

FILOZOFICKÁ FAKULTA UNIVERZITY KARLOVY V PRAZE

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Základní rozložení výpovědní dynamičnosti v anglické větě a prostředky jeho realizace. Srovnání staršího a současného beletristického textu.

The principle of end focus and the means of its realization in the English sentence.

A comparison of an older and a contemporary literary text.

DIPLOMOVÁ PRÁCE

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„Prohlašuji, že jsem tuto diplomovou práci vypracovala samostatně a že jsem uvedla všechny použité prameny a literaturu. Souhlasím se zapůjčením diplomové práce ke studijním účelům.“

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List of Abbreviations

Adv	adverbial
Bare-ex	bare existential construction
BDofCD	basic distribution of communicative dynamism
CD	communicative dynamism
Co	object complement
Cs	subject complement
CU	communicative unit
Ex-loc	existential-locative construction
FSP	functional sentence perspective
NegFocA	negative focalizing anticipator
NP	noun phrase
Od	direct object
Oi	indirect object
Oprep	prepositional object
PP	prepositional phrase
Rh/Rhpro	rheme/rheme proper
Sn	notional subject
Th/Thpro	theme/theme proper
Tr	transition
V	verb
VP	verb phrase

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2 Introduction

The present thesis analyzes the functioning of the end-focus principle within the English clause. It concentrates on the interaction between the principles of basic distribution of communicative dynamism (end-focus) and the grammatical word order, both of which play a role in the theory of functional sentence perspective. Using examples of older and contemporary fiction the thesis attempts to demonstrate the impact of the simultaneous application of the grammatical word order principle and basic distribution of communicative dynamism (BDofCD). In particular, it discusses instances when the two principles co-operate and basic distribution of communicative dynamism over the clause elements is achieved, as well as occurrences which manifest a clash of the two, producing a deviation from the basic distribution of information weight. By means of analysis of functional sentence perspective patterns of the extracted finite clauses we aim to provide a comparison of the agreement between the grammatical word order and the end-focus principle in the texts under examination. It is assumed that the older text will display more instances of deviation from the grammatical principle motivated by the basic distribution of communicative dynamism (BDofCD), whereas the contemporary text will display more instances of deviation from BDofCD due to the grammatical principle.

3 Functional Sentence Perspective: defining the basic terms

The point of departure of the thesis is the theory of functional sentence perspective (FSP), which is concerned with the characteristic feature of a language to develop communication in such a way that the piece of information which is already known to the listener precedes a piece of information which is new to them and which represents the purpose of the communication. It also holds that in the clauses, and sentences, formed to realize the communication the elements are arranged from left to right so that those constituting the known information occupy the initial part of the clause while those that convey a new message are placed at its end. Jan Firbas (1992: 6), whose study¹ of the subject matter has provided the basic theoretical source, claims that such a clause-final element contributes most

¹ Jan Firbas, *Functional Sentence Perspective in Written and Spoken Communication*, Cambridge University Press, 1992. Hereinafter referred to as (Firbas 1992) or (1992) if the author's name precedes.

to the development and completion of the communication and serves as its point of orientation, or **perspective**², the clause unfolding towards it. The elements which help to reach this **communicative goal** of the clause are newly presented and therefore **irretrievable** from the preceding context, in other words, they are **context-independent**. In contrast, there are elements which are **retrievable** from the context of communication, or **context-dependent**.³ In accordance with the new / old status of pieces of information and the extent to which they contribute to the message conveyed by the clause, the elements which express it are assigned different degrees of **communicative dynamism (CD)**, ‘a phenomenon constantly displayed by [them] in the act of communication’, the newly mentioned ones possessing a high degree of CD and the known, old ones a low degree of CD (Firbas 1992: 7). At this point we should mention that the distribution of CD has a relative character - it is invariably in relation to the contribution made by other elements that a clause element is assigned a degree of CD (Firbas 1992: 8).

Indeed, the clause, or sentence⁴, comprises the basic ‘[**distributional**] **field** within which the degrees of CD are distributed, the distribution inducing the sentence to function in a particular **perspective**, or perspectiving it towards the element carrying the highest degree of CD’ (Firbas 1992: 15). Quirk et al. (1995: 395) speak of linear presentation of information value from low to high referring to the phenomenon as the **principle of end-focus**. The carriers of CD realized by syntactic constituents of the clause serve as **communicative units (CUs)** which form the distributional field and each of them is represented by one element. This does not apply to the finite verb, which is seen as composed of two units, ‘one constituted by its **notional component** and the other by its **categorial exponents**,’ such as tense, mood, person, etc. (Firbas 1992: 18). The communicative units inside the distributional field are formed by elements with lower degree of CD that comprise the **theme** of the clause (**Th**), and elements with higher degree of CD that form the **rheme (Rh)**. There is a transitional element, or **transition (Tr)**, between the two, mostly realized by the verb; in contrast with the theme, the rheme and the transition may be joined into **non-theme**, rendering two basic sections of a clause from the point of view of the FSP, the theme and the non-theme. If more elements occur in the thematic/transitional/rhematic section, this can be divided further; in the analysis below the concepts of **diatheme (DiTh)** and **theme proper (Thpro)** as opposed to rheme and

² Relevant terms introduced into the text are given in **bold**.

³ The contextual aspects of FSP will be discussed in more detail below.

⁴ Firbas uses ‘sentence’ for what we label ‘clause’ in the thesis.

rheme proper (Rhpro) shall be employed. Suffice it to say that ‘there are as many CUs and as many carriers of CD in general as provided by the semantic and syntactic sentence structure’ (Firbas 1992: 19). The FSP scheme in detail as realized in its most extended version can be illustrated as follows:

Theme proper – diatheme – transition-proper oriented elements – transition proper – rest of transition – rheme – rheme proper⁵

At this point it would be useful to provide the grounds on which the diatheme will be distinguished from the theme proper and the rheme from the rheme proper. The concept of diatheme has been scrutinized by Svoboda (1981: 5) who uses the term to label what Mathesius had called ‘the centre of the theme’. Diatheme is regarded as the most dynamic element of the thematic section of a clause. Considering the thematic section from its most dynamic to its least dynamic end, function of the diatheme may be performed either by context-independent elements or by elements that have been already mentioned within the non-thematic layer and have been transformed into the thematic one. In contrast to these two groups there are elements that have been repeatedly used in the theme and are now more established as the theme proper (Firbas 1992: 80).

A good example to demonstrate the possible composite⁶ structure of the rhematic section is the noun phrase (NP), which has been claimed by Svoboda and acknowledged by Firbas (1992: 84) to realize a distributional **subfield** of CD. If there is a context-independent modifying element present in the phrase, it takes the communication a step further and forms the most dynamic element of the subfield. In other words, the modification ‘amplifies the meaning of the headword’ and within the clause it serves as the Rh proper, the head realizing the less dynamic rheme (ibid.)

⁵ The idea to illustrate the full FSP scheme in this section was taken over from the M.A. thesis by Leona Drenková, „Syntactic and FSP Aspects of the Existential Construction in Fiction“, supervised by Libuše Dušková, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, 2007.

⁶ The term was first encountered in Libuše Dušková’s article on „The Role of Definiteness in Functional Sentence Perspective“ in *Studies in the English Language*, Part 2, Prague: Karolinum, Charles University Press, 1999. Several works by this author have been used as major sources for the thesis, for disambiguation this one will be cited as (1999c). Also see Sources.

What has been termed theme and rheme by the Prague school of FSP is labelled as theme and **focus** by Quirk et al. (1985: 1361) and defined as ‘the initial part of any structure when we consider it from the informational point of view’ and ‘the new information’ presented in a message respectively. The tendency of the new information to occur at the end of a clause has already been pointed out as the end-focus principle. However, it should be borne in mind that due to its **informativity** this part of the message is often morphologically extended, hence the organizing **principle of end-weight** operates together with the end-focus principle, achieving a clause-final position of the novel element (Quirk et al. 1985: 1362).

Up to this point we have been considering the elements comprising a distributional field as having **linear arrangement**, i.e. from the least dynamic to the most dynamic ones as the clause runs from left to right realizing the **grammatical word order (GWO)**. Firbas (1992: 12) recognizes actual linear arrangement from the interpretative arrangement, i.e. ordering of the elements according to their rising degree of CD thus achieving the **basic distribution of communicative dynamism (BDofCD)**. In section 4 GWO is discussed together with other factors whose operation influences the FSP of a clause.

4 The factors of FSP

In English **linearity** is at the bottom end in the hierarchy of factors functioning within the realm of FSP. It may be overridden by the **semantic factor**, i.e. the semantic content of the clause elements and relations they are involved in. Superior to both of them is the **contextual factor** (dependence of the presented information on the surrounding context). Speaking in basic terms, interplay of these three factors determines whether both the GWO and the BDofCD will apply in the clause or one of them will be deviated from due to the greater enforcement of the other.

What has been stated above concerns only the written mode of language. To make a brief note on the spoken communication, **intonation** belongs to the factors influencing the FSP. Apart from the above mentioned **non-prosodic** factors, a **degree of prosodic prominence** is assigned in speech to a clause element depending on the degree of communicative dynamism

it carries. General assumption is that the highest degree, the intonation nucleus, falls on the new information so that it is brought into foreground. According to Dušková (1999c: 291) intonation in written texts is a ‘concomitant feature of a theme-rheme structure’ of a sentence where the position of the intonation centre is determined quite clearly as a consequence of the operation of the other, non-prosodic, factors.

4.1 Grammatical word order

Firstly, attention will be paid to linear modification which asserts itself through the principle of word order. In the realization of the grammatical word order, there are further several principles functioning. Apart from the principle of FSP, arranging the clause elements in accordance with the rise of CD from the thematic to the rhematic ones, the following belong to those relevant to this analysis of a written sample: **the principle of grammatical function**, **the principle of coherence of members** and **the principle of emphasis**. The principle of grammatical function is employed in the assignment of a position in the clause according to the syntactic function of an element. Firbas (1992: 118) merges this principle with the principle of coherence of members, which does not permit ‘the insertion of another item between the two members’ and changing the position of the new item together with either of the original members. However, we will see below that this principle is frequently violated. To complete the overview, the **principle of sentence rhythm** ‘producing a certain pattern of heavy and light elements’ results in some of them being stressed and others unstressed in speech, and the **principle of emphasis** (or the ‘emotive principle’) is responsible for the effect the word order has on the listener, i.e. their perception thereof as either normal, customary or not (1992: 119 – 120). If there is an element in the speaker’s message which they hold as informationally more important than the rest, regular ordering of words in the clause is deviated from so as to place emphasis on the desired element. Possible deviations from the GWO are one of the problems analysed by the thesis and will be discussed in due course.

In English GWO is the primary organizing principle, which is given by the analytical character of the language that does not allow free arrangement of clause elements. In comparison, word order in Czech is much less fixed, since functions of the elements are signalled by their inflections and their order is only secondary to the FSP. If the Th-Rh order

is maintained, in unagitated and unemphatic discourse, the word order is labelled by Mathesius as objective (**unmarked**), if the reverse holds and the Rh precedes the Th, we are dealing with subjective (**marked**) word order (1992: 121). It follows that an English clause is considered unmarked if it displays grammatical word order even if the linear arrangement deviates from basic distribution of CD. In contrast a clause is regarded as marked if it involves a deviation from the principle of grammatical word order, which is often traceable into the functioning of FSP.

4.2 The contextual factor

Another factor to be described with respect to the FSP is the contextual one, i.e. the possibility or impossibility for the listener to locate a clause element in the context of communication. Firbas (1992: 21) draws a distinction between two types of information in terms of its presence in the preceding context: either the information presented is unknown to the listener and also **irretrievable** from the context or it is known to the participants of communication and at the same time **retrievable** from the preceding stretches of text. At this point the notion of **immediately relevant** verbal and situational **context** should be introduced. Relevance of an element is determined 'in relation to the point in the flow of communication at which a new sentence is produced and/or taken in' when what has been mentioned is severed from what is yet to be presented (1992: 22). A concept derived from this is the **retrievability span**, i.e. the distance from the point of occurrence at which an element remains retrievable. This has been established to be seven clauses.⁷ Firbas (1992: 23-24) describes the retrievability span in terms of two groups of referents. The first may be represented by the speaker/writer and the listener/reader, who are always present at the communication and by the referents of the general human agent pronouns such as *I, you, it, and one/man*. Among these is also the existential *there* which is, like the pronouns mentioned, rather semantically weak but not completely without meaning, indicating appearance of an element on the scene or pointing towards the adverbial expressing location of that element in space/time. The second group includes referents that are retrievable from the situational context, these are therefore restricted to the sphere of spoken language. Having introduced the description of elements as

⁷ Firbas (1992: 23) quoting Svoboda here (1981: 88-9).

retrievable or irretrievable, the parallel terms of **given** vs. **new**⁸ information should be brought to attention, as they are going to be used as alternate expressions along with the primarily mentioned pair of terms.

However, as regards the extent of retrievability from context of elements introduced into the discourse, the information conveyed by them is often **heterogeneous**. In Dušková's research (1999: 293) the intermingling of new and given items showed to be more frequent in rhemes than in themes (63% to 25%) which confirms the basic assumption that context-independent elements are primarily reserved for the Rh. An item may either be retrieved from other stretches of context than the one immediately relevant to it, demonstrating certain degree of context independence, or it is identifiable in the immediately relevant context and must be treated as context-dependent. Nevertheless, even context-dependent elements contribute, in a different extent, to the development of communication. The last point to be made on the contextual aspect of FSP involves the status of **contextual boundness** of an element, which is seen as a somewhat wider concept than context-dependence by Firbas (1992: 37). Quoting Sgall et al., he states that the status of an element's contextual boundness is determined by the extent to which it is (non-)activated in the mind of the listener as opposed to its actual occurrence in the text. Therefore even a context-bound element may not be available for retrieval from the immediately relevant context, which means that it is context-independent (ibid).

4.2.1 Signalling of context dependence

To provide a brief overview of the means used to signal context-dependence or independence of an element the accounts brought to the field by Firbas and Dušková had been studied. Firbas recognizes that a piece of information which is retrievable from the preceding context may be conveyed by *i) repetition of non-pronominal expression, ii) a pronoun, iii) morphological exponent or iv) ellipsis*. To comment on group *i)* it includes items which are co-referential with the preceding element on the basis of lexical cohesion, i.e. linked with it not only by reiteration but also through paradigmatic sense relations such as synonymy, hyponymy and the like.⁹ Group *ii)* involves reference to preceding items by pronouns, and groups *iii)* and *iv)* are based on grammatical features of the tied elements. In general, all the

⁸ The dichotomy of „given“, i.e. informationally light, as opposed to „new“, i.e. informationally weighty, information is used by Quirk et al. (1985: 1380).

