, helping to bring it back into commercial use and <u>provide</u> new opportunities for local people. [O_i – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th]
Pro68	AM8 1707	N+N	The National Lottery will also <u>provide</u> funds for the preservation of our heritage. [O_i – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th]
Pro69	AMA 623	N+N	Our national dog registration scheme <u>will provide</u> the money for a warden service. [O_i – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro70	AMA 624	N+N	As part of our programme to outlaw cruelty to wild mammals, we will allow a free vote in the House of Commons on a proposal to ban the hunting of live quarry with hounds and, if that is passed, <u>provide</u> parliamentary time for the necessary legislation. [O_i – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th]
Pro71	AMW 512	N+N	Tonight I'll watch the world stroll by the Pueblo's busy 'Los Naranjos' square; the cool fountain <u>will provide</u> the perfect back-drop for the snap-shots. [O_i – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th]
Pro72	AMY 991	N+N	The two men maintained contact and Frank Francis-Francis often visited Henley and <u>provided</u> a seat for the Artisans which was given, in turn, to the Club in 1971. [O_i – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th]
Pro73	AN3 28	N+N	The hierarchy, often in the hands of the liberals, has promoted reform programmes, such as technical training for peasants and the forming of cooperatives in the shanty towns, become involved in politics through the reformist Christian Democrat party and opposed the brutalities of the military regime since 1973, by speaking out openly against their excesses and <u>providing</u> soup kitchens for the needy. [O_i – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th]
Pro74	AN3 1453	N+N	Nevertheless they do <u>provide</u> a rough scheme for organising the multitude of empirical facts concerning the growth of unions. [O_i – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro75	AN5 1361	N+N	The government was urged <u>to provide</u> funds for the training of staff and additional support for dealing with the more difficult pupils. [O_i – indep=Rh_{comp}; O_{prep} – indep= Rh_{proper}]
Pro76	ANC 800	N+N	It <u>provided</u> employment for many hands over many decades, eventually being taken over by Kleeman Ltd, which later became part of the Mobil Chemicals group. [O_i – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro77	ANC 146	N+N	The mill was originally run as part of the adjacent farm and, not surprisingly, was used <u>to provide</u> power for a number of other uses. [O_i – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro78	AND 1382	N+N	Maintaining or increasing the number of pupils is crucially important in <u>providing</u> the 'bread and butter' finance for the school. [O_i – indep=Rh; O_{prep} – dep= Th]
Pro79	AR9 932	N+N	Parks <u>provide</u> space for a whole range of events , from steam rallies to horse shows. [O_i – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro80	AR9 1486	N+N	premises 'over the shop', looking on to the town's main streets, can <u>provide</u> desirable offices for local professional firms , or indeed flats — residential use in particular keeps the streets alive in the evenings and at weekends when the shops are shut. [O_i – dep=Th; O_{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro81	ARK 863	N+N	It had gone into the communications field, using its own satellites <u>to provide</u> a watertight method for directors talking about vital topics over the phone

			from, say, Frankfurt to Washington, supplying the coded systems. [O _i – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – dep= Th]
Pro82	AT6 1178	N+N	These three shapes <u>provide</u> the basis for numerous other permutations in rail profile. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro83	B03 75	N+N	The eleven staff , headed by principal advisor, Debbie Dean, also <u>provide</u> a service for the surrounding community. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro84	B03 2803	N+N	The council-owned green is open to the public and the club can <u>provide</u> the necessary equipment for people to have a casual game. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro85	B0G 350	N+N	Much of their property, including that at Temple Moor, was given to the Knights Hospitallers, who continued <u>to provide</u> shelter for travellers across that barren land. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro86	B0W 302	N+N	They did, however have unrealised expectations about the number of clients for whom they would need to provide paid support workers even though they predicted that they would not find it necessary <u>to provide</u> such carers for all clients. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro87	B1W 1282	N+N	These overseas banks, branches and operations <u>provide</u> finance for trade and foreign-based British subsidiary companies. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro88	B29 836	N+N	The nearby Tropical Ravine is an unique example of ‘Victoriana’, and its valuable plant collection <u>provides</u> a captivating and educational experience for many local schoolchildren. [O _i – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – dep= Th]
Pro89	B21 1605	N+N	The intention was that managers should <u>provide</u> a positive and supportive climate for professionals to deliver health care. [O _i – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro90	B2D 799	N+N	The complaint of maladministration was not upheld, the Commissioner finding that the complainant's grievance essentially turned around the meaning of the phrase ‘best practicable means’ the complainant being of the opinion that any emission of obnoxious odours <u>provided</u> grounds for legal proceedings , whereas the Health and Safety Executive, while accepting there was an occasional emission which produced some slight smell, did not consider that this constituted an offence. [O _i – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – dep= Th]
Pro91	B30 1668	N+N	The general practitioner may wish <u>to provide</u> his own aftercare for some patients. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – dep= Rh]
Pro92	B7E 507	N+N	These ‘beautiful structures’ are largely constructed of mud, the most widely-used material of all, which still <u>provides</u> homes for more than half of humanity. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro93	BMV 1067	N+N	The planned defensive systems of King Alfred or of Henry the Fowler were primarily concerned <u>to provide</u> refuges for folk whose land was being pillaged; they also provided defence in depth, but it was a secondary consideration. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro94	A10 706	N+N	The Minister for Roads and Traffic, Christopher Chope, has announced changes to the Orange Badge Scheme which <u>provides</u> parking concessions for people with disabilities. [O _i – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – dep= Th]
Pro95	AOB 186	N+N	The church-ales <u>provided</u> competition for the secular supply of beverages from the taverns and alehouses. [O _i – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – dep= Th]
Pro96	A1L 32	N+N	Their 10-year-old daughter, Jessica, who is likely to be seen with her head buried in The Beano or a Roald Dahl novel, <u>has provided</u> the inspiration for many of her parents' books. [O _i – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – dep= Th]

Pro97	A64 1490	N+N	Railway construction, together with textiles, had provided the impetus for large-scale industrial products in Russia. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro98	A66 8	N+N	His Future of Socialism in 1956 <u>had provided</u> a point of reference for the party , and progressives throughout the nation, over the past twenty years with its emphasis on social equality rather on public ownership as the instrument of change. [O _i – dep=Th; O _{prep} – indep= Rh]
Pro99	A67 72	N+N	The Therapy Wing <u>has provided</u> much improved facilities for occupational therapy and physiotherapy. [O _i – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – dep= Th]
Pro100	ABM 695	N+N	This comes out notably in the case of Robert Boyle, for he, more than most, defended, explained, and <u>provided</u> experimental illustrations for the corpuscular hypothesis . [O _i – indep=Rh; O _{prep} – dep= Th]