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Syntaktická stavba participiálních a gerundiálních polovětných konstrukcí

Syntactic structure of participial and gerundival non-finite clauses

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Souhlasím se zapůjčením bakalářské práce ke studijním účelům.

V Sokolově, dne 23. 8. 2010

I declare that the following BA thesis is my own work for which I used only the sources and literature mentioned.

I have no objections to the BA thesis being borrowed and used for study purposes.

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1 INTRODUCTION

One of the characteristics of the English language is its frequent use of syntactic condensation which contributes to a greater complexity and coherence of its sentences. Non-finite verb forms are an important means of achieving the condensation and their ability to replace subordinate clauses has been described as the phenomenon of complex condensation. Unlike finite clauses, non-finite ones can be integrated into the sentence without a subordinator, being marked as subordinate by the non-finite form of their predicate. Nevertheless, the verbs in non-finite forms keep the verbal characteristics, especially their valency, and they form secondary predications comparable to the subordinate clauses. It is the focus of this paper to examine the complexity and structure of these predications and determine if there are any factors influencing the structure.

In particular, we shall focus on two non-finite verb forms which are formally identical for all verbs: the gerund and the present and perfect participles ending in *–ing*. In spite of the different historical origin of the gerund and the participle, traditional English grammars subsume them under a single category with the explanation that Modern English does not distinguish between them. However, their different syntactic behaviour calls into question the general validity of such simplification. Therefore, we further aim at examining the degree to which these forms differ in the way they form secondary predications in non-finite clauses.

First, we shall describe in the theoretical part the two forms and their syntactic characteristics, together with the criteria of distinguishing them from each other and from other word classes, namely the adjective and the noun – thus summarizing the features covered in the grammars. Second, in order to carry out the proposed examination of their behaviour as predicative verbs, 140 sentences containing non-finite clauses will be excerpted from two British works of fiction. The clauses will be subsequently analysed in the research part of this thesis with respect to their position and syntactic function in the main clause and the type of complementation and modification they contain, which is hoped to reveal some general tendencies in the formation of the clauses in question.

2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Non-Finite Verb Forms

The English non-finite verb forms include the infinitive, gerund and participle. In contrast to the finite verb phrases, phrases consisting only of non-finite verbs cannot occur as the predicate verb phrase in independent clauses because the non-finite forms distinguish only some morphological categories of the verb, namely voice and tense. The tense distinction, moreover, serves to express temporal relationships with finite verbs in a given sentence rather than any independent temporal meaning; all non-finite forms distinguish present forms to express simultaneity and consecutiveness and past forms which express anteriority. Semantically, a non-finite verb phrase can express distinctions of aspect, which is, however, fully applicable only to the infinitive. "In *–ing* participle phrases, the perfective aspect contrast is sometimes available in adverbial clauses: *Eating a hearty breakfast, we prepared for our long journey. ~ Having eaten a hearty breakfast, we prepared for our long journey.*" (Quirk et al., 1985: 238). These clauses can also express the progressive contrast when compared with the infinitive: *I saw them shoot at him. ~ I saw them shooting at him.* (ibid: 238), although this is usually possible only with verbs of perception in the superordinate clause.

Quirk et al. use five criteria to distinguish finite from non-finite verb phrases: 1) the finite forms occur in independent clauses as the main verb; 2) they express distinction between present and past tenses; 3) there is a person and number concord between the subject and finite verb phrase; 4) they contain as their first word either an operator or some other finite verb form in simple present or past tense;[1] and 5) they express the category of mood. Since not all finite forms fulfil all of these conditions Quirk et al. treat finiteness as a gradient rather than a binary contrast and they suggest a "scale of 'finiteness'" (Quirk et al., 1985: 149-

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[1] Non-finite forms can also occur in complex finite verb phrases in other positions; an example may be perfect and progressive tenses (see 2.2).

150) according to which the indicative mood is the most finite form and the infinitive the most non-finite one. This scale makes it also possible to emphasize the lower degree of finiteness of the imperative and subjunctive moods which consist of the base form in all persons and thus do not express the concord in person and number, but cannot yet be called non-finite as they express mood and occur in independent clauses.

2.1.1 Terminology

Grammars usually distinguish three types of non-finite forms but their specification and names differ, the infinitive being the only "unproblematic" non-finite form. As far as the participle and gerund are concerned, there are significant differences between the approach represented by Dušková et al. in *Mluvnice současné angličtiny na pozadí češtiny* on the one hand, and the English grammars on the other. While Dušková et al. consider the gerund and the participle separate forms distinguished by their syntactic behaviour (chapter 8.85.2), Huddleston & Pullum in *The Cambridge Grammar of the English language*, Quirk et al. in *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*, and Biber et al. in the *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written Language* all subsume the two forms under a single category.

Huddleston & Pullum distinguish past participle and gerund-participle, which is the common form of gerund and present participle. They argue that in contemporary language, the distinction between these two forms is irrelevant since no verb, not even *be*, has distinct forms for them; thus, they use "the compound term 'gerund-participle' for the verb-form, as there is no reason to give priority to one or other of the traditional terms" (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 82-83). They also point out the relationship between the gerund-participle and the past participle, which can both serve as modifiers of nouns. In their view, no viable syntactic distinction can be drawn between gerund and participial clauses either: they classify these clauses as complement or non-complement gerund-participials. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* as well as the *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written Language* do not employ the term gerund. They use only the term participle, divided into the

–ing participle, covering the distribution of both present participle and the gerund, and the *–ed* participle.

For the purposes of the present paper, we shall keep the distinction between the gerund and the present participle, as the form may have some influence on the syntactical structure of the respective non-finite clauses.

2.2   Participle

The participle is a form found in complex verb phrases, namely perfect and progressive tenses and passive constructions. Since the present participle is formally identical with the gerund and the *–ing* form has much wider use, it will be more convenient to start the discussion of the participle with its past form, as suggested by Huddleston & Pullum.

PARTICIPLE		active	passive
present		*using* *writing*	*being used* *being written*
perfect	**simple**	*having used* *having written*	*having been used* *having been written*
	progressive	*having been using* *having been written*	
past		*used* *written*	

Table 1: The participial forms (Dušková et al., 2006: 270)

2.2.1   Past Participle

Past participle, treated by Quirk et al. under the heading of the *–ed* participle and sometimes also called the *–en* form, occurs in perfect verb constructions and in the passive. "It is its use in the perfect construction [not in the passive] that provides the basis for the 'past' component of the name, for the perfect is a kind of past tense." (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 78) In the attributive function, however, past participle usually expresses passive, mostly resultative, meaning: *a healed wound*, although it can be formed also from intransitive verbs and have an active meaning: *a travelled man* (Dušková et al., 2006: 270-271). Past participle can also function as the predicate of a non-finite clause, usually postmodifying a noun: *I came across a letter written ten years ago.* (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 78). In this

use, the verb keeps its valency and it can be "followed by the same range of dependents as it can have in [a finite verb phrase]" (ibid: 78), for example by the *by*-agent in: *The letter was written by her secretary*. (ibid: 77).

2.2.2 Present and Perfect Participle

The present participle is called by Quirk et al. the *–ing* participle because of its regular suffix. Like the past participle, it combines with auxiliaries and forms complex verb constructions, namely progressive tenses. Moreover, in contrast to the past participle, both the present participle and the perfect participle have forms for active and passive voice. The perfect participle further distinguishes simple and progressive forms.

The present participle expresses the present tense only in relation to other parts of a sentence; in other words, it expresses actions simultaneous with those of the main clause, irrespective of the tense of the finite verb: *We lined up in the cold, not noticing the cold, waiting for the doors to open.* (Dušková et al., 2006: 270). According to Huddleston & Pullum, "it is called 'present' participle because the time associated with it is characteristically the same as that expressed or implied in the larger construction containing it" (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 80). The perfect participle, on the other hand, expresses anteriority and completed actions: *having been asked that question many times before I have a ready answer* (Dušková et al., 2006: 270). Like finite progressive forms, the progressive perfect participle expresses temporary actions or actions taking place at the moment of the utterance.

2.2.3 Participle vs. Adjective

The present and past participles can stand in the syntactical position of the subject complement or a noun modifier usually realized by an adjective. Since the two word classes are often formally identical, they can prove difficult to distinguish. In some cases the derived adjectives are formally different, as in the following pairs of participles and adjectives respectively: *drunk ~ drunken, shrunk ~ shrunken, shaved ~ shaven* (Dušková et al., 2006: 148). Huddleston & Pullum distinguish participles that can become adjectives also

terminologically when they calls these "participial adjectives" while the verbal forms are simply "participles"; they also point out that cases where the distinction is blurred are possible, e.g. *It was broken*. (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 79). Both Dušková et al. and Huddleston & Pullum give the same three criteria to distinguish participial adjectives from participial forms of verbs which are applicable to both present and past participles:

a) Adjectives can be intensified by *very* or *too*; intensification of verbs, on the other hand, requires phrases *very much* and *too much*, or a different group of words like *much*, *greatly*, etc. However, not all adjectives allow the modification by *very* and *too*, and with these words, different means of distinction must be used. Dušková et al. add to this criterion also the possibility to form comparative and superlative forms of adjectives whose meaning allows gradation.

b) Adjectives can follow other copular verbs than *be*, e.g. *seem*, *appear*, *look* or *remain*, which do not take participial clauses as complement.

c) Verbs usually keep their valency and require the same complementation they would have in their finite forms. Thus, while verbs like *surprise*, *amuse* or *interest* require an object, the respective participial adjectives *surprising*, *amusing* or *interesting* can stand without any further participants.

In their conclusion of the chapter dealing with the differences between participial forms and adjectives, Huddleston & Pullum imply that the distinction is more relevant on the level of phrases and clauses than on the level of words. They use the example of the word *written* to conclude that

> it is not a matter of the word *written* itself having a function like that of an adjective, but of *written* being head of an expression whose function is like that of an expression headed by an adjective, i.e. of an AdjP. The functional resemblance is at the level not of words but of larger constituents […] At the level of words, verbs and adjectives differ significantly with respect to the dependents they take. (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 79)

2.3   Gerund

GERUND	present	past
active	*using* *writing*	*having used* *having written*
passive	*being used* *being written*	*having been used* *having been written*

Table 2: The gerundival forms (Dušková et al., 2006: 268)

2.3.1   Gerund vs. Present Participle

The gerund is formed by the suffix *–ing* which makes it formally identical with the present participle, the past participle and the perfect participle being formally distinct. These non-finite forms can be, however, distinguished syntactically as they have different functions and thus occur in different positions. While participles coincide with adjectives (see 2.2.3), mostly in the function of a modifier, the gerund occurs in positions usually realized by nouns so it can function as subject, object, subject and object complement, or prepositional complementation in various functions, for example of an adverb or post-modification of a noun. Moreover, gerunds do not occur in complex verb phrases after auxiliary verbs as participles do.

If the present participle and the gerund occur in the same syntactical position, they are usually distinguished by their form and possible paraphrase. In the position of attribute, the difference is in intonation and stress placement, the gerund having a falling intonation with the main stress at the beginning of a phrase, e.g. *melting point* (= *the point of melting*), and the participle being stressed on both words (the attribute and the head noun), e.g. *melting snow* (= *snow that is melting*) (Dušková et al., 2006: 269). If paraphrased, the gerundival construction would become a prepositional phrase while the participle can be replaced by a subordinate clause: *drinking water = water for drinking ~ running water = water that runs* (ibid: 577). Finally, the formation of participial premodifiers is usually further restricted to intransitive verbs or transitive verbs whose object can be omitted, and in most cases it expresses a characteristic or permanent quality, e.g. *developing countries*, *an entertaining person*, but also *deafening noise* where the quality is temporary (ibid: 580). If they function as an adverbial, the gerund tends to be preceded by a preposition while the participle by a

conjunction, which reflects their respective nominal and verbal character: *on reading his letter ~ while reading his letter* (ibid: 269).

Dušková admits that if the form is not clearly indicated by its environment, the distinction becomes irrelevant. Huddleston & Pullum, however, go even further when they state that "a distinction between gerund and present participle can't be sustained" (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 82). They treat the identical forms as "just one inflectional form of the verb marked by the *–ing* suffix" and label this form "with the compound term 'gerund-participle'" (ibid: 82). What we should distinguish then are thus only specific word classes depending on the syntactical uses of this form, which are "participial adjectives" and "gerundial nouns". Quirk et al. share this approach as they "do not find it useful to distinguish a gerund from a participle, but terminologically class all the *–ing* items as participles. […] By avoiding the binary distinction of gerund and participle, we seek to represent more satisfactorily the complexity of the different participial expressions as we move along the gradient to the 'most verbal' end" (Quirk et al., 1985: 1292).

Thus, they treat the distinction between the gerund and the participle in a similar way as finiteness, that is as a gradient phenomenon that can be described by a scale ranging from nouns to verbs. For example the word *painting* can have different meanings depending on its use: it can be 1) a pure deverbal count noun in *some paintings of Brown's*; 2) an abstract noncount verbal noun in *Brown's deft painting of his daughter*; 3) a gerund, which can combine nominal and verbal characteristics, in *Brown's deftly painting his daughter*; or 4) a present participle in *Brown is painting his daughter* (ibid: 1290-92).

2.3.2 Gerund vs. Noun

The relation between the gerund and what Huddleston & Pullum call a "gerundial noun" is parallel to that between the participle and "participial adjectives" and also in this case, Huddleston & Pullum list several criteria to distinguish one form from the other:

a) Although both verbs and nouns take complements, these differ formally; the nominal object of transitive verbs becomes a prepositional phrase with *of* postmodifying the gerundial nouns:

killing the birds ~ the killing of the birds (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 81). However, verbs requiring a prepositional object keep their valency and thus the preposition remains unchanged: *her calling for the parcel* (Dušková et al., 2006: 570).

b) Also the type of modification is different with each of the two forms; while nouns are usually modified by adjectives, verbs combine rather with adverbs: *wantonly killing the birds ~ the wanton killing of the birds* (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 82).

c) Verbs cannot be preceded by determiners which are restricted to noun phrases. However, both the verb and the noun can be preceded by the possessive forms of nouns or pronouns, which serve as the determiner in the noun phrase and as the subject in the non-finite clause: *I can't read his writing. ~ There would be no point in his writing another letter at this stage.* (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 82).

d) Unlike verbs, gerundial nouns can often take plural form.