⁹ For an authoritative account of lexical cohesion see Halliday and Hasan (1976). Also in Sources.

categories of expressions conveying context-dependent elements display cohesiveness. However, as Firbas claims (1992: 34), the ‘concept of cohesive relationship is [...] not identical with that of context dependence’; to function cohesively, an element does not need to be context-dependent as long as it displays referential identity with the item it is tied to.

Focusing on the noun phrase, signalling of context dependence through the category of definiteness, i.e. by the use of determiners, should be mentioned. These include articles, demonstratives, possessives, quantifiers and *wh*-words. As Dušková claims in her inquiry into expressing in/definiteness within FSP it is mainly the article system that is to be considered in this respect. The basic assumption being that the indefinite article *a/an* for singular countable nouns and the *zero* article in plural expressing first mention are used to determine a discourse-new NP with a high degree of CD while the definite article *the* both in singular and plural used anaphorically determines a NP that is context-dependent and therefore possesses only a low degree of CD, one should bear in mind that apart from the contextual factor, there are other FSP factors in operation, namely the semantics and the linearity. Thus both a definite and an indefinite NP can assume either thematic or rhematic function (Dušková 1999c: 289).

As stated above, the indefinite/zero articles usually determine new information mentioned for the first time that is invariably context-independent. However, they may introduce elements already present in the communication, which are reiterated in a new NP, this time with a context-independent modification or head. As Dušková states (1999c: 293), then ‘the combination of the two’ constitutes the novel element and we are dealing with referential non-identity of the new combination and the preceding item.

In comparison, the definite article always signals context-dependent information when used anaphorically, i.e. pointing to the preceding context. Yet if the defining piece of message comes only *after* the head of the definite NP, we have encountered an instance of cataphoric reference, which cannot be considered as determining a context-dependent element. Similarly, if used in a situational reference, *the* likewise must not be automatically accepted as part of a context-dependent NP, since the fact that the item is known from the situation does not entail it is known from the immediately preceding context (1992: 25). The present subsection having given only a rough sketch, the intricate matter of using articles within FSP will be dealt with as the analysis below shall require.

4.3 The semantic factor

To complete the account of the means of FSP attention should be paid to the semantic factor, which, like the contextual factor, can overrule the linear modification of the clause. It involves the impact of the semantic character and relations of an element on the distribution of degrees of CD. Firbas (1992: 42) conceives the problem from the point of view of the verb and the manner in which some of the remaining clause elements may become its competitors in terms of communicative dynamism. These must be invariably context-independent, since they take the communication further and they do so irrespective of their position, the clause being perspectived towards them whether they stand initially, medially or finally, which proves that linearity is overridden by both the contextual and the semantic factor. The elements which exceed the CD of the verb include the context-independent object, object complement, subject complement and adverbial – to name those that usually appear postverbally in English – and as regards the ordinarily preverbal elements, it is the context-independent subject which can become the perspectived element if no other competitors are present (1992: 42-65). A more extensive account on the FSP roles of the individual elements will be given as the need arises.

4.3.1 Firbasian Scales

However, it is indispensable to the discussion of the semantic factor of FSP to mention the functioning of the so called Firbasian scales, i.e. **the Presentation and the Quality Scales**. While each element of a clause may be assigned a static semantic role, such as the agentive for the subject, affected for the object, locative for the adverbial and so forth, there is another set of semantic roles, called **dynamic** by Firbas (1992: 66), each of which is connected with the element's FSP function within the distributional field implementing either of the two scales. Ultimately it is the 'information conveyed by the [verb's] notional component' that perspectives the clause in one of the two ways, depending on whether it fulfils the 'function of presenting a **Phenomenon** on the scene [or] the function of ascribing a certain **Quality** to a quality **Bearer**', realizing a Presentation Scale and a Quality Scale respectively, while 'both the Ph-element and B-element correspond to the notional subject of the sentence'. In the two scales communicative 'units are presented in an order reflecting a gradual rise in CD, i.e. the **interpretative word order**.' (Chamonikolasová, Adam 1995: 59).

The presentation scale is represented by the sentence in example 1 with the labels below it describing the dynamic semantic roles of the individual communicative units and their FSP

functions. The **Setting** (Set), which corresponds to the Theme of the clause, realized by a temporal adverbial here, the **Presentation of Phenomenon** (Pr) functioning as the Transition and constituted by a verb of appearance and finally the **Phenomenon Presented** (Ph), determined by an indefinite article signalling context-independence, which realizes the Rheme.

1. In the middle of the night	came	a storm. ¹⁰
Setting	Presentation of the Phenomenon	Phenomenon Presented
<i>Theme</i>	<i>Transition</i>	<i>Rheme</i>

In the quality scale Setting, **Bearer of Quality** (B), **Quality** (Q) and **Specification** (Sp) are recognized. If we look at the previous type we can see that it is the presence of Bearer of Quality and Quality that distinguishes the Quality Scale from the Presentation Scale, hence these dynamic semantic roles are obligatory in the former type. In ex. 2 the thematic section comprises the Setting and Bearer of Quality and the non-thematic section has Quality as the Tr and Specification as the Rh.

2. Yesterday evening	my brother	watched	a new Woody Allen film.
Setting	Bearer of Quality	Quality	Specification
<i>Diatheme</i>	<i>Theme</i>	<i>Transition</i>	<i>Rheme</i>

Firbas (1992: 67) also brings forward the existence of the **Combined Scale** which is basically a fusion of the Presentation and the Quality Scales, containing elements which preclude classification as either of the “pure” types. In other words, we are dealing with a single distributional field within which both the dynamic semantic roles of Phenomenon Presented and Bearer of Quality are implemented. A sentence used to illustrate this was adopted in ex. 3, where the subject NP *a young king* functions as a Ph and B at the same time:

¹⁰ Example sentences constructed by me or adopted from elsewhere (other sources or sections of the fiction used) are typed in ordinary font, examples from the excerpted sample are in *italics*. If adopted, the sentence is followed by a citation, if taken from the analysis, a letter and number mark of the clause is given (e.g. E 205) for easy orientation in Appendix 2. Where relevant, the elements discussed are underlined.

3. Ages ago a young king ruled his country capriciously and despotically. (ibid)

Here the subject NP *a young king* functions as Ph and B at the same time, both functions being expressed by the existential constructions and the relative clause of the underlying construction respectively:

Ages ago there was a young king, who ruled his country capriciously and despotically. (ibid)

However, in her paper dedicated to the problem of the Firbasian scales Chamonikolasová (Chamonikolasová-Adam 1995: 62) goes further and differentiates between the Combined Quality Scale and Combined Presentation Scale, identifying the former with the pure Quality Scale and the latter with ‘a subtype of the pure Presentation Scale’ which she labels **the Extended Presentation Scale**. In the example clause 4 we can discern the following dynamic roles symptomatic of the Extended Presentation Scale: Setting (*in the afternoon*), Presentation of Phenomenon (*was*), Phenomenon Presented (*twenty minutes/ half hour*), Specification (*of working out/ of doing easy laps*), Further Specification (*with his light weights/ at the pool*). The FSP pattern of the clause would then be DiTh – Th – Tr – Rh – RhPro – Spec. See ex.4:

4. ...in the afternoon there was twenty minutes of working out with his light weights an half hour of doing easy laps at pool. (P.Roth, *Everyman*, p. 114)

Concluding the section on the basics of FSP theory the next section discusses the FSP and grammatical aspects of the means of realization of the end-focus principle and deviations thereof.

5 Selected grammatical and FSP aspects under analysis

This section gives an overview of the structures which were searched for and analyzed in the excerpted sentences based on Libuše Dušková's article *Basic Distribution of Communicative Dynamism vs. Nonlinear Indication of Functional Sentence Perspective*¹¹ which serves as the cornerstone of the analytical part of the thesis. At the same time criteria applied in the course of the analysis are presented in this section. In terms of the surface structure, there are three major groups of clauses that the present study will be concerned with: clauses with basic patterns containing no transformations and displaying both GWO and BDofCD, clauses deviating from the GWO due to the operation of FSP and transformed finite clauses containing special word-order changing devices used to achieve the BDofCD including the focusing construction pseudo-cleft sentence. However, it is to be expected that among these, also cases where the principle of end-focus will be deviated from will occur. For each of the groups of clauses a more detailed description is given with respect to the structures they may contain. Results as to the frequency of the individual types and actual representation of the structures introduced below will be given in the main analysis section.

5.1 Non-transformed clauses displaying both GWO and BDofCD

This category contains clauses in which the positions of elements indicate their syntactic functions while being arranged in a customary order, including the following syntactic patterns: SVOAdv(s), SVCsAdv(s), SVOCAdv(s), etc. In general, the clauses concerned do not demonstrate any deviations either from the GWO or the BDofCD so that elements realizing the thematic section occur at their beginning while those comprising the rhematic section appear sentence-finally. Also, the mutual position of the Thpro and DiTh, often realized by an Adv, is not regarded as a restriction to assigning a clause to this group, like in the case of ex. 5, where the DiTh *a lifetime later* precedes the Thpro subject *he*:

5. *A lifetime later, he remembered the trip to the hospital with his mother,* (E116)

¹¹ In *Prague Linguistic Circle Papers*, Volume 3, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1999, pp.249-261. The article will be referred to as (Dušková 1999a) or (1999a) if the author's name precedes.

Another matter to be paid attention to is the clause-initial position of the ‘object or another postverbal element [...] as a result of relativization’ (Dušková 1999: 250-251). In ex. 6 it is the relative possessive determiner *whose* introducing the subordinate relative clause postmodifying the notional S of the existential construction, *whose presence* operating as the Th of the second clause. Eventually, the sentence was analyzed as two clauses

6. *There was only one person whose presence hadn't to do with having been invited,...*

(E26-27)

5.2 Clauses deviating from GWO due to the operation of FSP

This group contains clauses in which the requirements of FSP have caused a disruption of the customary word order. As a result, fronting, reversal of postverbal elements or inversion may occur. Each of these are explained in more detail below.

5.2.1 Fronting

Quirk et al. (1985: 1377) define fronting as ‘the achievement of marked theme by moving into initial position an item which is otherwise unusual there’. In written communication its common function is to change the GWO so that the most dynamic element of the clause appears in the end-focus and at the same time the fronted element links the clause with what has been stated before, i.e. ‘[echoes] thematically what has been contextually given’ (ibid).

As to the type of expressions realizing fronted elements the demonstrative pronouns (*this/that, these/those*) and present participles (*-ing*) are said to occur frequently. Considering the clause elements that tend to be fronted, these include the Od, Oprep, Cs or Co, etc. Example 7 comes from a paragraph where the author mentions a wedding the character had visited and now it is commented on. Notice the use of *that* in the object NP signalling context-dependence as well as the sentence-final verb which is clearly the perspectived piece of information here:

7. ...- and everything about that wedding he and Howie hated. (P.Roth, *Everyman*, p. 21)

8. Into the stifling smoke plunged the desperate mother. (Quirk et al. 1985: 1379)

Ex. 8, drawn from Quirk et al., demonstrates that fronting of an adjunct may require a S-V inversion if the S is another expression than a personal pronoun (ibid).

5.2.2 Reversal of the customary order of postverbal elements

Dušková (1999: 252) briefly summarizes the elements involved in it: either the Oprep/ Co / Adv are moved to precede the Od or an Adv is placed before the Cs. Quirk et al. (1985: 1395) who term the mechanism **postponement**, justify the use of reversed order of postverbal elements in SVOC and SVOAdv clauses by the extensive structure of the O that requires a clause-final position in line with the end-weight and end-focus principles. See the extended NP functioning as the Od of the clause in ex. 9:

9. We heard from his own lips the story of how he had been stranded for days without food. (ibid.)

Once again we can see that the demand for the most dynamic element to occur in the rheme disrupts the GWO.

To complete the explication of reversal of postverbal elements a note on **discontinuous** phrases must be made. Discontinuities occur when ‘only a part of an element is postponed’; most often, these involve nominal postmodifications of NPs (as well as postmodifying infinitival, relative or participial clauses), all of them being more dynamic than their head noun and therefore requiring a position in the end-focus. Syntactically, they may serve as S, O, Cs and often have a rather weighty structure, such as the coordination of subordinate relative clauses in ex. 10, where the intervening element is the Adv of time *after dinner*:

10. *Lady Middleton seemed to be roused to enjoyment only by the entrance of her four noisy children after dinner, who pulled her about, tore her clothes, and put an end to every kind of discourse except what related to themselves.* (S201-S205)

Ex. 10 illustrates the main motivations for discontinuity as stated by Quirk et al. (1985: 1396) – the achievement of the principles of end-weight and end-focus, fulfilled by the extended postmodification realizing the Rhpro of the sentence, i.e. its most dynamic element. The present study being concerned with the distributional field constituted by the clause,

discontinuities will be commented on only where suitable, since they arise in the subfield formed by the NP.

5.2.3 Inversion

The customary word order may be inverted in order to achieve clause-final position of the S. Inverted word order is triggered by the presence of an Adv or a C at the beginning of the clause and the requirement to achieve end-focus on the S, as in ex. 11, where the NP *the sons* is introduced as a new element and further postmodified, the pattern of the clause is Adv-V-S:

11. *In it were a toothbrush, pajamas, a bathrobe and slippers, and the books....* (E143)

Attention is to be paid to the fact that only optional inversion, i.e. rearrangement of the clause word order to reflect the rising degree of CD will be considered a deviation from the grammatical principle.¹² The basic hypothesis is that in clauses where the GWO is overridden by the requirement of BDofCD, one of the above mentioned structural deviations will be identified.

5.3 Special devices serving to achieve BDofCD

The third larger group contains clauses in which the underlying structure has been changed by means of a word-ordering device including the passive, the existential construction or a pseudo-cleft sentence. All the listed tools may be used to place the informatively most dynamic element to the end-focus of the clause.

5.3.1 The passive

The passive has been identified already by Mathesius and further explored by Dušková (1999a: 255) as one of the special means used to achieve basic distribution of CD through changing the linear arrangement of clause elements. By way of placing the subject, which is typically context-dependent, at the initial, thematic section of the clause, the verb, as a more dynamic element, either occupies the Rh part and closes the clause or functions as the

¹² Cf. grammatical inversion in clauses with initial negators, intensifiers, asyndetic conditional clauses, interrogative clauses, etc. where it is the obligatory word arrangement (Dušková a kol. 1988: 518).

transition and is further followed by a Rh element to which the whole utterance is perspectived. The main motivation for using the passive being to foreground the new information conveyed by the non-subject part of the clause, the agent of the verbal action, invariably expressed by the S in active sentences, may be realized as a prepositional phrase introduced by *by* (as well as other prepositions. These simplified assumptions illustrated by ex. 13 shall serve as the point of departure and will be elaborated on in the analysis section. Compare the original construction under 13 with the alternative, where the *by*-agent has been put into brackets, leaving the Rh position to the verb phrase.

