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Mgr. Leona Rohrauer

Presentation sentences in fiction and academic prose: a syntactico-semantic, FSP and textual view
Prezentační věty v beletrii a odborném textu: aspekty syntakticko-sémantické, aktuálněčlenské a textové

(Disertační práce)

Vedoucí práce: Prof. PhDr. Libuše Dušková, CSc.
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ABSTRACT

The aim of the present thesis is to analyze syntactic realisations of the Presentation Scale (presentation sentences) as they are defined in the framework of Functional Sentence Perspective (FSP). Several aspects are examined: the semantic aspect is reflected in the observation of the semantic character of the presentation verb and in the semantic affinity it displays with its subject. From the syntactic viewpoint, the sentential architecture of presentation sentences is examined as well as the distribution of the syntactic realisations in text. The study also offers results as regards sentences implementing the Extended Presentation Scale, namely the syntactic realisation of the dynamic semantic function of Specification. The textual aspects concern the correlation between the type of presentation sentence, its location within a paragraph and its textual function. All the above-mentioned aspects are examined in sentences excerpted from texts of two different functional styles, viz. academic prose and fiction. The corpus on which the analysis is based comprises 1731 presentation sentences, 826 from texts of academic prose and 905 from texts of fiction. The theoretical part of the thesis aims both at presenting the FSP theory as it was developed by Jan Firbas and his followers and at a comprehensive comparison of FSP theory to other widely acknowledged approaches to information structure. The significance of FSP theory in current linguistic research is highlighted.

ABSTRAKT

Předložená disertační práce si klade za cíl prozkoumat syntaktické realizace prezentační škály (zkr. prezentační věty) v rámci Firbasovy teorie o aktuálněvětném členění (AVČ). Prezentační věty jsou zkoumány z několika hledisek: sémantické hledisko je zastoupeno především pozorováním prezentačních sloves a jejich významové spřízněnosti s podmětem. Pozorování se dále zaměřuje na syntaktickou výstavbu prezentačních vět a zastoupení čtyř typů větných realizací prezentační škály v textu. Studie přináší výsledky i ohledně realizace tzv. rozšířené prezentační škály, zejména ohledně syntaktické realizace dynamické sémantické funkce Specifikace. Textové hledisko je zastoupeno pozorováním korelace mezi typem prezentační věty, umístěním v odstavci a textovou rolí prezentační věty. Všechny výše zmíněné aspekty jsou zkoumány na živých textech dvou funkčních stylů, viz. v beletrii a v textu odborném. Korpus zkoumaného materiálu obsahuje 1731 prezentačních vět, z toho 905 z textů beletrie a 826 z textů odborných. Teoretická část práce si klade za cíl nejen představit Firbasovu teorii o aktuálněvětném členění, ale i porovnat tento přístup k informační struktuře věty s dalšími rozšířenými přístupy v britské a americké lingvistice a poukázat na jeho aktuálnost v současném lingvistickém výzkumu.

List of Abbreviations (ordered alphabetically)

AofQ – the dynamic semantic function of Ascription of Quality
DTh – the FSP function of Diatheme
EC – Existential Construction
Ex. , **exx** .– exmple, examples
I – inversion
LS – locative subject
Ph – the dynamic semantic function of Phenomenon (presented onto the scene)
Pr – the dynamic semantic function of Presentation
Pr-sentence – presenation sentence
Pr-verb – presentative verb
Rh – the FSP function of Rheme
RhPr – the FSP function of Rheme Proper
RPS– realisation of the Presentation Scale
RSPP – rhematic subject in the preverbal position
RSPP(spec.) – Presentation Scale Extended by Adverbial Specification
RSPPpass – rhematic subject in the preverbal position (the passive variant)
RSPPpass (spec.) – Presentation Scale Extended by Adverbial Specification (the passive variant)
Sp – the dynamic semantic function of Specification
Sth – something
S-V affinity – subject-verb affinity
S-V inversion – subject-verb inversion
ThPr – the FSP function of Theme Proper
Tr – the FSP function of Transition
TrPr – the FSP function of Transition Proper

[…] – deletion of an irrelevant part in a sample sentence
[text] – parts of text in a sample sentence irrelevant for the analysis in point

Abbreviations of authors' and translators' names

Academic Prose:
DM – Desmond Morris   **LS –** Ladislav Smutek
FaG – Fairbank and Goldman   **HaHaL** - Martin Hála, Jana Hollanová, Olga Lomová
GaE – Greenwood and Earnshaw **FJ** – kolektiv Františka Jursíka
JR – John Searle   **MN–** Marek Nekula
RD – Robert Dahl   **HB –** Helena Blahoutová
SH – Stephen Hawking   **VK –** Vladimír Karas

Fiction:
KI – Kazuo Ishiguro   **JH –** Jiří Hanuš
LR – Leo Rosten   **PE –** Pavel Eisner
NE – Nicholas Evans   **AJ-Š –** Alena Jindrová-Špilarová
PR – Philip Roth   **JH –** Jiří Hanuš
WS – William Styron   **RN** – Radoslav Nenadál
ZS – Zadie Smith   **PD –** Petra Diestlerová

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1 Posing the Research Question

This doctoral thesis aims to explore the ways in which the Presentation Scale is employed in the English language in dependence on functional style. This type of information structuring, i.e. when a phenomenon is introduced into the flow of communication, presents a rewarding field of research which has recently been surveyed by M. Adam (2013). This thesis aims to contribute to it and complement it. This research project aims at contributing to the clarification of the questions in the following areas:

1. Four realisations of the Presentation Scale have been explored from the syntactic-semantic point of view in two types of texts, viz. academic prose and fiction, with the main focus on the syntactic realisations other than the existential construction. The existential construction was more or less excluded from the syntactic-semantic analysis since it had been substantially surveyed in earlier projects, mainly in Dubec (2007) and Drenková (2007)[1].

2. From the textual point of view the textual functions of individual realisations of the Presentation Scale have been explored and compared in two selected texts, one representing the functional style of academic prose, the other the functional style of fiction.

3. A comparison of the most representative information structure theories with the theory of FSP was another aim of this thesis as well as to pinpoint the facets of FSP out of which the analysis benefits in a unique way unacknowledged in any other theory on information structure. The analysis has been performed within the framework of Functional Sentence Perspective which proved the most reliable tool in identifying the information structure of a sentence.

4. Finally, attending the 2013 conference on functional grammar (*the 24th European Systemic functional linguistics conference and workshop*) with a focus on language in a digital age (*Language in a digital age: be not afraid of digitality*) held at Coventry University, I became aware that computerized information structure assessment is in Europe very much dominated by Halliday's approach and that FSP may provide us with a better instrument in this area of linguistic enterprise. At the same time I was reading David Crystal's (2011) *Internet Linguistics: A Student Guide* where he outlines the linguist's challenge in his/her contribution

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[1] These are two unpublished diploma theses written under the supervision of Prof. PhDr. Libuše Dušková, DrSc., cf. Dubec, P. (2007). *Syntactic and FSP Aspects of the Existential Construction in Academic Prose*. Department of English and American Studies, Charles University in Prague. Drenková, L. (2007) *Syntactic and FSP Aspects of the Existential Construction in Fiction.* Department of English and American Studies, Charles University in Prague.

to the development of effective search engines. Although Crystal is not going in this direction, it became clear that reliable identification of sentential information structure is a necessary part of the process. Apparently Firbas's FSP has not yet been discovered as an effective instrument in this area. Thus the final aim of this thesis is to promote the idea that FSP may be highly beneficial in the process of development of an enhanced search engine and to suggest future lines of research in this field.

2   Methodology

2.1 Description of Material

The excerpts are drawn from 12 texts, 6 texts representing academic prose and 6 fiction, so that a variety within each of the functional styles is captured and representativeness of the two samples (academic prose sample and fiction sample) is achieved. The main focus was on the collection of syntactic realisations of the Presentation Scale other than the existential construction and these amount to 330 in academic prose and 333 in fiction. The existential construction was excerpted alongside for comparative purposes and for the purpose of mapping its textual function in the two functional styles. The process of excerption was concluded when the whole of the corpus with its 1731 items started being too large for the purpose of this study and when an even amount of target presentation sentences was achieved in both types of texts.

The texts for the excerption were chosen so as to represent contemporary language use, i.e. they were written no longer than 50 years ago. The only exception is the short text by Leo Rosten (first published in 1937) which was included as a representation of a comical strand in fiction and to add to the diversity of texts, viz. romantic (Evans), dramatic (Styron), realistic-ironic (Smith), social critique (Roth, Ishiguro), comical (Rosten). The diversity of texts in academic prose amounts to chemistry (Greenwood and Earnshaw), history (Fairbank and Goldman), philosophy (Dahl), linguistics (Searle), zoology (Morris), and astronomy (Hawking).

The samples were excerpted manually (as no reliable script enabling automated search exists) and mostly from hardback books; the excerpts were manually transcribed although some texts were available in their electronic version (Smith, Ishiguro, Roth, Morris, Searle). Due to the fact that the frequency of occurrence of presentation sentences was from the beginning sought

as one of the research outcomes, the total of distributional fields to which the texts amount was obtained by the following method: first the number of pages comprising only text, i.e. text without graphs, photographs and other visual aids as well as without blank spaces, e.g. between individual chapters, was ascertained. Then the number of basic distributional fields (i.e. simple sentence, complex sentence, clause in a compound sentence) per page was calculated in three randomly chosen pages and the resulting average then multiplied by the number obtained in step one. For each text the number of excerpted pages is adduced as well.

2.2 Organization of material

The whole of the corpus amassed for the purpose of this study is adduced in the Appendix. Individual instances are organized by genre (functional style), viz. first, the items within the academic prose sample are adduced, followed by the items constituting the fiction sample. Each of the items is adduced with a stretch of context (with the exception of existential construction which is not part of the FSP analysis) and followed by the analysis regarding its position in the paragraph, its textual role, its FSP structure (i.e. the type of the syntactic realisation of Presentation Scale), and Czech translation (again with the exception of existential constructions). Czech translations are adduced as a feedback on the information structure assessment and at points they serve as a means of disambiguation. Occasionally, a commentary regarding the FSP analysis or the concerned textual role complements an item's analysis under the headline 'Note'.

In the text of the thesis the items are referred to by the abbreviation followed by a number where the abbreviation denotes the first and the second name of the author (in case there are two co-authors only their surnames are given) and the number refers to the page where the excerpt can be found, cf. WS34 (William Styron, page 34), FaG75 (Fairbank and Goldman, page 75). The same method was followed referring to Czech translations. Full bibliographical reference for each of the excerpted texts is adduced in the Sources.

3   Introduction

For more than a century and a half it has been an acknowledged fact that human communication in addition to grammatically and semantically motivated structures also displays structuring motivated by information processing. Beginning with the seminal study by Henri Weil (1844) which, although still deeply rooted in psychology, introduced the

concept of the basis and nucleus in a sentence[2], continuing with Mathesius' already solely linguistic treatises[3] (1924, 1929, 1947), to Firbas's fruitful research period starting in 1960s and culminating in a comprehensive work on information structure (1992), substantial research has been done in the area.

3.1 Information structure in domestic linguistics

The Prague School of Linguistics approach to information structure as associated with Vilém Mathesius (1947, 1961, 1975), Josef Vachek (1966, 1979), Bohumil Trnka, and František Daneš (1974) has been continuously developed in works of scholars at Charles University in Prague and at Masaryk University in Brno. Firbas's Theory of FSP was so influential as to give rise to the so-called Brno School represented among others by Aleš Svoboda, who substantially contributed to the elaboration of Firbas's theory (1981, 1987), and most recently there have been inspiring studies written by Martin Adam (2005, 2011, 2013). In Prague another distinct approach to information structure has been developed at the Institute of Formal and Applied Linguistics of the Faculty of Mathematics and Physics whose representatives, the founder Petr Sgall, Eva Hajičová and others, study information structure as topic-focus articulation (TFA) within a larger framework of functional generative grammar (Dušková 2015). In the Department of English Language and ELT Methodology of the Faculty of Arts, various aspects of Firbasian theory are elaborated in the works of Libuše Dušková (1998, 1999a, 1999b, 2005, 2008, 2010a, 2010b) and her pupils.[4] It is this line of research that is found most relevant to this thesis.

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[2] The following summarization of Weil's concepts (which later influenced linguists in their formulation of information structure theories) is after Waugh, L. R. (1977: 6 – 7). In his short but significant treatise *De l'ordre des mots dans les langues anciennes comparées aux langues modernes*, Weil (1844) points out that despite the differences in word orders of Indo-European languages there is a universal order of ideas grounded in the psychological process of thought. The natural unemotional order of ideas ('l'association des idées') is thus from the known to the unknown while the reverse succession of ideas is an expression of emotionality. Weil's monograph was translated into English in 1887.

[3] In his review of the FSP terminology development, Brömser (1982: 7) observes " Diese Abfolge von Thema und Rhema, beziehungsweise alter und neuer Information, entspricht der damals schon bekannten Unterteilung eines Satzes in ein sogenanntes psychologisches Subjekt und psychologisches Prädikat, wie etwa bei von der Gabelenz, später bei Hermann Paul und anderen. **Mathesius ersetzte diese psychologischen Begriffe jedoch durch seine funktionalen und machte dadurch die kommunikative Gliederung eines Satzes einer objektiveren Untersuchung zugänglich**. " (highlighting in bold is mine)

[4] For a detailed overview of the FSP theory development first in Prague and later in Brno, see Dušková (2008, 2012, 2015) or Hajičová (2012). There is a good overview of concepts pursued by linguists abroad that contributed to the development of information structure theory in Firbas (1979: 29-30).

3.2 Information structure in British and American linguistics

A long line of studies (including very recent ones[5]) inspired by Mathesius was initiated by M.A.K Halliday in the late 1960s and produced the publication of *Introduction to Functional Grammar* (1985), which comprises the main theses on *information structure*, a term coined ibidem, within the framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics. In the same year another major publication came into existence as a result of collective work of R. Quirk, S. Greenbaum, G. Leech, and J. Svartvik, *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (CGEL). It is the latter two publications that form the cornerstone of information structure theories in Great Britain together with the most recent representative grammar *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language* (2002), the joint work of R. Huddleston, and G. K. Pullum. In American linguistics W. Chafe's works on information structure have been influential, his main theses summarized in *Discourse, Consciousness, and Time* (1994).

Firbas's FSP theory as it has been developed on the principles of the Prague School provides the research on which this thesis is based with an unfailing analytical tool. In the theoretical part of this thesis the FSP theory is put side-by-side with approaches to information structure as presented by foremost British and American linguists with the accent on the areas yielding different results in the assessment of sentence information structure. It is argued that FSP validly aligns our intuition about information processing with a consistent theoretical basis and this claim is demonstrated through examples drawn from the aforementioned works.

4   Domestic FSP Theory and Major Approaches to Information Structure in British and American Theories: A Comparison

Before we begin weighing major British and American approaches to information structure against the FSP theory, the FSP theory as it has been developed by Jan Firbas will be presented along with the terminology employed throughout this study (in italics below).

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[5] Cf. Language in a digital age: be not afraid of digitality: *Proceedings from the 24th European Systemic functional linguistics conference and workshop*. Held: 1-3 July 2013, Coventry University. (eds) Siâ n Alsop and Sheena Gardner.