Where ambiguity arises between gerundial nouns and verbal forms, Quirk et al. and Dušková et al. use also a mode interpretation to discern them since a noun can express the mode of an action while a verb can express only the action itself: *his rapid drawing of the picture ~ his drawing the picture so rapidly* (Dušková et al., 2006: 569-70). Dušková further points out that only action verbs can form gerundial nouns while gerunds can be formed from all verbs as can be seen in the following pair: **his having of no money* (a non-existent gerundial noun) *~ his having no money* (ibid: 570).

2.4 Non-finite Clauses and Their Syntactical Functions

In spite of their morphological limitations, non-finite verb forms keep their verbal characteristics and thus often form secondary predications which may be considered clauses, often even alternating with finite dependent clauses. In other words, "we recognize non-finite and verbless structures as clauses because we can analyse their internal structure into the same functional elements that we distinguish in finite clauses. […] The normal range of clause types is available for most non-finite clauses. […] The subject of non-finite clauses, however,

is commonly absent." (Quirk et al., 1985: 992-94) According to their respective nominal and adjectival character, the gerundival and participial clauses can fulfil various syntactical functions. In general, "subordinate clauses may function as subject, object [direct and indirect], complement [subject and object complement], or adverbial in a superordinate clause. […] In addition, subordinate clauses may function within these elements, e.g.: postmodifier in noun phrase, prepositional complement, or adjectival complementation. […] On the basis of their potential functions, we distinguish several major categories of subordinate clauses: nominal, adverbial, relative, and comparative." (ibid: 1047)

The tendency of the English language to prefer the non-finite clauses that are of nominal character to alternative expressions realized by their finite counterparts leads to a greater complexity and compression of the sentence, and it is an important factor of a syntactical phenomenon widely used in English, the so-called complex condensation. Thus, the non-finite forms fulfil another syntactical function: that of sentence condensers. The temporal, aspectual and modal meaning of the non-finite structure can be usually recovered from the sentential context.

2.4.1 Terminology

In the present paper, we shall distinguish the individual clauses according to their syntactical function in a sentence, as suggested by Dušková et al. This classification corresponds to the major categories of Quirk et al. and Biber et al., namely nominal, adverbial, and relative clauses. However, what they subsume under the category of relative clauses, i.e. cases of noun postmodification, will be here referred to simply as "modifiers".[2]

The English grammars may sometimes use special terms for some types of non-finite clauses. As they treat the gerund-participle as one form, Huddleston & Pullum use different terminology also on the level of clauses and they distinguishing only between "complement and non-complement uses of gerund-participials," the first meaning the obligatory clause

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[2] Inconsistencies are also in the labelling of clauses headed by the gerund: they are called *gerundial*, *gerundival*, *gerundive*, or *gerund* clauses. We shall use the term *gerundival* according to Quirk et al., 1985: 1064, note a).

constituents and the latter including modifiers or supplements. "In terms of the traditional analysis, the non-complement uses all involve participles, while the complement uses contain primarily gerunds but also some participles." (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 1188) Abandoning the traditional analysis and adopting the complement/non-complement dichotomy enables them to apply their notion of the single form of the gerund-participle also on the level of syntax where there would be no more need to distinguish between the two forms. Quirk et al. and Biber et al. distinguish a subtype of non-finite adverbial clauses that will be discussed here, the so called "supplemetive clauses" not found in Dušková's grammar.

2.4.2   Nominal Clauses

The nominal character of the gerund has been already touched upon in chapter 2.3; as the gerund can stand in positions usually realized by noun phrases or other nominal elements, also the gerundival clauses can be considered a subtype of nominal clauses, as suggested by Quirk et al. Although they do not make the distinction and call the category "nominal –*ing* participle clauses", nominal non-finite clauses headed by an –*ing* word are from our point of view always gerundival. Using their own terminology, Huddleston & Pullum describe several properties that testify "the nominal source of the –*ing* verb that is found in most gerund-participial complements":

a) The distribution is similar to that of a noun phrase, especially considering the occurrence in prepositional phrases. In contrast to the infinitive, gerund-participles can follow the verb in clauses with inverted word-order but usually they cannot stand in extraposition.

b) Verbal and nominal features can combine in a single gerundival construction as in: *our having little spending money made things rather difficult for us* (Dušková et al., 2006: 269) where the gerund has a possessive determination and function of the subject while it keeps the verbal complementation by an object without preposition. These "hybrid constructions" occur

when "a historical change [from noun to verb][3] has not been fully carried through to completion" (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 1189).

c) Both verbal and nominal *-ing* constructions can be preceded by genitive case.

2.4.2.1 Gerundival Clauses as Subject and Subject Complement

In the function of the subject, *-ing* clauses are restricted to verbs which allow subjects realized by clauses in general and they can be often replaced by a corresponding nominal content clause. Although they are rarely found in extraposition, gerundival subjects often occur in the existential constructions with *there*, e.g. *There was skating and tobogganing.* (Dušková et al., 2006: 572) which acquire a modal meaning in the negative: *There's no stopping him.* (ibid: 572), i.e. "He *cannot* be stopped." Gerundival subjects are one of the means of expressing general statements as they imply the general human agent if the subject of the clause is not specified. The agent can be expressed as the object: *Not having enough money taught her to economize.* (ibid: 571); or by possessive determination: *His leaving no address was most inconvenient.* (ibid: 572).[4]

Ambiguities arise in constructions where the gerundival clause functions as the subject complement; thus, the interpretation is often dependent on the context. First, after the verb *be*, the form is formally identical with progressive tenses and second, gerunds may be sometimes identical with adjectives ending with *–ing*.

2.4.2.2 Gerundival Clauses as Object

The gerund can function as a complement: it can be used as the object of transitive verbs, as a complementation of an adjective, or as a prepositional complement. In the position of the direct object, the gerund usually alternates with the infinitive; in most cases, however,

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[3] "Historically, the *–ing* suffix derives from two distinct sources, corresponding respectively to traditional grammar's present participle and gerund. The gerund suffix formed nouns from verbs – as it still does in what we are calling gerundial nouns, such as *the breaking of the seal*. In the course of time, however, the syntactic use of this form was greatly extended, so that it came to combine not just with dependents of the kind associated with nouns, as in that example, but also with those associated with verbs, as in *breaking the seal*. It was this extension that led to the split between nominal and verbal 'gerunds'." (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 1188)

[4] Other forms of expressing the agent are also possible but these often cause syntactic ambiguities (on the problem of the subject of non-finite clauses and the "fused participle" see 2.4.2.3).

there is semantic differentiation. As a prepositional object or an adjectival complement following a preposition (in phrases like *good at* etc.), it can be often replaced by a noun, a nominal content clause or an infinitive. Dušková et al. also note that the preference for such constructions complementing the adjective is a result of the English tendency to nominal expression, visible especially if compared with their Czech verbal equivalents[5] (Dušková et al., 2006: 577). The agent of a gerundival object is usually identical with the subject or direct object of the superordinate clause and thus remains unexpressed: *Are you accusing me of having deliberately concealed this fact?* (ibid: 573). However, different agents can be also expressed, for example the general human agent: *I hate lying.* (Quirk et al., 1985: 1065). Constructions like this may then lead to ambiguities either about the agent, i.e. "I hate when *I* lie." (agent coreferential with the subject) ~ "I hate when *people* lie." (general human agent); or about the nature of the *–ing* word which can be a gerund or a gerundial noun.

2.4.2.3 The Subject of Nominal *–ing* Clauses

It has been already said that the subject of the nominal *–ing* clauses can be expressed by the genitive case which alternates with the common and the objective cases. There are three main factors influencing the choice of the form of the subject: style, formal limitations of the noun phrase in question, and its syntactical function. "In general, the genitive is preferred if the item is a pronoun, the noun phrase has personal reference, and the style is formal." (Quirk et al., 1985: 1063) The genitive case is used mostly with pronouns in gerundival constructions that function as the subject although the nominative is also common. The objective case is used with pronouns (only in the object position) in informal style, and the common case with other noun phrases that have non-personal reference, "when the noun phrase is lengthy and requires a group genitive" (ibid: 1064), and with words like *this* or *there* that cannot form the genitive case: *I won't accept this/*this's being made public.* (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 1192). The genitive of common nouns is also problematic since in spoken language it is homophonous with the plural whose cases are as well indistinguishable: *I don't approve of my son's [/sons/sons'] doing that.* (Dušková et al., 1969: 25). Thus, in both

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[5] On the English shift to nominal expression see 2.4.5.

singular and plural, the common case (*son*, *sons*) is usually preferred in order to avoid ambiguities.[6]

Not only are non-possessive cases more informal, but their use also causes syntactic difficulties in interpreting the status of the *–ing* word; after the common case, the gerund behaves as a post-modifying participle in spite of its subjective function: *They being my friends makes the matter somewhat awkward.* (Dušková et al., 2006: 572). These mixed constructions are called "fused participles" and they give a sound reason for abandoning the problematic distinction between the gerund and the participle. As Dušková et al. point out, "the almost free choice between the possessive form […consistent with the nominal character of the gerund] and the subject/object form […modified by the *–ing* form] seems to suggest that the distinction between the participle and the gerund in this particular function tends to vanish" (Dušková et al., 1969: 26). On the other hand, she also observes that "the 'fused participle' appears to be an important device of complex condensation, towards which sentence structure in Modern English tends to develop" (ibid: 26) and which will be discussed in a separate chapter.

2.4.3 Modifiers

Both the gerund and the present participle can stand in the syntactical function of a noun modifier; only as postmodifiers, however, can they acquire clausal structure. In that function, the participle occurs more often than the gerund as only some nouns allow gerundival post-modification which is, moreover, always realized by a prepositional phrase. In contrast to the gerund, post-modifying present participle follows the noun directly and it is usually further complemented by an object or an adverbial.[7] The modifying construction cannot be considered an ellipsis of a progressive form since also verbs that do not form progressive tenses can function as modifiers: *packages weighing over twenty pounds* (Dušková et al., 2006: 581). Participial modifiers neutralize the aspectual contrast between

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[6] In the plural, the case can be obviously distinguished only in written language by means of the apostrophe.

[7] The complementation is actually the condition for the postponement since otherwise, the sentence would be awkward: **the going to school children* seems an impossible construction.

current and general actions: *the children going to school = the children who go to school ~ the children who are going to school* (ibid: 581), and they do not usually express the perfective aspect: *The man who has won the race is my brother. ~ The man having won the race is my brother.* (Quirk et al., 1985: 1264). Thus, the perfect participle is not used in the function of a noun modifier. The implied subject of all participial postmodifiers is their antecedent in the main clause.

2.4.3.1 Participial Postmodifier vs. Object Complement

If a postmodifying participle is complemented by other elements, and thus obligatorily postponed, it becomes formally identical with object complement. The latter is, however, dependent on both the object and the verb: *I caught him leaving the house.* (Dušková et al., 2006: 586); moreover, only a small group of verbs allows the participial complementation (for example verbs of perception; *send*, *set*, *get* and *have* with causative meaning; *catch*, *find* and others). Similar participial constructions in final positions are unclear in most cases and may attach both to the object and the subject; here, another possible analysis is that of an adverbial clause dependent on the subject.

2.4.4   Adverbial Clauses

As an adverbial, the gerund can have the same construction as the participle only when expressing purpose after motion verbs, e.g. *He went swimming. ~ He came running.* (Dušková et al., 2006: 578). While the first example is an adverbial of purpose realized by a gerund, the latter is a participle expressing simultaneous action. In other types of the adverbial, the gerund combines with various prepositions and expresses various adverbial meanings. As in the case of nominal gerundival clauses, the agent is often unexpressed and identical with the subject of the superordinate clause. Otherwise, the discussion in 2.4.2.3 concerning the various forms of the subject is applicable to the adverbial clauses as well: *His cigarette burned down without him noticing.* (ibid: 580).

While the gerund occurs in a prepositional phrase in most cases, the participle follows conjunctions and expresses mostly temporal relations in adverbial clauses of time (after *once*,

till, *until*, *when*, *whenever*, *while*, *whilst*), and accompanying circumstances as in the above-mentioned *He came running*. The present participle appears also in clauses of comparison (after *as*, *as if*, *as though*), of concession, marginally in clauses of condition (after *if*, *unless*) which can be expressed also by means of absolute participial constructions, e.g. *weather permitting,...* (Quirk et al., 1985: 1090), and they occur frequently in comment clauses (style disjuncts).

2.4.4.1 Supplementive Clauses

Adverbial participial clauses can occur also without a conjunction that would indicate the nature of their relation to the superordinate clause, in which case formal and lexical ambiguities arise about the status of the *–ing* word. Thus asyndetically attached non-finite (and verbless) adverbial clauses are called "supplementive clauses" and they usually alternate with non-restrictive relative clauses. This implies that they often have modifying character and it seems logical that subjectless supplementive clauses are often identical with post-modifying participles and object complements if in final position. The adverbial clause can be distinguished by its relatively free position as it can usually appear initially, medially and finally, while the other two stand immediately after their antecedent. Quirk et al. give an example of such triple meaning in *I caught the boy waiting for my daughter*. The possible paraphrases are: 1) "I caught the boy while *I* was waiting for my daughter." (supplementive clause); 2) "I *caught the boy* in the act of waiting for my daughter." (object complement); 3) "I caught *the boy* who was waiting for my daughter." (post-modifier) (Quirk et al., 1985: 1126). Only clauses containing auxiliary verbs are unambiguously supplementive, e.g. *The old man, being of sane mind, dictated and signed his will.* (ibid: 1125).