13. ...the fact was ascertained (by his listening to her again). (J.Austen, Sense and Sensibility, p. 34)

The hypothesis for the analysed sample is that the majority of passive constructions will adhere to the pattern mentioned above, transforming the basic active construction S – V – O into the corresponding passive S (← O) – V_{passive} – Ag_{by} (← S) and adhering to the FSP pattern Th - Tr -Rh. However, we may encounter certain deviations from this arrangement not only on the superficial level projected by the word order but also on the deeper level, where the interpretative arrangement of the elements is governed by the FSP. Both the latter two of the three types of clauses are expected to occur in minority.

5.3.2 The existential construction

Generally, the English existential (Ex) and existential-locative (Ex-loc) constructions are used to express the existence of an entity/object/idea or its existence in a certain space and/or a period of time, typically introducing new information into the discourse and constituting an autonomous sentence type with the clause pattern S_{existential} there-V_{be}-S_{notional}. We can distinguish the bare existential (Bare ex), incorporating no additional clause elements, and the existential locative (Ex-loc), whose syntactic structure incorporates an adverbial (Adv) as an optional element. Unlike the locative adverbial *there*, the existential *there* has a reduced pronunciation and, occupying the position of the syntactic subject, allows postverbal position of the notional subject (Sn) of the clause so that the message it conveys occupies the Rh

section.¹³ The noun phrase (NP) realizing the notional subject may be premodified, most frequently by an adjective or a past participle.¹⁴ Common postmodifiers include prepositional phrases (PP), relative clauses, participles and infinitives. In the majority of cases, the verb used in Ex and Ex-loc clauses is the lexical *be*. The analysis presented is concerned with the existential construction as one of the realizations of the presentation scale, analysing the notional subject and, if present, the adverbial, and the manner in which they comply with or diverge from the basic distribution of communicative dynamism. While it is likely that most of the clauses will incorporate a Rh notional S and the Adv will fulfil the dynamic semantic role of Setting as part of the Th section, cases may be encountered where it will constitute one of the Rh elements.

5.3.3 The pseudo-cleft sentence

The last device singled out for analysis involves so called focusing constructions, or cleft sentences. Two types being discernable – the *It*-clefts and the *Wh*-clefts (or pseudo-clefts), only the latter will be included, as in the deep structure it consists a single proposition, i.e. one clause. See ex. 14:

14. What you need most is a good rest. (ibid.)

With the copula *be* expressing an equative relationship, in the basic type the *Wh*-clause is a nominal relative clause which constitutes the Th section of the construction and the postverbal element, most often, a NP, a nominal clause or a non-finite clause standing clause-finally becomes the Rh. By dividing clearly the Th and Rh sections, the construction resolves the problem of the underlying clause, where the context-independent part is difficult to recognize, cf. *You most need a good rest*, helping to achieve BDofCD.

As regards special word-order changing devices employed to achieve BDofCD, the passive, the existential construction and the *wh*-clefts are expected to occur among the analyzed clauses most often, other types will be discussed as they arise. 6 Project outline

¹³ This holds true for the majority of *there+be* constructions. However, the Sn may also be context-dependent and therefore possess only a low degree of CD, cf. elliptical answers (*Are there any exceptions? - Yes, there are.*). This fact was brought to my attention by Professor Dušková.

¹⁴ Data obtained from Rubešová, M. (2007) „English Existential and Existential-locative Constructions (*there+be*) and their Czech Counterparts“, B.A. thesis, supervised by Markéta Malá, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, 2007.

6 Posing the problem

6.1 Interaction between GWO and FSP

Following up on section 4 above, where the means of FSP were explicated including linearity, the contextual factor and the semantic factor, at this point some important facts on the relationship between GWO and FSP will be presented which should be borne in mind while conducting the analysis.

Its function in the written discourse being influenced by the afore mentioned factors, FSP demonstrates itself by arranging CUs of a clause in the Th-Tr-Rh sequence according to the degrees of CD assigned to the individual carriers of CD so that its basic distribution from low to high is achieved. Along with this fundamental assumption, Firbas (1992: 124) emphasizes that the degrees of CD do not change even if the sequence is affected by other principles functioning in the sentence, i.e. the emotive or the rhythmical principle, and the rise of CD from low to high is disrupted. In other words, ‘the interpretative arrangement [of the clause] remains the same,’ which is given by the semantic and contextual relations of the elements realizing it. For example, if there is a context-dependent Adv performing the role of Setting and serving as the Theme of a clause, it is irrelevant whether there is a Rh element preceding or following it, the Th Adv maintains its degree of CD in any case.

It also holds that in English the level of FSP operates only as a secondary principle and is subordinated to that of the grammatical word order, which represents the primary means of expressing syntactic functions of words in an English clause (Dušková et al. 1988: 518)¹⁵. This is determined by the analytical nature of the language and only a limited stock of inflectional means it disposes, which entails that, unlike the inflectional Czech, syntactic functions of nouns, adjectives and a majority of pronouns are not signalled by their morphological structure. Consequently, it is a position of the word in the clause what signalizes its syntactic function, e.g. in a declarative sentence the noun preceding the verb is the S of the clause, whereas the noun following it functions as its O (ibid.). Stipulating the fundamental functions of both FSP and GWO, an outline of the possible consequences of their interaction follows.

¹⁵ Paraphrased in English by me.

Taking into consideration both non-transformed as well as transformed clauses (the use of which is motivated by the achievement of BDofCD) three types of situation as to the mutual operation of the GWO and the end-focus principle may arise. In the first, ideal, case, positions of the elements arranged so as to display grammatical word order are in tune with the rising CD of the information they convey, e.g. if the clause ordering is S-V-O and the interpretative arrangement thereof is Th-Tr-Rh, like in ex. sentence XX¹⁶:

15. He wore a beard and sidelocks... . (E214)

In another case, a deviation from the GWO may occur if information carried by one or more of the elements needs to receive greater prominence in contrast with the rest of the clause due to its higher degree of dynamism and as a result, its usual position changes. Then the word order is re-arranged as in ex. 16, where the usual S-V sequence has been inverted to reserve the position in end-focus for the rhematic S:

16. ...and from this kind of vanity was her greatest enjoyment in any of the parties. (S 134)

The next possible situation that may arise from the simultaneous application of the grammatical principle and FSP principle is when the former prevails and a generates a deviation from BDofCD. In such cases elements conveying new pieces of information occur in positions which are customary for those conveying known information and vice-versa, i.e. rhematic elements appear clause-initially and thematic ones post-verbally. Note the pre-verbal position of the rhematic S in ex. 17 whose context-independence is signalled by the first mention indefinite article *a/an*. Also the semantics of the verb is to be considered: expressing appearance of the Ph (*a tall, tanned...man*) onto a scene which is set by the PP *into the room*, whose contextual boundness is indicated by the anaphoric reference expressed by *the*:

17. ...and just before seven a tall, tanned, good-looking middle-aged man wearing a dinner jacket came into the room.... (P.Roth, Everyman, p.34)

Apart from the three types of clauses mentioned above there are special syntactic tools English can make use of to change the order of elements in the underlying clause with the aim to achieve basic distribution of CD. Yet even within this group, deviations may occur, when either the GWO is not adhered to or the basic distribution of CD is violated.

6.2 Hypothesis

The present study attempts to analyze the realization of the end-focus principle in the language of older and contemporary fiction and the manner in which the principle is either adhered to or deviated from, depending on the factors explicated above. As English has undergone transformation from an inflectional type of language into an analytical one, which brought about a certain degree of fixed word order, it is to be expected that clauses excerpted from the older text will demonstrate higher degree of deviation from what is considered as regular word order from the point of view of the present-day language. In other words, in the older text sample susceptibility of word order to the requirements of FSP is likely to be more profound than in the contemporary one.

As regards frequency, it is expected that the majority of clauses will display both GWO and BDofCD. Another assumption to be derived from what has been stated so far is that the grammatical word order will probably be followed more rigorously than the BDofCD, and this shall apply to the modern text more than to the older one.

However, there are several pressing questions to be answered. In the clauses where both GWO and the end-focus principles are adhered to, what are the means of realization of the initial elements which are invariably thematic? What are the means of signalling their context-dependence?

In clauses whose word order does not follow the grammatical principle, what are the structures that accommodate the demands of FSP? And what is the motivation for their use?

In clauses where the basic distribution of information weight is violated through the enforcement of GWO, what are the syntactic elements involved and how is their degree of CD influenced by the relative character of the phenomenon?

And finally, when there is a clause whose underlying structure has been transformed and word order changed, is basic distribution of communicative dynamism achieved in it at all times?

These are the principal issues to be taken up by the analysis below.

6.3 Material

Investigation of the problems raised was conducted on two samples of fiction, Jane Austen's *Sense and Sensibility* (1811) represents the older text and *Everyman* (2006) by Philip Roth was selected as a contemporary novel. In each text, 100 deviations were to be identified for further analysis, providing a total of 200 instances altogether. Frequency of the deviating constructions would then be assessed against the number of clauses displaying both GWO and BDofCD regularly.

In the preliminary stage of the analysis, we were concerned exclusively with the following types of clauses: non-transformed clauses displaying both GWO and BDofCD, non-transformed clauses containing a deviation from GWO due to FSP and transformed clauses comprising the passive, existential construction and a pseudo-cleft sentence.¹⁷ The context being of critical importance to the studied sample, extracted clauses come from continuous stretches of text, selected haphazardly, the Austen text ranging over three chapters (pp. 26 – 41) and Roth's text providing material from p.1 to p.35. In the older text 321 clauses exactly yielded the desired amount of deviations, in the contemporary text it was necessary to analyze 494 clauses to obtain 100 deviations as outlined by the thesis assignment.¹⁸

¹⁷ These were the categories in line with the thesis assignment.

¹⁸ Based on the nature of the phenomenon under research, the length of text in clauses that would provide us with the required amount of material for analysis could not be determined in advance.

However, after the extracted clauses were sorted and classified, the need arose to add another category which would contain clauses where a deviation from BDofCD was identified. As a result, one more type was added (see 6.4).

By adducing another type of deviation to be monitored, the required amount of research material reduced, i.e. one hundred instances of deviations from GWO and BDofCD from each text was eventually obtained from the first 201 clauses of the older sample and 240 clauses of the contemporary one. These constitute the corpus of 100 deviations for each text, with the rest of the material formed by clauses with GWO and BDofCD. The remaining clauses were made use of as a control sample during the analysis.

Working with a sample of written language, only clauses from narrative passages of the novels were extracted, omitting direct speech, since in speech FSP is influenced by the additional factor of intonation. However, as Dušková (1999a: 250) claims, ‘in written language, on the other hand, intonation can be regarded as a concomitant feature of an FSP structure indicated by other means’ and as such may provide support in resolving ambiguities. Only finite declarative clauses were accepted for analysis. Sentences where the direct speech was introduced by reporting verbs were taken into consideration only if they included a finite clause outside of the direct speech.

All clauses included in the present study can be found in Appendix 2, where the number of page and sentence it comes from is given. Each clause has been assigned a letter-and-number mark, e.g. S135, based on the title (*S* for Sense and Sensibility and *E* for Everyman) and the clause’s number in each of the two samples.

In this way also example clauses used in the main body of the text are referenced. Where suitable, interpretation of the English construction was supported by Czech translations (mine). The immediately preceding context is given only in exceptional cases, otherwise, reference to the Appendix is given where the clause may be inspected within context.

Each of the sections includes tables where quantified results of the analysis are given. Appendix 1 provides tables where the structures under discussion within each of the types of clauses are analyzed, giving a qualitative overview of the represented phenomenon.

6.4 Method

First, every clause was inspected from the syntactic point of view – its syntactic pattern was determined and the words realizing individual clause elements were written down into a table. At this point any deviations identifiable on the surface level, i.e. those from GWO, were recorded. Then the FSP analysis took place, identifying FSP functions of every phrase within the clause. To assign the degree of CD to each element, the clause was set against its immediately preceding context so that the context-dependent elements could be recognized from the context-independent ones. This step was supported by inspecting the presence of grammatical means used to signal context-dependence which were scrutinized especially in the phrases constituting the theme and rheme. Again, violations of the basic distribution of CD were taken notice of. Along with FSP roles, semantic structure was viewed, this time focus was given primarily to the notional component of the verb phrase, and the dynamic semantic roles of the clause elements were determined.

A note should be made regarding the identification of deviations within distributional fields. Following Dušková's procedure (1999a: 250), clauses were selected for the analysis since they provide the distributional field where 'different word order arrangements are primarily revealed'. Therefore, the communicative fields constituted by complex sentences at the higher level and the subfields of phrases at the lower were left aside and are commented on in the study only if relevant to the issue in question.

As a result, the clause could be classified according to the type of deviation it included. At this point the original research intention of the thesis was followed, i.e. categories and subcategories were designed as given in section 5:

1. **Clauses displaying GWO and BDofCD**
2. **Clauses with deviations from GWO due to the operation of BDofCD**
 - 2a. Clauses containing a fronted element
 - 2b. Clauses with reversal of the customary order of post-verbal elements

2c. Clauses comprising inversion

3. Clauses comprising special word-order changing syntactic constructions

3a. Passive

3b. Existential construction

3c. Pseudo-cleft sentence

Type **1** was considered what could be called a “default” one. Those grouped under **2** and **3** were recognized easily, since the deviation from GWO projects itself into the linear arrangement. With the syntactic analysis discovering any violations of the GWO, as we proceeded to the step of determining FSP structure, the need arose to allocate some of the clauses to another type, based on their displaying a deviation from BDofCD, which was revealed only after closer analysis of contextual and semantic aspects was performed (Type **4**). Where necessary, subtypes were further added, their addition being justified in the respective sections.