4.1 Jan Firbas's FSP

4.1.1   Sentence as a basic distributional field

In agreement with Halliday (1994: 37), the sentence is here viewed as a single communicative event whose discreteness, i.e. the quality of having a definable beginning and end, is reflected both in grammar (the sense of completeness is reflected in its syntactic structure) and in prosody (where it is delineated by the intonation contour). A sentence defined as "an elementary reaction to any extralinguistic reality" (Firbas quoting Vachek, 1992: 15), is here perceived as a semantic-grammatical unit "functioning in a definite kind of perspective." (Firbas 1992: 15) The choice of semantic and grammatical structures mapped onto a sentence is made in accordance with this perspective; hence we speak of functional sentence perspective (FSP).

Trost's conception of a sentence as a field of syntactic relations ("a word syntactically unrelated either to words that precede or to words that follow constitutes a sentence", Firbas 1992: 15) is adopted and complemented with the dimension of communicative perspective: the sentence also "serves as a field within which the degrees of CD are distributed, the distribution inducing the sentence to function in a particular perspective." (ibid) Verbless structures like "Attention!" comply with the definition, but it will be noted that the central notion of all structures definable as a sentence is an independent verbal clause in relation to which other structures like dependent clauses and minor sentences (comprising a non-finite verb form) are assessed.

The *basic distributional field* is thus prototypically realised by an independent verbal clause (although it has to be noted that the main clause modified by a relative clause is considered one distributional field in analogy to a head and its modifier in a noun phrase); we speak of a first-rank distributional field whereas the distributional subfields are those of second and lower ranks[6] (Firbas 1992: 17-18).

4.1.2   CD and degrees of CD

The term *communicative dynamism* mentioned above requires further explication. The concept is not only highly relevant to the analytical part of this study, but also to an accurate

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[6] In his study on the FSP hierarchy of communicative units, Svoboda, A. (1968: 58) terms the basic distributional field the *communicative field of zero rank*.

comparison of the information structure theories; its complex elaboration within the FSP theory makes it one of the most prominent features by which FSP differs from the other theories.

It is defined in relation to the capacity of a sentence element to contribute to the development of communication. The dynamic quality of communication is reflected in its constant development towards achieving a communicative purpose and each element in a sentence contributes to this attainment to a lesser or higher degree. We thus speak of sentence elements as of *carriers of CD* and the extent by which they contribute to the completion of the communicative purpose is referred to as *a degree of CD* whose assessment is based on the interplay of linearity, semantic and contextual factors in written text joined by intonation in spoken texts.

A CD carrier or more carriers of the same degree of CD constitute a *communicative unit*. The "sameness", however, is a relative value; within the basic distributional field the informational weight of an element is always established syntagmatically in relation to other elements in the sentence. A communicative unit is thus more accurately defined as such a part of a sentence where all carriers of CD (there can be one or more) function at the same hierarchical level of communicative development (Firbas 1992: 17 – 20).

A composite communicative unit (comprising more carriers of CD) is heterogeneous regarding the degree of CD and constitutes a distributional subfield of its own. In such a case we speak of a distributional field of second rank. Twofold hierarchy applies, "the communicative units, and the CD carriers in general, are organized through syntax, which induces them to operate in hierarchically ranked distributional fields. At the same time, however, it permits them to be hierarchized in accordance with the requirements of FSP" (Firbas 1992: 19).

4.1.3   Sentence elements as communicative units

Syntactic constituents such as subject or object serve as communicative units with one important exception concerning the predicative verb. Unlike in syntax, in FSP the verb represents two units (Firbas 1992: 18). One is constituted by the lexical component of the meaning of the verb, the other by the grammatical component of its meaning. Firbas refers to

the grammatical meaning of the predicative verb as its categorial exponents which include an exponent of person (PE), an exponent of number (NE) or their combination (PNEs), an exponent of tense (TE), an exponent of mood (ME) or the combination of the last two (TMEs). Next there are exponents of positive polarity, negative polarity (PosPolE, NegPolE respectively) and of voice (VE) (ibid).

It is the TMEs together with the exponents of voice and positive polarity that play an important role in FSP due to their unique properties. First, it is their capacity to link the extralinguistic reality and the semantic content of a sentence brought about by the speaker making choices about modality, temporal relations, etc. Second, it is their capacity to link the grammatical subject to the grammatical predicate. Third, their capacity to link the grammatical subject to the grammatical predicate induces them to operate as the boundary between the theme and the non-theme; they invariably serve as transition proper. (Firbas 1992: 89) Hence the FSP theory reflects the central role of the verb in the language system.

The lexical meaning of the predicative verb referred to by Firbas as the notional component (Firbas 1992: 18) asserts itself as the semantic factor contributing to the interplay of factors signalling FSP. The central character of the verb (here the centre is understood as the core of relations which affect the character of the information structure and of the sentence in general) is reflected twofold. Firstly, it is in the method of the inquiry about the FSP of a sentence whose starting point is the identification of the *successful competitors of the verb*, i.e. "elements that if present take the development of the communication further than the verb and so come closer to, or even effect, the completion of the communication. In consequence, they prove to be dynamically stronger; they carry a higher degree of CD than the verb." (Firbas 1992: 41) Secondly, the semantic character of the verb determines the dynamic semantic character of the sentence.

4.1.4 Basic distribution of communicative dynamism

An important distinction needs to be made between two recognized types of arrangement of sentence elements, viz. *the actual linear arrangement* and *the interpretative arrangement* (Firbas 1992: 12-13). The latter term denotes the arrangement of sentence elements according to the gradual rise in CD. If the two arrangements coincide, i.e. the sentence linear

arrangement of elements is in accordance with gradual rise of CD, we refer to it as the *basic distribution of degrees of CD*. (Firbas 1992: 10)

4.1.5   Dynamic Semantic Scales

Firbas (1992) identified two principal perspectives a sentence may assume in the flow of communication; it is either oriented towards a presentation of a phenomenon or its main communicative purpose is to ascribe a quality to a phenomenon or towards the specification of this quality. Subsequently we speak of *the Presentation Scale* and *the Quality Scale* respectively, each displaying its own set of dynamic semantic functions. The two scales, in point of fact the interpretative arrangement of sentences realizing them, are shown below. Referring to the scales and their constituents as 'dynamic semantic' reflects the fact that they are viewed as inseparable from the contextual conditions in which they participate towards a definite communicative goal.

Set(ting), Pr(esentation of Phenomenon), Ph(enomenon presented)

Set(ting), B(earer of Quality), Q(uality), Sp(ecification) and F(urhter) Sp(ecification)

(Firbas 1992: 66)

The dynamic semantic character of a sentence ensues from contextual conditions (such as the presence of a context-independent subject), and from the static semantic quality of the verb which is either presentative or qualitative. In comparison to the quality expressing verb category, the presentation verb category comprises a relatively small number of items explicitly conveying presentative meaning such as '*appear'*, '*arrive', 'come'*, '*come in'*, '*emerge'*, '*enter'*, '*exist'*, '*unfold'*, etc., and verbs doing so implicitly but unequivocally such as '*circle'* and '*reverberate'* in exx. 1 and 2 respectively. (If not specified otherwise, the examples come from my corpus. Examples cited from other sources than those used in my corpus are accompanied by an appropriate reference).

(1)   A pair of buzzards <u>circled</u> lazily against the liquid blue of the afternoon sky. (NE106)

(2)   The horse's cries and the sound of his hooves smashing against the sides of the trailer
        <u>reverberated</u> around the yard, … (NE153)

In his most recent research examining syntactic, semantic and FSP aspects of presentation sentences, Adam (2013) has shown that the situation described above is not as straightforward as it may seem. He observes that there are no verbs that would be predisposed to serve as exclusively presentative or exclusively qualitative. Moreover, a group of verbs can serve in both Presentation and Quality Scale sentences, the verbs typically associated with the semantics of presentation (*'exist', 'appear', 'come', etc.*) among them (Adam 2013: 159). Nevertheless, the analysis of the verbs in his corpus has shown that certain semantic classes of verbs have a strong predisposition to express presentation in an explicit way, namely the 'verbs of appearance', followed by the 'verbs of motion' and the 'verbs of existence'. The 'verbs of creation' and the 'verbs of sending and carrying' have also the capacity to express presentation in a way that is unequivocal although they have occurred less frequently than those mentioned above (Adam 2013: 159-160). The 'verbs of motion' represent a newly identified semantic category among the verbs with the potential to explicitly mediate presentative meaning.

Firbas (1992: 60-61) distinguishes a special type of implicit presentative meaning ensuing from 'semantic affinity' of the notional component of the predicative verb with its subject. As Firbas observes, "Through this affinity the verb prepares the way for the phenomenon to be presented." (1992: 61). In the example from my corpus (ex. 3 below) '*owl*' and '*call*' are semantically related as '*calling*' expresses a characteristic manifestation of birds.

(3)   Somewhere high among the trees **an owl** (Ph) <u>was calling</u> (Pr) and she wondered if it
          was this or the moon or plain habit that had woken her. (NE309)

The feature of the semantic affinity between the verb and the subject has also been explored by Adam (2013)[7] who observes that it appears to be crucial in verbs whose static semantics allows presentative meaning only implicitly. Next, he argues that the presence of the feature activates the 'dormant' capacity of a verb to express presentation in S-V-O structures (often metaphorical, see below) and thus triggers the presentational interpretation if favourable contextual conditions occur (Adam 2013: 161). It has been observed as an important aspect also in passive constructions. The result of his research prompts Adam to claim that "semantic S-V affinity between the Pr-verb and the subject seems to stand at the root of the question

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[7] He identifies 6 semantic classes of subjects inclining towards serving in Pr-sentences featuring S-V semantic affinity, see chapter 5.2.3.1.

concerning the (semantic and syntactic) criteria that enable the English verb to act as a Pr-verb in the sentence". (ibid)

The presentation verb category has a clearly defined centre with intransitive verbs expressing the notion of existence/appearance on the scene, and the periphery comprising transitive verbs of the same static semantic characteristics. On account of transitive verbs in presentation sentences Firbas observes that "the object expresses a phenomenon that is filled, permeated or covered by another phenomenon. The latter appears within the space provided by the former. The latter is the phenomenon to be presented; the former serves as the setting (scene) for the presentation." (Firbas 1992:61) The example from my corpus adduced below illustrates the point:

(4)   I opened a window upon a ledge calcimine with pigeon droppings, and **a warm October breeze** (Ph) suddenly freshened <u>the room</u> (Set). (WS561)

An accompanying feature of the verb–object combinations in presentation sentences is often a semantic shift; the act of presentation is expressed metaphorically as in the examples below:

(5)   **A vagrant pang of memory** (Ph) stabbed <u>me</u> (Set). (WS549)
(6)   **Sadness** (Ph) sidled up to <u>Howard</u> (Set). (ZS110)

Adam argues that in fact all S-V-O or S-V-O-A structures implementing the Presentation Scale display a kind of a semantic shift accompanied by the feature of S-V semantic affinity (2013: 127)[8], which is a reflection congruent with what we can observe in the examples 4, 5, and 6 above: '*breeze – freshen*' as well as '*sadness – sidle*' display a person ↔object shift (personification), '*pang of memory – stab*' show an abstract ↔concrete shift (the abstract noun of memory is treated as a sharp object).

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[8] In concluding remarks of the chapter where he treats the phenomenon of semantic affinity (5.2.3.1), Adam observes, "To sum up, the transitive character of the verb seems to go hand in hand with the metaphorical nature of the phrase" (2013:127)

Appearance on the scene can also be conveyed by sentences in the passive, providing the same conditions apply as for presentation sentences in general (i.e. context-independent subject along with a presentative meaning of the verb). The verbs of production (*efficiendi*) signalling the resultant object in the underlying active structure explicitly contribute to presentation of a new phenomenon into the discourse. Firbas (1992: 63) explains, "An effected goal is an outcome (result, consequence) of a production process: it has been brought by it into existence." In the examples 7 and 8 below the notional component of the verb (*put forward* and *build*) unmistakably points towards its subject as a created phenomenon:

(7)   This problem has puzzled experts for a long time and **many imaginative theories** (Ph) have been put forward (Pr). (DM40)

(8)   **Large granaries** (Ph) were built (Pr) (one could hold 33 million bushels). (FaG 78)

The choice of the passive here is motivated by the convenience of the possibility not to express the agent unlike in passive voice constructions comprising a *by*-agent, which primarily serve to arrange the sentence elements as to be in agreement with the gradual rise of CD (with the rhematic element placed towards the end). It underlines the fact that also transitive verbs partake in expressing presentation. The S-V '*theories – have been put forward*' displays semantic affinity, a feature which intensifies the presentative interpretation of the clause as observed by Adam (2013: 128, 161)

The category of verbs conveying the notion of quality is less clearly cut and basically includes all verbs outside the presentation verb category[9]. As Firbas puts it, "Quality is to be understood here in a wide sense, covering an action or a state, permanent or transitory, concrete or abstract." (1992: 5) Let us consider the opening sentence of a chapter in *The Horse Whisperer* (see Sources), which implements the dynamic semantic Quality Scale (in accordance only the dynamic semantic functions, not the FSP functions, of the sentence elements are adduced in the scheme below):

(9)   Late Sunday night (Set), Tom (B) did (Q) a final check on the horses (Sp), then (Set) came (Q) inside (Sp) to pack (FSp). (NE350)

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[9] Adam (2013: 161) puts it more aptly when he notes that despite the fact that no verb can be considered purely presentational or purely qualitative, it needs to be admitted that "most verbs can actually serve in the Quality Scale sentences only since their semantics contains practically no presentational potential (such as verbs *eat*, *forget*, *grumble*, *understand*, etc.)".

Both of the clauses in example 9 are oriented towards the specification of quality. The quality is expressed by the notional component of the verb (which on the FSP level serves the function of transition between the theme and the rheme) and it is related to '*Tom*', the *quality bearer*. In the first clause it is the specification of the quality expressed by the noun phrase '*a final check…*' which the communication is perspectived towards. The second clause culminates with the information of packing expressed by the infinitive of purpose functioning as further specification on the Quality Scale.

In one basic distributional field the two scales may coincide, and then we speak of the Combined Scale (Firbas 1992: 67), which is illustrated by Firbas's well-known example adduced below:

(10)   Ages ago (Set) a young king (Ph, B) ruled (Pr, Q) his country (Sp) capriciously and despotically (FSp). (Firbas 1992: 67)

The sentence in example 10 opens with the introduction of a new phenomenon (*a young king*) into the flow of communication and closes with further specification of quality (*capriciously and despotically*). The functions of Ph and B are 'telescoped' (ibid.) into one sentence element, the subject. The interpretative arrangement of a sentence realizing the Combined Scale can be schematized as follows:

Set – Pr – Ph – B – Q – Sp – FSp (Firbas 1992: 67)

Proposals have been put forward to re-define the Combined Scale in accordance with the main communicative purpose of the sentence. Should the quality features prevail, the so-called Extended Quality Scale is regarded to apply, while structures more strongly oriented towards the presentative meaning (underlined by the physical presence of a presentative verb[10]) are considered as implementing the so-called Extended Presentation Scale (Chamonikolasová 2010[11]; Chamonikolasová, Adam: 2005) This solution seems to find its justification especially in structures realised by existential sentences comprising a context-

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[10] See Adam 2013: 138

[11] The concept of Extended Presentation Scale was first presented by Chamonikolasová and later elaborated on by other scholars working in the field

independent adverbial. The existential construction is such a strong indicator of presentative meaning that we are compelled to look at it as at a presentation sentence comprising an extension by specification, and we then talk of the Extended Presentation Scale, cf.