The meaning of supplementive clauses must be inferred from the sentential or broader context and they can express various relationships; "according to context, we may wish to imply temporal, conditional, causal, concessive, or circumstantial relationship. In short, the supplementive clause implies an accompanying circumstance to the situation described in the matrix clause." (ibid: 1124)

2.4.4.2 The Subject of Participial Adverbial Clauses

According to Quirk et al., the general attachment rule for the unexpressed subject of non-finite adverbial clauses assumes it to be identical with the subject of the superordinate clause (Quirk et al., 1985: 1121), e.g. *Feeling like a murderess, Betsy tried to comfort her.* (Dušková, 1969: 20). An elliptical interpretation (of the subject and the finite verb) may be possible with participles following some conjunctions as in *Whether (he is) working or not, he has an air of an exceedingly busy man.* (Dušková et al., 2006: 584-85) but this possibility is problematic with other examples like *While deeply respecting her ~ While I deeply respect her I can't help seeing her faults.* (ibid: 585). Thus, ellipsis cannot be considered a valid explanation of such constructions.

The unexpressed subject may also imply the general human agent, especially in the case of style disjuncts: *broadly speaking, allowing for exceptions, judging from appearances*, and others (Dušková et al., 2006: 584). Some often used phrases "in this way tend to acquire a near-prepositional or prepositional function, e.g. *considering, supposing, regarding…*" (Dušková, 1969: 20). Other cases where the subject is not identifiable from the context are grammatically disputable and this type of construction, called "unattached", "suspended" or "dangling" participle, is accepted only in formal scientific language where the subject implied is the authorial *we*: *Having established a basis for this theory, the next step is to analyse the structure and properties of the components.* (Dušková et al., 2006: 586). A similar situation can be found also in "unattached" gerundival adverbials with general or indefinite reference as *On lowering the temperature, the anisotropy ration increases.* (Dušková, 1969: 22).

When the agent is expressed but different from the subject of the superordinate clause, e.g. *No further discussion arising, the meeting was brought to a close.* (Quirk et al., 1985: 1120), the form is called an "absolute participial clause" because it is "not explicitly bound to the matrix clause syntactically" (Quirk et al., 1985: 1120).

2.4.5   Complex Condensation

In all their functions discussed above, the non-finite verb forms represent a means of syntactic condensation and the shift to nominal expression used in contemporary English. There is a tendency to replace lexical verbs by nominal constructions, visible for example in the preference for copular predications with action nouns to the SV pattern: *We smoked. ~ We had a smoke.* (Dušková et al., 2006: 417). Similar are phrases of the type *he got hold of* or *get ready* which can be in other languages often expressed by a single verb (Vachek, 1955: 66). Evidence of this tendency can be found also on the clausal level where it is manifested in "the introduction into a sentence of a nominal element or phrase enabling the said sentence to do without a subordinate clause [and thus another finite verb] the use of which would otherwise be indispensable" (ibid: 63); a phenomenon called complex condensation. "The fact that a sentence can dispense with a subordinate clause undoubtedly results in a closer cohesion of its elements, which may justly be regarded as a greater condensity." (ibid: 64) This then enables the reader or listener to perceive the sentence as a compact unit instead of forcing him to divide his attention among more individual predications.

On the basis of constructions like *She went over to the window and leaned against it, pressing her hands against the window pane.* (Hladký, 1961: 107), which have been described above as supplementive clauses, Hladký proposes an extension of the definition of complex condensation as in his view, such instances "do not replace any subordinate clause in English." Thus, he offers a more general definition that takes into account all possible paraphrases and describes the phenomenon as "the introduction into a sentence of a nominal element or phrase (condenser, for short) enabling the said sentence to do without a hypotactically or paratactically arranged clause the use of which would otherwise be indispensable" (ibid: 114).

The condensation is achieved by the so called condensers (or condensators), of which the most prominent ones are the nominal expressions derived from verbs, in other words the non-finite verb forms: participles, infinitives, and gerunds. According to the surveys presented by both Vachek and Hladký, the present participle is the non-finite form most widely used as

a condenser. As a result of their own predicative force, the condensers make it possible to dispense with more clauses, usually attached by conjunctions, without any losses in the conveyed meaning. The "usefulness" of condensers lies in their ability to comprise in themselves grammatical categories which can be deduced from the context, especially from the finite verb of the main clause and its subject, and would otherwise have to be expressed by means of grammatical words (for example auxiliary verbs).

The condensing function, however, can be shifted also to other elements as was shown by Nosek's examination of words or whole phrases with dual membership on the clausal level. These are "cases in which one member, chiefly nominal, an object or subject of the first predication, is simultaneously the subject of second predication" (Nosek, 1964: 283) and thus condenses in it "two syntactic functions into a higher function" (ibid: 283). For example in *I cannot understand no rain falling.* (ibid: 282), *rain* is the object of *understand* and at the same time the subject of *falling*, thus connecting the two predications. In a comparison of these "apo koinou" constructions with the non-finite forms, Nosek concludes that "the former cumulate (merge) that member of sentence which the semi-verbal groupings suppress, i.e. the subject of the third member (i.e. of the verbids); the former condensers establish a subject for the third, semi-clausal structure" (ibid: 287).

These tendencies of the English language to shift the "semantic centre of gravity" to nominal elements – such as the non-finite verb forms – are also important on the level of functional sentence perspective. Thanks to their nominal character, the non-finite clauses function at this level as compact units whose main verb is not weakened in its communicative value.[8] Moreover, the preference for the compact non-finite clause to a subordinate clause gives coherence to the whole sentence. The principle of complex condensation is so embedded in the syntactical system of English that it becomes prominent only if compared with other languages, for example Czech, with contrary tendencies. Hladký's examination of

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[8] The issues of the communicative dynamism of the English verb, and the way of shaping the functional sentence perspective by means of dissociating the rhematic elements from the verb is discussed by J. Firbas in the article "On the Communicative Value of the Modern English Finite Verb," 1961, *Brno Studies in English* 3, 79-102.

various types of English texts proved that it is working at all stylistic levels; only in specialized contexts is the tendency to compression higher in both English and Czech. However, "in English the specialized style need not resort to the use of the method of complex condensation in a frequency markedly higher than that of the narrative style" (Hladký, 1961: 113). This is probably connected to the fundamentally different characters of the two languages, one analytic and the other synthetic. Overall, the analytical structure of English, which relies on the use of functional words and blurs the differences between individual word classes, favours the processes of condensation. Vachek, however, "refrain[s] from deriving far-reaching typological conclusions" as the interdependence may be of different degrees in various languages (Vachek, 1961: 43).

3 MATERIAL AND METHOD

3.1 Material

Instances of non-finite *-ing* clauses were excerpted from two British novels, both written in 1954: *The Lord of the Rings: The Fellowship of the Ring* by John Ronald Reuel Tolkien, and *Lucky Jim* by Kingsley Amis.[9] In both cases, the excerption was started at the beginning of the first chapter, excluding forewords or prologues. In order to collect together 140 examples, 70 from each text, 10,543 words were needed: 6,779 words from the first text, 3,764 from the latter. The excerption has yielded 57 examples of gerundival and 83 examples of participial constructions.

3.2 Method

The following analysis is focused on the different syntactic behaviour of formally identical gerunds and participles. Therefore, in the selected material we have looked up all words ending in *–ing*. The results were further sorted manually: first of all, it was necessary to determine the word class membership according to the criteria for distinguishing between participles and adjectives and gerunds and nouns described in chapters 2.2.3 and 2.3.2. Second, finite verb forms containing participles were identified and not included in the excerpted data. Where two or more non-finite clauses occurred in the sentence, each of the clauses was excerpted as an individual example. The collected instances of the *–ing* verb forms were classified according to their gerundival and participial character and their syntactical function. All premodifying non-finite forms have been excluded as subordinate clauses do not occur in that position; moreover, the boundary between the present participle and a participial adjective proved to be very unclear in the function of a premodifier. Major problems of this part of the analysis, different from the syntactical ambiguities described in chapter 2.4, are described below, together with the preferred solution.

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[9] English electronic versions of the two books included in the English-Czech section of the multilingual parallel translation corpus Intercorp were used for the excerption, cf. http://www.korpus.cz/intercorp/.

The vital step of the excerption was to mark the complexity of the collected non-finite clauses. In this respect, we have concentrated on the clause patterns of the clauses including the expressed or unexpressed subject and all obligatory and optional parts of the clause. In the tables and in the appendix to the Research Part, which contains all excerpted sentences, the unexpressed subject is put in square brackets while optional elements are in round brackets. In the Research Part itself, only some of the examples are cited for the purposes of illustration of the recorded results. These results are ordered according to the clause patterns identified in the collected material with respect to the syntactical function of the clause in the superordinate sentence.

3.2.1   Problems in Analysis

3.2.1.1 Phrase vs. Clause

Several instances of the [S]V pattern without any further complementation have been encountered in the course of the excerption, in which cases possible nominal phrases had to be identified and excluded. "We recognize a structure as a clause only when it is describable in terms of clausal rather than phrasal structure." (Quirk et al., 1985: 992) In sentences like [1], however, there are no indications as to the character of the *–ing* word which can be thus interpreted either as "a noun phrase with only a head or a clause with only a verb" (ibid: 993). We have decided to consider such instances clauses because optional elements are possible in these clauses as is shown in [2] where the same word in different use is modified by an adverbial.

[1]   *'And you can say what you like, about what you know no more of than you do of <u>boating</u>, Mr. Sandyman,' retorted the Gaffer, disliking the miller even more than usual.* (T20)

[2]   *'And he went out <u>boating</u> on the Brandywine River; and he and his wife were drownded, and poor Mr. Frodo only a child and all.'* (T7)

In case of compound words containing -*ing* words [3], the word in question becomes a part of a larger unit functioning as a noun phrase and cannot be considered a clause:

[3]   *'Mr. Bilbo is free with his money, and there seems no lack of it; but I know of no <u>tunnel-making</u>.'* (Tolkien)

3.2.1.2 Catenative Verb Constructions

Some verb phrases are ambiguous as to their syntactical structure as the verbs may be classified into two different groups: catenative verbs or monotransitive verbs. Catenative constructions "have meanings related to aspect or modality, but are nearer to main verb constructions than are semi-auxiliaries, patterning entirely like main verbs in taking DO-support" (Quirk et al., 1985: 146). Most of these verbs combine with the infinitive but some also with the present participle as in *The girl started out / kept (on) / went on working.* (ibid: 147) or *We went running.* (ibid: 1191). These constructions are then considered a single verb phrase. Dušková gives the following list of verbs that combine with the gerund and specify the aspectual context: *begin, start, commence*; *continue, go on, keep*; *finish, stop, cease* (Dušková et al., 2006: 420). However, most of these verbs allow also complementation by a noun phrase and on the basis of this alternation the gerund can be considered the object of the verb. Quirk et al. classify these verbs as "aspectual" and treat them as a separate category of monotransitive verbs taking non-finite objects. The aspectual verbs are: *begin, cease, commence, continue, quit, resume, start, stop,* (Quirk et al., 1985: 1187-90) and the prepositional verbs *break / burst into* and *come to* (Dušková et al., 2006: 421). Our analysis is based on this list; therefore, phrases containing the above mentioned verbs are treated as monotransitive verbs with gerundival complementation as in [4] and [5], while sentences like [6] and [7] have been excluded as catenative constructions.

[4] *Why couldn't he <u>stop talking</u> and let them drink his health?* (T58)

[5] *At moments like this Dixon <u>came near to wishing</u> that they really were.* (A4)

[6] *'Don't <u>go getting mixed up</u> in the business of your betters, or you'll land in trouble too big for you,' I says to him.* (Tolkien)

[7] *Most of the guests <u>went on eating and drinking and discussing</u> Bilbo Baggins' oddities, past and present; but the Sackville-Bagginses had already departed in wrath.* (Tolkien)

3.2.1.3 Absolute Clauses vs. Postmodification

Absolute participial clauses and participial postmodifying clauses are formally identical; the classification is dependent on the interpretation of the preceding nominal

element which can be the expressed subject or the modified element (the implied subject). This decision may be subject to individual interpretation; therefore, we shall describe our analysis on two examples:

> [8] *'And look at the outlandish folk that visit him: dwarves <u>coming</u> at night, and that old wandering conjuror, Gandalf, and all.'* (T19)

> [9] *The flowers glowed red and golden: snap-dragons and sun-flowers, and nasturtiums <u>trailing</u> all over the turf walls and <u>peeping</u> in at the round windows.* (T27, T28)

In sentence [8], the object is realized by the noun phrase *the outlandish folk that visit him* and three coordinated noun phrases in apposition to it, further specifying the first one (one of them in appositonal relation to another noun phrase – *that old wandering conjuror, Gandalf*). Thus, all these nouns are part of the main clause and the following clauses, whether finite (*that visit him*) or non-finite (*coming at night*), are interpreted as postmodifiers. In [9], however, we do not see the non-finite clauses as modifying any element of the main clause but rather the whole clause itself. Therefore, they have been classified as adverbial clauses with expressed subject, in other words, absolute participial constructions.

3.2.1.4 Present Participle in Constructions with *There*

In existential and existential-locative constructions with *there*, the postponed notional subject can be followed by the present participle:

> [10] *There was a constant stream of them <u>going</u> up the Hill, <u>carrying</u> hundreds of polite variations on* Thank you, I shall certainly come. (T34, T35)

In such occurrences, ambiguity may arise between the participle as a part of the progressive tense or as a postmodifier. In most cases, it is considered a modifier as the non-finite forms can be usually paraphrased by a relative clause, in the case of [10] *a stream of them [postmen], who were constantly going up the hill*, but only some allow paraphrase by a progressive tense: *A constant stream of them was going up the hill*. (Dušková et al., 2006: 355). In our analysis, this use of the participle is treated as a modifier.