7. Results of the analysis

Before discussing in detail the results obtained from the analysis, an overview of the respective types of clauses as they adhere to or deviate from the GWO and BDofCD should be given: clauses without transformation displaying both GWO and BDofCD (Type 1), clauses without transformation containing a deviation from GWO (Type 2), transformed clauses (Type 3) and finally clauses without transformation containing a deviation from BDofCD (Type 4). In Table 1 there is a general overview of the types as they occurred in *Sense and Sensibility* (Text 1) and *Everyman* (Text 2):

	Type 1		Type 2		Type 3		Type 4	
	Σ	%	Σ	%	Σ	%	Σ	%
Text 1	101	41.9	9	52.9	34	53.1	57	47.9
Text 2	140	58.1	8	47.1	30	46.9	62	52.1
Text 1+2	241	100.0	17	100.0	64	100.0	119	100.0
441 clauses accepted for analysis								
Representation of Types 1 - 4 in the sample:								
	Type 1	54.6%	Type 2	3.9%	Type 3	14.5%	Type 4	27.0%

Table 1 Overview of the types of analyzed clauses

As for the frequency of the Types under attention in the text samples, Table 1 suggests that clauses realizing both GWO and BDofCD were the most frequent type in both of the texts (the older text comprising 41.9% of Type 1 clauses and the contemporary 58.1% of the total of 241 clauses). The second largest group is made up by clauses containing a deviation from BDofCD (Type 4) with the contemporary text yielding a little more than a half of them (52.1%) and the older text providing 47.9% of clauses of this type. In terms of presence of transformed clauses containing special syntactic devices serving to change the underlying word order to achieve BDofCD (Type 3) the older text provided 53.1 % of the constructions analyzed while the modern contained 46.9% of them. Lastly, the smallest group of clauses, those with a deviation from the GWO (Type 2) had an almost equal representation in both samples (52.9% of the total were recorded for the older text and the remaining 47.1% for the contemporary sample). As expected, Type 1 clauses had the highest frequency in the excerpted corpus. However, clauses deviating from BDofCD were also numerous, forming

about a quarter of it. Type 3 and Type 2 had lower frequencies, rendering 14.5% and 3.9% respectively.

For the sake of clarity, there is a more comprehensive table below (Table 2) giving detailed numbers for each type of clauses and the structures and types of deviations contained in them. In this respect, Type 1 is to be kept separately from the remaining Types 2-4, which provided us with the corpus of 200 instances involving possible deviations to be analyzed. No further comments to Table 2 will be made at this point, critical figures being mentioned at the beginning of the respective sections.

		Text 1	Text 2	Text 1 + Text 2	
Type 1 GWO & BDofCD				Σ	%
	Type 1	101	140	241	100.0
↓ 200 instances ↓					
		Σ	Σ	Σ	%
Type 2 Deviations from GWO	Fronting	5	4	9	4.5
	Reversal of postverbal el	1	0	1	0.5
	Inversion (Adv-V-S)	3	4	7	3.5
	Type 2 subtotal	9	8	17	8.5
Type 3 Special devices serving to achieve BDofCD	Passive				
	GWO&BDofCD	22	10	32	16.0
	Deviations from GWO	4	1	5	2.5
	Deviations from BDofCD	6	8	14	7.0
	Passive subtotal	32	19	51	25.5
	Exist constr <i>there+be</i>	2	10	12	6.0
	Pseudocleft sentence	0	1	1	0.5
	Type 3 subtotal	34	30	64	32.0
Type 4 BDofCD deviations	Type 4 subtotal	57	62	119	59.5
		100	100	200	100.0
TOTAL	200				

Table 2 A comprehensive overview of the types of analyzed clauses

7.1 Clauses displaying both GWO and basic distribution of CD

The largest group in the studied sample was formed by clauses in which both the grammatical principle and the end-focus principle operate simultaneously, realizing customary syntactic patterns, i.e. SVO(Adv), SVOCs(Adv), SVOCo(Adv), etc. while at the same time distributing the degrees of CD over clause elements from the lowest to the highest as the clause unfolds to achieve the sequence *Th-Tr-Rh*. The old text contributed by 101 clauses and the modern by 140 clauses to Type 1 (41.9% and 58.1% respectively; a total of 54.6% of the 441 clauses excerpted). In clauses of Type 1 the assumption holds that English word order places the agent of the verbal action at the beginning of the clause, where it performs the FSP function of the Theme, i.e. the communicative starting point which is fully context-dependent. Another element which may occupy this position is an optional Adv integrated into the clause structure. An overview of representation of both elements follows with further comments to the typical as well as less frequent occurrences.

7.1.1 Initial subject

In the present group 241 clauses with BDofCD and GWO (Type 1) were classified (101 from Text 1, 140 from the Text 2), constituting a total of 241 subject NPs¹⁹. An overwhelming majority of Ss (208) was expressed, the remaining 33 were ellipted due to coordination of clauses. Ellipsis was possible not only due to structural reasons, i.e. verbatim recoverability of the elements which were ellipted, but also thanks to the low degree of newsworthiness they possess. They include relatives, personal pronouns, proper names as well as several quantifier proforms used as a means of anaphoric reference.²⁰

²⁰ Expressions that were ellipted: anaphoric personal pronouns (whole predication in some cases) - E35, E37, E39, E90, E129, E163, E174, S21, S39, S63, S90, S96, S97, S100, S175, S181, S183, S188; proper names – E20, E32, E35, S36; relative pronouns – E3, E11, E23, E29, E185; context-bound quantifier – E95.

	Ellipted S		Expressed S		Total	
	Σ	%	Σ	%	Σ	% / Type 1
Text 1	13	39.4	85	40.7	98	40.7
Text 2	20	60.6	123	59.3	143	59.3
Total						
Type 1	33	100.0	208	100.0	241	100.0

Table 3 Ellipted and expressed initial S in clauses with BDofCD & GWO (Type 1)

Turning towards the 208 instances of expressed subject, 163 initial subject NPs²¹ were inspected with regard to their incorporating context-dependent expressions which indicate their givenness by the preceding context and hence thematic nature. An overview of these customary grammatical means of expressing context-dependence (the remaining 45 expressions, including proper names, lexically cohesive items or context-bound quantifiers were accounted for separately as “Other” in Tables 7.1 E and 7.1 S in App.1). The grammatical devices signalling the context-dependent nature of the S NP are given in **Table 4**:

	Text 1		Text 2		Type 1	
	Σ	%	Σ	%	Σ	%
anaphoric <i>the</i>	7	12.1	16	15.2	23	14.1
personal pronoun	26	44.8	55	52.4	81	49.7
possessive	17	29.3	15	14.3	32	19.6
relative	8	13.8	19	18.1	27	16.6
Total						
Type 1	58	100	105	100.0	163	100.0

Table 4 Expressed subject – devices signalling context-dependence

Table 4 shows that the highest incidence among expressions having anaphoric reference to an item in the preceding context was recorded for personal pronouns which form 49.7% of all the devices searched, their occurrence in the older text being lower than in the contemporary one. Similar frequencies were recorded for context-dependent possessive and relative pronouns, forming 19.6% and 16.6% of Type 1. As regards the definite article *the* used to

²¹ „Initial“ is to be understood as preverbal. Most of the NPs occupied the very first position in the clause, however, some of them were preceded by conjunctions or disjuncts (both groups were disregarded). For the discussion of initial relatives functioning as other sentence elements than S see 7.1.2.

express anaphoric reference, its occurrence was more than two times higher in the contemporary text.

To be more specific, possessive pronouns are often exploited by Austen in coordination of several independent clauses, see construction in ex. 18:

18. *Lady Middleton was not more than six or seven and twenty; her face was handsome, her figure tall and striking, and her address graceful.* (S81-84)

The sentence under discussion represents an example of a reduced Quality scale, four of them to be more specific, as realized within the distributional fields constituted by each of the clauses. In the first clause, *Lady Middleton* (B) is ascribed Quality (*not more than six or seven and twenty*) by the copula *be* performing the role of Ascription of Quality here. In the following clause the role of the B is referenced anaphorically by the possessive pronoun *her* operating as the determiner of the subject NP *her face* to which in turn another Q is ascribed (*handsome*).²² This sequence is reiterated in the next two clauses as well, the copula being ellipsed on the grounds of structure, the possessive constituting the Thpro of the distributional field.

As regards relative pronouns functioning as syntactic subjects, *who*, *which* and *that* were used most often and an occurrence of the relative possessive *whose* referring to an animate antecedent was recorded, too (see App.1., Tables 7.1). As for other means used to point back in the text to a preceding referent, expressions like proper names (cf. *Lady Middleton* as a thematic element in ex.18 above) or proforms were used. The latter invariably constitute the Th due to their having only a low degree of CD, as they refer to entities which have been previously introduced into the context. The following example presents an occurrence of anaphoric use of a quantifier:

19. *(He had been to several families that morning, in hopes of procuring some addition to their number,)*

²² From the point of view of lexical cohesion this is a case of meronymous relation between the referent as a whole (*Lady Middleton*) and its parts, or aspects (*her face*, *her figure*, *her address*).

...but it was moonlight and everybody was full of engagements.(S165-167)

Also note in ex.19 the distributional field constituted by the clause following *and*; here the quantifying pronominal compound *everybody* performs the Th. Typically, quantifiers are regarded as expressions with high degree of CD, yet in the present case *everybody* is co-referential with *several families* from the preceding clause that reduces its dynamism on the grounds of anaphoric reference.

To summarize the findings on the subject NP operating in the thematic section of clauses displaying both GWO and BDofCD, the ratio of expressed as against unexpressed subjects was 208 to 33. Constituting the communicative unit with the lowest degree of CD in the whole distributional field, its context-dependence was signalled by several types of expressions. Apart from the main categories, such as the personal and possessive pronouns, anaphoric use of *the* and the relative pronouns, several instances of quantifier proforms were encountered which functioned as context-dependent CUs (see App.I, Table 7.1. E, S).

7.1.2 Initial relative other than the subject

Considering the clause-initial position further, the present type also comprises clauses where BDofCD is in agreement with GWO even if they are introduced by an element other than the subject. In the majority of cases, this is realized by a relative pronoun functioning as the object of the clause. Both direct and prepositional initial objects realized by the relative pronouns *who/which* were identified²³ but instances of adverbial expressions *where* and *why* appearing in the clause-initial position were also encountered.²⁴

7.1.3 Initial thematic adverbial

Based on the section 4.3.1 dedicated to the subject of the Firbasian scales, clauses which displayed both GWO and BDofCD were scrutinized for the presence of initial thematic adverbials performing the dynamic semantic role of Setting, providing background for the

²³ Initial Od – S24, S86, S98, S149, S161, E131, E146. Initial Oprep – S 79, E46, E100, E105. Initial Oi (ommission of *(to) whom*) – E82.

²⁴ Adv expressions introducing relative clauses with BDofCD and GWO: *why* – (ommitted) E172; *where* – E201, E121, E59.

Dependent restrictive relative clauses introduced by: *that* – 149. Zero relative – 146.

CU(s) attaining the communicative goal and as such possessing low degree of CD. In this respect the modern text sample was considerably more representative both in terms of number of the integrated adjuncts identified (79.2% to 20.8% of all occurrences within Type 1) and the variety of their static semantic roles (the Austen text yielded 5 instances of Advts of 3 different semantic types while the contemporary novel provided a total of 19 occurrences classified into all the five categories under attention). The quantitative overview is presented in **Table 5** (see fn.25-29 for a list of examples as classified into the types).

	Text 1	Text 2	Type 1	
	Σ	Σ	Σ	%
Adv time ²⁵	13	2	15	62.5
Adv place ²⁶	2	0	2	8.3
Adv concession ²⁷	2	2	4	16.6
Adv accompanying circumstances ²⁸	1	0	1	4.1
Adv cause/reason ²⁹	1	1	2	8.3
Total	19	5	24	100.0
%	79.2	20.8	100.0	

Table 5 Semantic types of initial thematic adverbials

From the point of view of FSP, thematic adverbials of time and place function as Settings most readily, which was indeed verified by the results obtained, the first type constituting 62.5% of the whole sample and the latter 16.6%. These were often realized by single-word adverbs or short PPs and NPs, such as *here, then, in winter, on the bus*, etc. and appeared also in multiple phrases, e.g. *...in his bed the night before the surgery...* (E98) or *...here, after a moment's silence* (E 56). The former constitutes a PP and a NP both expressing location; the latter is realized by an adverb and a PP. Interestingly, *here*, which almost always expresses location in space, is used as expressing the semantic meaning of a temporal Adv, suggesting location in a sequence of events (see App 2 for context).

However, also other semantic types were exploited in the sample clauses to provide background to the event expressed by the VP, for example the adverbial of accompanying

²⁵ Adv time: E20, E21, E37, E56 (2x), E89, E 98, E116, E124, E126, E150, E166, E185; S140, S141.

²⁶ Adv place: E98, E128.

²⁷ Adv concession: E34, E158; S89, S121

²⁸ Adv accomp.circum.: E36

²⁹ Adv cause: S30, E43

circumstances. Compare the two semantic types in ex.20 as realized by an *-ing* participial clause and an AdvP with an *-ing* clause as its modifier respectively, as they are used to create a setting for the two coordinated predications, the first specifying accompanying circumstances of the first VP and the second giving a temporal sequence of the events. Also note the rising degree of dynamism of the respective carriers of information, starting from the low end represented by the definite article *the* in the adverbial (the article expressing anaphoric reference) , followed by the context-dependent personal pronoun *she* realizing the subject, up to the indefinite article *a* (first-mention) in the object NP:

20. *Turning toward the coffin, she picked up a clod of dirt,*

(Set) (B) (Q) (Sp)

and before dropping it onto the lid, said lightly, [...]. (E40-41)

One more interesting example in terms of structure and semantics is presented in ex. 21:

21. *A gentle-faced woman in her mid-thirties, plainly pretty as her mother had been, (she looked all at once in no way authoritative or even brave but 3) like a ten-year-old overwhelmed.)* (E35-37)

Example 21 represents an instance of a verbless adverbial clause introduced by *a gentle....* which is ‘characteristically interpreted as concessive or causal‘ by Quirk et al. (1985: 1314).³⁰ Indeed, if the clause is paraphrased with *although*, the meaning of concession readily arises from the hypothetical comparison with *a ten-year-old*, “*Although she was a gentle-faced woman...she looked...like a ten-year-old overwhelmed.*“ Again, we can see how the information provided by the initial thematic adverbial recedes as a mere Setting when the contrasted with the more dynamic CUs which follow in the distributional field.

To conclude, the thematic adverbials which occurred within the clauses excerpted and classified as Type 1 (those displaying BDofCD as well as GWO) were mostly identified as expressing temporal and locative meanings, although a small number of other semantic types

³⁰ The reference as well as classification of the clause under discussion have been provided to me by Prof.Dušková.

with lower frequencies were identified, including the AdvS of concession, accompanying circumstances and cause.