(11) Together they walked down the street from which Michael had just come. There was **something fatally humourless** (Ph) <u>even in the way the young man walked</u> (Sp), a status-preserving precision to each step, as if proving to a policeman that he could walk along a straight white line. (ZS34)

In example 11 the existential sentence comprises an expanded adverbial phrase (which itself comprises another clause) focalized by the adverb '*even*' which assigns to the post-verbally placed element a specifying function. The rhematic section thus comprises two elements, viz. the presented phenomenon ('*something fatally humourless*') and the specification ('*in the way the young man walked*'). It remains to be noted that the specification is heterogeneous regarding context-dependence: while the postmodifying clause '*the young man walked*' is context-dependent (see '*they walked*' in the preceding sentence), the element '*the way*' is context-independent (and highlighted by the focalizer) and constitutes the rheme proper of the clause.

Regardless of the phenomenon of the Extended Scales, the two dynamic semantic scales are considered central in language. As Firbas points out (1992: 139), already ancient grammarians considered the sequence 'subject – predicative verb – items of verbal complementation' as the natural order. Along similar lines he claims, "The order SVO linked with the meanings 'agent', 'action' and 'goal', and the order VS linked with the meanings 'appearing' and '(appearing) phenomenon', indeed tally with orders established through our experience of the extralinguistic reality. They may therefore be regarded as iconic[12]." (ibid)

4.1.6 Syntactic realisation of the Presentation Scale
The Presentation Scale is implemented by means of four syntactic forms (three central, one peripheral) which will be listed here (following Dušková 1998: 36) according to the frequency

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[12] See also Firbas's paper "A Functional View of 'Ordo Naturalis'" where he maintains "[…] the model order advocated by ancient grammarians – Subject, Predicative Verb, Items of Verbal Complementation – tallies with the order of basic instance level sentences in English, German and Czech and very likely in most, if not all, Indo-European languages." (1979: 56)

of occurrence from the most to the least frequent illustrated by examples from my corpus (the presented phenomenon in bold):

1. Existential construction:

>Then there was **a tense silence**. (LR60)

2. Construction with rhematic subject in preverbal position, cf.

>**A red four-wheeler** had just pulled up [and Wayne watched a big bearded man get out and take a black bag out of the back.] (NE27)

2a. Variant of 2. above with the verb in passive

>**Strands of lights** - not yet lit - had been wound around the trunks of both these trees and laid among their branches. (ZS83)

3. Construction with rhematic subject in postverbal position (S-V inversion):

>Outside, only a few yards from where she stood, was **a group of whitetail deer**. (NE60)

4. Construction where a semantically adverbial element operates as the subject with the phenomenon appearing on the scene operating as the object (locative subject):

>As the political and administrative center of Northern Song, Kaifeng held **a great concentration of officials as well as service personnel, troops, and hangers-on attracted by the court**. (FaG89)

The last type (4) counts as peripheral due to its low frequency of occurrence and its not complying with one of the criteria for the Presentation Scale, viz. context-independence of the subject. (The questions of the centre and periphery are addressed below in chapter 3.)

4.1.7 The scale of FSP functions. Pluripartition vs. bipartition in information structuring[13]

The scale of dynamic semantic functions is mapped onto the scale of FSP functions. In most general terms the FSP scale is constituted by two segments: the theme and the non-theme and thus a bipartition of information structuring takes place (Firbas 1992: 69-74). The elements carrying the lowest degree of CD form the thematic section of the scale (*theme*); the non-theme splits into the transitional section (*transition*) formed by the predicative verb, and the rhematic section (*rheme*) formed by the elements carrying a higher degree of CD than the

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[13] I wrote about this conception in the introduction to Rohrauer, L. and Dubec, P. (2011). "Syntactic and FSP Aspects of the Existential Construction", *Linguistica Pragensia* 21/1, 24-32.

verb. The tripartite structure is further analysable if two or more components occur within one FSP section, viz. within the theme, transition, or rheme.

The thematic section was explored in detail by Svoboda in his monograph *Diatheme*. (1981). Ranging on the scale of thematic functions, *the theme proper* occupies the bottom end as the element carrying the lowest informational value and *the diatheme* the upper end as the element carrying the highest degree of CD within the thematic section. The *theme-proper oriented elements* and *diatheme oriented elements* rank between them (in Firbas 1992: 79-81). Transition can be divided into *the transition proper*, *transition-proper oriented elements*, and *the rest of transition* where the transition proper represents the very centre of the distributional field of CD (op. cit., p. 89) and the transition-proper oriented elements function as '*perspectivers*' that move the communication from the theme towards this centre.[14] Where there are more components constituting the rheme, *the rheme proper* is distinguished as the element towards which the sentence is perspectived, the element with the highest degree of CD (Firbas 1992: 72). The full FSP scheme displaying the pluripartition of information structuring can be illustrated as follows:

Theme proper (ThPr) – theme proper oriented element (ThPro) – diatheme oriented element (DTho) – diatheme (DTh) – transition-proper oriented element (TrPro) – transition proper (TrPr) – rest of transition (Tr) – rheme (Rh) – rheme proper (RhPr).[15]

With the exception of the transition proper and rheme proper, not all FSP functions have to be implemented, cf. "A sentence can be themeless, but cannot be rhemeless or transition-properless. The Th may remain linguistically unexpressed and suggested by an extralinguistic referent, but the Rh must be linked onto it in one way or another." (Firbas 1992: 93) Although Firbas works with all three concepts, viz. bipartition, tripartition, and pluripartition, he maintains, "My emphasis on the boundary role of TrPr shows that in essence my approach is not tripartitional or pluripartitional, but bipartitional." (1992: 96 – 97)

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[14] In some cases the FSP functions of transition and rheme or transition and theme are telescoped into one (1965: 174 – 175) due to the fact that the transitional elements passed either into the thematic section or they became rhematized while the rest of the elements receded to the background.
[15] Needless to say, the scheme represents the **interpretative arrangement** of a sentence.

Having introduced the two types of scale (viz. the dynamic semantic scale and the scale of FSP functions), we can now endorse the significance of the concept of two functions fulfilled by the predicative verb: on one hand the TMEs invariably perform the FSP role of transition; on the other hand the notional component of the verb performs the dynamic semantic function of quality or presentation. By mapping the two scales onto one another a full representation of how a sentence functions in the flow of communication emerges.

4.1.8   Factors in FSP and their hierarchy

Before the aspects of communication that play a role in FSP can be delineated, we need to recall the concept of *sentence in context* as presented in the section featuring the definition of sentence as the basic distributional field of CD (cf. 2.1.1 above). Sentence structures considered outside contextual conditions do not perform their communicative function. They are prospectively functional sentences, but their potential is not fulfilled unless they are embedded in a certain communicative situation. As Firbas (1992: 16) summarizes, "they merely represent a (semantic and grammatical) sentence structure that is communicatively inoperative: they do not represent a sentence in a truly functional sense of the word."

Bearing the functional view of a sentence in mind, Firbas (1992) identified four factors which – by their mutual interplay – bring a particular element to the fore and thus signal the information nucleus of a sentence. They are **linearity**: the linear arrangement of sentence elements in line with the rule observed by Bolinger (quoted in Firbas 1992: 10) that 'gradation of position creates gradation of meaning when there are no interfering factors'; **context**: the elements appearing in the preceding context (verbal, situational or experiential) carry lower degree of CD than those mentioned for the first time; **semantics**: the meaning of sentence elements, namely the verb, which by its meaning either introduces a new phenomenon on the scene and thus perspectives the sentence towards *presentation*, or it directs the attention towards its complementation (if the complementation is missing, then the attention is directed towards the verb itself) and thus pursues the communicative goal of ascribing *quality / specification*. The three factors stand in a hierarchy (Svoboda 1981: 2) where context is superior both to semantics and linearity, and semantics is superior to linearity.

In spoken communication the last of the four factors is put into operation: **intonation**. The placement of intonation nucleus and its association with the core information in a sentence is of primary interest. Generally the intonation prominence is associated with semantic prominence (e.g. Halliday and Hasan 1976: 69, Firbas 1974: 30, 1992: 148-154); however, it has been observed that coincidence between the carrier of the most important information and the intonation nucleus in a sentence is not always the case. A significant elaborator of the FSP theory, Aleš Svoboda, holds that "The reason why communicative prominence and prosodic prominence do not go hand in hand is seen in the fact that in case the other three FSP factors signal the communicative prominence sufficiently, the prosodic features are free to convey other (e.g. attitudinal) meanings" (2005: 219).

The phenomena involved in signalling the factors are referred to as *means/signals* of FSP (Firbas 1992: 115), for example the linear factor is signalled by the position in the actual linear arrangement, the intonation factor is signalled by a prosodic feature, etc.

Commenting on the interplay of all four factors in FSP, Svoboda summarizes, "All the above factors represent indispensable aspects of natural language communication, because such communication must be linearized (linearity), must convey meaning (semantics), cannot be realised in isolation (context), and if spoken, cannot be realised without rhythm, melody, and pauses (prosodic features)." (2005: 217)

For the purposes of this study, one of which is to compare and contrast various approaches to information structure to the FSP theory, and with the semantic factor having been explicated in the section on the dynamic semantic scales, it is the contextual factor that needs further explication as its conception differentiates the FSP theory from the other information structure theories.

4.1.8.1   Context in FSP

As regards the contribution of context to the interplay of the factors building up FSP in most general terms, elements appearing in the preceding context are recognized as communicatively less important (i.e. they carry a lower degree of CD) than elements entering the discourse for the first time (these are carriers of a high degree of CD). The elements

known from the context are referred to as *context-dependent*, i.e. for their interpretation the reader/listener depends on the preceding text or they refer to notions deeply embedded in every communicative situation such as the notions of the speaker / writer and listener / reader typically signified by pronouns like '*I*', '*you*', or the impersonal '*it*', '*one*' (Firbas 1992: 24) The elements unknown from the preceding context are referred to as *context-independent*, i.e. we are able to interpret them per se, without reference to the prior text.

Composite communicative units, however, often combine elements retrievable from the preceding context and those that are irretrievable and are thus referred to as *heterogeneous*. In Dušková's study (1999b: 289-302) this applied especially to composite rhemes where heterogeneity amounted to 63% of all instances, while heterogeneous themes accounted for 25% of all themes in the sample (1999b: 293). Heterogeneity, however, does not obscure the context-dependence / context-independence of a communicative unit, cf. Firbas (1992:37):

Heterogeneity as to retrievability and irretrievability does not do away with the dichotomy of context dependence and context independence. This is borne by the fact that communicative units dominated by retrievability behave in the same way as those which are entirely context-dependent, whereas communicative units dominated by irretrievability behave in the same way as those which are entirely context-independent.

The immensely broad concept of context is marked out into three subtypes, viz. **experiential context** (= context of general experience taken into account during the act of communication), **situational context** (= context of situation within which communication takes place), and **verbal context** (= context constituted by preceding sentences/text) (Svoboda 1981: 4). In assessing the degree of CD that an element in a sentence carries, the situational context overrides the experiential context and the verbal context overrides the other two. The verbal context thus plays the most important role and has the largest impact on our perception of an element in communication as regards its informational importance.

In FSP the contextual factor is always regarded in relation to 'the immediately relevant communicative step' (Firbas 1992: 22ff), cf. "*In regard to FSP, the concept of known information must be considerably narrowed. This necessitates the introduction of the immediately relevant verbal and situational context, immediate relevance being assessed in relation to the point in the flow of communication at which a new sentence is produced and/or*

taken in which separates the mass of information accumulated so far from the mass of information to be further accumulated." (Firbas 1992: 22)

The concept of *immediately relevant context* appears to be crucial for analysing a sentence on the FSP level[16]. It is grounded in the observation that at the moment of the immediately relevant communicative step only a fragment of the mass of 'information accumulated' is activated in reader's/listener's consciousness, i.e. it is available to him as something known. Analysing written texts, we need to ask how big a fragment this is, i.e. what stretch of preceding text represents the immediately relevant context. Firbas, following up on the research of his disciple Aleš Svoboda (1981), relates it to so-called *retrievability span*, a stretch of text in which a piece of information remains retrievable (i.e. available to the reader as known information) (Firbas 1992: 23-31, 1995). Examining the phenomenon of retrievability span in an Old English homily, Svoboda identified the span to stretch over seven clauses (1981: 178). Thus if a phenomenon appears at a distance longer than seven clauses (with the reservation that the subject calls for further exploration), its retrievability is weakened and in consequence it is considered as a carrier of new information. In this connection, rather than clauses Firbas mentions *sentences*. The term 'sentence' refers to a simple sentence, complex sentence or an independent clause in a compound sentence. (Firbas 1994: 120). The number of seven sentences forming a retrievability span is, however, very tentative due to the fact that context is a graded phenomenon.

In the light of these observations, analyses upon which this study is based include the immediately relevant context among crucial factors that need to be taken in consideration when determining the degrees of CD in clause elements and consequently the sentence meaning in the act of communication.

Depending on to what extent context operates over a sentence, three instance levels have been identified (Firbas 1979):

A/ *the basic instance level* (all elements are context-independent and only semantics and linearity determine the information structure of a sentence)

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[16] In his earlier studies, Firbas refers to the concept of immediately relevant context as so-called 'narrow scene', see Firbas 1979:32, 1966: 246-7.

B/ *the ordinary instance level* (there are both context-dependent and context-independent elements and all three means of FSP are involved)

C/ *the second instance level* (all elements are context-dependent but one which is at the moment of utterance brought into distinct prominence and only the contextual factor asserts itself) (in Svoboda 1981: 4).

A vast majority of sentences operate at the ordinary instance level.

4.1.8.2   The concept of known information and its relation to FSP

The understanding of information structure of a sentence as inseparable from the immediately relevant communicative step implies that an element carrying what is generally considered as known information is not always context-dependent from the point of view of FSP as illustrated by examples 12 and 13 below:

(12)   Her sister didn't get anything. It was *she* who inherited all the money.

Although the character denoted by the personal pronoun '*she'* is obviously familiar to the reader / listener, by the interplay of factors it is brought to the fore as the informationally most prominent element.

(13)   Last night I saw *my brother* accompanied by a stranger.

Although it comprises the definite determiner *my*, the object phrase with its postmodification form the non-thematic part of the sentence in example 13.

4.1.9   FSP and Prague School Concepts of the Centre and Periphery

4.1.9.1   Introduction

With the arrival of Quantum Physics and its interpretations of Young's experiment (often referred to as Double-Slit Experiment) researchers working in all areas of scientific exploration became aware more acutely than ever before that the categories they worked with were mere constructs to enable a systematic description of complexities of the reality they encountered in their research fields and not the reality itself. Categories need to be considered with caution as viewing reality through their prism changes the picture of the reality we get.

In linguistic disciplines the clash between the multifariousness of language and (necessarily) simplified categories to capture it comes to the fore when categorising an observed phenomenon becomes extremely difficult and leads to indeterminacy as a result. In his notoriously known paper "On the potentiality of the phenomena in language" (1911, reprinted in *Praguiana* 1983) Mathesius identifies this indeterminacy (potentiality) in items from various levels of language description (cf. Dušková, 2006:3) and thus lays the groundwork for observations leading to the development of the Prague school concepts of centre and periphery in 1960s and dominating linguistic sciences in the 1960s and 1970s in general[17]. As for Prague school, the seminal text *Travaux linguistiques de Prague 2: les problèmes du centre et de la périférie du système de la langue* (1966) presents the centre-periphery theses in 26 various contributions.