4 RESEARCH PART

In the following chapters, the collected instances of gerundival and participial clauses will be described in detail. As we are interested in the complexity of individual clauses, the classification is based on the types of complementation that the English verb requires according to its copular, intransitive or transitive character. These groups are further subdivided according to the clause patterns that the particular verbs form. Passive constructions are not included in this division as verbs in the passive often require different complementation than in the active voice; therefore, they will be discussed separately. Patterns with most occurrences will be devoted individual chapters to as these are hoped to best demonstrate some more general tendencies of the –*ing* clauses. Each chapter contains a table which shows the relationship between the syntactic function of the non-finite clause (with respect to the superordinate clause) and the valency class of the non-finite verb.

4.1 Gerundival Clauses

4.1.1 Subjectless Gerundival Clauses

The majority of the gerundival clauses are clauses with unexpressed subject, comprising 50 cases of the total 57. Table 3 shows that most of these clauses occur in the function of the object: of 50 instances, 25 are direct or prepositional objects. It can be further seen that most of the gerundival clauses contain intransitive and monotransitive verbs that give together 39 instances.

	Copular	Intransitive	Mono-transitive	Ditran-sitive	Complex-transitive	Passive	Total	%
S	-	-	3	-	-	-	3	6
Oprep	1	8	2	-	-	1	**12**	**24**
Od	1	7	5	-	-	-	**13**	**26**
Mod	-	1	4	1	2	-	8	16
Cs(+comp)[10]	-	1	-	1	-	-	2	4
Cs	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
Co	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	2
A	-	2	5	2	-	1	10	20
Total	3	**19**	**20**	4	2	2	50	
%	6	**38**	**40**	8	4	4		100

Table 3: Subjectless gerundival clauses

4.1.1.1 Gerundival Clauses with Intransitive Verbs: [S]V, [S]VA

Intransitive verbs do not require any further participant although they may need an adverbial complementation. In the 50 collected subjectless gerundival clauses, 19 verbs are used intransitively and four of these have obligatory adverbial complementation.

	[S]V	[S]V(A)	[S]V(A)(A)	[S]VA	Total	%
S	-	-	-	-	0	0
Oprep	4	1	-	3	**8**	**42,1**
Od	3	2	2	-	**7**	**36,8**
Mod	-	1	-	-	1	5,2
Cs(+comp)	1	-	-	-	1	5,2
Cs	-	-	-	-	0	0
Co	-	-	-	-	0	0
A	-	1	-	1	2	10,5
Total	8	5	2	4	19	
%	42,1	26,3	10,5	21		100

Table 4: Gerundival clauses with intransitive verbs: [S]V, [S]VA

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[10] Cs(+comp) = complementation of the subject complement, usually of an adjective requiring complementation.

As Table 4 shows, the majority of the clauses without an obligatory adverbial, 12 out of 15, occur in the position of the object, either following the main verb directly or complementing a preposition. Moreover, all clauses of this group in the function of a direct object follow an aspectual verb. In two cases, [1] being one, multiple modification of the gerundival predicate is not hindered since the gerundival object takes the final position in the superordinate clause.

[1] *He held on to this thought until animation abruptly gathered again and burst in the older man, so that he began <u>speaking</u> almost in a shout, with a tremolo imparted by unshared laughter.* (A5)

A prominent feature of the whole group of the objective clauses is the fact that although their non-finite forms occur without complementation, all of the verbs are either inherently monotransitive and may require objective complementation in independent clauses [2], or they allow double interpretation so that the objective complementation is dependent on the context [3].[11] Since this includes both direct and prepositional objects, the preference for intransitive uses does not seem to be lexically restricted only to aspectual verbs.

[2] *'There isn't no call to go talking of <u>pushing</u> and pulling.'* (T8)

[3] *The hobbit-children were so excited that for a while they almost forgot about <u>eating</u>.* (T40)

In [4], which is an adjectival complementation and the only instance of the [S]V pattern in other than objective function, the missing object is the actual subject of the main clause.

[4] *'Ah yes, a new journal might be worth <u>trying</u>.'* (A49)

The last two instances of the [S]V pattern have an optional adverbial, *sitting up late* in example [5] being a set phrase, and they occur in the function of a postmodifier and an adverbial of purpose without any other modification.

[5] *Many young hobbits were included, and present by parental permission; for hobbits were easy-going with their children in the matter of <u>sitting up</u> late,…* (T45)

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[11] The examples above can alternatively be analysed as cases of object deletion following a monotransitive verb.

The four clauses with the [S]VA pattern, exemplified by [6], contain verbs requiring an adjunct of space which is realized by a prepositional phrase in all of them; no other elements are present.

[6] *With a tearing of gravel under the wheels the car burst from a standstill towards the grass verge, which Welch ran over briefly before <u>turning</u> down the drive.* (A41)

4.1.1.2 Gerundival Clauses with Monotransitive Verbs: [S]VO

Monotransitive verbs require another participant in the form of the object, direct or prepositional. With 20 occurrences, the [S]VO pattern is the most frequent pattern of all subjectless gerundival clauses; moreover, clauses with this pattern occur in most syntactical positions except for the subject complement and an adjectival complement.

	[S]VO	[S]VOprep	[S]VOprep(A)	Total	%
S	2	1	-	3	15
Oprep	2	-	-	2	10
Od	4	1	-	5	25
Mod	2	2	-	4	20
Cs(+comp)	-	-	-	0	0
Cs	-	-	-	0	0
Co	1	-	-	1	5
A	3	-	2	5	25
Total	14	4	2	20	
%	70	20	10		100

Table 5: Gerundival clauses with monotransitive verbs: [S]VO

As in the case of intransitive verbs, most clauses in this group function as the object; however, their overall range of uses seems to be wider as the clauses are more evenly distributed among various functions, especially the object, adverbial, and noun modifier. Only two clauses with the [S]VO pattern have optional adverbial modifications, both functioning as an adverbial.

In clauses functioning as the subject of the main clause, the object is in all cases realized by a nominal phrase without significant modifications [7]. Gerundival clauses in the

function of the subject can stand in postposition after the anticipatory *it* as in [7] or as the first element of the clause [8].

[7] *'Very well. It is no good <u>saying</u> any more.'* (T29)

[8] <u>*Bringing up*</u> *young hobbits took a lot of provender.* (T47)

Of the seven gerundival clauses in the function of the object, four follow an aspectual verb; the realization of the object of these clauses is more varied as it ranges from the proform *it* to a subordinate clause in [9]. The most complex objects complementing the gerundival predicate are those realized by the infinitive which occurs in two clauses and which, like the gerund, forms secondary predications [10].

[9] *At moments like this Dixon came near to <u>wishing</u> that they really were.* (A4)

[10] *He forced his attention away on to Welch's habits as a car-driver, and began <u>trying</u> to nourish outrage as a screen for the apprehension, tapping his long brown shoe loudly on the floor and whistling.* (A23)

In the remaining three cases and in the clause that functions as an object complement [11], the objects are realized by nominal phrases without modifications.

[11] *Most of the company were, however, now in a tolerant mood, at that delightful stage which they called '<u>filling up</u> the corners'.* (T48)

Compared to non-finite clauses in the position of the subject and object (after other than aspectual verbs), clauses functioning as noun modifiers and adverbials seem to be more favourable to complex modifications. Twice, the objects of modifying clauses are realized only by nouns but the other two – both being the last elements of the sentence – contain further postmodification, realized, for example, by a prepositional phrase and a relative clause in [12].

[12] *It wasn't the double-exposure effect of the last half minute's talk that had dumbfounded him for such incidents formed the staple material of Welch colloquies; it was the prospect of <u>reciting</u> the title of the article he'd written.* (A51)

From the five instances of adverbial clauses, only once is there an object without modification [13]; otherwise, it is either modified or the clause contains an optional adverbial.

These adverbials, moreover, do not occur in any other function realized by a clause with the [S]VO pattern. Here, both instances of optional adverbials occur with the verb *look for* in [14] and [15]; since the first example contains two adverbials and a relative clause, and is thus more complex than the latter, the clause structure does not seem to depend on the verb itself. The multiple adverbial of place could be ascribed to the characteristics of spoken language.

> [13] *His thinking all this without <u>having defiled</u> and set fire to the typescript only made him appear to himself as more of a hypocrite and fool.* (A54)

> [14] *'It beats me why any Baggins of Hobbiton should go <u>looking</u> for a wife away there in Buckland, where folks are so queer.'* (T3)

> [15] *'Boats are quite tricky enough for those that sit still without <u>looking</u> further for the cause of trouble.'* (T10)

4.1.1.3 Other Gerundival Clauses

Other types of predication requiring more complements give together only eight instances. This relatively low number makes them seem insufficient for any general conclusions; therefore, they can be discussed together in the following chapter.

	Copular	Ditransitive		Complex-transitive		Total	%
	[S]VCs	[S]VOiOd	[S]VOOprep	[S]VOA	[S]VOCo		
S	-	-	-	-	-	0	0
Oprep	1	-	-	-	-	1	12,5
Od	1	-	-	-	-	1	12,5
Mod	-	1	-	1	1	3	37,5
Cs(+comp)	-	-	-	-	-	0	0
Cs	1	-	-	-	-	1	12,5
Co	-	-	-	-	-	0	0
A	-	-	2	-	-	2	25
Total	3	1	2	1	1	8	
%	37,5	12,5	25	12,5	12,5		100

Table 6: Other gerundival clauses

In all three instances of non-finite gerundival copular predications, the copula is the verb *to be* and the clauses do not have any optional elements. Each of the clauses performs a different syntactic function, for example [16] is itself a part of copular predication.

[16] *'If that's being queer, then we could do with a bit more queerness in these parts.'* (T22)

Ditransitive verbs form clause patterns with two objects: SVOiOd and SVOOprep. In the excerpted data, there is only one gerundival clause with an indirect object: [17] in the function of a postmodifier; and three clauses with a prepositional object: [18] functions as an adjectival complement and the other two are both adverbials. None of the examples contains any optional elements other than noun modifications, example [18] being the only with a rather long postmodification.

[17] *Many young hobbits were included, and present by parental permission; for hobbits were easy-going with their children in the matter of sitting up late, especially when there was a chance of <u>getting</u> them a free meal.* (T46)

[18] *Lecturers were fond of <u>lauding</u> to their students the comparative receptivity to facts of 'the Honours class over the road', ...* (A38)

The complex-transitive patterns [S]VOCo and [S]VOA can be each found only once in the scope of the present analysis. These two clauses, moreover, are correlated in one nominal phrase with a multiple postmodification [19]:

[19] *... before the journey ended he'd find his face becoming creased and flabby, like an old bag, with the strain of <u>making</u> it smile and show interest and speak its few permitted words, of <u>steering</u> it between a collapse into helpless fatigue and a tautening with anarchic fury.* (A46, 47)

Both *making* and *steering* are themselves further complemented by correlated structures: *make* is here a causative verb whose object complement is realized by three bare infinitives with their own secondary predications; *steering* requires an adjunct of place, here realized by two prepositional phrases with modified nouns. Although we cannot draw any generalizations from one example, the relationship between the complexity of modifying clauses and their position seems to be reciprocal, which can be observed also on the clauses discussed in the previous chapter: "lengthy" phrases are postponed to avoid awkward constructions and at the

same time, the postmodification (realized by prepositional phrases) may thus favour complex structures, including gerundival ones.

4.1.1.4 Passive Gerundival Clauses

There are only two instances of passive gerundival clauses in our excerption, [20] and [21]. These clauses represent the patterns [S]VpasO and [S]Vpas(A), in the function of an object and an adverbial, respectively. Both clauses conform to the above observations that the SVO pattern in the objective function does not favour modifications, and that the SV pattern in an adverbial function does. In the case of example [21], we cannot talk about a missing object as it is the passive construction that makes it possible to shift the object of the verb in the position of the subject.

> [20] *No other professor in Great Britain, he thought, set such store by being called Professor.* (A1)

> [21] *Despite being wrongfully addressed (Faulkner had preceded him in his post), Dixon knew what Welch meant, and said so.* (A62)

4.1.2   Gerundival Clauses with Subject

The subject of non-finite clauses usually remains unexpressed and in the course of our excerption, only seven gerundival clauses with expressed subject were encountered; twice, moreover, are two of these clauses correlated in one part of the sentence. Their function is restricted mainly to the subject and adverbial although there is also one case of subject complement. Since there are no examples of a copular, complex-transitive or passive predication among the gerundival clauses with expressed subject, Table 7 represents the distribution of the clauses in individual patterns. In contrast to subjectless clauses, there are no instances of intransitive verbs without any optional elements; each clause contains at least an optional adverbial.

	Intransitive		Monotransitive	Ditransitive	Total	%
	SV(A)	SVA	SVO	SVOOprep(A)		
S	-	1	2	-	3	42,9
Oprep	-	-	-	-	0	0
Od	-	-	-	-	0	0
Mod	-	-	-	-	0	0
Cs(+comp)	-	-	-	-	0	0
Cs	-	-	-	1	1	14,3
Co	-	-	-	-	0	0
A	2	1	-	-	3	42,9
Total	2	2	2	1	7	
%	28,6	28,6	28,6	14,3		100

Table 7: Gerundival clauses with subject

The intransitive patterns SVA and SV(A) with an obligatory or optional adverbial occur in four clauses, three of them function as an adverbial [22], the fourth as the subject [23]. The adverbials are realized by a prepositional phrase or by an adverbial and none of them are further modified.