7.2 Clauses with deviations from the GWO due to the operation of FSP

As stated above, the principle of grammatical word order operates as the primary factor influencing the information arrangement within the English clause, which is given by the limited inflectional means used to indicate the syntactic function of clause elements that the language has at its disposal. However, several structural discrepancies were determined in the grammatical arrangement of some of the analyzed clauses which were enforced by the requirements of the FSP to indicate a higher degree of CD of one of the clause elements. In the cases where GWO was deviated from the mechanisms employed to achieve BDofCD included fronting (9 out of 200 deviations, 53% of the type) inversion (7 out of of 200, 41.2 % of the type) and reversal of the customary order of postverbal elements (only 1 instance out of 200, 5.8 % of the type). Somewhat surprising as to the presence of deviations from GWO in the respective texts was the fact that the older, Text 1, included only one occurrence more when compared with Text 2. An overview of deviations from GWO in the individual sentences can be found in App.1, Table 7.2.

	Text 1	Text 2	Text 1+2	
	Σ	Σ	Σ	%
Fronting	5	4	9	53.0
Reversal of postverbal el.	1	0	1	5.8
Inversion (Adv-V-S)	3	4	7	41.2
Total	9	8	17	100.0
%	53.0	47.0	100.0	100.0

Table 6 Type 2 - Deviations from GWO

7.2.1 Fronting

Fronting was the most frequent type of GWO deviation identified, with 5 instances in Text 1 and 4 instances in Text 2. Following there are two examples of clauses with fronted elements

as analyzed based on Quirk et al.'s explication of the possible motivations for using the mechanism, i.e. 'to echo thematically what has been contextually given' or 'to point a parallelism between two parts of a clause or...two parts of neighbouring clauses' (1985: 1377-78). Example 22 represents the first case, in particular we are concerned with fronting of a direct O realized by the demonstrative pronoun *that* which refers anaphorically to the preceding clause (see parenthesis for context):

22. *He was overcome with a feeling for his father but that his antagonism denied him means to release.* (E73-74)

The link between the two clauses (realizing the patterns *S-V-by-agent* and *S-V-Oi-Od* respectively) is established explicitly by the use of the coordinating conjunction *but* expressing an adversative relation and at the same time the pronominal form constituting the fronted element is used in the latter to provide further link to the former. However, the construction is rather ambiguous, since the referent of the pronoun cannot be determined easily. Either *that* points back to the modifier of the agentive PP *with a feeling for his dead father* or it stands for the entire initial declarative clause, which would function as a direct O of the underlying complex sentence, cf.: *His antagonism denied him means to release the feeling for his dead father.* x *His antagonism denied him means to release (the fact) that he was overcome with a feeling....* Neither the semantics of the verb *to release* helps³¹ to resolve the problem. Finally, if we consider the FSP structure of the whole sentence, we can see that the agentive PP functions as the Rh of the first clause, introducing a context-independent NP *a feeling for his dead father* into the communication. In the second clause it would then be thematized and expressed pronominally. Unfortunately, similar interpretation may be applied to the first clause in its entirety as well. However, by means of fronting of the Th basic distribution of CD over the clause elements is achieved, the context-independent NP *means to release* being placed in the end-focus.

The second type of constructions including fronting which was identified in the sample is typical of 'the heightened language of rather mannered rhetoric', which is very well

³¹ OED gives the meaning 'to make or set free' as the commonly used sense. *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50201936?query_type=word&queryword=release&first=1&max_to_show=10&sort_type=alpha&result_place=2&search_id=QpUg-gghbQH-1701&hilite=50201936

represented by Jane Austen's authorial style (Quirk et al. 1985: 1378). See the two examples in exx.24 and 25:

24. As a house, Barton Cottage, though small, was comfortable and compact, but as a cottage it was defective, (S10-11)

25. In shewing kindness to his cousins, therefore, he had the real satisfaction of a good heart; and in settling a family of females only in his cottage, he had all the satisfaction of a sportsman;.... (S155-156)

In both sentences above, two clauses are paralleled; however, the relationship between each pair is different. In ex. 24, where comparative phrases are fronted, the relation suggested by the conjunction *but* is one of contrast, the two characteristics *comfortable and compact* vs. *defective* (both functioning as Cs) standing in opposition, whereas in ex. 25 the two clauses express rather a comparison or a sequence (compare the coordination by *and* with the adversative *but* in 24 and the reiteration of the Od *satisfaction*).

As regards the FSP roles of the fronted parts, they 'may be prosodically marked either as marked theme or marked focus, the latter typically with **divided focus**³², (Quirk et al 1985: 1378) The first situation occurs in ex.25 where the fronted PPs are both context-dependent and function as themes of the two neighbouring clauses, the function of Rhemes proper being performed by the subject complements occupying final position in the clause. In comparison, in ex. 24, both fronted elements have generic reference (features of the building as one of the class of houses/cottages are contrasted) and there is no referential identity established with *their own house* (S7) mentioned in the preceding context. Therefore they can be interpreted as marked rhemes.³³

³² Assignment of nuclear focus to two items in an information unit. See Quirk et al. 1985: 1372.

³³ Considering the factor of intonation, the whole sentence structure would probably receive **concatenated focus** in speech- rise on the first fronted element prepares us for a climactic falling nucleus, cf. As a HÓUSE,...., but as a CÓTTAGE,... (Quirk et al.1985: 1374).

To conclude, in all three examples above the operation of FSP resulted in fronting of a clause element causing a disruption of the grammatical principle. The analyzed sample has proven that the motivation for deviation from GWO is the achievement of BDofCD, with the most dynamic element standing in end-focus.

7.2.2 Inversion

Another subtype of deviation from the GWO is displayed by clauses in which the customary S – V sequence has been inverted into V - S due to the presence of an initial Adv which is contextually bound and operates as the Th. Preceding the verb of existence or appearance the Adv serves to set the scene for the phenomenon introduced by the Rh S placed at the end of the clause. In the extracted sample inversion as a structural deviation employed to achieve end-focus³⁴ was identified in a total of seven clauses. When used with intransitive verbs the Adv – V – S structure alternates with the existential-locative construction with *there*, which was the case of the clauses in the present sample except for one. Five out of six clauses incorporate the verb *be* and one clause including *came*³⁵ represent implementation of the presentation scale.

As regards the morphology of the initial adverbials, five of them had extended structure (realized by a postmodified PP) and three consisted of a single adverb or a PP with a pronominal head. Below there is an example of the adverb functioning as a temporal Adv of the presentative clause:

26. *Then came the sons, men in their late forties and looking, with their glossy black hair and their eloquent dark eyes and the sensual fullness of their wide, identical mouths, just like their father (and like their uncle) at their age.* (E 66)

This is a good example of the GWO submitting to the demands of the principle of end-focus which co-operates with the principle of end-weight in ex.26. Within the presentation scale

³⁴ To be distinguished from grammatical inversion, which is obligatory. See section 5.2.3 above.

³⁵ Clauses with Adv-V-S word order realizing presentation scale: V(*be*) - E1, E143, E199, S17, S18. V(*come*): - E166.

For an account of the alternative existential-locative construction without *there* with Adv-V-S word order see section 7.3.3 below.

realized by it, the S *the sons* represents the Ph being presented on the scene set by the initial temporal Adv *then* while the appositional postmodification performs the dynamic semantic role of specification, adding some characteristic of the referent(s) of the subject NP.

As for the semantic types of Adv's identified as the initial elements of inverted clauses, three of them express spatial location, one of them temporal location and also one Adv the semantics of which was not as straightforward as in the others, see ex. 27 below:

27. *Lady Middleton piqued herself upon the elegance of her table, and of all her domestic arrangements; and from this kind of vanity was her greatest enjoyment in any of their parties.*
(S134)

Here the context-dependence of the Adv is signalled by *this* functioning as the determiner in the NP constituting the modifier of the PP which realizes the Adv as well as through lexical means, namely the synonymous relation between the verb *pique*³⁶ and the noun *vanity*. If the sentence is regarded an instance of the Presentation scale, which would be supported by the presentative function of *be* followed by the Ph-element *her greatest enjoyment*, the initial context-dependent Adv should be invariably interpreted as Set which would be supported by its dependence on the preceding context and hence low degree of CD. However, its structure being similar to adverbials of cause (e.g. *from a sense of duty, from ignorance, etc.*³⁷), the semantics demonstrates itself fully when we paraphrase the clause, cf. *This kind of vanity caused her greatest enjoyment in any of their parties*. Leaving the conflict unresolved, it can be stated with certainty that inversion in the present clause is a consequence of the operation of the end-focus principle.

To summarize, inversion showed to be the second most frequent of the deviations from GWO arising from the realization of basic distribution of CD. Incorporating an initial thematic Adv expressing Set, it was used equally in the older and the contemporary text to present a Ph formed by the S, realizing the Presentation scale.

³⁶ *OED* defines the reflexive verb *pique* as 'to take pride in' or 'congratulate (oneself) on'. Oxford English Dictionary Online. Accessed 17 August 2010.
http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50179959?query_type=word&queryword=pique&first=1&max_to_show=10&sort_type=alpha&result_place=7&search_id=QpUg-AQ06uX-7170&hilite=50179959

³⁷ Examples taken from Dušková et al. 1994: 461.

7.2.3 Reversal of the customary order of postverbal elements

The last type of deviation from GWO on the level of clause to be discussed comprises the reversal of the customary arrangement of postverbal elements, i.e. shifting of Oprep, Co or an Adv to the position before Od or of an Adv to the position before Cs (Dušková 1999: 252). Postponement, as it is termed by Quirk et al., occurred only once in the analyzed sample, giving rise to the syntactic pattern SVOPrepOd.³⁸ Since the one instance contains an interesting use of reference it is given in ex.28 below:

28. (*Mrs. Dashwood and her daughters were met at the door of the house by Sir John, who welcomed them to Barton Park with unaffected sincerity, and as he attended them to the drawing-room,...*)

...repeated to the young ladies the concern, which the same subject had drawn from him the day before, at being unable to get any smart young men to meet them. (S156-160)

As regards the mechanism of reversal of postverbal elements, in ex.RR the context dependent prepositional O has been shifted before the direct O which it normally precedes. In the NP realizing the Od the noun *concern* is determined by the definite article which seems to express two types of reference at the same time. At first, the semantics of the verb *repeat* seems to suggest that the referent of the object NP has already been mentioned in situational context³⁹, however, immediately in the following non-defining relative clause introduced by *which* the reader finds out that Sir John's intention to mention *the concern* was not realized the day before, the actual content of his concern being expressed only by the discontinuous postmodifying participial clause introduced by *at*, the most dynamic element of the clause specifying the Rh. Therefore, the reference expressed by *the* determining the noun in the direct object NP is a cataphoric one. Note the use of the discontinuous NP realizing the Od, whereby the postmodification is severed from its head by an intervening relative clause. Both postmodifying clauses have a rather extended structure and, being placed clause finally, their

³⁸ Also the pattern SVAdvOd occurred, however this was in a subfield realized by a PP (E141 and E105). The present study being concerned only with finite clauses, the instance was not included. Also see App.2.

³⁹ Unlike the immediately preceding context, as the referent of *the concern* proved irretrievable upon inspecting the preceding stretch of the text. See App.2.

position is clearly governed by the end-weight principle. Yet only in the case of the specifying *-ing* clause does the end-weight principle co-operates with the principle of end-focus.

Also ex. 28 proved how the deviation from GWO, consisting in the reversal of the customary order of postverbal elements in this last type, arises due to the assertion of the principle of end-focus. Apart from this last subtype, which recorded only a singular occurrence, fronting and inversion were encountered, the former causing the highest number of deviations in this type of clauses (8 cases), the latter following it with only one clause less (7 instances).

7.3 Clauses with special devices serving to achieve basic distribution of CD

7.3.1 Passive construction

The analysis showed the passive to be the most frequent type of transformed finite construction among the excerpted clauses. The hypothesis for the analysed sample was that the majority of constructions in this group will display the typical pattern, i.e. transforming the basic active construction of a simple sentence $S - V - O$ into the corresponding passive $O - V_{passive} - (by S)$, complying with the FSP pattern $Th - Tr - Rh$ as well as achieving GWO. In total, passive construction formed a whole quarter of the total of Types 2-4 (25.5%, 51 out of 200), within the subtype of special devices it accounted for 80% of all clauses (51 out of 64). **Table 7** presents an overview of the possible types of passive clauses from the point of application of GWO and BDofCD as identified in both the old and the contemporary text:

	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	TOTAL
Agent expressed	12	2	2	16
Agent not expressed	20	3	12	55
TOTAL	32	5	14	51
%	62.7	9.8	27.5	100.0

Table 7 GWO and BDofCD in passive constructions

The majority of passive clauses displayed both BDoCD and grammatical word order (62.7%, 32 out of 51 passives). However, we encountered several deviations from this arrangement not only on the superficial level projected by the word order, but also on the deeper level, where the interpretative arrangement of the elements is governed by FSP, these minor subtypes include 9.8% (5 out of 51) and 27.5% (14 out of 51) of all passive constructions, respectively. Before looking at all the three subtypes in detail, a brief note should be made on the criteria used for identifying the passive constructions.

Out of the original number of passive construction excerpted it was necessary to eliminate those which, despite their formal features, did not represent examples of the passive voice.⁴⁰ The criteria used were taken from Dušková's article "On Some Functional and Stylistic Aspects of the Passive Voice in Present-Day English". First, upon encountering a construction of *be* and a past participle we tested the clause by transforming it into the active, i.e. S of the assumed passive would become the O of the active and the agent, if present, would realize the S of the corresponding active construction. On these basic grounds we were forced to exclude the clause in ex. 29 below:

29. ...*her visit was long enough to detract something from their first admiration, by shewing that, though perfectly well-bred, she was reserved, cold, and....* (S92)

Putting the underlined construction to the transformation test, we can see that the verb *to reserve* does function transitively, but not with animate objects, that is, in the meaning used in example 29.⁴¹ Therefore we must consider it an instance of the copula *be* and a past participle realizing a subject complement which is also supported by the co-ordinated adjective *cold*. As demonstrated in example 1, if the semantics of the verb was changed by the construction's transformation into the active, the clause was excluded. Let us adduce one more example of such treatment in ex. 30. First, note the clause E127 excluded on the grounds of using the converted verb *to head*, which is normally used intransitively, i.e. it does not take an object which could function as the subject of the corresponding passive:

⁴⁰ The criteria used were taken from Dušková's article "On Some Functional and Stylistic Aspects of the Passive Voice in Present-Day English", in L. Dušková (1999), *Studies in the English Language*, Part 1, Prague: Karolinum, Charles University Press. Referred to as (Dušková 1999b) in this paper.

⁴¹ Compare with the use of *to reserve* meaning *to book* in „*I reserved a table at the new pizza place.*“ Arguably, this meaning of *to reserve* would be permissible with animate objects in some restricted contexts, such as „*I'd like to reserve you as my dancer for tonight.*“ (The example sentences are mine, revised by a native speaker.)