At the core of the centre-periphery approach to categorisation of linguistic phenomena is the observation that some members of a category tally entirely with its criteria while others display only some of the features associated with that category. In other words, there are items prototypical, i.e. *central* and items that are on the transition from one category to another, i.e. *peripheral*. Categories are thus not to be considered as discrete boxes with clearly defined borderlines but rather as clines with clearly definable centres and fuzzy peripheries. These views are now generally accepted and reflected in many other theories, a comprehensive survey of which is presented in Enkvist's paper Centre and Periphery, Delicacy and Fuzz (1994). The Prototype theory (Eleanor Rosch, 1978) will be mentioned here which approaches categorization in lexical semantics by identifying the prototype of a lexeme and relating to it the less prototypical ones regarding the extent of their distance from it. CGEL's treatment of categories as gradients (cf. p. 90 for general thesis, pp. 167-171 for the presentation of the passive voice as a gradient) works along the same lines.

The criteria qualifying an item as central are as follows[18]:

1. high degree of its integration into the system

2. high degree of functional load

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[17] In the overview of the centre-periphery approach to linguistic description I draw mainly on two papers, viz. Dušková (2006) and Enkvist (1994).

[18] First two criteria were established by Vachek 1964: 9-21, the third was added by Daneš 1966 in the opening article to the above mentioned second volume of *Travaux linguistiques de Prague*, I drew on the overview in Dušková 2006)

3. high frequency of occurrence

4.1.9.2   Periphery – Indeterminacy Relation

Indeterminacy of an item as for its membership in a category, i.e. *potentiality* (it can potentially belong to two or more different categories), alone does not qualify an item as peripheral and vice versa; a peripheral element need not be assignable to more than one categories. Examples demonstrating the point are adduced by Dušková (2006: 3-4), quoting Vachek and Quirk respectively. First, the phoneme /h/ although ascertained as peripheral in the ModE phonological system as "it lacks a voiced counterpart and its position is greatly limited in that it occurs only before vowels" Dušková (2006: 3) is unambiguous as for its status of voiceless, glottal, fricative phoneme. Second, word-formative (lexical) morphemes are sometimes difficult to assign either as free or bound and thus the resulting structure involving them is indeterminate between affixation and compounding. Morphemes in question (e.g. *–in*, *-like*) are, however, fully integrated, functionally loaded and frequently occurring units and thus not peripheral. The former involves an item which is peripheral but unambiguous regarding categorization, the latter involves central items but indeterminate regarding the category they pertain to.

4.1.9.3   Centre/Periphery – Markedness Relation

Enkvist (1994) makes a noteworthy point in relating markedness to the centre/periphery concept. The term 'marked' is used here as the opposite of 'neutral' and it denotes such items (lexical, syntactical, etc.) that are a combination or one of the following: a) statistically infrequent, b) used in a small number of textual or situational contexts, c) identified by a set of informants as 'less normal', 'less natural' as their neutral (unmarked) counterparts (cf. p. 46). The main line of reasoning is that markedness of an item/structure needs to be thought in dependence on context in which the item/structure is employed. Thus a syntactic structure in isolation may be identified as marked while in context it is perceived as neutral. To illustrate this point, Enkvist adduces examples of clauses with preposed locative adverbials which in their respective contexts represent a common choice as regards syntactic structuring unlike when considered in isolation, cf. p. 47:

Behind the altar is the tomb of Bishop X

Into a well-greased frying pan put two eggs

Respectively in tourist guides and in cooking books (instructive texts in general) the two patterns above are commonly found because they function more effectively: specifically, the tourist needs to be first instructed where to go, the person making use of the recipe first needs to take a pan before putting eggs into it. Enkvist refers to the motivating force of such syntactic ordering as to motivation "on grounds of experiential iconicity" (1994: 46) and to this kind of the choices a speaker/writer makes as to "strategic markedness" (1994:47) In the light of FSP, the communicative efficiency of the clauses adduced above is enhanced by the basic distribution of communicative dynamism with the communicatively most significant elements placed towards the end of the clause.

Returning back to the centre/periphery question, the following extract aptly encapsulates the relation between the. centre/periphery and markedness:

> "…*a speaker or writer is apt to choose items and structures from the centre, or from close to the prototype, unless he has reasons to do otherwise. We might hypothesize that the farther away we go from the centre or the prototype, the stronger must be our reason to conform to the requirements of text type and situation. Maximal context adaptation, and hence minimal contextual markedness, becomes more important than minimal markedness in decontextualized isolation.*" (1994:47)

4.1.9.4   Centre/Periphery Challenges Today

Enkvist's remark that "discourse is produced by the sociobiological apparatus of human beings, not by machines" (1994: 48) is in tune with the departure from strict categorization in nowadays linguistic descriptions and with the conceptions of scalar rather than either-or characterization of phenomena. This, nevertheless, does not diminish the importance of categories as such, cf. František Daneš in the above mentioned *Travaux 2*, "Our conception does not, of course, deny the existence of classes or categories, but at the same time it does not force us into unambiguous decisions in those cases where the decision has not been made by the language (to paraphrase a truthful dictum of A. Martinet)." (1966: 11)

With the development of computer technologies, however, based on binary notation where meaning is expressed by sequences of the digits 0 and 1, the reduction of 'free variation' (as

Enkvist puts it, 1994: 48) is desirable yet again and linguists participating in the development of automated language processing need to face the challenge of reconciling the scalar nature of linguistic phenomena and the demands of either-or relation based computer systems[19]. In this respect Lotfi A. Zadeh's Fuzzy-set theory brought to attention by Enkvist (1994: 54) seems highly relevant. Here the classical set-theory, where membership in a set is marked as either 0 (not a member) or 1 (a unit is placed within the centre of a set), is complemented by value 0,5 which places a unit "halfway between the centre and the peripheric border of the set" (ibid). First attempts at creating computer tools to enable automated information structure search in electronic corpora commence with manual FSP functions tagging[20]. It would be interesting to test whether the potentiality, for example in semantic interpretation of the verb (i.e. in cases when it can be interpreted as a presentative verb while its qualitative meaning cannot be ruled out) could be captured by the value 0,5 when translating the analysis into a computer programme.

I confer the final chapter for an outline of the prospective research in the area of FSP potential as regards computerised (automated) language processing.

4.1.9.5   Potentiality in FSP

On the FSP level of language description, potentiality (termed by Firbas as *multifunctionality*), attested by Firbas and further explicated by Dušková (2006), arises due to the following (so far ascertained) factors: a) indeterminacy in the semantic classification of the verb, b) the graded nature of givenness, c) the length of retrievability span. The first and second factors appear the most relevant with the respect to this study. Examples 77 and 78 below display verbs indeterminate as regards their semantic load, i.e. whether they have presentative or qualitative meaning. If the verbs '*gather*' and '*mingle*' are interpreted as verbs of existence/appearance, the respective clauses are perspectived towards their context-independent subjects, viz. '*the scribes and elders*' and '*the smell of leaves and wet black earth*' respectively. The qualitative meaning of '*gathering*' and '*mingling*' cannot be ruled

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[19] David Crystal (2011) writes insightfully about some of the challenges in *Internet Linguistic: A Student Guide.*
[20] This challenging project was taken on by Brno linguists, cf. *ESSE 2014 Conference Book of Abstracts*, Košice: The Slovak Association for the Study of English, 100-101. There has been a longstanding project in Prague, viz. Prague Dependency Treebank involving Topic-Focus Articulation tagging applied to texts in Czech.

out, however, in which case the clauses are perspectived towards the information conveyed by the verbs which outweigh the subjects in the degree of CD[21].

(14) […; but those who had seized Jesus took him away to the house of Caiaphas the high priest,] where the scribes and elders had gathered. (Firbas 1992: 109)

(15) [The breeze of morning lifted in the bush] and the smell of leaves and wet black earth mingled with sharp smell of the sea. (ibid.)

With regard to the graded nature of givenness, the indeterminate status of final adverbials gives rise to indeterminacy in information structure attested in the corpus. In the following example the final adverbial can be regarded either as context-independent and thus rhematic or context-dependent featuring the notions of '*chin*' and '*throat*' as derived from the concept of '*face*' mentioned in the preceding clause, cf.

(16) [Kuroda's face, which had been quite round before the war, had hollowed out around the cheekbones,] and what looked like heavy lines had appeared towards the chin and the throat. (KI78)

The interpretation of the information structure of the underlined clause in 79 above is thus twofold: the former case involves the Presentation Scale with the subject as the carrier of the highest degree of CD and the adverbial performing the dynamic-semantic function of a scene, in the latter we have to do with the Quality Scale where the final adverbial carries the informational peak of the clause.

4.1.10 Summary: Focus on the Features Unique to FSP

From what has been presented above, the summary highlights the unique features of FSP in comparison to other influential information structure theories. First, it is the introduction of **transition** as one of the constituents of information structure which is of paramount importance as it integrates the central role of the verb into information structure analysis. Second, the introduction of the **dynamic semantic scales** reflects the centrality of the verb on the semantic level of analysis. Despite the fact that the central role of the verb in the language system is widely acknowledged, neither of the two features (transition or the dynamic semantic scales) has been systematically incorporated into major information structure

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[21] For a more detailed analysis of the two examples, see Firbas 1992: 108-110.

theories. Third, the introduction of the **immediately relevant context** concept and thus the substantial narrow-down of the contextual influence on the information structure of a sentence is another unique feature of the FSP theory. It mirrors the dynamic, pulsating nature of communication where, as it proceeds, the centres of attention constantly change and the relevance of contextual features along with it. Fourth, the reliance on the **interplay** of the four aforementioned factors instead of stressing one on account of the others (as in CGEL or Halliday's approach, cf. sections 2.2. and 2.3. above) renders the analysis applicable to many, if not all, Indo-European languages[22] as it is precisely those factors that constitute an indispensable part of every communication regardless what language is employed.

4.2 FSP and CGEL

In CGEL (Quirk et al. 1985) the information structure theory is treated in three sections, viz. section 18, 'Theme, focus and information processing' (1355-1419), section 19, 'From sentence to text' (1423-1514), and Appendix II, 'Stress, rhythm, and intonation' (1588-1608). For this part of the study mainly the section 18 is relevant, references to Appendix II are made where of importance.

4.2.1   The basic constituents of information structure

4.2.1.1   Tone unit

We shall begin by looking at the way the basic constituents of the information structure are defined. In CGEL it is the *tone unit* that constitutes the basic stretch of language where the information structure asserts itself. It is a segment in a sentence which is viewed as a message and whose material is parted into "effective prosodic units". Ordering of these units is motivated by attaining the desired communicative result (Quirk et al. 1985: 1355). A tone unit is defined as "a sequence of stressed and unstressed syllables, in a broadly rhythmic alternation, and with each unit containing at least one syllable marked for pitched prominence. The peak of greatest prominence is called the NUCLEUS of the tone unit" (Quirk et al. 1985: 1598). A tone unit is commensurate with an *information unit* where the nucleus highlights the element conveying most information (Quirk et al. 1985: 1356); there is "one-to-one correspondence between tone unit and information unit" (Quirk et al. 1985: 1357).

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[22] The FSP theory has been proved reliable in analyzing information structure in Norwegian texts, for example, see Dubec, P. (forthcoming) *Syntactic and FSP Aspects of the Existential Construction in Norwegian*, 2014.

The segment is estimated to have between 1 and 7 words, cf. "In a corpus of speech[23], it has been found that 80 per cent of all tone units had between one and seven words, with a median of five words" (Quirk et al. 1985: 1360n.)

For our further discussion, the composition of a tone unit from the prosodic point of view is relevant (viz. the discussion of so-called *onset themes* in 2.2.1.2.2 below): "The first prominent syllable in a tone unit is the ONSET and it is commonly preceded by one or more syllables which are unstressed and pronounced on a low pitch." (Quirk et al. 1985: 1599).

An *information unit* is treated as an autonomous field with its own structure (as shown by examples 17 – 20 and 24 – 29 below), cf. "[…] although an information unit highlights one item, this does not mean that the rest of the unit is devoid of information. […] the communicative dynamism can range from very low (corresponding to weak stress) through medium (corresponding to nonnuclear stress) to very strong stress (corresponding to intonation nucleus) [.…]." (Quirk et al. 1985: 1356) On the face of it, the *information unit* seems analogical with the *communicative unit* in FSP. They are both primary components of a clause construed as a message. Nevertheless, they differ in how they are motivated. While the delimitation of the intonation unit is motivated by prosody, it is syntax that underlies the definition of the communicative unit. Moreover, in FSP, a communicative unit is consistently considered within the perspective of the *basic distributional field*, i.e. "a field within which the degrees of CD are distributed" (Firbas 1992: 15), and though displaying a further analysable information structure, the hierarchy of structuring is firmly established and is indeed the core of FSP analysis.

The different definitions of the field where information structuring takes place, i.e. an intonation phrase (CGEL) and a clause (FSP), and thus different understanding of how intonation asserts itself in information processing, i.e. as a primary premise in CGEL and as one of four factors in interaction (FSP), give rise to differences in the information structure assessment.

In the sections to follow, chapters in CGEL focusing on information structure will be discussed in the following way: those chapters adducing information structure differing from

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[23] The corpus of the Survey of English Usage (SEU), see Quirk et al. section 1.42, p. 33).

FSP analysis are commented upon in the same order in which they are presented in CGEL. The examples which authors of CGEL adduce to illustrate the information structure phenomena (i.e. intonation unit, on-set theme, focus, divided focus, etc.) are first commented from their viewpoint and then analysed using FSP.

In the CGEL approach, an information unit/tone unit can be syntactically also realised by a sentence, but "far more commonly, the tone unit corresponds to a grammatical unit within a sentence." (Quirk et al. 1985: 1357) Quirk et al. list 6 examples of such grammatical units (Quirk et al. 1985: 1358 a – f). As our primary interest rests in those procedures of assessing an information structure that yield differing results, mainly such instances are listed and commented upon below.

The prosodic representation has been reproduced after CGEL: the element carrying the nucleus is CAPITALIZED, the bold vertical line (|) represents the terminal boundary of a tone unit, the thin vertical line (|) marks the position of the onset, and the punctuation denotes various types of tones, namely the falling tone (ˋ), the rising tone (ˊ), fall-rise (ˇ). (Quirk et al. 1985: 1598-1600) Moreover, a high vertical stroke is used to mark stress (ˈ). (Quirk et al. 1985: 1588)

Under (a) comes an instance of an initially placed optional adjunct other than closed-class items and it is contrasted to a sentence with a closed-class item adjunct in the initial position, see examples 17 and 18 respectively:

(17)　|After my ÍLLness| I |went to FRÀNCE|

(18)　|Then I went to FRÀNCE|

Example17 thus displays two information units with their respective rhemes '*illness*' and '*France*'.
In the FSP approach both sentences function as basic distributional fields where the interplay of three factors, the contextual factor, the semantic factor and linear modification, bring the rheme to the fore. In both examples above it is the finally placed adverbial while the initially placed adverbials are thematic and serve as settings: "Provided only the pronominal subjects convey context-dependent information, the initial adverbials serve as settings and the final adverbials as specifications." (Firbas 1992: 54) In both sentences the adverbial is less established than the subject and thus the diathematic function is assigned to them, cf.

After my illness (DTh) I (ThPr) went (Tr) to France (Rh) vs.

Then (DTh) I (ThPr) went (Tr) to France (Rh).

Intonation as the fourth factor asserting itself in the spoken language may single out any element as rhematic under certain contextual conditions, for example the speaker contrasting 'illness' to another entity.