[22] *There were green trees with trunks of dark smoke: their leaves opened like a whole spring <u>unfolding</u> in a moment.* (T42)

[23] *'It's no use anybody <u>coming</u> to me and asking 'What's young Dixon's stuff like?' unless I can give them an expert opinion of what it's worth, is it now?'* (A60)

Both instances of the SVO pattern are clauses with the function of the subject. Example [24] is a complex one since the object is realized by a quotation of a whole sentence.[12]

[24] *'It's no use anybody coming to me and <u>asking</u> 'What's young Dixon's stuff like?' unless I can give them an expert opinion of what it's worth, is it now?'* (A61)

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[12] Following the "end-weight principle", the subject gerundival clause occurs in postpostion, the initial subject position being taken by the anticipatory *it*.

The most complex clause of this group is [25] in the function of the subject complement with the pattern SVOOprep(A) which requires two objects and is, moreover, modified by an adverbial of time.

> [25] *The most likely thing, he always thought, was his <u>having inflicted</u> a superficial wound on the Professor of English in his first week.* (A63)

4.2 Participial Clauses

4.2.1 Subjectless Participial Clauses

The ratio of subjectless clauses is approximately the same for both gerundival and participial clauses: 88 and 87 per cent, respectively. Participial clauses, however, are less versatile in their syntactic function; they can be modifiers, object complements, or adverbials. Table 8 shows clearly that the primary function of non-finite participial clauses is the adverbial as it is the function of 66,7 per cent of all the instances. Furthermore, only in this function do these clauses form all the basic clause patterns of which the most frequent ones are those with monotransitive and intransitive verbs.

	Copular	Intransitive	Mono-transitive	Ditran-sitive	Complex-transitive	Passive	Total	%
Mod	-	8	8	-	-	1	17	23,6
Co	1	3	2	1	-	-	7	9,7
A	3	11	24	7	2	1	**48**	**66,7**
Total	4	**22**	**34**	8	2	2	72	
%	5,6	**30,6**	**47,2**	11,1	2,8	2,8		100

Table 8: Subjectless participial clauses

4.2.1.1 Participial Clauses with Intransitive Verbs: [S]V, [S]VA

In contrast to gerundival clauses with intransitive verbs, where clauses without optional elements prevailed, there are more clauses with optional adverbials among the participial clauses: 14 of 22.

	[S]V	[S]V(A)	[S]V(A)(A)	[S]VA	[S]VA(A)	Total	%
Mod	-	2	-	5	1	8	36,4
Co	1	-	1	-	-	2	9,1
A	2	5	3	1	1	12	54,6
Total	4	7	4	6	2	22	
%	18,2	31,8	18,2	27,3	9,1		100

Table 9: Participial clauses with intransitive verbs: [S]V, [S]VA

From the whole set of intransitive clauses without an obligatory adverbial, only example [1] would allow an optional object.

> [1] *He forced his attention away on to Welch's habits as a car-driver, and began trying to nourish outrage as a screen for the apprehension, tapping his long brown shoe loudly on the floor and* <u>*whistling*</u>. (A25)

In the clauses containing optional adverbials, there are no such verbs and the adverbials in question are realized either by an adverb or a short prepositional phrase; there is only one complex adverbial clause [2] among the instances of the [S]V(A) pattern. This clause is one of the two adverbial clauses with this pattern in pre-verbal position; however, the second one does not express a similar tendency to greater complexity [3].

> [2] <u>*Shuddering*</u> *in his efforts to repress a yawn of nervousness, he asked in his flat northern voice: 'How's Margaret these days?'* (A11)

> [3] *Before Dixon could do more than close his eyes he was pressed firmly back against the seat, and his cigarette, still* <u>*burning*</u>*, was cuffed out of his hand into some interstice of the floor.* (A40)

Where two optional adverbials occur in one clause, the situation is similar. However, there is one clause [4] in the function of an object complement which contains a non-integrated adverbial, an evaluating disjunct *surprisingly enough*.

> [4] *He'd found his professor* <u>*standing*</u>*, surprisingly enough, in front of the Recent Additions shelf in the College Library, and they were now moving diagonally across a small lawn towards the front of the main building of the College.* (A3)

Except for two instances, all clauses with intransitive verbs containing an obligatory adverbial stand in the position of a noun postmodifier. However, it is the complementation by

other elements, like the adverbial, that forces these clauses into postposition and none of these clauses contains other modifications. The only adverbial clause with the [S]VA pattern [5], on the other hand, is the only clause in this group that is further postmodified.

[5] *'I can remember myself last summer, <u>coming</u> back from that examiners' conference in Durham.'* (A15)

4.2.1.2 Participial Clauses with Monotransitive Verbs: [S]VO

In general, the [S]VO pattern of monotransitive verbs can be considered the most frequent one among all non-finite –*ing* clauses; 34 cases of subjectless participial clauses are monotransitive which makes almost 50 per cent. 24 clauses function as an adverbial and more than half of these contain an optional adverbial, 15 cases.

	[S]VO	[S]VO(A)	[S]VO(A)(A)	[S]VOprep	[S]VOprep(A)	Total	%
Mod	5	-	-	2	1	8	23,5
Co	-	-	-	2	-	2	5,9
A	6	11	1	3	3	24	70,6
Total	12	10	1	7	4	34	
%	35,4	29,4	2,9	20,6	11,8		100

Table 10: Participial clauses with monotransitive verbs: [S]VO

From the clauses that function as noun postmodifiers, only those that stand in the final position of the whole sentence allow complex modification of its elements [6]. The last example, moreover, is the only modifying clause that includes an optional adverbial *in fact* which is a content disjunct. Otherwise, in the clauses functioning both as modifiers and object complements, the object is realized by a noun or a prepositional phrase, only in two cases with modification [7].

[6] *Then there'd been that essay written for Welch by one of the Honours people, <u>containing</u>, in fact <u>consisting of</u>, abuse of a book on enclosures by, it transpired, one of Welch's own ex-pupils.* (A69, A70)

[7] *From a locked drawer, <u>smelling</u> of moth-balls, he took out an old cloak and hood.* (T60)

In adverbial clauses, the realization of the object is more varied; usually it is realized by a noun phrase but after the verbs *feel*, *suppose*, and *pretend* (which are connected to thinking) it is realized by nominal clauses [8], infinitival in [9].

[8] *The young hobbits stared at the door in vain for a while, and then made off, <u>feeling</u> that the day of the party would never come.* (T25)

[9] *Indeed, in one corner some of the young Tooks and Brandybucks, <u>supposing</u> Uncle Bilbo to have finished (since he had plainly said all that was necessary), now got up an impromptu orchestra, and began a merry dance-tune.* (T53)

Except for the modifying clause in [6], optional adverbials occur only in clauses that function as adverbials themselves. As in the case of objects, the realization is varied although it is usually connected to the position of the adverbial in the sentence. While in initial and medial position the adverbials in these clauses are realized by adverbs or prepositional phrases, in final position they can contain also subordinate clauses. The only exception from this tendency is a clause in medial position containing a content disjunct realized by a comment clause [10]. In final position, the adjuncts are realized, for example, by a temporal clause [11], a complex adverb phrase [12], or a prepositional phrase in combination with a multiple and heavily postmodified object [13].

[10] *'Mr. Bilbo has learned him his letters - <u>meaning</u> no harm, mark you, and I hope no harm will come of it.'* (T17)

[11] *A minute later Dixon was sitting <u>listening</u> to a sound like the ringing of a cracked door-bell as Welch pulled at the starter.* (A39)

[12] *'And you can say what you like, about what you know no more of than you do of boating, Mr. Sandyman,' retorted the Gaffer, <u>disliking</u> the miller even more than usual.* (T21)

[13] *He walked briskly back to his hole, and stood for a moment <u>listening</u> with a smile to the din in the pavilion and to the sounds of merrymaking in other parts of the field.* (T59)

4.2.1.3 Other Participial Clauses

Our excerption contains only 14 examples of copular, ditransitive, or complex-transitive patterns of participial clauses without subject which makes them as rare as the comparable gerundival clauses. In contrast to gerundival clauses, however, where the patterns

are more or less evenly distributed, the ditransitive pattern [S]VOOprep distinctly prevails among the participial clauses, comprising half of the examples. All but two clauses of this group function as adverbials.

	Copular		Ditransitive		Complex-transitive		Total	%
	[S]VCs(+comp)	[S]VCs(A)	[S]VOiOd	[S]VOOprep	[S]VOA	[S]VOCo		
Mod	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0
Co	-	1	-	1	-	-	2	14,3
A	2	1	1	6	1	1	12	85,7
Total	2	2	1	7	1	1	14	
%	14,3	14,3	7,1	50	7,1	7,1		100

Table 11: Other participial clauses

There are four instances of copular predication among the participial clauses, each containing a different verb: *look*, *feel*, *seem* and *become*. *Feel* and *seem* are complemented by adjectives requiring further complementation which is in both cases realized by subordinate clauses, infinitival in the case of [14]. The remaining two clauses contain an optional adverbial; while in one it is realized by the adverb *never*, the latter clause – the only one functioning as an object complement – contains two adverbials, one with a postmodification including two correlated subordinate *–ing* clauses [15].

[14] *'Hear! Hear! Hear!' they shouted, and kept on repeating it in chorus, <u>seeming</u> reluctant to follow their own advice.* (T50)

[15] *... before the journey ended he'd find his face <u>becoming</u> creased and flabby, like an old bag, with the strain of making it smile and show interest and speak its few permitted words, of steering it between a collapse into helpless fatigue and a tautening with anarchic fury.* (A45)

Concerning the ditransitive patterns, there is only one instance of the [S]VOiOd pattern [16]; the direct object of this clause is realized by a nominal content clause comprising further three subordinate clauses. Of the seven clauses with prepositional objects, the object is twice realized by infinitival clauses containing modifications and optional adverbials. Two of the objects realized by prepositional phrases are modified, one clause has an adverbial and two are without any optional elements.

[16] *Dixon shelved this question, <u>telling</u> himself that what mattered was that this man had decisive power over his future, at any rate until the next four or five weeks were up.* (A9)

There are two participial clauses with complex-transitive verbs in the excerpted data, one of each pattern. Unlike the gerundival clauses, however, both instances of the participial clauses occur without any modifications. Both function as adverbials and occur in medial position [17].

[17] *'Yes, on Monday,' Dixon answered him, <u>putting</u> his hands into his pockets and bunching the fists.* (A35)

4.2.1.4 Passive Participial Clauses

There are two instances of passive participial clauses in the excerpted data. Example [18] has the [S]VpasA(A) pattern and functions as an adverbial. In the active voice, the verb *to bring up* would require an object; in the passive, however, it needs to be complemented by the so called *by*-agent replacing the missing subject or by another adverbial. In [18], it is complemented by an adverbial of manner and an optional adverbial of place. This optional modification corresponds to the previous observation of greater complexity of adverbials in final positions.

[18] *'Anyway: there was this Mr. Frodo left an orphan and stranded, as you might say, among those queer Bucklanders, <u>being brought up</u> anyhow in Brandy Hall.'* (T11)

The other passive clause has the pattern [S]VpasO and functions as a postmodifier [19]. The clause stands in the final position and its object is realized by a noun phrase with two adjectival modifiers.

[19] *He looked like an African savage <u>being shown</u> a simple conjuring trick.* (A34)

4.2.2 Participial Clauses with Subject

Participial adverbial clauses with expressed subject have been already described in 2.4.4.2 as "absolute participial clauses". As Table 12 shows, absolute constructions occur only in the function of an adverbial and as in the case of gerundival clauses with subject, there are no instances of intransitive verbs without at least some optional elements.

	Copular		Intransitive		Monotransitive	Total	%
	SVCs	SVCs(+comp)	SV(A)	SVA(A)	SVO		
Mod	-	-	-	-	-	0	0
Co	-	-	-	-	-	0	0
A	2	1	2	2	4	11	100
Total	2	1	2	2	4	11	
%	18,2	9	18,2	18,2	36,4		100

Table 12: Participial clauses with subject

The excerption has yielded three absolute clauses with copular predications; in all cases, the copula is the verb *to be*. Once, the subject complement is an adjective requiring further complementation, realized by a prepositional phrase, which contains a noun phrase without modifications [20]. Apart from one case of a postmodifying prepositional phrase, there are no optional elements in these clauses.

> [20] *'And Mr. Drogo was staying at Brandy Hall with his father-in-law, old Master Gorbadoc, as he often did after his marriage (him being partial to his vittles, and old Gorbadoc keeping a mighty generous table).'* (T5)

There are four instances of the intransitive patterns which consist of a pair of correlated clauses. In [21] both participles are modified by the same adverb *vigorously*; in [22], each clause requires an adverbial of space and contains another optional adverbial of space.

> [21] *... the van had braked and disappeared, the bus-driver, his mouth opening and shutting vigorously, had somehow squirmed his vehicle against the far wall, and, with an echoing rattle, the car darted forward on to the straight.* (A58, A59)

> [22] *The flowers glowed red and golden: snap-dragons and sun-flowers, and nasturtiums trailing all over the turf walls and peeping in at the round windows.* (T27, T28)

The complexity of clauses with the SVO pattern depends on the type of modification of the object. In the only clause with a prepositional object, there is no modification; the remaining clauses contain multiple modification in two cases; and a postmodifying relative clause in the last clause [23], which is obviously the most complex one.

[23] *They moved towards the road at walking pace, the engine <u>maintaining</u> a loud lowing sound which caused a late group of students, most of them wearing the yellow and green College scarf, to stare after them...* (A42)

5 CONCLUSION

Our research has proved that non-finite gerundival and participial clauses occur in all syntactic functions and form all of the eight basic clause patterns (see Table 13). Moreover, the excerption has also shown that the realization and complexity of the *–ing* clauses of gerundival and participial clauses differs in various syntactic functions. The following results are drawn from a tiny sample of the English language represented by two texts, which, of course, cannot provide universally valid observations. Even in the scope of the present paper, however, we believe to have described some frequent patterns of the syntactic behaviour of the *–ing* clauses.