30. ...and they were headed for the hospital where he had been born. (E127, E128)

Also, one more remark to be made regarding the semantics of the verb form is connected with ex. 30, where one of the most frequent English passive verb phrases *to be born* is used. In this case the past participle of *to bear* combined with *be* again points to the passive use; however, the verb is hardly ever used in the active voice in this meaning, cf. *She had born him in that hospital...*, the interpretation being one of a copula and a Cs. For that reason we decided not to include the verb in our analysis.

Let us now turn to the discussion of the individual types of passive clauses. Their representation in each of the fiction samples is given in **Table 8** below, followed by a detailed account of each type. Also, a list of passive clauses classified in the three types can be found in App.1, Table 7.3.

	Text 1				Text 2			
	BDofCD & GWO	GWO dev.	BDofCD dev.	TOTAL	BDofCD &GWO	GWO dev.	BDofCD dev.	TOTAL
Agent expressed	10	2	1	13	2	0	1	3
Agent unexpressed	12	2	5	19	8	1	0	15
TOTAL	22	4	6	32	10	1	8	19
%	68.8	12.5	18.8	100.0%	52.7	5.3	42.1	100.0%

Table 8 Application of the GWO and BDofCD - types of passive constructions

7.3.1.1 Clauses displaying both GWO and BDofCD

Considering the clauses which demonstrate both linear arrangement of clause elements according to the grammatical principle as well as basic distribution of CD, this type was determined most frequently in both samples, as we can see in Table 8 (68.8% / 22 out of 32 clauses in Text 1, 52.7%/ 10 out of 19 clauses in Text 2), realizing 62.8% of all passive constructions identified (see Table 7). In these clauses the S of the passive is invariably thematic, expressing a context-dependent entity. This is signalled by a variety of anaphoric

devices, from which we recognized those with the highest incidence in **Table 9**, in particular the definite article and personal and possessives pronouns. The group labelled “Other” includes various anaphoric devices with singular occurrences, such as proper names or lexical items establishing a cohesive tie with a referent from the preceding context⁴² as well as four occurrences of quantifiers used anaphorically. For details, see App.2, Table 7.3.1.1.

	Text 1	Text 2	Text 1 + 2	
	Σ	Σ	Σ	%
Definite article <i>the</i>	5	1	6	20.0
Personal pronoun	8	3	10	33.3
Possessive determiner	3	1	4	13.3
Other	6	3	10	33.3
TOTAL	22	8	30	100.0

Table 9 Signalling context-dependence of the subject NP in passive clauses (Type 1)

According to the data in **Table 9** there is a striking difference between both texts in the use of the definite article realizing the determiner of the subject NP (5 occurrences to 1). As for pronouns, there are four times more personal pronouns used in the older text than in the modern text (8 to 2), quantifiers and other anaphorically used expressions are also more numerous in the former (6 to 4). There is an interesting example from this group in ex.31:

31. (*Quickly the doctor examined him and made the diagnosis and, after conversing with his father for a few minutes, arranged the surgery.*) (E178-180)

Everything was done with astonishing speed,... (E181)

The immediately relevant context (in brackets) lists the actions that chronologically preceded the clause E181. The compound quantifier *everything* then subsumes all the particular activities under one item which possesses only a low degree of CD, as does the transitional element *was done* here, thus giving rise to the PP *with astonishing speed* which expresses an

⁴² As for lexical cohesion, only items without the definite article were included in this group.

Adv of manner and realizes the RhPro. The agent, the main character's doctor, is merely implied here.

To conclude the discussion of the subject NP, in some constructions the head item was omitted as part of an ellipsis, but is retrievable from the preceding stretches of text, e.g. in ex.32 most of the material from the passive construction realizing the subordinate Adv clause of time is missing, namely the S and the auxiliary *be*. However, the passive is signalled by the past participle *asked* and the agentive NP introduced by *by*. The subject (*Phoebe*) being retrievable from the preceding context, here it can only be expressed in the upcoming nominal content interrogative clause. The rising dynamism of the separate Th1 and Th2 of the clauses constituting the sentence is thus very well traceable in the example; first of all, the subject is ellipted entirely, in the following clause a personal pronoun is used and finally, the proper name is added.

32. When asked by Nancy if she wanted to say anything Phoebe shyly shook her head.... (E17)

Having started the discussion by the thematic S we shall briefly mention the possible FSP patterns we have identified in this type. Clauses where the linear arrangement agrees with the basic distribution of CD range from the simple Th – Tr - Rh structure up to the extended Th-TrProO – Tr – Rh - Rhpro (Theme-TransitionProperOriented element-Transition-Rheme-RhemeProper). An example of the simple FSP structure may be found in ex. 33, where *be* + participle of the phrasal verb *left behind* represents the element towards which the whole clause, as well as the whole sentence, is perspectived, realizing its Rh (see App.2 for context)

33. ...- and he was left behind. (E 91)

As regards other elements that tend to realize the Rh, it is obviously the agent of the passive construction that is frequently placed in the end-focus. If expressed, it is customarily realized by a PP introduced by *by*. However, there are also alternative prepositions used, based on the

combinatorial features of the verb, e.g. *with* in example ex.34 which often follows the verb *to overcome* in its transitive use:⁴³

34. *He was overcome with a feeling for his father....* (E66)

Looking further at the expressions which constitute the Rh in this type we have encountered several Adv expressions which were originally expected to appear either in the thematic part, where they typically function as setting or are oriented towards the transition, yet they were determined to be rhematic, like the PP introduced by *to* in ex. 35 which completes the communicative goal of the whole clause:

35. *...his entreaties were carried to a point of perseverance beyond civility.* (S68)

As we have said, clauses in which the word order was aligned with the rise of communicative dynamism formed the majority of the analysed sample, expressed in figures it was 68.8% of the passive constructions excerpted from Text 1 and 52.7% of those from Text 2. Therefore we may assert that the tendency towards regularity in this respect is significant in both the older and the contemporary text.

7.3.1.2 Clauses with deviations from GWO

Several constructions demonstrated a clash between BDoCD and the grammatical word order in that the requirements of the FSP interfered with the regular ordering of the clause elements. This subtype has been represented in the older text by a total of four constructions (only 12.5% of all passive clauses and in the contemporary text by a single occurrence (mere 5.3%). Admittedly, it was rather problematic to stipulate the criteria according to which the linear arrangement was judged as deviant. Obviously we regarded the *O – V – (by-S)*, the transformed simple sentence *S – V – O* structure from the active, as the basic, default word order against which we compared our constructions. However, an obstacle was presented by the adverbials, which are greatly flexible as to their position in the clause, appearing initially, in medial positions as well as clause-finally without causing any disruption in ordering of the elements (Dušková 1999a: 250). Apart from that, instances of grammatical inversion induced

⁴³ *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, accessed 12 August 2010.
http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/00336656?query_type=word&queryword=overcome&first=1&max_to_show=10&sort_type=alpha&result_place=3&search_id=piAe-EGay2h-5345&hilite=00336656

by the use of conjuncts (*nor* in S15 used in a copulative relation) were classified as non-deviant.

In an attempt to observe the word order given above, we focused, among other things, on clauses which included fronting of postverbal elements, such as the prepositional O in ex. 36:

36. *With the size and furniture of the house Mrs. Dashwood was upon the whole well satisfied....* (S43)⁴⁴

The PP introduced by *with* which opens the clause realizes a prepositional O of the passive, which may be tested by transforming the construction into the active, cf. *The size and furniture of the house satisfied Mrs. Dashwood well....* In this sense, the word order is regular, fulfilling the requirements of the passive in order to allow rhematic position of the most important element, the participle *well-satisfied*. Disregarding the initial position of the preposition *with*, which is in itself rather obsolete, the O it introduces would normally follow the verb in the active, since it is an obligatory element and the principle of grammatical function places the PP after the VP. Thus we can see that in ex.36 the principle of FSP overrides the grammatical principle and the passive is selected to realize the utterance so that the BDofCD is maintained regardless of the sentence word order.

Similar deviation was identified in S156, where the comparative phrase *as unfortunate* was severed from the VP *might be considered* it postmodifies by the intervening sentence adverbial *in comparison with the past* and placed at the end, which reflects its high degree of CD and rhematic function (see App.2).

As for the problems posed by the placement of adverbials we traced their positioning between the VP and the *by*-agent in several constructions where they functioned as a Th element expressing the setting of the event, hence fulfilling their typical dynamic semantic role and contributing to the BDofCD. Indeed, the sentence in ex.37 shows how the word order is adapted to accommodate the demands of FSP, when the temporal adverbial *before the end of the day* which would regularly occupy the final, most dynamic position, receives an

⁴⁴ For the immediately preceding and following context, see App.2, Sense and Sensibility.

informationally lighter placement to allow the PP *by a present of game*, to which the clause is perspectived, become the Rh. Interestingly, the NP *a present of game* which would be the agent of the corresponding active construction, cf. *A present of game followed a large basket full of garden stuff and fruit...*, is inanimate, nevertheless, it is allowed to realize the agent of the verbal action due to the semantics of the verb. We may notice that the rising CD is maintained by the Czech version, too. See ex.37:

37. ..., *a large basket full of garden stuff and fruit...*, *which was followed before the end of the day by a present of game*. (S67)

*...košík plný ovoce a věci ze zahrádky..., po kterém ještě do konce dne následoval dar v podobě hry.*⁴⁵

As for deviations from the grammatical word order, we identified only five constructions in both texts altogether, with the majority of four instances recorded for the older text. In the clauses classified in this group the linearity yields to the demands of the BDofCD so that the most dynamic elements conclude the communication.

7.3.1.3 Clauses with deviations from BDofCD

The last subtype of passive construction which has been analyzed is formed by clauses where the principle of FSP is not adhered to while the grammatical word order tends to be preserved. In both texts a total of 14 clauses containing this deviation were identified (6 in Text 1 and 8 in Text 2). According to the manner in which the deviation manifests itself the clauses in this group were divided into two smaller subgroups.

The first includes constructions in which the S of the passive occurs in the initial position while functioning as the Rh of the clause. Before discussing the matter any further, see exx. 36 and 37 below:

36. An opportunity was soon to be given to the Dashwoods of debating on the rest of the children,.... (S112)

⁴⁵ Czech translations (mine) may be used throughout the study to support the interpretation of the English structures.

37. No special point had been made. (E91)

Nikdo neřekl nic zvláštního.

Following the testing criteria for the passive stated in the introduction of this section it was decided that ex. 36 will be included in the analysis. While containing a use of passive infinitive (which expresses the modality of desirability here) the clause in its entirety may be transformed into an active where the S would function as a direct O and, *to give* being a ditransitive verb, the prepositional postmodification *to the Dashwoods* would become the indirect O. Thus, if we assume *they* to be the agent: *Soon they would give the Dashwoods an opportunity of debating on the rest of their children.* In the present construction context-independence of the subject is signalled by the use of the indefinite article and the whole phrase is discontinuously postmodified by an *of*-genitive occurring in final position. As a result, the rhematic subject is further specified by a discontinuous postmodification, the most dynamic element of the communicative field.

In example 37 a negative quantifier *no* is used to determine the noun in the subject phrase, realizing a phrasal negation (compare with the negative concord in Czech). As regards the use of the passive, predication constituted by *has been made* and a context-independent S may be regarded as an instance of the presentation scale⁴⁶, with *to make* taking an Od in the active, the passive implies that its S has been created or has appeared on the scene.⁴⁷ *No* functions as a NegFocA preceding the Rh, emphasizing its function and helping it to attain the communicative goal of the utterance. In English the animate agent is only implied (the clause concludes a scene of the protagonist's funeral attended by a group of mourners; see App.2, sentences 1-14 for context) whereas in Czech it is expressed, constituting the Th of a corresponding active construction with the English subject NP functioning as a direct O and placed in the end-focus, i.e. in line with the FSP of Czech.

The second subgroup of clauses with deviations from BDofCD comprises cases where elements possessing only low degrees of CD because of their context-dependence occur in positions typically occupied by the most dynamic CUs. See an example construction in 38:

⁴⁶ This fact was kindly suggested to me by Prof. Duřková.

38. (She'd be forty-eight now, more than likely married and a mother, a shapely, energetic young woman grown into middle-aged stoutness...) (E113)

...while the battle to remain an unassailable man had by then been lost by him, time having transformed his own body into a storehouse for man-made contraptions designed to fend off collapse. (E114)

The sentence in ex.38 contrasts physical appearances of the referents of the personal pronouns *she* and *he*, the former constituting the S of the initial clause and the latter being compared with it in the following passive construction where it functions as the agent introduced by *by*. The comparative semantic relation between the two clauses is expressed by means of the conjunction *while*. In support of this interpretation, note the underlined NP *his own body* which constitutes the direct O of the following non-finite clause. The use of the emphatic possessive *own* further intensifies the comparison. Position of the temporal Adv *by then* (TrPrO) between the operator and the verb of the VP is in line with its degree of CD, the FSP function of the Rh being performed by the VP.⁴⁸ However, *by him* is fully context-dependent and as such thematic⁴⁹ and appearing clause-finally, it gives rise to a deviation from the basic distribution of information weight.

Let us conclude with an example where the thematic adverbial *then* expressing a setting gives rise to a deviation from BDoCD by occurring at the most dynamic position of the clause. Again the VP is the communicatively highest point of the clause in ex.39:

39. *He was in bed in his room within an hour of arriving at hospital, ..., that's how patients were tended to then.*

Do jedné hodiny od příjezdu do nemocnice byl v posteli na pokoji, ..., tak se tenkrát pacientům přistupovalo.

⁴⁸ In speech, the rhematic function of the VP would be indicated by stress. However, intonation can only be considered as a peripheral, additional factor in written discourse. See Section 4 of the present study.

⁴⁹ The agent could become the Rh only if contrasted, cf. ...*the battle had been lost by her but not by him.* In this particular instance we are dealing with a case of **contrastive topic**.

To summarize, passive construction was identified as a prominent means of achieving BDofCD in the type of special syntactic devices.