Under (b), a disjunct or conjunct (sentence adverb in Firbas's terminology) placed initially or finally functions as a separate information unit, especially when it is realised by a polysyllabic item:

(19) |FRÀNKly| it has been dis|GRÀCEful|

(20) It was dis|GRÀCEful| |FRÁNKly|

Both sentences above are thus perceived as comprising two information units each with an intonation nucleus and thus indicating two rhemes, '*frankly*' and '*disgraceful*'. The FSP analysis yields the same result: the initially/finally placed sentence adverb is regarded as a constituent of a separate distributional field which is reflected in punctuation by a separating comma and in intonation by a complete intonation contour, its FSP role is that of the telescoped transition and the rheme (see footnote 14 above). The subject complement '*disgraceful*' having no successful competitors constitutes the rheme of the other distributional field.

Sentence adverbs represent an interesting area in information structure analysis as will be shown in further chapters featuring Hallidayan and other approaches. The difference here does not rest in the divergence in the FSP analysis of examples 19 and 20 above, but in how the communicative role of sentence adverbials is understood overall. In the FSP approach, in dependence on the context, the semantic characteristics of the adverbial, and its position, a sentence adverb can perform one of two communicative dynamic functions, viz. specification (in cases of absence of competitors) and the TrPro function. The latter is realised by those sentence adverbs that "normally stand between the subject and the notional component of the verb." (Firbas 1992: 77-78) These are recognized as elements closely related to the "modal indication conveyed by the TMEs" together with which they "enter into the development of

the communication after the foundation (theme) has been laid. They are then regarded as TrPro, and can retain this status irrespective of sentence position." (Firbas 1992: 78) See Firbas's examples below (ibid.):

(21)   He will naturally be surprised.

(22)   Naturally, he will be surprised.

(23)   He will be surprised, naturally.

Examples 21, 22, and 23 illustrating the TrPro function of sentence adverbs are of great importance for the later comparisons of how these elements are treated in the other approaches to information structure. It is often sentence adverbs that cause confusion as regards their place in the structure.

Under (c), a vocative is discussed as a grammatical unit that under certain conditions functions as a separate tone/information unit. The conditions are twofold: it is either a question of word order; an initially placed vocative forms a separate tone unit, or it is a question of intonational prominence for "politeness or to single out the addressee more specifically" (Quirk et al. 1985: 1358) which thus brings the finally placed vocative to the fore. The latter case is contrasted to the vocative occurring finally which does not form a separate tone unit, see examples 24, 25, and 26 respectively:

(24) |DOCtor| I'm |very ANXious|

(25)   I'm |much BETter| |DOCtor|

(26)   Are you |all RIGHT 'John|

In the system of FSP treatment, the intonational prominence is a feature that disambiguates potential cases in the spoken language, one of which is illustrated by examples 25 and 26 above. The vocative is either strongly accented and forms a separate distributional field (as in example 25) or it is not a carrier of prosodic prominence and is thus an integrated part of the distributional field realised by the adjacent sentence (as in example 26). The former illustrates the fact that vocative unlike other grammatical cases does not express intrasentential relations as it is not integrated into the sentence structure (Dušková, 1994: 98). Resembling a sentential unit on its own, it forms a separate distributional field. In example 25 above the structure

comprises two rhemes '*better*' and '*doctor*', each included in a separate distributional field. The latter is illustrated by example 26 where the vocative is regarded as a theme proper oriented element (ThPro) in the thematic section of the distributional field (see Firbas's textual analysis in 1992:159, 161). The subject of the sentence ('*you*') having the same referent as the adjacent vocative performs the FSP role of theme proper while the vocative ('*John*') points forward to it in the flow of communication.

In the CGEL approach, here the vocative '*John*' is in the focus section of the information structure while in the FSP approach it is thematic.

Under (d), a heavy subject (i.e. consisting of more elements) is mentioned as a grammatical unit coextensive with an information unit. It is exemplified by a pseudo-cleft sentence and a sentence with the subject realised by a long noun phrase. Each of the example sentences below contains two nuclei and thus by definition two information foci (rhemes), '*want*' and '*rain*' in example 27, '*door*' and '*John*' in example 28:

(27) |What we WÁNT | is |plenty of RÀIN|

(28) The |tall 'lady by the DÒOR||spoke to JÓHN|

In FSP analysis, the pseudo-cleft sentence corresponds to a basic distributional field comprising two communicative subfields realised by the individual clauses, which have the FSP structure on their own (Dušková 1999b: 319). Thus the rheme '*want*' represents a second rank rheme within a larger structure of the basic distributional field which in this case displays the basic distribution of communicative dynamism: initial theme followed by the transition, and the rheme in the final position, viz. What we want (Th) – is (Tr) – plenty of rain (Rh).

Sentence 28 with the subject realised by a long noun phrase also displays a different FSP structure in the CGEL treatment, the subject realised by a noun phrase forms one communicative unit functioning as the theme in the basic distributional field (the clause). viz. The tall lady by the door (Th) – spoke to (Tr) –John (Rh). As a component of the postmodifying phrase, the element '*door*' is then considered communicatively most dynamic part of the theme, i.e. diatheme. The sentence displays the basic distribution of communicative dynamism.

Under (e), a fronted object or complement is described as a grammatical unit functioning as a separate information unit. The exemplification below thus displays two information units with their respective foci '*writing*' and '*unintelligible*':

(29) Her|WRĬTing| I |find uninTĚLligible|

Looking at the sentence from the FSP viewpoint, the whole functions as one distributional field with one rheme. To assess the information structure, the immediately preceding context needs to be considered. As it is not adduced, we need to speculate about the context-dependence of '*writing*'. Providing that '*unintelligible*' is the only context-independent element, the following FSP structure applies: Her writing (DTh) – I (Th) – find (Tr) – unintelligible (Rh). Fronting makes the element the most prominent part of the thematic section and renders it diathematic.

Regarding the intonation factor, the same applies as in the commentary on the example with an initially placed adjunct realised by an open-class lexical item (ex. 17 above). The lexical unit '*writing*' carries a contrastive stress as in the following context: It is not her pronunciation that I do not understand. Her WRITING I find unintelligible, cf. Her writing (Rh) I find (Tr) unintelligible (Th).

4.2.1.2 Theme

In CGEL the role of theme in information structuring is articulated in the following lines, "Theme is the name we give to the initial part of any structure when we consider it from an informational point of view." (Quirk et al. 1985: 1361) It is specified by the following stipulation: "[…] theme and focus are linguistically defined, in terms of their position and prosody respectively." (1362) This view though shared by Halliday (1994) is opposed by linguists like Chafe (1994), Huddleston (2002) or Fries (1995). Despite observations like "[…] a number of articles have devoted considerable space to demonstrating that what occurs first in clauses is often not the topic" (Fries 1995: 318), numerous recent studies are based on this premise, as shown, for example, in the book of abstracts of the last European Conference on Systemic Functional Linguistics, Coventry 2013.

In Firbas's interpretation the theme is defined as that part of information structure which carries the least informational load and thus contributes less to the further development of communication than the non-thematic parts of the structure (Firbas 1992: 6). Items composing the theme of a clause are ascribed their thematic function by the interplay of the contextual, linear, semantic, and (in spoken texts) intonation factors. The two approaches thus differ in their view of the theme in two major points, viz. the role of sentence position and the role of intonation in assessing the thematic character of an item in a clause. The theme in FSP is not bound to a sentence position and the intonation no more than joins the non-prosodic means of indicating information structure, i.e. it is not an independent factor. In CGEL and Halliday's theories it is these two points that are perceived by Firbas as problematic, cf. "As I see it, the difficulty of establishing a topic/comment contrast will certainly arise if topic and comment are interpreted as communicative roles in the orientation (FSP) of the sentence and at the same time invariably linked with sentence positions." (Firbas 1992: 127)

4.2.1.2.1 Marked Theme

The differences between the two approaches in assessing a theme/ focus segment of an information structure of a sentence are most manifest in the concepts of "marked theme" (Quirk et al. 1985: 1375-1377). A good illustration is provided by example 30 below (in CGEL adduced on p. 1375), cf.

(30) (Who gave you that magazine?) |BÌLL gave it to me|

The criterion of position assigns to the subject '*Bill*' the function of the theme. At the same time the intonation nucleus renders it rhematic. This conflict is explained by coincidence of the two functions, cf. "The two communicatively significant parts of an information unit, the theme and the focus, are typically as distinct as they can be […] Yet the two can coincide; for instance when as marked focus, the nucleus falls on the subject of a statement". (Quirk et al. 1985: 1375) The subject is assigned the function of a marked theme and at the same time the function of a *marked focus* (ibid.). Apart from the occurrence of prosodic prominence carried by an element in the preverbal position, markedness is also recognised on the basis of

fronting, cf. "the term [marked theme] will be used for any such fronted item whether or not it carries (as such items commonly do) a marked focus" (Quirk et al. 1985: 1376)[24]

In FSP analysis where the interplay of four factors applies, the subject '*Bill*' is assigned rhematic function as the only item irretrievable from the immediately relevant verbal context. Bearing the hierarchy of factors in mind, the information structure of the sentence above is straightforward, cf.

Who gave you that magazine? Bill (Rh) gave (Tr) it to me (Th).

4.2.1.2.2   On-set Theme

The treatment of the so-called 'onset themes' (Quirk et al. 1985: 1362-1363) reveals another incongruence between the two approaches. An onset theme is defined as "significant enough to be given prominence at the tone unit's 'onset'" (Quirk et al. 1985: 1363). The adduced examples concern onset themes realised by initial parts of commands and questions, linking adverbs and initially placed conjunctions. All of the examples involve an activity of studying instructions and the object phrase '*instructions*' is understood as carrying the intonation nucleus. The disagreement in assessing the information structure concerns cases involving linking adverbs and conjunctions, cf.

(31)   *Yet* **she studied the instructions.**

(32)   **. ..** *although* **she studied the instructions.**

In FSP, both the conjunction and linking adverb are understood as being strongly associated with the modal indication expressed by the TMEs (Firbas 1992: 78, 93). Together with the TMEs they form a link between the thematic and rhematic parts of the information structure. They are thus within the non-thematic part of the interpretative arrangement of the sentence.

On-set themes in questions and commands interestingly correspond to what Firbas classifies as focus anticipator. It is an item that points forward to (anticipates) the focus (rheme) in the information structure of a question or a command. In Firbas's theory, it is present in sentences performing the communicative function of question, command, and negation. A question

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[24] The commented example of fronting follows, "A: Are you going to invite John?   B: Oh John I've already invited.

focus anticipator (QFocA) is explicated as follows: "it performs a thematic function, but simultaneously its interrogativity feature perspectives it towards TrPr, and its capacity as a FocA perspectives it towards RhPr, inducing it to perform a rhematic function." (101)

In examples 33 – 36 below the on-set themes realised by the *wh*-word, by the auxiliary verb, and by the imperative verbs, respectively, function as focus anticipators (FocA) in their respective distributional fields, their complex FSP function is reflected in the prosodic prominence of the onset stress.

(33)   *What* **is she studying?**

(34)   *Is* **she studying the instructions?**

(35)   *Study* **the instructions!**

(36)   *Let's* **study the instructions!**

4.2.1.3   (Marked) Focus

The concept of focus in CGEL is defined in terms of new information, prosodic prominence and the end-position (end-focus). Considerable space is devoted to the discussion of the so-called marked focus, defined as being positioned elsewhere than in its expected position, usually for the purpose of contrast or correction (Quirk et al. 1985: 1365, 1368), cf.

(37)   I am |painting my 'living room 'BLUE|

(38)   I am |painting MY̌ 'living room 'blue| (the focus is moved from its predictable position)

In FSP, sentence 38 above is an example of a *second instance* identified as a case in which all elements are context-dependent (the sentence is a repetition of what has been said earlier), but an element is singled out to fulfil a communicative purpose "linked with a piece of information not present in the immediately retrievable context." (Firbas 1995: 22) There are several types of such information, in addition to 'contrast' and 'correction' the set is expanded by 'selection', 'identification', 'purposeful repetition', and 'the summarizing effect' (ibid.).

Regarding the comparison of the two approaches, an interesting discussion appears in section 18.13 in CGEL which considers a type of circumstance leading to violation of the end-focus principle in that a noun phrase realizing a subject of a clause carries the intonation nucleus

(Quirk et al. 1985: 1366). Examples 39 – 42 below are described as comprising a relatively predictable predicate which thus has a lower CD than the subject concerned; cf. "the predicate denotes typically a very general or commonly associated activity" (Quirk et al. 1985: 1367).

(39) The |TÈLephone's 'ringing|

(40) The |SÙN is 'shining|

(41) The |KÈTtle's 'boiling|

(42) A |VÌSitor called|

Along similar lines, out of verbs of appearance/existence on the scene Firbas singles out a special subset of verbs and verbal phrases which "display semantic affinity with their subjects." […] "Through this affinity the verb prepares the way for the phenomenon to be presented." (Firbas 1992: 60-61). The 'phenomenon to be presented' is realised by the subject, which in this circumstance is a successful competitor of the verb and thus rhematic. The area under discussion is explored by Adam (2013).

4.2.1.3.1 Divided Focus

The category of divided focus presents an area where the two approaches yield markedly different assessments of information structure. It is defined as an information unit comprising two items carrying an intonation nucleus; in British English typically associated with the fall-plus-rise intonation pattern (Quirk et al. 1985: 1372). "The item carrying the rise is made subsidiary to the other focused item, accepts that it represents information that is to some extent 'given'" (Quirk et al. 1985: 1373).

The suggested contextual conditions, in which examples 43, 44, and 45 below appear, stipulate the notion of 'cleverness' and 'English poets' respectively as topics of immediately preceding conversations. In example 43 it is implied "that the question of his cleverness has already been raised," (Quirk et al. 1985: 1373) and that semantically the statement is "grudging and disparaging, calling in question the estimate of cleverness" (ibid.) Divided focus is thus related here to emotional colouring, cf.

(43) (Alec is clever, isn't he?) He's |FÀIRly CLÉver|

Emotional colouring is, not, however, necessarily the condition underlying the divided focus. The next example is suggested to appear in two possible contexts. In ex. 44 the rising nucleus on 'poet' "acts merely as confirmatory of 'given' status" (Quirk et al. 1985: 1373). The second contextual situation (example 45) implies a corrective or contrastive semantic feature singling out the subject noun phrase for the rheme of the interpretative arrangement, cf.

(44) (Who's your favourite English poet?)
      |William WÒRDSworth is my 'favourite 'English PÓet|
(45) (I understand that John Keats is your favourite English poet)
      |William WÒRDSworth is my 'favourite 'English PÓet|

In FSP in all three examples (43, 44, 45) the counterpart to the element carrying the rise tone is not rhematic and in this it differs from CGEL's assessment of information structure, (which assigns the element the status of focus).

In FSP the contextual conditions mentioned above clearly assign to the elements carrying the rising nucleus ('*clever*' and '*poet*' respectively) a low degree of communicative dynamism. They are retrievable from the immediately relevant context which renders them thematic as unsuccessful competitors of the verb. Unlike in CGEL approach, they are not considered components in the focus section of the information structure. The CGEL commentary to example 43 above is, moreover, in harmony with Firbas's assertion that although intonation as a participant in the interplay of FSP factors cannot operate independently of the non-prosodic factors, it can disambiguate this interplay or affect it in a significant way and thus create additional degrees of CD (Firbas 1992: 148). The rising tone intensifies the otherwise low degree of CD and renders the element diathematic. Along similar lines Svoboda maintains, "The reason why communicative prominence and prosodic prominence do not go hand in hand is seen in the fact that in case the other three FSP factors signal the communicative prominence sufficiently, the prosodic features are free to convey other (e.g. attitudinal) meanings" (Svoboda 2005: 219).