		Copular	Intransitive	Mono-transitive	Ditran-sitive	Complex-transitive	Passive	Total	%
G	[S]	3	19	20	4	2	2	50	35,7
	S	-	4	2	1	-	-	7	5
P	[S]	4	22	34	8	2	2	**72**	**51,4**
	S	3	4	4	-	-	-	11	7,9
Total		10	**49**	**60**	13	4	4	140	
%		7,1	**35**	**42,9**	9,3	2,8	2,8		100

Table 13: The distribution of non-finite clauses among the clause patterns[13]

In both types of clauses, the most frequent patterns are those with monotransitive and intransitive verbs. The survey in Biber et al. of the occurrences of clause patterns in English showed that "there is a strong preference for valency patterns that involve the verb plus two other elements. The overwhelmingly popular pattern is monotransitive SVOd." (Biber et al., 1999: 392) Thus, the distribution of clause patterns among the non-finite *–ing* clauses follows a general tendency of the English language.

In general, the gerundival clauses – especially in the function of the object – are rather simple and do not have many optional elements. The gerundival objects of aspectual verbs are usually the most complex ones. Moreover, in contrast to the finite verb, the gerund can stand

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[13] G = gerundival clauses; P = participial clauses; [S] = subjectless clauses; S = clauses with expressed subject

without an object and it often does so. This tendency may lower the number of clauses with monotransitive patterns which is the most frequent one, nevertheless. In other functions, especially as modifiers and adverbials, the gerundival clauses show more complexity and they can even contain subordinate clauses or other non-finite clauses. The complexity does not appear to be influenced by the position of the gerundival clause in the superordinate clause, as both pre- and post-verbal adverbials can be simple or complex, and most of the modifiers occur after the main verb. The only preverbal postmodifier, however, contains no optional elements.

Participial clauses can be generally considered to form more complex predications then gerundival ones as in all clause patterns there is higher frequency of optional elements. Moreover, unlike gerunds, participles do not allow object deletion in monotransitive predications. As far as optional adverbials are concerned, a prominent feature of participial clauses is the fact that they can contain disjuncts. These non-integrated adverbials do not occur among the gerundival clauses but have been found in all functions and most of the patterns among the participial ones.

From the various functions of non-finite clauses, the adverbial is most conspicuous in the matter of complexity. Since the use of participial clauses is restricted only to three functions in the sentence, especially the adverbial, they can be expected to form more complex constructions. However, the adverbial includes examples of the most complex clauses in both types of clauses. In other words, in the function of an adverbial – especially in the final position (this applies also to modifiers) – the non-finite constructions can be expected to contain optional elements and lengthy modifications of the obligatory ones.

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RÉSUMÉ

Tématem této bakalářské práce je syntaktická struktura a komplexnost větných členů realizovaných polovětnými konstrukcemi a faktory, které ji ovlivňují. Angličtina má oproti češtině tři nefinitní tvary – infinitiv, příčestí a gerundium. Práce se zaměřuje pouze na dva z těchto tvarů, a to na gerundium a přítomné příčestí a příčestí perfekta, jejichž tvary, tvořené pravidelně sufixem *–ing* od všech sloves, jsou homonymní. V současné angličtině se rozdíl mezi těmito tvary pomalu stírá, přestože prošly rozdílným historickým vývojem, a v anglických gramatikách je nalezneme již jako jednu kategorii: *-ing participle* (Quirk et al., 1985) nebo *gerund-participle* (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002). Tato práce se drží přístupu české lingvistické školy a na základě *Mluvnice současné angličtiny na pozadí češtiny* (Dušková et al., 2006) dodržuje rozlišení gerundia a participia jako dvou různých tvarů, které plní ve větě rozdílné syntaktické funkce.

Teoretická část práce shrnuje informace dostupné v gramatikách a podrobně popisuje jednotlivé *–ing* tvary především z hlediska syntaktického. Důležitým rysem anglických nefinitních tvarů je, že si i přes svůj víceméně nominální charakter udržují vlastnosti slovesa, jež jim umožňují tvořit sekundární predikace srovnatelné s vedlejšími větami. Tyto vlastnosti jsou popsány v kapitolách 2.2 a 2.3, které se postupně zabývají příčestím a gerundiem a popisují kritéria pro rozlišení těchto tvarů a jejich odlišení od jiných slovních druhů. Stejně jako v češtině i anglické příčestí formálně splývá s přídavnými jmény. Přídavná jména se však liší především rozdílnými intenzifikátory (*very* a *too* pro adjektiva, *very much* nebo *too much* pro slovesa), dají se stupňovat, pojí se na rozdíl od příčestí se všemi sponovými slovesy a v případě tranzitivních sloves nevyžadují předmět.

Gerundia je na druhou stranu třeba odlišit od podstatných jmen, jejichž nejbližším českým ekvivalentem jsou jména dějová končící *–ní*. V angličtině jsou však tato substantiva a gerundia formálně totožná a dají se rozlišit na základě jejich syntaktického chování: základním znakem anglických podstatných jmen je, že vyžadují determinátor. Oba slovní druhy se ale mohou vyskytnout s podstatnými jmény a zájmeny v přivlastňovacím pádě, která

pak mohou sloužit jako vyjádřený podmět gerundiální věty. Dalšími rysy podstatných jmen je možnost tvoření množného čísla, postmodifikace předložkovou frází s *of*, kde sloveso stojí s přímým předmětem, a modifikace přídavným jménem oproti adverbiální modifikaci gerundia.

Jediná funkce, kde se může vyskytnout jak gerundium, tak přítomné příčestí – a kde tak dochází k nejasnostem – je modifikátor substantiva. V tomto případě je spolehlivým testem možná parafráze, kdy příčestí alternuje s vedlejší větou a gerundium s předložkovou frází. Dalším testem je klesavá intonace s jedním hlavním přízvukem na začátku gerundiální fráze a přízvuky na obou slovech fráze participiální. Takové případy se ale v praktické části této práce nevyskytují, protože vedlejší věty nemohou plnit funkci atributu a v pozici postmodifikátoru je gerundium vždy odlišeno výskytem v předložkové frázi.

Pouze gerundium se může díky své nominální povaze vyskytnout ve všech ostatních syntaktických funkcích, tedy ve funkci podmětu, předmětu (přímého i předložkového), jmenné části přísudku, doplňku předmětu a příslovečného určení. Příčestí je omezeno pouze na tři funkce: příslovečné určení, doplněk předmětu a modifikátor. Ve funkci příslovečného určení se gerundium ve většině případů vyskytuje v předložkové frázi (bez předložky je pouze příslovečné určení účelu po slovesech pohybu, např. *He went swimming.*), zatímco příčestí může následovat po spojce. Kritéria pro rozlišení syntaktických funkcí nejednoznačných konstrukcí, např. formálně totožný postmodifikátor, doplněk předmětu a příslovečné určení, jsou popsána v příslušných podkapitolách části 2.4.

Kapitola 2.4, která se zabývá syntaktickým chováním *–ing* tvarů, věnuje pozornost také některým specifickým aspektům nefinitních forem, například určování většinou nevyjádřeného konatele polovětných konstrukcí nebo možné realizace podmětu. Podmět může být vyjádřený podstatným jménem nebo zájmenem v obecném nebo adnominálním pádu, přičemž užití těchto forem není striktně omezeno. V případech tzv. *fused participles* může být pak *–ing* slovo jak gerundiem, tak participiem, a takové konstrukce přispívají ke ztenčování rozdílu mezi těmito tvary. Podstatným rysem všech nefinitních forem je, že mohou

fungovat jako větné kondenzátory, takže se věta obejde bez vedlejších vět, přičemž polovětné konstrukce umožňují díky své predikační síle vyjádřit sdělení odpovídající další větě. Tento jev zvaný *complex condensation* je pro angličtinu velmi typický a je popsán v kapitole 2.4.5.

Hlavní část práce se věnuje analýze konkrétních příkladů, která má za cíl zjistit, jak se polovětné konstrukce a jejich jednotlivé části chovají v různých funkcích. Pro účely této analýzy bylo ze dvou současných anglických románů J. R. R. Tolkiena a K. Amise excerpováno 140 vět. Pro získání takového počtu příkladů bylo třeba použít text o 10 543 slovech. Kapitola 3 popisuje jednotlivé kroky excerpce, která z větší částí spočívala v manuálním třídění *–ing* slov, jež plní funkci několika slovních druhů a vyskytují se také ve složených slovesných tvarech. U každé věty bylo dále zapotřebí určit, zda jde o gerundium nebo participium, jakou funkci plní ve větě hlavní, a zaznamenat větný vzorec a tím rozvitost těchto vět. Největší potíží této části práce bylo určování nejednoznačných konstrukcí a především jejich větněčlenských funkcí. Vzhledem k tomu, že bylo třeba určit stejný postup pro všechny příklady, je celá jedna kapitola (3.2.1) věnována popisu vzniklých nejasností a zvolených řešení.

Praktická část práce je rozdělena do dvou větších kapitol, kde jsou zvlášť analyzovány gerundiální a participiální věty. Jednotlivé věty byly rozděleny do podkapitol podle větného vzorce, protože rozvitost věty je přímo závislá na valenci slovesa a typu doplnění, které vyžaduje. Nejvíce výskytů mají vzorce tvořené slovesy intranzitivními a monotranzitivními, jimž jsou věnované celé kapitoly. V dalších kapitolách jsou popsány ostatní vzorce (slovesa sponová, ditranzitivní a komplexně tranzitivní), věty v trpném rodě a věty s vyjádřeným podmětem, kterých je podstatné méně. Každá kapitola obsahuje tabulku, která znázorňuje vztah mezi syntaktickou funkcí polovětných konstrukcí vzhledem k větě řídící a větnými vzorci, které gerundiální a participiální konstrukce tvoří. Na základě těchto vztahů jsou pak podrobně popsány jednotlivé výskyty nefinitních forem z hlediska jejich větněčlenské funkce ve větě hlavní a z hlediska jejich vlastní syntaktické stavby (popis zahrnuje jak obligatorní tak fakultativní doplnění nefinitních predikátů).

Přestože je rozsah této práce nedostatečný pro vyvozování obecně platných závěrů, je možné na základě této analýzy popsat tendence platné minimálně pro použitý text. Většina gerundiálních vět plní funkci předmětu věty hlavní a většinou doplňují fázové sloveso. Předměty fázových sloves jsou rozvitější, než předměty sloves monotranzitivních, která navíc velmi často připouštějí nevyjádřený předmět, ať už díky své gerundiální povaze nebo protože mohou mít i intranzitivní význam. Rozvitější jsou gerundia ve funkci modifikátoru nebo příslovečného určení, přičemž pozice polovětné konstrukce ve větě řídící (před přísudkem věty hlavní nebo po něm) nehraje velkou roli. Na základě analyzovaných vět by se dalo obecně říct, že modifikátory, které jsou v postpozici kvůli rozvitosti (atribut o více slovech by v preverbálním postavení působil neobratně), umožňují další rozvíjení jednotlivých větných členů.

Participiální věty jsou obecně rozvitější než věty gerundiální a vyskytují se častěji (83 příkladů oproti 57 gerundiálním větám). To může souviset s jejich častým výskytem ve funkci příslovečného určení, které bývá nejkomplexnější z větněčlenských funkcí polovětných konstrukcí. Kromě toho příčestí nepřipouští vynechání předmětu u monotranzitivních sloves, jak tomu bylo u gerundií. Na druhou stranu se ve všech typech participiálních vět vyskytují disjunkty, které mohou být realizovány příslovci i vedlejšími větami, a tak přispívají k jejich větší komplexnosti.

Jak již bylo řečeno, pokud jde o větněčlenskou funkci, polovětné konstrukce ve funkci příslovečného určení jsou nejrozvitější, a to jak gerundia, tak participia. Nejvíce fakultativních členů obsahují především příslovečná určení a některé modifikátory, která se vyskytují jako poslední člen věty hlavní. Nejméně komplexní jsou pak gerundia ve funkci předmětu po jiných než fázových slovesech.