7.3.2 The existential construction

Among special syntactic devices used to achieve BDofCD the existential construction was the second most frequent to be identified after the passive (12 out of 200, 6.0%; 12 out of 64 clauses with special devices, 18.8% of Type 3). The existential *there* being placed in the position of the grammatical S, the notional S towards which it points is allowed to occur in a postverbal position. This is in accord with its high degree of informativity, so that BDofCD is implemented without interrupting the grammatical word order. Before elaborating more on the FSP features of the clauses under analysis, let us present an overview of the possible types of existential construction identified based on their syntactic structure in Table 10:

	Text 1	Text 2	Text 1 + 2	
	Σ	Σ	Σ	%
Bare ex	1	7	8	66.6
Ex loc	1	3	4	33.3
TOTAL	2	10	12	100
% of Text 1 + 2	31.25	68.75	100.0	100.0

Table 10 Types of the existential construction

As stated in the theoretical account above, there are two main types incorporating the existential *there*. The minimal, bare construction, had the highest incidence in our sample (66.6% of all existential clauses) and occurred almost exclusively in the contemporary text. The existential-locative type, which incorporates an Adv as an obligatory element, was not identified in the older text at all. The last group consists of purely locative clauses, i.e. such in which *there* is omitted and an initial Adv expressing a location of the entity conveyed by the Sn in space or time opens the clause (Dušková 1999c). In contrast with the preceding types, locative was represented primarily in the Austen text (3 occurrences to 1)

As for the bare existential, the notional S was in the focus of our analysis. From the syntactic point of view, its modification was monitored and as regards FSP features its context-dependence was concentrated on. Almost all heads of the subject NPs have extended

postmodification, either by non-finite clauses⁵⁰ or by a combination of relative and App clauses⁵¹; see an ex. in 40:

40. There was *only one person whose presence hadn't to do with having been invited, a heavysset woman with a pleasant round face and dyed red hair who had simply appeared at the cemetery and introduced herself as Maureen, the private duty nurse who had looked after him following his heart surgery.* (E27-31)

In the present case we are dealing with a discontinuity on the level of subject NP. The appositional postmodifying NP *a heavysset woman...* has been separated from its head (*only one person*) by the adjectival defining relative clause introduced by *whose*. Another App, the *private duty nurse*, postmodifies the Co *Maureen* of the second defining relative clause *who had simply appeared...* and is followed by another Adj defining relative (*who had looked after him...*). Use of the extended postmodification providing more specific information about the Sn goes hand in hand with the primary purpose of the existential sentence, i.e. to present a phenomenon on the scene. In this particular case, the author depicts a scene of a funeral at the very opening of the novel in which he introduces and further describes the mourners. The passage has provided us with a total of seven examples of existential construction⁵² and will be commented upon in more detail in due course.

From the point of view of FSP, the notional S is constructed as the Rh of the present type, which means that it is fully context-independent, or heterogeneous in this respect, incorporating anaphoric expressions in its phrase. The funeral scene is a suitable example of this - all nouns, mostly proper names, constituting the heads of subject NPs are determined by the possessive *his*, which signals their relation to the departed and hence the preceding context. However, two cases of context-dependent S were encountered. The first, in ex. 41, involves the S of a relative clause, which is invariably context-dependent since it modifies a preceding element (a direct O here). Function of the most dynamic element is then taken over by its postmodification (realized by a present participle in S106), see ex. 41:

⁵⁰ S 95 (infinitive), E15, E106 (present participle)

⁵¹ E9, E16, E27

⁵² Bare existential – E5, E9, E15, E16, E27, E92. Alternative construction without there – E1. See App., Table 7.3.2

41. (...) (*in his bed the night before the surgery he worked at remembering as exactly as he could each of the women*)

who had been there waiting for him to rise out of anesthetic in the recovery room, (E 99)

The second is altogether more interesting and moves the discussion to the existential-locative type. See ex.42 :

42. (*Usually if he was traveling somewhere with his mother it was in the family car and his father was driving.*) (E123-124)

But now there were just the two of them alone together on the bus, (E125-130)

The Sn is constituted by a quantifier followed by an *of*-pronoun referring to the protagonist and his mother, who is mentioned already in the preceding clause and postmodified by a multiple postmodification (*alone, together on the bus*). As context-dependent, the CU should be assigned low degree of CD and become thematic, yet by virtue of the preceding focalizing expression *just* it is rhematized. Moreover, looking at the immediately preceding context, we can notice that two manners of travelling are being compared by the successive sentences – one by car with both of the character’s parents and the other by bus only with his mother (*just the two of them*). The postmodifying adjective *alone* specifies the meaning of the NP and becomes the Rhpro while the Adv of manner *together* functions as further specification.

As stated above the clause in ex. 42 was classified under the Ex-loc type as it incorporates two adverbial elements, the initial temporal Adv *now* and the final locative Adv *on the bus*. In this type AdvS tend to be placed clause-finally and function as scene-setting elements, which means that, if not preceded by a focalizer, they are thematic (Dušková 1999a: 257). This is the case of the PP *on the bus*, its context-dependence being indicated by the anaphoric use of *the*, (referring back in the text to the NP *a bus ride* mentioned for the first time in E116)⁵³, it expresses spatial location of the verbal action in ex.42; its temporal location is expressed by the initial adverbial *now*. It is also noteworthy that both AdvS are in contrast with related

⁵³ The present case is a good demonstration of the phenomenon of retrievability span, *the bus ride* should be possible to recollect for the reader, since it appears still within the retrievability span, i.e. seven clausus from its last occurrence (Firbas 1992: 23). Cf. *On the bus* (E119) and *a bus ride* (E116).

semantic categories in the preceding clause (given in the parenthesis) - *usually* x *now* and *in the car* x *on the bus*, which makes them examples of contrastive topics.⁵⁴

The use of Adv_s as thematic elements of transformed clauses takes us to the third type we have analyzed as one of the special structures achieving BDofCD, i.e. the construction where the existential *there* is omitted and the initial position is occupied by an adjunct.⁵⁵ As Dušková (1999c: 91) notes, this type ‘is characteristic of written English, especially of local descriptions’ in passages where the clauses it constitutes follow in a sequence. At this point, the funeral scene from *Everyman* will be made use of again, namely its very first clause given in ex.43:

43. *Around the grave in the rundown cemetery were a few of his former advertising colleagues from New York (who recalled his energy and originality and told his daughter Nancy what a pleasure it had been to work with him).* (E1-4)

As described above, the initial Adv phrase sets the location of the whole scene⁵⁶, the existential *be* follows and the postverbal position is occupied by the notional subject NP, which presents the referent of *a few of his advertising colleagues....* Yet there is another point of interest in the clause under discussion, and that is the use of expressions signalling context-dependence, the definite article *the* in the thematic Adv phrase and the possessive determiner *his* in the Sn⁵⁷, whose referent is missing due to non-existence of preceding context. In this particular case we have encountered an instance of the **in medias res effect**, when information which is irretrievable from what has been already said ‘is presented as retrievable’.⁵⁸

To conclude the discussion of the FSP pattern of the existential construction in general, the Ex-loc type represents a systemic deviation from BDofCD, since it places a less dynamic

⁵⁴ A similar occurrence was recorded in the section on passive, see ex.38.

⁵⁵ All these occurrences are summarized in a separate table in App. 1 Table 7.3.3b. They have not been included in the final count of Type 3. Constituting inverted word order, they can be found under Type 2, App.1 Table 7.2

⁵⁶ And it does so not only for the present sentence but also for the existential constructions following in sequence in the opening passage, see fn.32 and App.2.

⁵⁷ The first definite article in *around the grave* cannot be cataphoric since it refers to *the cemetery* that itself has not been mentioned yet.

⁵⁸ As Firbas explains, ‘the reader is plunged in the midst of things. He or she is well aware of this effect and knows that the information is not present in the immediately relevant context.’ (Firbas 1992: 40)

element, Th Adv expressing a setting, after a more dynamic one, the Sn, as in ex. 42. In the analyzed sample only one instance of final Adv, conveying a specification, i.e. a component of the Rh, has been identified (also see ex. 42). *There + be* sentences appearing mostly in the contemporary text, the majority of them consisted of the bare existential type, where the Sn was usually extensively postmodified and, as reflected by its Rh position, also context-independent. The locative type with an initial thematic Adv without *there* was represented mainly in the older text (3 to 1 ratio of occurrence).

7.3.3 Other types of devices changing the word order of the underlying clause

Apart from the passive and the existential construction several occurrences were identified of other syntactic structures which transform the word order of a clause in order to ‘make explicit the division between given and new parts of the communication’, including the *it*-cleft and pseudocleft sentences and extraposition (Quirk et al. 1985: 1387). In the present study the pseudocleft construction, or *wh*-cleft, was concentrated on, since it enables final position of the Rh in line with the end-focus principle. However, there was only a single occurrence determined in the excerpted sample, see ex.44:

44. (*But now there were just the two of them alone together on the bus, and they were headed for the hospital where he had been born...*)

and she was what calmed his apprehension and allowed him to be brave. (E125-129)

...a ona byla to, co mírnilo jeho úzkost a umožňovalo mu být statečný.

The construction above is an example of a reversed pseudo-cleft, since the *wh*-clause appears in the position of Cs (identified with *she* by means of copular predication) although typically it constitutes the initial part of the sentence. However, either of the sequences complies with BDofCD, section preceding the copula constitutes the Theme and the section following it the Rheme. In the present case, *she* is fully context-dependent and possesses low degree of CD while the dynamic cleft clause achieves the communicative goal of the sentence. Within the distributional field realized by the nominal relative the function of Rh is realized by the verbal

complements *his apprehension* and *to be brave*.⁵⁹ This interpretation is supported by the Czech translation, where the coordination of VPs also stands in end-focus.

Apart from the *wh*-cleft, instances of *it*-cleft constructions and sentences constituting extraposition of a clause element by means of the anticipatory pronoun *it* were identified. However, these are outside the scope of this study, i.e. to explore the means of realization of the end-focus principle, since they place the Rh element ‘near the front of the sentence’ following the copula, with the thematic section coming only *after* and occupying the final position of the clause. For comparison with the above mentioned *wh*-cleft, see ex. 45:

45. *But then it's the commonness that's most wrenching, the registering once more of the fact of death that overwhelms everything.* (E92-94)

The sentence in question represents an example of an *it*-cleft, or cleft sentence proper, realizing the customary structure with the focussed element *the commonness* followed by *that* introducing a subordinate clause (Quirk 1985: 1384). Considering the initial connective element *but then*, suggesting that new information will be added to what has been said, it may be assumed that the motivation for using a cleft here is to further emphasize the context-dependent focused element, i.e. the ordinary, uninteresting nature of death, *the commonness* of it. By incorporating the thematic *that*-clause, the first part of the apposition is separated from the appositional postmodification (realized by the verbless clause introduced by *the registering* which is further postmodified by a relative on a lower dependency level) which consequently appears in the end-focus. Example IT demonstrates a discontinuous phrase, the apposition here, resolving a clash between the GWO and BDofCD. *that*-clause in the present sentence would normally occupy the final position and, being context-dependent and hence thematic, would cause a deviation from BDofCD. By supplying the postmodification it is placed in the medial position in the highest distributional field and functions as the Rh, the apposition following it performing the Rh proper.

⁵⁹ Again, intonation can be used as an additional factor. When pronounced, the verb phrases receive nuclear stress.

7. 4 Clauses containing a deviation from basic distribution of CD

Upon conducting the analysis of the excerpted material, inconsistencies were noticed in a number of clauses in respect to the assignment of communicative force to the constituting clause elements and their position in the clause in relation to each other as well as the preceding context. All this in spite of the fact that there was no overt disruption identified during the stage of syntactic analysis. Drawing again on Dušková (1999a) the type was included in the research of our minicorpora (Type 4) and eventually proved to be the second most frequent after Type 1 (clauses with GWO and BDofCD), rendering the following statistics, 57 and 62 instances from Text 1 and Text 2 respectively, 119 out of 200/ 59.5%).

At this point it was necessary to inquire into the FSP structure of the involved clauses more thoroughly, i.e. contrast their actual linear arrangement, which complied with regular syntactic patterns due to the operation of the GWO principle, with their interpretative arrangement, in other words, review the respective degrees of CD and its distribution over the clause elements. Adducing to the theoretical research presented in section 4, an assumption central to the present issue is that ‘thematicity, [...],and rhematicity are not invariably linked with the beginning and end of a distributional field’ and as regards context-dependence, ‘an element that is context-dependent is thematic; a context-dependent element cannot be non-thematic. A non-thematic element must be context-independent but a context-independent element may be thematic’ (Firbas 1992: 72).

As illustrated above by the Firbasian scales (the Presentation scale and the Quality scale, see section 4.3.1) it is the the verb that decides whether communication is perspectived towards presenting a phenomenon or ascribing a specification to an element. Standing in between the thematic and the rhematic section, the verb ‘develops the communication beyond the information conveyed by any context-independent elements [as well as] by context-independent Set-elements and by context-independent B-elements‘ (Firbas 1992: 72).

The very basic facts having been stated, the elements concerned during the analysis were the thematic object in postverbal position, the thematic postverbal adverbial and the rhematic subject. Their occurrence in the clauses classified as Type 4 was quantified and recorded in Table 11 and comments on some of the occurrences follow:

	Text 1			Text 2		
	Σ	% / Text 1	%/ Type 4	Σ	% / Text 2	%/Type 4
Th postv O	30	52.6	25.2	31	50.0	26.0
Th postv Adv	13	22.8	10.9	17	27.4	14.3
Rh S	7	12.3	5.9	13	21.0	10.9
Other	7	12.3	5.9	1	1.6	0.8
Total	57	100.0	47.9	62	100.0	52.2

Table 11 Types of deviations from BDofCD

7.4.1 Thematic postverbal object

Table 11 shows that the thematic object was the most frequent element to deviate from BDofCD. While in the case of clauses in Type 1, where the object amplifies or even completes the meaning of the verb (cf. Oprep in E 76 *he met with success*, or Od in E230 *women wore wigs*) and belongs to the rhematic section of the distributional field, here its thematicity does not comply with the thematic position it occupies. As Dušková notes, this is often determined by its pronominal form which indicates contextual boundness, see ex. 46, where him

46. *There was only one person (E26) ...whose presence hadn't to do with having been invited... (E27) ...and (who) introduced herself as Maureen, the private duty nurse.... (E29)*

Howie remembered her and went up to kiss her cheek. (E31-32)

Clause in ex.46 represents the characteristics of the thematic object very well – looking back to the preceding context, where the referent of the personal pronoun *her* was introduced into the plot, it is now fully context-dependent and therefore thematic. Unfortunately, not all instances are as clear as this one, which is often due to the heterogenous character of the phrases involved, consisting of both given and new elements at the same time. In the example above *her cheek* functions as the Rh, despite its contextual boundness, since it semantically completes the verb by expressing localization of *to kiss*. The example shows that it is therefore necessary to consider both the contextual as well as the semantic factor when assigning degrees of CD to clause elements. Consequently, Od of the first clause constitutes a

deviation from BDofCD whereas the one in the following coordinated clause complies with the basic distribution of information weight.