It is perhaps not out of place to recall the fundamental premise defining the theme in the CGEL approach which is the initial position together with the prosodic contrast between the focus carrying the intonation nucleus and theme being prosodically subdued. It will be clear

from the preceding paragraphs that the coincidence of the two criteria is not often the case and that insisting on these obscures the straightforwardness of the information structure analysis.

4.2.2   Communicative dynamism

Both FSP and the CGEL approaches work with the term '*communicative dynamism*'. In CGEL it is viewed as information processing concurrent with the principle of end-focus (Quirk et al. 1985: 1356-1357).

4.2.3   Given and new information

CGEL's account of features characterizing given and new information and elements carrying it is given in section 18.8 (pp. 1360-1361). Due to the nature of a comprehensive grammar book only the basic description of the phenomenon of givenness is presented. The basic premise that a message usually has a starting point shared by both interlocutors (given information) and the actual point of the message (new information) is demonstrated on an example of a potential answer to the following question

(46)   When shall we know what Mary is going to do?
      We'll know *next week*.

The italicized portion is the point of the message, the new information, while the unitalicized portion is assessed as "entirely given" (1360). Another potential answer to the question above illustrates degrees of givenness, cf.

(47)   She will decide *next week*.

Compared to '*we*' and '*know*', the elements '*she*' and '*decide*' display increased communicative dynamism. The unitalicized part of the answer serves nevertheless "as the necessary background and by contrast with the 'new' information it is relatively 'given'." (Quirk et al. 1985: 1360)

The short section is completed with notes [a] where the concept of semi-given information is introduced (elaborated in section on intonation, App II.15) and [b] where the notion of givenness is linked to the pole of least communicative dynamism and the notion of newness to

the pole of most communicative dynamism, one isolating another. The semi-given information is exemplified by tone units containing two nuclei (as in cleft sentences, for example). These are realised by a fall-plus-rise complex where the fall indicates the so called *marked focus* (see 2.2.1.3) and the rise indicates an element informationally relatively subordinate (1601). It is this element that is the carrier of semi-given information as in the example adduced below (in CGEL p. 1360, Note [a]) "where Fred is assumed to be present, although he has not been actually mentioned", cf. ex. 48

(48) Pass me my CÒAT, FRÉD.

The discreteness of given and new is discussed in example 46 below.

(49) Joan finds seafood indigestible. (1361, Note [b])

The element *seafood* is perceived as intermediate between the given information (*Joan*) and new information (*indigestible*). Variations of preceding context are deliberated in dependence on which the element is nearer the given pole or the new pole.

What we have seen in exx. 47-49 are observations about the graded nature of context and hence the graded nature of context dependence[25]. In Firbas's approach givenness is recognized in relation to the "immediately relevant communicative step" (Firbas 1992: 22). It follows that the theme can be constituted not only by carriers of given information, but also by carriers of new information, or it can be heterogeneous (which is most often the case). In FSP two types of known information are recognized: information that may be shared by the participants in communication but at the same time must be considered unknown in regard to the immediately relevant communicative step and information that is shared by the participants in communication and is also retrievable from the context in regard to the immediately relevant communicative step (ibid.). Only the latter case gives rise to theme while elements conveying the former type of information are considered non-thematic. Thus the concept of given information is narrowed to its retrievability from the immediately relevant verbal or situational context, the retrievability span in written texts being estimated at

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[25] Dušková, personal conversation.

about 7 sentences (Firbas 1995: 18), though this is an estimation which still calls for detailed investigation.

In this view, the information structure of a sentence is assessed in relation to its position in the flow of communication at the very moment it is produced. Hence the Czech *aktuální* in Mathesius's term *aktuální členění větné* (division actuelle de la phrase, aktuelle Satzgliederung), where *aktuální* means 'being of immediate interest or concern' (Firbas 1992: 22).

4.2.4   Word order. Fronting

The CGEL comprehension of how word order is related to information structuring is further described in the chapter called Grammatical Aspects (Quirk et al. 1985: 1377-1388) where variations of word order configurations are discussed. Here the main underlying principle is sought is the achievement of end-focus. However, this is not always the case as can be illustrated by some examples of fronting (Quirk et al. 1985: 1377), cf.

(50) |WÌLson his NÁME is|

(51) |Really 'good MÈALS they 'serve at that hoTÉL|

Examples 50 and 51 above are analysed as structures with marked themes ('*Wilson*', '*really good meals*'), each constituted by an item moved into initial position "which is otherwise unusual there" (ibid.) Apart from having "a distinctly informal flavour" (ibid), the items are acknowledged as not contextually given.

In FSP the noun phrases '*Wilson*' and '*really good meals*' as the only context-independent elements realise the rhemes in the structures above. Rhematicity is also underlined by the focalizer '*really*' in example 51 above. By such linear organization emotional quality of the utterances is achieved. (cf. "emotive word order" in Firbas 1992: 125).

4.2.5   Summary and Discussion

While in CGEL the basic stretch of language where information structure asserts itself is the tone unit, its intonation nucleus signalling the element carrying the weightiest information, in FSP it is the clause whose syntactic relations form an indispensable part of the analysis.

Whereas the rules related to the basic distributional field in FSP are rather straightforward, those related to intonation/information units are of heterogeneous nature combining aspects related to lexis, prosody, syntax and contextual conditions in an inconsistent way, cf. "no rigid rule can be made about the relation of grammatical to tone units or about the precise points at which tone units will form their divisions. Since tone units constitute information units, they are by their very nature variable stretches of language readily adjustable to the demands of emphasis, grammatical complexity, speed of utterance, and other factors." (Quirk et al. 1985: 1359). The CGEL examples of intonation units quoted above demonstrate how sentence elements are occasionally treated in isolation and disregard their grammatical and semantic bonding to the other elements, cf. the treatment of the pseudo-cleft sentence above (example 27) or the example comprising the heavy subject (28). Furthermore by assigning a separate information unit status to initially placed adjuncts (if other than a closed-class item) and other initially placed elements, in my view, a curious clash in information structure of a clause occurs: as a tone/information unit it has the informational prominence on the element carrying the intonational nucleus (see '*illness*' in ex.17 with an initially placed adjunct) while at the same time it is maintained that a sentence construed as a message has its theme placed initially as a starting point from which the message takes off.

As far as the categories of theme and focus are concerned, we have seen that even if the two approaches work with the same factors involving context, semantics, linearity, and intonation, only the FSP theory considers the four factors consistently, each of them firmly established in the framework of analysis. At this point it is worth quoting Firbas's description of the method of FSP analysis regarding questions as it applies in general, and the term '*question*' in the following quote may as well be substituted by a broader term 'sentence', cf. "First the relationship of the question to the immediately relevant context is examined and the context-dependent elements are established. Then the operation of linear modification and semantics within context-independent section of the question is analysed and the relationship between the context-independent elements assessed. In doing so, it is convenient to start by asking whether the question contains any successful competitors of the verb." (Firbas 1992: 100)

A rigid definition of the theme in dependence on the initial position in a sentence gives rise to problems in understanding information structure in sentences where the subject is clearly the communicative goal as we have seen above. The CGEL approach resolves the problems by ascribing such subjects marked quality (marked theme). Assigning the thematic role to the

element carrying the highest degree of CD, however, neutralizes the distinction between the categories of theme and rheme. As for markedness, Firbas on the other hand holds that "the initial position of the rhematic subject in the present-day English sentences is unmarked […]. This is because it is in agreement with the principle dominant in present-day English word-order – the principle of grammatical function." (Firbas 1992: 131)

The verb as the central point in a sentence has no special place in the CGEL approach to information structure. The missing category of transition gives rise to difficulties not only in understanding how conjuncts, disjuncts and subjuncts contribute to the development of communication as we have seen above, but also in aligning our intuition about information processing with a consistent theoretical basis. Firbas's assumptions reflect a kind of ontological judgement we make about how a sentence functions in the flow of communication: the core of a message needs to be linked to the foundation of a message so that a communicative goal of a sentence can take place.

The account of how given and new information is treated within the frameworks of the two approaches suggests similarities and/or differences in three areas, viz. the link between the item expressing known information and the theme, the transition between the theme and the rheme, and finally the issue of degrees of communicative dynamism.

First, in CGEL's brief explanation, the given information is related exclusively to the function of providing an introduction to the actual point of the message (theme) while new information to the point of the message (rheme in FSP, focus in CGEL). The given – thematic and the new – rhematic linkage, however, does not allow a reliable interpretation of the information structure in sentences where all the items carry unknown information as in the presentation sentence adduced above, viz. *A visitor called*, or conversely, in sentences where the rheme is expressed by an item carrying known information (as in example 52 below).

(52)   I saw your father yesterday. (borrowed example from the study of E. Meier, 2001: 40)

In the FSP analysis the interplay of the semantic, linearity and contextual factors in a written text complemented by the intonation factor in the spoken language brings the element *your father* to the fore regardless of the fact that it carries information familiar both to the speaker and the listener. In an unmarked sentence (where no item is contrasted or otherwise singled

out to gain specific informational prominence) the item *your father* is assigned rhematic function as the element towards which the sentence is perspectived.

Second, by assigning a certain element the function of an 'intermediate' between the poles of least and most communicative dynamism (Quirk et al. 1985: 1361) an implication arises that a strict dichotomy between 'given' and 'new' renders the theory incomprehensive as it does not incorporate the phenomenon of gradability. In FSP, the concept of transition is fully anchored in the system of description (Firbas 1992: 69-73).

Finally, categories like "semi-given" information (Quirk et al. 1985: 1360) imply the need to work with a finer scale of classification within the theme and focus sections of information structure. In FSP the requirement is fulfilled by the concept of 'degree of communicative dynamism', which is assessed by weighing informational load an element carries in relation to other elements/carriers of information in a clause. It is assessed in view of the immediately relevant context, semantic load and the clause position of its carrier, and in the spoken language a prosodic quality joins in.

4.3 FSP and Halliday's Approach (Introduction to Functional Grammar)

M.A.K. Halliday (1974) presented his conceptions of language and information structure in it in a seminal paper "The Place of Functional Sentence Perspective in the System of Linguistic Description". The following account of Halliday's approach to information structure is based mainly on his *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (2nd edition, 1994). The points under discussion are treated in chapter 3 (Clause as message), chapter 8 (Beside the clause. Intonation and rhythm), and important generalizations are presented at the beginning of chapter 9 (Around the clause. Cohesion and discourse). As in the previous sections, the issue of basic constituents will be addressed first.

Although Halliday's theory works with constituents introduced in the CGEL approach account above, there is a terminological variation to be clarified at the outset of further descriptions. First of all, the term *information structure* has a narrower sense: it exclusively refers to the composition of an information unit, while the information processing taking

place within a clause with the rheme and the theme as its constituents is termed the *thematic structure* (see below).

4.3.1   Basic constituents

4.3.1.1   Information unit/tone group

The information unit is described as a phonological phenomenon and a structural phenomenon. On the phonological level it is defined as a so-called 'tone group' (tone unit in CGEL) characterized by a pitch contour which stretches over the whole tone group and displays a prominent peak referred to as *tonic prominence* (Halliday 1994: 296). "The element having this prominence is said to be carrying *information focus.*" (ibid) As a structural phenomenon it is understood as a unit displaying a structure composed of two building blocks, the New and the Given, of which only the New needs to be present as the Given is often left unexpressed (through an ellipsis, for example) (Halliday 1994: 296). It is the composition of the information unit that is referred to as to the *information structure*[26] (ibid.).

As well as in CGEL, the definition of the unit is circular, i.e. the tone group is defined by the information unit and vice and versa. Although the correspondence between the information unit/tone group and a clause is adduced as "the unmarked or 'default' condition" (Halliday 1994: 295), the two are often not coextensive, "a single clause may be mapped into two or more information units; or a single information unit into two or more clauses." (Halliday 1994: 295-296).

4.3.1.2   Theme

The theme is defined alongside the rheme as one of the functions in the so-called *thematic structure* (Halliday 1994: 37). The thematic structure is defined as a make-up of a clause functioning as a message with the theme and the rheme as its building blocks. "The Theme is the element which serves as the point of departure of the message; it is that with which the clause is concerned". (Halliday 1994: 37) It is indicated by its position in the clause which is for English invariably initial, cf. "In speaking or writing we signal that an item has a thematic status by putting it first. No other signal is necessary, […]". (ibid) The last criterion is

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[26] The term '*information structure*' is nowhere specifically introduced; however, Halliday works with it after defining an information unit as a structure (296), especially when he labels figures of illustration, see. Fig. 8.3 (Rhythmic indications of information structure, Fig. 8.4 Marked information structure.

surprisingly quantitative: the theme is constituted by one, and only one, structural element which potentially combines with one or more elements other than structural. The definition of structural element is not provided, but it can be deduced that it is a lexical, semantically full element functioning as a syntactic constituent (subject, object, verb, adverbial), while non-structural elements are mainly function words[27] (e.g. conjunctions, operators, but also vocatives) operating as items relating the clause to the previous text or relating one constituent to another. Example 53 below illustrates the application of the last (quantitative) criterion to the thematic structure analysis: the clause opens with an adjunct of time (a structural element) followed by the subject (another structural element) which is then understood as a part of the rhematic section of the clause.

It is observed that the theme is often represented by a separate tone group/information unit and that clauses constituted by two information units display a strong tendency to the coincidence between the theme – rheme border and the border between these two units (as in ex. 53 below).

So far we have seen that regarding the basic constituents, the CGEL and Hallidayan approaches are almost identical (except a slightly different terminology) in that they both recognize the information unit, theme, and rheme. Halliday, however, is more specific about the nature of the relationship between the information and the thematic structure. He maintains that the theme is what the speaker chooses as the point of departure for the message while the given is what the listener recognizes as accessible knowledge; in other words "the Theme + Rheme is speaker-oriented, while Given + New is listener-oriented". (Halliday 1994: 299) The speaker prototypically chooses the theme from what is given and the rheme from what is new. Nevertheless, matters are often not prototypical as in the case of clauses whose themes function as one information unit/tone group and which thus comprise one information focus in their thematic section and another one in the rhematic section functioning as another separate information unit. The list of elements realizing themes which typically form a separate tone group/information unit comprises an adverbial group or a prepositional phrase, and a nominal group not functioning as the subject, one of them illustrated below in ex. 53. Recalling the listener-oriented character of information structure,

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[27] Halliday does not adduce any term as a counterpart to the term "structural elements". The closest counterpart of these "non-structural elements" appears to be the means of grammatical cohesion as viewed by Halliday and Hasan (1976).

the listener in these cases is invited to discern twice (if a clause is segmented into more tone groups, then the activation is multifold) the information focus.

(53)   On Saturday I lost my wife.

Clause	
On Saturday night	*I lost my wife*.
Information unit 1	**Information unit 2**
Theme	Rheme

This is an illustration of a thematic structure where the theme is realised by a separate tone group whose final boundary coincides with the beginning of the rheme. The theme consists of only one structural element (in accordance with the quantitative criterion), the next structural element must be, in Halliday's approach, rhematic. See the discussion below.

Due to their syntactic and static semantic properties, Halliday describes two types of themes viz. simple and multiple themes.

4.3.1.2.1   Simple Themes

A syntactic point of view is taken in defining simple themes. They are constituted by a single structural element of a clause regardless the element's complex structure. Thus, for example, a heavily modified noun phrase in the subject function forms a simple theme as well as a simple noun phrase in the same function. Simple themes include syntactic phenomena such as apposition or pseudo-cleft sentences (called *thematic equatives* as in Halliday's view they equate the theme with the rheme), serving also as an example of a simple theme constituted as a clause.