APPENDIX

Gerundival Clauses

#	sentence	function	clause pattern
A01	No other professor in Great Britain, he thought, set such store by <u>being called</u> Professor.	Oprep	[S]VpasO
A04	At moments like this Dixon came near to <u>wishing</u> that they really were.	Oprep	[S]VO
A05	He held on to this thought until animation abruptly gathered again and burst in the older man, so that he began <u>speaking</u> almost in a shout, with a tremolo imparted by unshared laughter.	Od	[S]V(A)(A)
A10	Until then he must try to make Welch like him, and one way of <u>doing</u> that was, he supposed, to be present and conscious while Welch talked about concerts.	Mod	[S]VO
A12	The other's clay-like features changed indefinably as his attention, like a squadron of slow old battleships, began <u>wheeling</u> to face this new phenomenon, and in a moment or two he was able to say: 'Margaret.'	Od	[S]V(A)
A13	'In fact, the sooner she can get back to some sort of work the better, though it's really too late, of course, for her to start <u>lecturing</u> again this term.'	Od	[S]V(A)(A)
A14	'I think <u>living</u> with you, Professor, and Mrs. Welch, must have helped her a lot to get out of the wood.'	S	[S]VOprep
A20	While he waited, Dixon considered how, without <u>provoking</u> Welch to a long-lived, wondering frown, he could remind him of his invitation to come and eat tea at the Welches' house outside the city.	Adv	[S]VOOprep
A22	Dixon felt apprehension lunging at his stomach as he thought of <u>seeing</u> Margaret, whom he was to take out that evening for the first time since she'd cracked up.	Oprep	[S]VO
A23	He forced his attention away on to Welch's habits as a car-driver, and began <u>trying</u> to nourish outrage as a screen for the apprehension, tapping his long brown shoe loudly on the floor and whistling.	Od	[S]VO
A31	'Do you like <u>coming</u> to see me?'	Od	[S]V(A)
A32	His first qualms had dated from then, but before that and for some time after he'd thought how much simpler this kind of honesty and straightforwardness made the awful business of <u>getting on</u> with women.	Mod	[S]VOprep
A33	'I do enjoy <u>being</u> with you.'	Od	[S]VCs
A38	Lecturers were fond of <u>lauding</u> to their students the comparative receptivity to facts of 'the Honours class over the road', ...	Cs(+comp)	[S]VOOprep
A41	With a tearing of gravel under the wheels the car burst from a standstill towards the grass verge, which Welch ran over briefly before <u>turning</u> down the drive.	Adv	[S]VA

#	sentence	function	clause pattern
A46	... before the journey ended he'd find his face becoming creased and flabby, like an old bag, with the strain of <u>making</u> it smile and show interest and speak its few permitted words, of steering it between a collapse into helpless fatigue and a tautening with anarchic fury.	Mod	[S]VOCo
A47	... before the journey ended he'd find his face becoming creased and flabby, like an old bag, with the strain of making it smile and show interest and speak its few permitted words, of <u>steering</u> it between a collapse into helpless fatigue and a tautening with anarchic fury.	Mod	[S]VOA
A49	'Ah yes, a new journal might be worth <u>trying</u>.'	Cs(+comp)	[S]V
A51	It wasn't the double-exposure effect of the last half minute's talk that had dumbfounded him for such incidents formed the staple material of Welch colloquies; it was the prospect of <u>reciting</u> the title of the article he'd written.	Mod	[S]VO
A52	'In <u>considering</u> this strangely neglected topic', it began.	Adv	[S]VO
A53	His <u>thinking</u> all this without having defiled and set fire to the typescript only made him appear to himself as more of a hypocrite and fool.	S	SVO
A54	His thinking all this without <u>having defiled</u> and set fire to the typescript only made him appear to himself as more of a hypocrite and fool.	Adv	[S]VO
A55	His thinking all this without <u>having</u> defiled and <u>set</u> fire to the typescript only made him appear to himself as more of a hypocrite and fool.	Adv	[S]VOOprep
A60	'It's no use anybody <u>coming</u> to me and asking 'What's young Dixon's stuff like?' unless I can give them an expert opinion of what it's worth, is it now?'	S (post)	SVA
A61	'It's no use anybody coming to me and <u>asking</u> 'What's young Dixon's stuff like?' unless I can give them an expert opinion of what it's worth, is it now?'	S (post)	SVO
A62	Despite <u>being</u> wrongfully <u>addressed</u> (Faulkner had preceded him in his post), Dixon knew what Welch meant, and said so.	Adv	[S]Vpas(A)
A63	The most likely thing, he always thought, was his <u>having inflicted</u> a superficial wound on the Professor of English in his first week.	Cs	SVOOprep(A)
A66	Before <u>reaching</u> the top of its trajectory it had struck the other just below the left kneecap at a distance of fifteen yards or more.	Adv	[S]VO
T03	'It beats me why any Baggins of Hobbiton should go <u>looking</u> for a wife away there in Buckland, where folks are so queer.'	Adv	[S]VOprep(A)
T07	'And he went out <u>*boating*</u> on the Brandywine River; and he and his wife were drowned, and poor Mr. Frodo only a child and all.'	Adv	[S]V(A)
T08	'There isn't no call to go talking of <u>pushing</u> and pulling.'	Oprep	[S]V
T09	'There isn't no call to go talking of pushing and <u>pulling</u>.'	Oprep	[S]V

#	sentence	function	clause pattern
T10	'Boats are quite tricky enough for those that sit still without <u>looking</u> further for the cause of trouble.'	Adv	[S]VOprep(A)
T15	'I'd not long come prentice to old Holman (him being my dad's cousin), but he had me up at Bag End helping him to keep folks from <u>trampling</u> and trapessing all over the garden while the sale was on.'	Oprep	[S]VA
T16	'I'd not long come prentice to old Holman (him being my dad's cousin), but he had me up at Bag End helping him to keep folks from trampling and <u>trapessing</u> all over the garden while the sale was on.'	Oprep	[S]VA
T20	'And you can say what you like, about what you know no more of than you do of <u>boating</u>, Mr. Sandyman,' retorted the Gaffer, disliking the miller even more than usual.	Oprep	[S]V
T22	'If that's <u>being</u> queer, then we could do with a bit more queerness in these parts.'	Cs	[S]VCs
T24	When the old man, helped by Bilbo and some dwarves, had finished <u>unloading</u>, Bilbo gave a few pennies away; but not a single squib or cracker was forthcoming, to the disappointment of the onlookers.	Od	[S]V
T29	'Very well. It is no good <u>saying</u> any more.'	S (post)	[S]VO
T31	There might have been some grumbling about '<u>dealing</u> locally', but that very week orders began to pour out of Bag End for every kind of provision, commodity, or luxury that could be obtained in Hobbiton or Bywater or anywhere in the neighbourhood.	Oprep	[S]V(A)
T33	Before long the invitations began <u>pouring out</u>, and the Hobbiton post-office was blocked, and the Bywater post-office was snowed under, and voluntary assistant postmen were called for.	Od	[S]V
T38	Old Gaffer Gamgee stopped even <u>pretending</u> to work in his garden.	Od	[S]VO
T40	The hobbit-children were so excited that for a while they almost forgot about <u>eating</u>.	Oprep	[S]V
T42	There were green trees with trunks of dark smoke: their leaves opened like a whole spring <u>unfolding</u> in a moment.	Adv	SV(A)
T45	Many young hobbits were included, and present by parental permission; for hobbits were easy-going with their children in the matter of <u>sitting up</u> late,...	Mod	[S]V(A)
T46	Many young hobbits were included, and present by parental permission; for hobbits were easy-going with their children in the matter of sitting up late, especially when there was a chance of <u>getting</u> them a free meal.	Mod	[S]VOiOd
T47	<u>Bringing up</u> young hobbits took a lot of provender.	S	[S]VO
T48	Most of the company were, however, now in a tolerant mood, at that delightful stage which they called '<u>filling up</u> the corners'.	Co	[S]VO

#	sentence	function	clause pattern
T56	'I now repeat it more correctly: Thank you very much for <u>coming</u> to my little party.'	Oprep	[S]VA
T57	Why couldn't he stop <u>talking</u> and let them drink his health?	Od	[S]V
T58	He had difficulty in <u>keeping</u> from laughter at the indignant surprise of the guests.	Mod	[S]VOprep
T62	'...; and then find somewhere where I can *rest*. In peace and quiet, without a lot of relatives <u>prying</u> around, and a string of confounded visitors hanging on the bell.'	Adv	SV(A)
T63	'...; and then find somewhere where I can *rest*. In peace and quiet, without a lot of relatives prying around, and a string of confounded visitors <u>hanging</u> on the bell.'	Adv	SVA
T64	'I hope he will be happy, when he gets used to <u>being</u> on his own.'	Oprep	[S]VCs
T65	'Now it comes to it, I don't like <u>parting</u> with it at all, I may say.'	Od	[S]VOprep
T69	'I tried <u>locking</u> it <u>up</u>, but I found I couldn't rest without it in my pocket.'	Od	[S]VO
T70	'Stop <u>possessing</u> it.'	Od	[S]VO

Participial Clauses

#	sentence	function	clause pattern
A02	As Welch again seemed becalmed, even <u>slowing</u> further in his walk, Dixon relaxed at his side.	Adv	[S]V(A)(A)
A03	He'd found his professor <u>standing</u>, surprisingly enough, in front of the Recent Additions shelf in the College Library, and they were now moving diagonally across a small lawn towards the front of the main building of the College.	Co	[S]V(A)(A)
A06	'The young fellow <u>playing</u> the viola had the misfortune to turn over two pages at once, and the resulting confusion... my word...'	Mod	[S]VO
A07	Quickly <u>deciding</u> on his own word, Dixon said it to himself and then tried to flail his features into some sort of response to humour.	Adv	[S]VOprep(A)
A08	He'd draw his lower lip in under his top teeth and by degrees retract his chin as far as possible, all this while <u>dilating</u> his eyes and nostrils.	Adv	[S]VO(A)
A09	Dixon shelved this question, <u>telling</u> himself that what mattered was that this man had decisive power over his future, at any rate until the next four or five weeks were up.	Adv	[S]VOiOd
A11	<u>Shuddering</u> in his efforts to repress a yawn of nervousness, he asked in his flat northern voice: 'How's Margaret these days?'	Adv	[S]V(A)
A15	'I can remember myself last summer, <u>coming</u> back from that examiners' conference in Durham.'	Adv	[S]VA

#	sentence	function	clause pattern
A16	Dixon gave up, <u>stiffening</u> his legs as they reached, at last, the steps of the main building.	Adv	[S]VO(A)
A17	He pretended to himself that he'd pick up his professor round the waist, [...] run heavily with him up the steps, [...] and plunge the too-small feet in their capless shoes into a lavatory basin, <u>pulling</u> the plug once, twice and again, stuffing the mouth with toilet-paper.	Adv	[S]VO(A)
A18	He pretended to himself that he'd pick up his professor round the waist, [...] run heavily with him up the steps, [...] and plunge the too-small feet in their capless shoes into a lavatory basin, pulling the plug once, twice and again, <u>stuffing</u> the mouth with toilet-paper.	Adv	[S]VOOprep
A19	<u>Thinking</u> of this, he only smiled dreamily when, after a pensive halt in the stone-paved vestibule, Welch said he had to go up and collect his 'bag' from his room, which was on the second floor.	Adv	[S]VOprep
A21	Dixon felt apprehension <u>lunging</u> at his stomach as he thought of seeing Margaret, whom he was to take out that evening for the first time since she'd cracked up.	Co	[S]VOprep
A24	He forced his attention away on to Welch's habits as a car-driver, and began trying to nourish outrage as a screen for the apprehension, <u>tapping</u> his long brown shoe loudly on the floor and whistling.	Adv	[S]VO(A)(A)
A25	He forced his attention away on to Welch's habits as a car-driver, and began trying to nourish outrage as a screen for the apprehension, tapping his long brown shoe loudly on the floor and <u>whistling</u>.	Adv	[S]V
A26	Would she be gay, <u>pretending</u> she'd forgotten, or had never noticed, the length of time since he last saw her, gaining altitude before she dipped to the attack?	Adv	[S]VO
A27	Would she be gay, pretending she'd forgotten, or had never noticed, the length of time since he last saw her, <u>gaining</u> altitude before she dipped to the attack?	Adv	[S]VO(A)
A28	Or would she be silent and listless, apparently quite inattentive, <u>forcing</u> him to drag painfully from small-talk through solicitude to craven promises and excuses?	Adv	[S]VOOprep
A29	He'd thought a couple of months earlier that Catchpole was coming along nicely, <u>taking</u> the strain off him, reducing him to the sustainable role of consulting tactician; he'd even rather enjoyed the assumption that he knew something of how these campaigns were conducted.	Adv	[S]VOOprep
A30	He'd thought a couple of months earlier that Catchpole was coming along nicely, taking the strain off him, <u>reducing</u> him to the sustainable role of consulting tactician; he'd even rather enjoyed the assumption that he knew something of how these campaigns were conducted.	Adv	[S]VOOprep
A34	He looked like an African savage <u>being shown</u> a simple conjuring trick.	Mod	[S]VpasO

#	sentence	function	clause pattern
A35	'Yes, on Monday,' Dixon answered him, <u>putting</u> his hands into his pockets and bunching the fists.	Adv	[S]VOA
A36	'Yes, on Monday,' Dixon answered him, putting his hands into his pockets and <u>bunching</u> the fists.	Adv	[S]VO
A37	He turned aside to a streaked roller-towel and began a slow drying of his hands, <u>watching</u> Dixon alertly.	Adv	[S]VO(A)
A39	A minute later Dixon was sitting <u>listening</u> to a sound like the ringing of a cracked door-bell as Welch pulled at the starter.	Adv	[S]VOprep(A)
A40	Before Dixon could do more than close his eyes he was pressed firmly back against the seat, and his cigarette, still <u>burning</u>, was cuffed out of his hand into some interstice of the floor.	Adv	[S]V(A)
A42	They moved towards the road at walking pace, the engine <u>maintaining</u> a loud lowing sound which caused a late group of students, most of them wearing the yellow and green College scarf, to stare after them...	Adv	SVO
A43	They moved towards the road at walking pace, the engine maintaining a loud lowing sound which caused a late group of students, most of them <u>wearing</u> the yellow and green College scarf, to stare after them...	Adv	SVO
A44	They climbed College Road, <u>holding</u> to the middle of the highway.	Adv	[S]VOprep
A45	... before the journey ended he'd find his face <u>becoming</u> creased and flabby, like an old bag, with the strain of making it smile and show interest and speak its few permitted words, of steering it between a collapse into helpless fatigue and a tautening with anarchic fury.	Co	[S]VCs(A)(A)
A48	Dixon opened his eyes, <u>doing</u> everything possible with the side of his face away from Welch, everything which might help to relieve his feelings in advance.	Adv	[S]VOOprep
A50	Dixon looked out of the window at the fields <u>wheeling</u> past, bright green after a wet April.	Mod	[S]V(A)
A56	Unable to finish his sentence, he looked to his left again to find a man's face <u>staring</u> into his own from about nine inches away.	Co	[S]VA(A)
A57	Welch slowed slightly, thus <u>ensuring</u> that they would still be next to the van when the bus reached them, and said with decision: 'Well, that ought to do it nicely, I should say.'	Adv	[S]VO(A)
A58	... the van had braked and disappeared, the bus-driver, his mouth <u>opening</u> and shutting vigorously, had somehow squirmed his vehicle against the far wall, and, with an echoing rattle, the car darted forward on to the straight.	Adv	SV(A)
A59	... the van had braked and disappeared, the bus-driver, his mouth opening and <u>shutting</u> vigorously, had somehow squirmed his vehicle against the far wall, and, with an echoing rattle, the car darted forward on to the straight.	Adv	SV(A)