As was the case with the subject in Type 1, personal pronouns are reliable indicators of context-dependence of the thematic object as well as the definite article *the* expressing anaphoric reference. The same applies to proper names and possessive pronouns which are also mostly context-bound when used in an object NP. As regards quantifiers, these may or may not constitute the cause of deviation from BDofCD, again depending on their contextual boundness. In example OO below the universal quantifier *either* realizes the direct O, in order to understand its semantic content, the addressee must know the preceding context, i.e. that the alternatives are *his father* or *his mother*:

47. *In the present case it took up ten minutes to determine whether the boy were most like his father or mother,...*

and in what particular he resembled either, for of course everybody differed, and everybody was astonished at the opinion of the others.(S99-103)

7.4.2 Thematic postverbal adverbial

Taking the Firbasian Presentation scale as the point of departure for the present section, the thematic postverbal Adv performs the dynamic semantic role of Setting, its role being to provide the background to the presentative function performed by the verb, irrelevant of its contextual boundness (in which case it does not need to belong to either of the dynamic roles above in order to be thematic). In the clause below a phenomenon (Lady Middleton's mother) is being presented on the scene set by the two successive adverbials which provide spatial as well as temporal setting

47. *Luckily, Lady Middleton's mother had arrived at Barton within the last hour,... (S169)*

However, cases may arise where it is rather difficult to assign the dynamic role to a clause-final adverbial, since even if it has a similar structure to one performing a Setting, mostly an

adverbial or a prepositional phrase, it does not need to be thematic at all times, cf. ex. 47 with ex. 48 below:

49. ... *even after his father explained why the Hasidim still wore what their ancestors had worn in the old country two hundred years before...* (E221)

The construction in ex.49 includes two adverbial phrases, the first conveying spatial location, the latter temporal one. In this respect, both could be readily assigned to the group of thematic adverbials expressing background information. However, their function is rather one of specification of the event expressed by the verb, as if delimiting the place where and the time when the ancestors wore what the Hasidim Jew from the novel wore. Therefore, performing the roles of Specification rather than a Setting, the two postverbal AdvS are not thematic but function within the Rhematic section and the construction thus complies with, rather than deviates from, the BDofCD.

The last example under discussion has introduced the phenomenon of **potentiality**, which arises when the structure in written language cannot be interpreted unequivocally (Firbas 1992: 11). Since both the adverbials are context-independent (the definite article in *in the old country* expresses situational anaphora⁶⁰, they are disposed to operate within the rhematic section, performing the dynamic semantic roles of Specification and Further specification.

In speech, potentiality can be removed by means of intonation as the additional FSP factor, i.e. by assigning prosodic prominence to the most communicatively important part of the message (Firbas 1992: 12).

7.4.3 Rhematic subject

As Dušková points out, the deviation caused by a context-independent subject appearing clause-initially constitutes a complete reversal of the basic distribution of CD (1999a: 255).

The use of rhematic subject is one of the possible realizations of the presentation scale, which is demonstrated well by ex.48 where the *Ph*-element *a large basket of fruit and garden stuff*

⁶⁰ Interpretation which suggested itself was that *the old country* is a metaphor for Israel, which may be assumed from the fact that no literal mention of another country had been made in the preceding context and the plot is set in the Jewish community.

is presented onto the scene by the verb of appearance *arrived*. Note the use of the indefinite article *a* indicating the first-mention use:

48. *a large basket full of garden stuff and fruit arrived from the Park, ...*

Another instance includes Rh subject realized by the negative compound form *nothing* which is discontinuously postmodified by a postponed phrase of exception which functions as the Rhpro (Quirk et al. 1985: 1397). In the present case the clause would realize the FSP pattern Th (Adv clause of time) - Rh - Tr - Rhpro, see ex.49:

49. *When he opened his mouth, nothing emerged except a series of grotesque gasps, ...* (E 69)

In the sample under analysis, the frequency of subject constructed as the Rh was unexpectedly high (20 out of 119 deviations from BDofCD). However, justification may be found in the passages excerpted, since from both of the novels, depictions of scenes where either people or entities are being introduced to the plot. The following chain of constructions comes from a description of the Barton cottage in *Sense and Sensibility*, attention is to be paid to the verbs used in the present example as well, see ex. 50:

50. *A small green court was the whole of its demesne in front and a neat wicket gate admitted them into it.* (S8-S9)

A narrow passage led directly through the house into the garden behind. (S 16)

As illustrated by the clauses discussed in this section, rhematic subject is invariably realized by context-independent element, which is indicated not only by the indefinite article determining the head of the phrase but also by the semantics of the verb which often expresses appearance or existence (alternatively non-existence, as in ex. 49) of the phenomenon expressed by the subject.

8. Conclusion

In the present study we have attempted to determine the means of realization of the end-focus principle in the English clause. Conducting an analysis of two sample literary texts, an older one and a contemporary one, the aim was to trace the mutual influence of two word order principles, the principle of end-focus, which projects itself in the basic distribution of communicative dynamism over the sentence elements, and the grammatical principle, which represents the main word ordering tool in the English clause and as such may prevail over the functional sentence perspective. The analysis presented here had in its focus the possible outcomes of the application of the two principles. After dividing the material according to the clauses' underlying word order, i.e. into clauses with and without transformation, analysis of the aspects influencing the FSP – linearity, the semantic aspect and the contextual aspect - was performed and several distinct types of clauses were identified depending on the extent to which either of the principles asserts itself in them.

In the first type, both GWO and BDofCD were displayed by the clauses. These comprised 54.6% of the total of 441 clauses accepted for the analysis. The aspects monitored in them included the context-dependent character of the initial subject and the clause-initial thematic adverbial. According to the results rendered, the initial subject in this type tends to be expressed (an overwhelming majority of 208 expressed as against 33 ellipted subjects was identified) and determined by anaphoric devices, in almost a half of all cases, by a personal pronoun, which ties in with its status of the least dynamic communicative unit in the whole distributional field. Turning to the initial thematic adverbials, their use in both samples represents well their constituent role in the Presentation scale, since 62.5 % express the background information of location, performing the dynamic semantic role of Setting. Other semantic types of initial thematic adverbials occurred only exceptionally, including those of concession, cause or accompanying circumstances, all of them having a rather extended structure.

Upon sorting the clauses of the first type, 200 instances of deviation from either the FSP or GWO were recorded.

The second type of clauses comprises instances of deviation from the grammatical word order triggered by the operation of FSP. In these cases, the motivation for disrupting the regular

surface pattern of the clause seems to consist in the need to allow the most informative part to become the Rh. Mechanisms employed to this end are fronting of a postverbal element (4.5% of the 200), inversion (3.5%) and a reversal of the customary order of postverbal elements (only a single occurrence, 0.5%). As regards fronting, cases where the fronted element constituted the theme of the clause were determined as well as instances of marked focus opening the clause, the latter two occurrences being both recorded in the older text. Inversion, consisting in reversing the order of clause elements due to the presence of an initial adjunct, was identified as one of the possible implementations of the Presentation scale. Rather against our expectations, the older text contained only one deviation from GWO more than the contemporary sample, which did not confirm the assumption that the word order of the older language would be much less fixed in comparison with Present-day English.

The third type contained clauses whose underlying word order has been changed by the use of a special syntactic device, including the passive, the existential construction and the pseudocleft sentence. Similar to the clauses without transformation, type displaying both GWO and BDofCD had the highest occurrence among the passive clauses (68.8%). The second most prominent group included clauses with deviations from BDofCD (18.8%), which were caused either by placing a context-independent rhematic subject in the initial position or by using context-dependent CUs in positions usually reserved for the context-independent ones. The last group of passives (12.5%), displaying a deviated word order, was represented almost exclusively by the Austen text, confirming the hypothesis of this type of irregularity to be more common in the older text as opposed to the contemporary sample with a more fixed word arrangement. Apart from the passive, *there + be* construction was identified in this type, the bare existential totalling eight occurrences whereas the existential-locative only four. Interestingly, an overwhelming majority (10 to 2) was recorded in the modern text, which seems to point to the fact that the existential construction was almost entirely omitted whereas the passive was the most frequent syntactic device used to foreground the most communicatively important parts of the clauses. The pseudocleft sentence, in its reversed version, appeared only once in the sample.

As for the fourth type, after contrasting the linear arrangement of the sample clauses with their interpretative arrangement, clauses were identified where the grammatical principle, as the main word organizing rule in English, prevailed over FSP giving rise to deviations from

the basic distribution of communicative dynamism over the clause elements. Most frequently, the deviation consisted in placing a context-dependent object after the verb, i.e. as a part of the rhematic section, although according to the interpretative arrangement, it should be thematic. Similar conclusion can be drawn about thematic adverbials placed in the final position. Their dynamic semantic role being one of setting of the event expressed by the semantics of the verb, attention must be paid to differentiate them from adverbials expressing specification of the information contained in the rheme. At this point, the phenomenon of potentiality was commented on, which concerns the possibility of ambiguous interpretation brought about by the deviation from BDofCD. As the last deviant element, rhematic subject was identified, whose context-independence is signalled by the use of indefinite determiners or verbs expressing appearance of a phenomenon on the scene.

To briefly summarize our findings, the majority of constructions displayed an agreement between the principles of end-focus and GWO, more than a half of them (58.1%) being found in the contemporary text. Deviations from the basic distribution of information weight were mainly realized by clauses from the older text (52.9%). Although there was only a minor discrepancy between the two samples, it disproved our hypothesis about this type of deviation, which had been expected to occur more frequently in the contemporary text, where the word arrangement, i.e. the cause of the deviation, is more fixed than in the old one. As regards transformed syntactic structures used to achieve BDofCD, these were a little more frequent in the older type (53.1%). In the older text, end-focus was achieved primarily by the passive, which was more frequent here than in the contemporary sample. In contrast, the existential construction was employed almost exclusively by the contemporary text. As for the deviations from GWO, the assumption that they would be displayed mainly by the older text was confirmed, giving a total of 52.1% of this type of clauses. However, the ratio of occurrence is only slightly higher than in the case of the contemporary text. Therefore, with some reservations as to the extent of the present study, the general conclusion can be made that the end-focus principle and the principle of grammatical word order assert themselves to a similar degree in both the older and the contemporary texts, with only minor tendencies demonstrated by the older text towards greater prominence of the grammatical principle and by the contemporary text towards the principle of end-focus.

9. Resumé

Tato práce se v rámci teorie o aktuálním členění větném zaměřuje na prostředky realizace základního rozložení výpovědní dynamičnosti (tedy řazení částí výpovědi na téma-přechod-réma) v anglické větě. Na materiálu starší a současné literatury zjišťuje, jak se ve větě uplatňuje aktuální členění jakožto slovosledný princip, který je v angličtině podřízen principu gramatického slovosledu. Cílem práce je vysledovat vývojové tendence v míře shody mezi gramatickým slovosledem a základním rozložením výpovědní dynamičnosti (ZRVD), tedy řazením prvků výpovědi od známých, nejméně závažných k novým, kontextově nezapojeným, k nimž je namířena perspektiva celé věty.

Pro potřeby analýzy, která je v práci prezentována, bylo excerpováno odpovídající množství vět, ve kterých se oba principy uplatňují do stejné míry tak, abychom získali dvě stě dokladů (po jednom stu ze staršího i současného textu), v nichž jeden z principů převažuje. Předmětem výzkumu byly netransformované finitní klauze, kde se gramatický slovosled shodoval se ZRVD, fakultativní slovosledné varianty gramatického slovosledu umožňující řazení větných prvků podle jejich stupně výpovědní dynamičnosti v těch případech, kde se gramatický slovosled od ZRVD liší, transformované finitní klauze, a netransformované finitní klauze, v nichž byla zjištěna vyšší míra uplatnění ZRVD.

V teoretické části práce jsou nastíněny a definovány základní pojmy teorie aktuálního členění větného, neboli funkční větné perspektivy (FSP), včetně řazení . Podrobněji jsou osvětleny hlavní faktory, které FSP věty ovlivňují, tedy lineární řazení větných členů, jejich sémantický význam jakož a vztahy do nichž vstupují s ostatními větnými členy, a vliv kontextu na přiřazování stupňů výpovědní dynamičnosti jednotlivým členům. Dále jsou uvedeny gramatické struktury, kterými se práci zabývá v analytické části.

Po analýze syntaktické struktury a aktuálního členění byla každá z vět zařazena do jednoho ze čtyř typů definovaných na základě toho, jak se v nich uplatňuje princip ZRVD a gramatický slovosled. První typ, který měl ve zkoumaném vzorku nejvyšší zastoupení (54.5%) tvoří věty, kde se oba principy shodují. Zde byl hlavním předmětem zkoumání iniciální podmět a iniciální příslovené určení. Ve 208 ze 241 vět tohoto typ byl předmět vyjádřený a determinovaný

některým z prostředků vyjadřujících anaforickou reference, nejčastěji osobním či přivoastňovacím zájmenem.

Druhým nejčastějším typem (27%) byly věty, kde se vyskytla odchylka od základního rozložení výpovědní dynamičnosti následkem uplatnění gramatického slovosledu. Nejčastěji se jednalo o postverbální postavení tématického předmětu, který by, jakožto kontextově zapojený prvek měl stát na začátku věty. Druhou nejčastější odchylkou od ZRVD bylo tématické adverbial vyskytující se v postverbální pozici, která je vyhrazena prvkům rématickým. Řidší zastoupení v rámci tohoto typu pak měl inciální rématický podmět, který je kontextově nezapojeným prvkem a tudíž by měl stát v rématu.

Třetí typ tvořily věty, jejichž hloubkový slovosled byl transformován tak, aby umožnil ZRVD, a to pomocí syntaktických struktur, konkrétně pasiva, existenciální konstrukce a pseudovytykáci konstrukce. V pasivu byly určeny jak věty, kde se slovosled a ZRVD uplatňovaly do stejné míry, tak i klauze, v nichž jeden z principů převážoval, ty však byly oproti prvnímu typu v menšině. Existenciální konstrukce se objevovala nejčastěji ve větách excerpovaných z mladšího materiálu a pseudovytykáci konstrukce se objevila pouze v jednom případě.

Posledním určeným typem byly věty, jejichž rozložení výpovědní dynamičnosti se následkem působení gramatického slovosledu odchylovalo. Tyto odchylky spočívaly nejčastěji v postverbálním postavení tématického, kontextově zapojeného, předmětu. Dále pak v koncovém postavení tématického adverbial, které nejčastěji vyjadřovalo místní určení slovedného děje. Nejméně zastoupen byl inciální rématický podmět, který by dle základního rozložení jakožto nejdynamičtější měl stát na konci věty.

Výsledky zkoumání naznačily, že odchylky od ZRVD způsobené uplatněním se gramatického principu jsou častější u mladšího textu, kdežto ve starším materiálu byla zjištěna tendence k odchylkám od gramatického slovosledu tak, aby bylo dosaženo ZRVD.

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