4.3.1.2.2   Multiple themes

The definition of a multiple theme combines both syntactic and static semantic criteria. From the syntactic point of view they comprise a single constituent of a clause, e.g. an adverbial, and an element not contributing to the sentence patterning such as a conjunction, conjunctive adjunct, modal adjunct[28], etc.

To distinguish distinct subtypes into which a multiple theme decomposes, the static semantic criterion is applied. What is found crucial is the identification of so-called *topical theme*.

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[28] Modal adjuncts are defined as adjuncts which "express the speaker's judgement regarding the relevance of the message" (Halliday 1994: 49)

Topical theme is such which comprises an element expressing either the participant (Actor or Goal), circumstance (time or place), or process in a clause construed as a representation of human experience, and it is defined as always containing "one, and only one, of these experiential elements". (Halliday 1994: 52) In grammar this representation is enabled by a system called *transitivity*. Halliday understands *transitivity* as a linguistic expression of a 'process', 'participant' and 'circumstance' (1994, chapter 5.1), a concept that has a much narrower meaning in structural grammar where it refers to the capacity of the verb to combine with an object; it has a meaning also different from the FSP term *transition*. The topical theme is defined as the final part of the thematic section, anything following it is considered as rhematic (Halliday 1994: 53), see examples 54 and 55 below:

(54) On the other hand maybe on a weekday it would be less crowded.

On the other hand	*maybe*	*on a weekday*	*it would be less crowded*
conjunctive	modal	topical	
textual	interpersonal	experiential	
Theme			Rheme

(Halliday 1994: 56)

(55) Please doctor don't give me any more of that nasty medicine.

Please	*doctor*	*don't*	*give*	*me any more of that nasty medicine*
modal	vocative	finite	topical	
interpersonal			experiential	
Theme				Rheme

(Halliday 1994: 56)

A *topical theme* can be preceded by a functional element such a linking expression; these are then invariably assigned a thematic nature. Based on their textual function and static semantic load they are divided into *textual themes* and *interpersonal themes* (Halliday 1994: 53).

Textual theme is realised by any combination of continuative (discourse markers *yes*, *no*, *well*, *oh*, *now*), structural (conjunctions, WH-relatives with the remark that "the group or phrase containing the relative is simultaneously the topical Theme") and conjunctive (conjunctive

adjuncts[29] – conjuncts in CGEL – such as *in this respect*, *moreover*, *in other words*, etc. in the position preceding the topical theme) (Halliday 1994: 53).

An *interpersonal theme* is realised by any combination of a vocative (if preceding the topical theme, which is a crucial stipulation for all non-topical themes), modal (modal adjuncts[30] – disjuncts in CGEL), mood-marking (a finite verb operator preceding the topical theme or a WH-interrogative if it is not a part of a topical theme). (Halliday 1994: 53-4)

Apart from distinguishing simple and complex themes, Halliday describes the difference between *marked* and *unmarked themes* (Halliday 1994: 44ff), he adduces lists of *obligatorily thematic elements* (conjunctions and relatives) and *typically thematic elements* (conjunctive and modal adjuncts) (Halliday 1994: 48ff), and he looks at the manifestation of the thematic structure above and below the clause. This involves looking at the themes in complex sentences (clausal complexes in Halliday's term, Halliday 1994: 54ff) out of which special attention is paid to pseudo-cleft sentences (thematic equatives, 40ff) and cleft sentences (comprising a *predicated theme*, Halliday 1994: 58ff), as well as looking at themes in dependent, minor, and elliptical clauses (Halliday 1994: 61ff). Finally, a thematic interpretation of a text is performed (Halliday 1994: 64-5).

4.3.1.2.3   Marked themes

The treatment of all the above mentioned phenomena has a common denominator: the ultimate recognition of a theme is invariably derived from the position in the structure being analysed. Of interest are so-called *marked themes*. Markedness here is described as a case of occurrence of a theme realised by a sentence element other than the subject, including such linear arrangements as those beginning with an adjunct of time and place (*At night….*, *In the corner…*) although these are admittedly the most usual types of marked themes unlike elements functioning as objects (Complements in Halliday's terminology)[31], cf. "A Theme that is something other than the Subject, in a declarative clause, we shall refer to as a *marked Theme*". (Halliday 1994: 44) Further into the chapter (Halliday 1994: 59), however, a "marked combination" is also recognized with the subject in its unmarked initial position but

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[29] The list of main conjunctive adjuncts (conjuncts) is adduced on p. 49 Table 3(2)
[30] The list of main modal adjuncts (disjuncts) is adduced on p. 49, Table 3(3)
[31] Markedness is thus perceived as a scalar phenomenon (gradient in CGEL).

carrying a contrastive stress (it is the combination of the new mapped onto the subject that is meant), similarly as in CGEL (see example 28 above).

In comparison to CGEL, where markedness of a theme is similarly related both to informational prominence being placed on a thematic item (namely the subject whilst expressing contrastiveness) and to fronting (regardless of prosody), in Halliday's approach markedness in themes is viewed as more rigorously conflated with the deviation from the clause-initial position of the subject.

4.3.1.3 Rheme

The *rheme* is not defined except as the counterpart to the theme in the theme – rheme dichotomy (37-42, 52-54, 59, 67). The rheme is the residue after the theme has been identified. It often contains the verb and even though Halliday comes close to Firbas's interpretation of the FSP of the verb when acknowledging the linking function of '*be*' in pseudo-cleft sentences, he dismisses the recognition as (unnecessarily) complicated, cf. "Strictly speaking the *was*, or other form of *be*, serves to link the Rheme with the Theme; but for the sake of simpler analysis it can be shown as part of the Rheme". (41) For illustration, an example from a set of pseudo-clefts (ibid) is adduced below.

(56)   What the duke gave to my aunt was that teapot.

What the duke gave to my aunt	*was that teapot*
Theme	Rheme

It is the preoccupation with the theme that characterizes Halliday's approach and that of his followers. It gives the structure expressing information processing in a clause its name, the thematic structure. It springs from the persuasion that "in Theme-Rheme structure it is the Theme that is the prominent element" (41) and that "by analyzing the thematic structure[32] of a text clause by clause, we can gain an insight into its texture and understand how the writer made clear to us the nature of his underlying concerns". (67)

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[32] In fact, analyzing the theme is meant as the rheme is automatically assumed to be everything that is left after the theme has been pinned down.

4.3.2 Communicative Dynamism

The concept of communicative dynamism is not acknowledged in Halliday's approach and it lacks a finer classification tool. An illustration of the outcomes of an analysis within the Hallidayan and Firbasian framework is adduced in example 57 below. The example sentence is adduced in Halliday 1994: 48.

(57) Until the arrival of that remittance I am cut off from my home.

	Until the arrival of that remittance	*I*	*am*	*cut off*	*from my home*
Firbas's FSP Scale	DTh[33]	ThPr	TrPr	Rh	RhPr
Firbas's Dynamic semantic scale	Set	B	AofQ[34]	Q	Sp
Firbas's bipartitional structure	Theme		Non-theme		
Halliday's Thematic structure	prepositional phrase as adjunct Theme	Rheme			

The sentence adduced above is embedded in the following context, a passage from *David Copperfield*:

"We came," repeated Mrs Micawber, "and saw the Medway. My opinion of the coal trade on that river is, that it may require talent, but that it certainly requires capital. Talent, Mr. Micawber has; capital, Mr. Micawber has not… We are presently waiting for a remittance from London, to discharge our pecuniary obligations at this hotel. **Until the arrival of that remittance…I am cut off from my home***…, from my boy and girl, and from my twins."* (Halliday 1994: 48)

Considering the degree of CD, the carrier of the lowest degree of CD, the subject '*I*' (it is a context-dependent element par excellence) constitutes the theme proper of the clause. The initially placed adjunct is informationally slightly more loaded but still low in value due to its context-dependence and the initial position. Though thematic, it carries a higher degree of CD than the theme proper and the implied emphasis on '*arrival*' renders it diathematic. The verb creates the link between the theme and the rheme, i.e. is transitional in the FSP sense of the word. '*Cut off*' (I regard it as at an adjective although the passive interpretation would be also plausible) is a successful competitor of the verb: it is context-independent and obligatorily

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[33] The initial adverbial is rendered diathematic due to its semantic load which is heavier than with themes proper, cf. Svoboda's definition: "If a quality bearer is already a well-established element of the scene (theme proper), adverbial diathemes provide the appropriate setting for the appearance of its new qualities (and specifications), often standing in mild contrast that concerns the place, time, or way of appearance" (1981: 55).

[34] AofQ – ascription of quality – is the dynamic semantic function performed by verbs that serve as copulas, cf. Firbas 1992:68.

complements it. Finally, '*from my home*' although heterogeneous regarding the degree of CD ('*my*' is context-dependent) is dominated by context-independent '*home*'. It carries the highest degree of CD and it is the element toward which the whole clause is perspective. Without the concept of CD, a finer analysis cannot take place.

The two types of analysis also reveal a discrepancy in the evaluation of the subject: in FSP it functions as the theme proper while in Halliday's approach it is part of the rheme. This is due to different criteria that define the theme, which in Halliday's approach are the position (initial) + static semantics (an element expressing transitivity, a so-called structural element, possibly in combination with a non-structural one, or it can be a non-structural element alone) + the quantitative criterion (one and only one element expressing transitivity). It follows that the subject, so typically a theme in English, is in many cases assigned a rhematic function in Halliday's approach.

4.3.3 Given and New Information

The concept of *given* and *new information* is related to the listener; it is what the speaker presents to the listener either as "recoverable" or "not recoverable". (Halliday 1994: 298) The 'not recoverable' (new information) is signalled by "tonic prominence" (Halliday 1994: 296) The old information is recoverable from the preceding text (the length of it is not further specified), from the situation or it is absent both in the preceding text and the situation, but the speaker presents it as recoverable. When new information is realised by a recoverable item, it is due to the contrast it communicates. These contrastive items carry the fall-rise tone, while fresh items are signalled by the fall tone (Halliday 1994: 299).

After defining the nature of *the given* and *new information*, the sections (8.4, 8.5, 8.6) deal predominantly with markedness, i.e. the incidence of cases with the new placed initially within an information unit (marked information structure) comprising the so-called "marked information focus". (Halliday 1994: 298) See example 58 where the carrier of marked information focus is in bold.

(58) You were to blame.

You	*were to blame*
Theme	Rheme
New	Given

(Halliday, 1994: 301)

What is different from the FSP analysis is not the recognition of markedness in such cases, but the assignment of thematic function to the element carrying the information focus.

4.3.4 Word order. Fronting

As in CGEL, the issue of fronting needs to be subjected to comparison as its treatment in Halliday's approach differs from that in FSP. The first aspect of the difference in treatment rests in analysing clauses with a fronted element *per se*, i.e. without referring to the context in which the clauses are embedded. Fronted elements are automatically considered thematic regardless their (ir)retrievability from context. However, there are contexts imaginable in which the adduced fronted element may fulfil the rhematic function, which in FSP is arrived at by the interplay of all three, in speech four, FSP factors. This can be illustrated by the example below:

(59) A loaf of bread is what we chiefly need.

a loaf of bread	*is what we chiefly need*
Theme	Rheme

(Halliday 1994: 41)

To interpret the FSP of the clause adduced above, we need to take the context in which it appears into consideration. While in Halliday's approach the fronted element is invariably thematic, in its original context (below) it fulfils the rhematic function in FSP. The clause actually appears in Lewis Carroll's rather cruel fable *The Walrus and the Carpenter*[35] in which Oysters are swindled out of their home to take part in a seemingly exciting adventure at the end of which they are all eaten. It is in the middle of a deceitful conversation with the Oysters, which should serve only as a cover-up for the preparation of the feast, that the Walrus utters the sentence serving as Halliday's example:

"The time has come," the Walrus said,
"To talk of many things:
Of shoes--and ships--and sealing-wax--
Of cabbages--and kings--
And why the sea is boiling hot--
And whether pigs have wings."

"But wait a bit," the Oysters cried,
"Before we have our chat;
For some of us are out of breath,
And all of us are fat!"

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[35] Carroll, L. (1872). *Through the Looking-Glass and What Alice Found There*.

"No hurry!" said the Carpenter.
They thanked him much for that.

"A loaf of bread," *the Walrus said,*
"Is what we chiefly need*:*
Pepper and vinegar besides
Are very good indeed--
Now if you're ready, Oysters dear,
We can begin to feed."

It is a plausible interpretation that '*a loaf of bread*' is the element toward which the clause is perspectived. It is context-independent and thus a successful competitor of the verb. Its fronting may be ascribed to the emotive principle (see the end of chapter 4.2.4 above), so-called emphatic fronting, often employed in story telling. In written form (as we see it above), the fronted object will constitute a separate distributional field separated by the comma and the adjacent clause '*the Walrus said.*' In spoken version,[36] the whole clause is uttered as one tone group, with '*bread*' carrying the fall and '*need*' carrying the rise, an incidence called *divided focus* in CGEL with the item carrying the rise being interpreted as subsidiary to the other item carrying the fall). In Firbas's approach this is an example of so-called 're-evaluating prosodic intensification' (1992: 160).

In summary, the context-independence, the semantics and the intonation of the fronted object effecting contrast attest to its rhematic function. The linearity principle (the weakest factor in the interplay) is overridden by the emotive principle, which is in keeping with the register of story-telling.

4.3.5   Summary and Discussion

Regarding the information unit, the first point rests in the intangible nature of information. While precisely defined in computer science, in linguistics it lacks specific grounding; as mentioned above, the definition of a unit of information is based on tautological argument. While its coextension with a clause being acknowledged as prototypical, it is also recognized that it is often not the case. Unlike in FSP, the clause as the basic stretch of language where information processing takes place is not systematically built-in into the methodology of analysis. The term *information focus* being exclusively related to the information unit (not a

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[36] Walt Disney's cartoon, available at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=00WCEbKM_SE, Retrieved 20.6.2014

clause) causes confusion in clauses constituted by two or more such units, each with its own information focus, for the reason that the communicative purpose of the clause (is it information focus 1, 2 or 3?) cannot be clearly identified.

Halliday's definition of the theme renders his approach at points inadequate in regards to the plausibility of the structure mapping the process of information unfolding within a clause (the *thematic structure* in Hallidayan terms). This inadequacy is most prominent in those clauses where the subject is preceded by another experiential element (e.g. an adjunct of time/place) together with a structural element (e.g. a linking expression, auxiliary verb, or a vocative) – such an arrangement renders the subject rhematic in Halliday's analysis. As it is not an unusual constellation (especially in fiction), repeatedly we are invited to analyse the subject, a thematic candidate *par excellence*, as rhematic, and thus to contradict our perception of how information unfolds in a clause. On the other hand, an initially placed subject is invariably considered thematic in Halliday's approach and thus the incidence of a phenomenon introduced onto the scene, realised by the subject (in presentation sentences) is assessed as the theme, i.e. the point of departure of the message/clause. In example 60 below, the subject '*a beautiful girl*' would be in Halliday's view understood as the point of departure of the message and the predicate '*entered the room*' the communicative purpose of the clause, which contradicts the natural reading of the sentence, i.e. the subject is a new element introduced into the flow of communication and it is this introduction that is perceived as the communicative purpose of the clause (the example is mine), cf. ex. 60.

(60) A beautiful girl entered the room.