#	sentence	function	clause pattern
A64	This man, a youngish ex-Fellow of a Cambridge college, had been standing on the front steps when Dixon, <u>coming</u> round the corner from the library, had kicked violently at a small round stone lying on the macadam.	Adv	[S]V(A)(A)
A65	This man, a youngish ex-Fellow of a Cambridge college, had been standing on the front steps when Dixon, coming round the corner from the library, had kicked violently at a small round stone <u>lying</u> on the macadam.	Mod	[S]VA
A67	<u>Averting</u> his head, Dixon had watched in terrified amazement; it had been useless to run, as the nearest cover was far beyond reach.	Adv	[S]VO
A68	He looked back once and saw the Professor of English huddled up on one leg and <u>looking</u> at him.	Co	[S]VOprep
A69	Then there'd been that essay written for Welch by one of the Honours people, <u>containing</u>, in fact consisting of, abuse of a book on enclosures by, it transpired, one of Welch's own ex-pupils.	Mod	[S]VO
A70	Then there'd been that essay written for Welch by one of the Honours people, containing, in fact <u>consisting</u> of, abuse of a book on enclosures by, it transpired, one of Welch's own ex-pupils.	Mod	[S]VOprep(A)
T01	With perfect truth: for Bilbo was very polite to him, <u>calling</u> him 'Master Hamfast', and consulting him constantly upon the growing of vegetables.	Adv	[S]VOCo
T02	With perfect truth: for Bilbo was very polite to him, calling him 'Master Hamfast', and <u>consulting</u> him constantly upon the growing of vegetables.	Adv	[S]VOOprep
T04	'She was our Mr. Bilbo's first cousin on the mother's side (her mother <u>being</u> the youngest of the Old Took's daughters).'	Adv	SVCs
T05	'And Mr. Drogo was staying at Brandy Hall with his father-in-law, old Master Gorbadoc, as he often did after his marriage (him <u>being</u> partial to his vittles, and old Gorbadoc keeping a mighty generous table).'	Adv	SVCs(+comp)
T06	'And Mr. Drogo was staying at Brandy Hall with his father-in-law, old Master Gorbadoc, as he often did after his marriage (him being partial to his vittles, and old Gorbadoc <u>keeping</u> a mighty generous table).'	Adv	SVO
T11	'Anyway: there was this Mr. Frodo left an orphan and stranded, as you might say, among those queer Bucklanders, <u>being brought up</u> anyhow in Brandy Hall.'	Adv	[S]VpasA(A)
T12	'And then he comes back and orders them off; and he goes on living and living, and never <u>looking</u> a day older, bless him!'	Adv	[S]VCs(A)
T13	'I'd not long come prentice to old Holman (him <u>being</u> my dad's cousin), but he had me up at Bag End helping him to keep folks from trampling and trapessing all over the garden while the sale was on.'	Adv	SVCs

#	sentence	function	clause pattern
T14	'I'd not long come prentice to old Holman (him being my dad's cousin), but he had me up at Bag End <u>helping</u> him to keep folks from trampling and trapessing all over the garden while the sale was on.'	Co	[S]VOOprep
T17	'Mr. Bilbo has learned him his letters - <u>meaning</u> no harm, mark you, and I hope no harm will come of it.'	Adv	[S]VO(A)
T18	'Ah, but he has likely enough been adding to what he brought at first,' argued the miller, <u>voicing</u> common opinion.	Adv	[S]VO
T19	'And look at the outlandish folk that visit him: dwarves <u>coming</u> at night, and that old wandering conjuror, Gandalf, and all.'	Mod	[S]VA
T21	'And you can say what you like, about what you know no more of than you do of boating, Mr. Sandyman,' retorted the Gaffer, <u>disliking</u> the miller even more than usual.	Adv	[S]VO(A)
T23	It was driven by outlandish folk, <u>singing</u> strange songs: dwarves with long beards and deep hoods.	Mod	[S]VO
T25	The young hobbits stared at the door in vain for a while, and then made off, <u>feeling</u> that the day of the party would never come.	Adv	[S]VO
T26	Inside Bag End, Bilbo and Gandalf were sitting at the open window of a small room looking out west on to the garden.	Mod	[S]VA(A)
T27	The flowers glowed red and golden: snap-dragons and sun-flowers, and nasturtiums trailing all over the turf walls and peeping in at the round windows.	Adv	SVA
T28	The flowers glowed red and golden: snap-dragons and sun-flowers, and nasturtiums trailing all over the turf walls and peeping in at the round windows.	Adv	SVA(A)
T30	'Who will laugh, I wonder?' said Gandalf, shaking his head.	Adv	[S]VO
T32	People became enthusiastic; and they began to tick off the days on the calendar; and they watched eagerly for the postman, hoping for invitations.	Adv	[S]VOprep
T34	There was a constant stream of them going up the Hill, carrying hundreds of polite variations on *Thank you, I shall certainly come*.	Mod	[S]VA
T35	There was a constant stream of them going up the Hill, carrying hundreds of polite variations on *Thank you, I shall certainly come*.	Mod	[S]VO
T36	A special entrance was cut into the bank leading to the road, and wide steps and a large white gate were built there.	Mod	[S]VA
T37	The three hobbit-families of Bagshot Row, adjoining the field, were intensely interested and generally envied.	Mod	[S]VO
T39	Practically everybody living near was invited.	Mod	[S]VA
T41	There were rockets like a flight of scintillating birds singing with sweet voices.	Mod	[S]V(A)

#	sentence	function	clause pattern
T43	... and their shining branches dropped glowing flowers down upon the astonished hobbits, disappearing with a sweet scent just before they touched their upturned faces.	Adv	[S]V(A)(A)
T44	There were fountains of butterflies that flew glittering into the trees; ...	Adv	[S]V
T49	'My dear People,' began Bilbo, rising in his place.	Adv	[S]V(A)
T50	'Hear! Hear! Hear!' they shouted, and kept on repeating it in chorus, seeming reluctant to follow their own advice.	Adv	[S]VCs(+comp)
T51	They could all see him standing, waving one hand in the air, the other was in his trouser-pocket.	Co	[S]V
T52	They could all see him standing, waving one hand in the air, the other was in his trouser-pocket.	Adv	[S]VO(A)
T53	Indeed, in one corner some of the young Tooks and Brandybucks, supposing Uncle Bilbo to have finished (since he had plainly said all that was necessary), now got up an impromptu orchestra, and began a merry dance-tune.	Adv	[S]VO(A)
T54	Seizing a horn from a youngster near by, he blew three loud hoots.	Adv	[S]VO(A)
T55	Many of his guests, and especially the Sackville-Bagginses, were insulted, feeling sure they had only been asked to fill up the required number, like goods in a package.	Adv	[S]VCs(+comp)
T59	He walked briskly back to his hole, and stood for a moment listening with a smile to the din in the pavilion and to the sounds of merrymaking in other parts of the field.	Adv	[S]VOprep(A)
T60	From a locked drawer, smelling of moth-balls, he took out an old cloak and hood.	Mod	[S]VOprep
T61	'I am glad to find you visible,' replied the wizard, sitting down in a chair, 'I wanted to catch you and have a few final words.	Adv	[S]V(A)
T66	Bilbo backed away to the wall, breathing hard, his hand clutching at his pocket.	Adv	[S]V(A)
T67	Bilbo backed away to the wall, breathing hard, his hand clutching at his pocket.	Adv	SVOprep
T68	'Sometimes I have felt it was like an eye looking at me.'	Mod	[S]VOprep

ABSTRAKT

Syntaktická stavba participiálních a gerundiálních polovětných konstrukcí

Tématem této bakalářské práce je syntaktická struktura a komplexnost větných členů realizovaných polovětnými konstrukcemi. Konkrétně se práce zaměřuje pouze na gerundium, přítomné příčestí a příčestí perfekta, tedy homonymní tvary tvořené pravidelně sufixem *–ing* od všech sloves. Cílem práce bylo vysledování faktorů, které ovlivňují strukturu nefinitních vět a také porovnání syntaktického chování gerundií a participií, která v současné angličtině splývají v jeden tvar. Teoretická část práce shrnuje poznatky z různých gramatik a podrobně popisuje gerundia a participia především z hlediska syntaktického. I přes svůj nominální charakter si tyto tvary udržují vlastnosti slovesa, především valenci, jež jim umožňují tvořit sekundární predikace. Na základě těchto vlastností je třeba odlišit gerundia od podstatných jmen a participia od přídavných jmen. Zbývající část teoretické kapitoly popisuje větněčlenské funkce polovětných konstrukcí a některé jejich specifické aspekty, například pravidla pro určování většinou nevyjádřeného konatele nebo možné realizace podmětu. Podstatným rysem všech nefinitních forem je, že mohou fungovat jako větné kondenzátory, takže se věta obejde bez vedlejších vět, přičemž polovětné konstrukce umožňují díky své predikační síle vyjádřit sdělení odpovídající další větě (jev zvaný *complex condensation*).

Hlavní část práce se věnuje analýze konkrétních příkladů, která má za cíl zjistit, jak se polovětné konstrukce a jejich jednotlivé části chovají v různých funkcích. Za tímto účelem bylo ze dvou současných britských románů excerpováno a analyzováno 140 vět, které obsahují polovětné konstrukce. U každé věty bylo dále zapotřebí určit, zda jde o gerundium nebo participium, jakou funkci plní ve větě hlavní, a zaznamenat větný vzorec a tím rozvitost těchto vět. Gerundiální a participiální věty jsou popsány zvlášť ve dvou větších kapitolách. Jednotlivé věty byly rozděleny do podkapitol podle větného vzorce, protože rozvitost věty je přímo závislá na valenci slovesa a typu doplnění, které vyžaduje. Nejvíce výskytů mají vzorce tvořené slovesy intranzitivními a monotranzitivními, jimž jsou věnované celé kapitoly. V dalších kapitolách jsou popsány ostatní vzorce (slovesa sponová, ditranzitivní a komplexně

tranzitivní), věty v trpném rodě a věty s vyjádřeným podmětem, kterých je podstatné méně. Každá kapitola obsahuje tabulku, která znázorňuje vztah mezi syntaktickou funkcí polovětných konstrukcí vzhledem k větě řídící a větnými vzorci, které gerundiální a participiální konstrukce tvoří. Na základě těchto vztahů jsou pak podrobně popsány jednotlivé výskyty nefinitních forem z hlediska jejich větněčlenské funkce ve větě hlavní a z hlediska jejich vlastní syntaktické stavby (popis zahrnuje jak obligatorní tak fakultativní doplnění nefinitních predikátů).

Přestože rozsah této práce umožňuje pouze vysledování tendencí, a ne pravidel, na základě excerpovaných vět lze konstatovat, že participiální věty jsou obecně rozvitější než věty gerundiální. To může souviset s jejich častým výskytem ve funkci příslovečného určení, které bývá z větných členů nejkomplexnější. Kromě toho příčestí narozdíl od gerundií nepřipouští vynechání předmětu u monotranzitivních sloves, a mohou obsahovat disjunkty (realizované příslovci i vedlejšími větami).

ABSTRACT

Syntactic structure of participial and gerundival non-finite clauses

The present thesis deals with the syntactic structure and complexity of non-finite clauses. In particular, it focuses on two non-finite verb forms which are formally identical for all verbs: the gerund and the present and perfect participles ending in *–ing*. The aim of this paper is to determine if there are any factors influencing the structure of non-finite clauses and compare the syntactic behaviour of the gerund and the participle since in Modern English they merge into a single category. The theoretical part summarizes information covered in several grammars and describes especially the syntactic characteristics of the forms in question. In spite of their nominal character, non-finite forms keep the verbal characteristic, especially their valency, and they form secondary predications comparable to subordinate clauses. On the basis of these characteristics, the gerunds can be distinguished from nouns and the participles from adjectives. The chapter further describes the syntactic functions of non-finite clauses and focuses on their specific features, for example the attachment rules for

determining the unexpressed agent, or the possible realizations of the subject. An important feature of these forms is their ability to function as sentence condensers and thus enable a sentence to do without a subordinate clause. Thanks to the predicative force of the non-finite verb, however, the clauses can convey the same meaning without any losses (this phenomenon is called complex condensation).

The research part of the thesis contains an analysis of concrete examples that is focused on the behaviour of non-finite clauses in various syntactic functions. For the purpose of this analysis, 140 sentences containing non-finite clauses have been excerpted from two contemporary British novels. Each clause have been subsequently analysed with respect to its gerundival or participial character, its function in the main clause, and the type of complementation and modification it contains. Gerundival and participial clauses are discussed separately in individual chapters; these are further subdivided according to the clause patterns that the particular verbs form as the structure of a clause is dependent on the valency of the predicative verb. Patterns formed by intransitive and monotransitive verbs comprise most examples; therefore, they are devoted individual chapters to. The remaining chapters describe the other patterns (formed by copular, ditransitive, and complex-transitive verbs), passive constructions, and clauses with expressed subjects which are rather rare. Each chapter contains a table which shows the relationship between the syntactic function of the non-finite clause (with respect to the superordinate clause) and the valency class of the non-finite verb. On the basis of these relationships, individual occurrences of non-finite clauses are described in detail with regard to their function in the main clause and their actual syntactic structure (including both obligatory and optional elements).

Although in the scope of the present paper we can trace only tendencies rather than rules of the English language, we conclude that participial constructions can be generally considered to form more complex predications than gerundival ones. This can be connected to their frequent occurrence in the function of the adverbial which is most conspicuous from the various functions of non-finite clauses in the matter of complexity. Moreover, unlike gerunds,

participles do not allow object deletion in monotransitive predications and they can contain disjuncts (realized by adverbs as well as by subordinate clauses).