A beautiful girl	entered	the room	
Rh	Tr	Th	FSP scale
Ph	Pr	Set	Dynamic semantic scale

Example 60 above shows the mapping of the FSP scale and the scale of dynamic semantic functions onto the clause. The FSP analysis offers a more plausible interpretation: the context-independent subject as the only successful competitor of the verb functions as the rheme, the

verb functions as the transition between the theme and the rheme and its semantics (appearance on the scene) points towards the presentative nature of the clause. The context-dependent object is not a successful competitor of the verb and thus must be thematic, at the moment of communication gaining the dynamic semantic function of setting.

The above demonstrated problems with Halliday's definition of the theme stem from the following: 1. position of a sentence element being the decisive factor in its evaluation as the theme or the rheme, 2. reliance on the static semantics (e.g. conjunctions are on this basis invariably thematic) while the dynamic semantic aspect is not recognized. 3. The contextual factor is mostly disregarded. An exception to point 3 is adduced in Halliday's treatment of Given and New in the information unit (Section 8.5). He explicitly acknowledges the influence of context on the assessment of information structure in regards of "inherently given items" (such as deictic or anaphoric elements). They are evaluated as such regardless their final position in the information unit which is otherwise associated with the New, cf. "So when you say that, for any information unit, the unmarked structure is that with the focus on the final element, this excludes any items that are inherently given". (298)

Another remark on the theme as defined by Halliday concerns the so-called *marked theme*. It is defined as an incidence of the theme realised by a syntactic element other than the subject, and at the same time by the definition of the theme itself, the subject is often not thematic. Markedness is thus if not frequent then at least a usual incidence and thus contradictory to the sense of the word.

The aspects of theme definition in Halliday's approach point to the fundamental difference in methodology between the two theories. While the point of departure of a clause/message is **defined *a priori*** in Halliday's approach, in FSP it is **arrived at** by analysing the aforementioned factors of context, semantics, linearity (joined by intonation in spoken texts). As Firbas points out (1992: 73-74):

 "*It may have been observed that in delimiting the theme I have not had recourse to the notion of 'aboutness'. This does not mean that I do not subscribe to the view that the theme expresses what the message conveyed is to be about. But the 'aboutness' feature is not the starting point of my delimitation of the theme; it is its outcome that singles out the elements that convey the theme and bear the 'aboutness' feature*".

Similarly, the objection of an a priori judgement applies to how the rheme is identified in Halliday's approach. Here again Firbas (1992: 73-74):

"With due alterations the same applies to the notion of communicative purpose. As I see it, the perspective of a sentence towards a particular element acting as rheme proper reveals a communicative purpose. The establishment of rheme proper and the communicative purpose is the outcome of my enquiry into its FSP, not its starting point. Both the aboutness feature and the communicative purpose are encoded by the sentence and wait to be decoded by the enquirer".

In a commentary on Halliday's approach regarding these *a priori* made decisions about the two communicative functions, the theme and the rheme, an interesting remark has been pointed out to me by Doc. Kaltenboeck (University of Vienna): the theoretical framework offered by Halliday seems somewhat redundant (personal conversation). When we *a priori* know what the theme and the rheme of a clause is, why to study the phenomenon at all?

Halliday's preoccupation with the theme as "the most prominent element" leaves little space for the rheme[37], as mentioned earlier it is considered the residue outside the theme section. Consequently, the verb falls into the residue as a rule. The missing concept of transition renders the analysis without means to capture the function of the verb and along with it the function of conjunctions, conjuncts, modal adjuncts in the information architecture of a clause. These elements are analysed as thematic when in a position preceding the subject (this invariably concerns modal and auxiliary verbs in interrogative sentences[38], interrogative *wh-*words, etc., elements that are treated as *on-set themes* in CGEL) despite their strong link to the verb as was already pointed out in the section on on-set themes (cf. 4.2.1.2.2). Strong reliance on word order as the factor in the assessment of what Halliday calls *thematic structure* reflects also in the evaluation of fronted elements as invariably thematic.

In the reflection of all that has been discussed above I offer a final remark: The underlying force in both of the British approaches might be the inconceivability of free word order[39]. The fixedness of word order in English effects fixed ideas about how the linear factor asserts itself in information processing. In other words, linguistic thought in a language with a fixed word order must place its importance into the centre of linguistic analytical methods. Casting light

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[37] The question arises whether in textual analysis, it suffices to explore where the text is taken from rather than also to pay attention to where it is going.

[38] See Firbas's more detailed comments on Halliday's approach to interrogative sentences (1992: 99).

[39] This idea has been presented to me by my colleague and friend PhDr. Vladislav Smolka, PhD.

on the phenomenon of information structure from another viewpoint advanced by a linguist operating in a flectional mother tongue (with a free word order) may thus be considered a significant contributions to the issue.

4.4 FSP and Information Packaging (The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language)

The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language (CamGEL; Huddleston and Pullum 2002) treatment of information structure (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: chapter 16) represents here the most recent approach to the subject matter in British theory. It is referred to as *information packaging* (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1365) and it is conceived as a detailed account of such clause structures which enable variation "in the way the informational content is presented". (ibid.) These structures are contrasted with their default counterparts and the felicity conditions of their usage are exemplified and discussed. The account starts with theoretical preliminaries where main information-packaging constructions are presented in an overview, as well as the main concepts and general principles "governing the way information is presented in the clause". (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1367) Information is understood "to cover entities and properties as well as propositions". (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1367-8) The preliminaries are concluded with an overview of "some general tendencies regarding information structure". (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1372) As in the accounts of the approaches above, the basic constituents of information processing will be presented first.

4.4.1 Basic constituents

Throughout the whole text, CamGEL uses the syntactic unit of *clause* in its "constituent structure representations" because it is recognized as "a more basic unit than the sentence" (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 45) and the same applies to the treatment of information packaging, viz. the clause is considered the basic stretch of language where information packaging applies.

Basic concepts of informational content presentation are those of *topic* and *focus* whose definition is based on the concepts of old and new information with their specifics (see below).

4.4.1.1 Topic

As in Halliday's approach, the *topic* is defined as that part of a clause which implies what the clause is about; here, however, the sameness of the two approaches terminates. It is the *focus* that presents the main interest in information structuring analyses in CamGEL. The topic is acknowledged as an intuitive concept not to be employed to a great extent in the chapter on information packaging, cf. "The topic of a clause is what the clause is about. This is an intuitive concept, but it is notoriously difficult to provide criteria that enable one to identify clause-topic in English in a rigorous and convincing way, and we shall make relatively little use of the concept in this chapter". (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1371)

A single example illustrates what is recognised as one of "certain devices which serve to explicitly mark that a constituent denotes the topic." (ibid.) The square brackets mark the relevant part for the analysis[40], the expression in point is underlined, cf.

(61) <u>As for</u> external funding, [Smith has a grant application pending.]

It is held that the initial adjunct is overtly marked as the topic by the preposition '*as for*' and other such overt markers present in other adjuncts are adduced, such as "*regarding, speaking of, talking of*" with a remark that "For the most part, however, English does not provide any explicit syntactic marking of the topic of a clause". (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1371) With this comment the subject of the topic is exhausted.

In FSP, the contextual conditions in which the sentence is embedded are of crucial importance. The most neutral and the most obviously implied conditions will be considered in the FSP analysis of example 61 above, i.e. the viewpoint adjunct is context-dependent as well as the subject while the verb together with its complementation are context-independent. The complementation is a successful competitor of the verb and thus rhematic (cf. Firbas 1992: 42, "the information conveyed by the object amplifies the information conveyed by the verb"), the adjunct functions as the setting on the background of which the rest of the clause is assessed, the subject has the semantic dynamic function of the quality bearer, cf. *As for external funding* (Th, Set), *Smith* (DTh, B) *has* (Tr, Q) *a grant application pending* (Sp, Rh).

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[40] For the reasons of unification in notation in the thesis, the CamGEL's marking style has not been preserved – Huddleston and Pullum use square brackets to mark the relevant part of text for their adduced analyses, i.e. the clause in point is adduced in square brackets.

Unlike in CamGEL's analysis, the adjunct is not the only element constituting the theme (*topic* in CamGEL's terminology) of the clause above.

4.4.1.2   Focus and focus-frame

The *focus* of a clause is defined as "the constituent bearing the strongest, or 'nuclear' stress" while the rest of the clause is conceived as the *focus-frame*. (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1370) As well as in the other British approaches, "the phonological prominence given to focus accords its prominence in the message: it is presented as the most informative element in the clause, with the focus-frame backgrounded". (ibid) The focus is acknowledged as typically to represent the addressee-new information while the focus-frame carries the status of addressee-old information. An occurrence of untypical alignment of the focus with addressee-old information is discussed further when the relation of *familiarity* and focus is treated (as in example 9 on p. 1370, the capitalized element carries the nuclear stress whose representation here is taken over from CamGEL and whenever relevant, it will be thus represented in this chapter), cf. ex. 62

(62) A: Did they give the job to you or to Mary? B: They gave it to HER.

<div align="center">(Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1370, ex. 9)</div>

Here "the apparent paradox" of focus being represented by an element mentioned in the prior discourse and thus familiar to the addressee is resolved by adverting to the open proposition underlying the answer to A's question "They gave it to x". "From this point of view Mary is new information" since it stands for the variable x in the formula. (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1370)

Focus is also related to the concept of *weight*, i.e. length and complexity of a constituent in question, viz. "heavy constituents are more likely to be new than old". (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1371) It is, however, believed important to keep the two concepts distinct as "there is no necessity for heavy constituents to be new, or vice versa". (ibid.)

4.4.2   Old and New Information

The concept of *focus* is closely related to the categories of *old* and *new information*. Each of the categories is subject to dichotomy with respect to its relation to either the addressee or the

discourse. Thus 4 types of information are recognised, viz. *addressee-old* or *addressee-new information*, and *discourse-old* or *discourse-new information* (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1368-1369).

4.4.2.1   Discourse-old vs. discourse-new information

Here the information status of an element is considered with respect to the discourse within which it is embedded and more specifically, "for very long discourses (such as a book) within the **currently salient stretch of discourse[41]**". (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1368) Although there is no further elaboration on what amount of text the currently salient stretch of discourse represents, it is a useful specification, not dissimilar to the concept of *immediately relevant context* in FSP.

Elements carrying discourse-old information are not only those that have explicitly been mentioned in the preceding discourse, but also "those that stand in some salient and relevant relationship to elements that have been evoked". (ibid) An example illustrating that this kind of relationship applies even to whole propositions (i.e. not only to entities or properties) provides interesting material for a discussion[42]:

(63) A: Are those cupcakes for sale?   B: No, they're a special order. <u>But the bagels you can have</u>.

The underlined clause in ex. 63 is conceived as a discourse-old proposition "You can have *x*" because, although not expressed in the prior discourse, "it is inferrable from A's question, which conveys that A wants to buy (hence have) something". (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1369)

In the view of the FSP theory, considering the linearity, contextual and semantic factors, it is '*bagels*' towards which the communication is perspectived. Regarding the semantic factor, the proposition suggested by CamGEL seems a useful tool in identifying the semantically most prominent element of the clause conveying that particular proposition. It is the element expressing the variable '*x*', the rest of the clause providing a linguistic frame for it (similarly,

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[41] The emphasis is mine.
[42] In CamGEL it is example [4], p. 1369.

the concept of *focus-frame*; cf. 4.4.1.2). Regarding the linearity factor, ex. 63 displays emphatic fronting i.e. the fronted element (*bagels*) is rhematic regardless its position (i.e. it would be rhematic in its usual position, too: '*You can have **the bagels**'* (Rh)) as it stands in contrast to '*those cupcakes*'. Regarding the contextual factor, the example under examination is bound to the communicative situation; the buyer sees the bagels on the counter (or on display in the shop). Finally, intonation does not join the interplay of FSP factors in written texts; nevertheless the intonation centre placed on the fronted object fashions a natural sound presentation of the clause. In the case in point, the FSP approach and the CamGEL approach yield the same result in the information structure analysis, although it is reached by two different methods of analysis.

4.4.2.2 Addressee-old vs. addressee-new information

It follows that *discourse-old* must at the same time be *addressee-old* information. However, information familiar to the addressee can be *discourse-new* (1369) as in the adduced example 61 below, where the subject represents "common knowledge shared by citizens of the United States" (ibid) and at the same time it cannot be inferred from the prior text:

(64) <u>The President</u> is giving the State of the Union address later tonight.

As in example 63 above, CamGEL's concept of addressee-old information often involves what Firbas refers to as *experiential context*. It is not adduced whether addressee-oriented information and discourse-oriented information stand in a hierarchic relation to each other or how their interplay contributes to the information structure analysis. Nevertheless, in the treatment of inversion, cf. ex. 65, an observation appears recognising that it is "discourse-familiarity rather than addressee-familiarity that is relevant" (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1387) in the most frequent combination old (preposed) + new (postposed). Combinations new (preposed) + new (postposed) are rather uncommon but possible, cf.

(65) [I had lunch at Ritzy's yesterday, and you wouldn't believe who was there.] <u>Behind a cluster of microphones</u> was <u>Hilary Clinton</u>, [holding another press conference.]

Both the preposed and the postposed elements in example 65 above are discourse-new. Even though it can be assumed that the wife of the former US President is an entity familiar to the

addressee, its newness in the discourse plays a more important role in the motivating force underlying the inverted word order. A linguist working in the framework of FSP theory will recognise another such motivating force and that is presentation of a phenomenon into the flow of communication. This is discussed further below in section 4.4.5.

4.4.3   Communicative dynamism and its degrees

This concept is missing in the CamGEL approach to information structure even though the need to recognise what in FSP is referred to as *degrees of CD* is manifest in the discussion on pragmatic constraints on inversion (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1386-1389) when CamGEL examines types of information (in point of fact elements carrying it) susceptible to preposing. In the combination old + old (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1387), i.e. a carrier of old information is preposed while another element also carrying old information is postposed, it is observed that it is "the more recently evoked information that appears in preposed position". The preposed element "represents more familiar information" (ibid), cf. ex. 66

(66) [Lieberman and Clinton go way back. When Lieberman made his run for the Connecticut Senate seat in 1970,] helping him as a young volunteer was Clinton, [a young Yale law student.]

Before information-packaging constructions are discussed in detail, CamGEL introduces a list of 5 general principles regarding information structure. It comprises the end-weight principle, end-focus principle, the tendency of subjects to be addressee-old, the tendency to place familiar information before that which is new, and finally the tendency of information-packaging constructions to be restricted regarding "the range of contexts in which they can felicitously occur". (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1372) It is also observed that "the choice of one of the non-canonical constructions may be motivated by stylistic considerations, by the need for variety". (ibid)

4.4.4   Preposing (Fronting in CGEL)

Here it is the feature of *focus preposing* that merits further comment. CamGEL's approach is the first in British theory to acknowledge the possibility of focus to be placed initially and it is of interest to see under what conditions a fronted focus occurs and what criteria are applied to

assess it as the focus. The main criterion is the role the preposed element (complement[43] in CamGEL) has in the open proposition underlying the clause. Providing such an element substitutes the variable x in the proposition formed by the rest of the clause, it is assessed as the focus. Its position preceding the verb (and in the adduced examples it is invariably placed clause-initially) is triggered by the need for specification of the variable x, which was expressed vaguely in the preceding discourse. "Whenever a discourse involves mention of a relevant yet unspecified quantity (of time, space, objects, people, etc.), the focus in a clause with focus preposing may provide a specification of the quantity in question". (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1381-1382) The preposed focus thus not only provides the desired specification, but it also serves as a link with the preceding text, cf. ex. 67

(67) I made a lot of sweetbreads. [A couple of POUNDS I think I made for her.][44]

Here we see a discourse-old proposition with the preposed object functioning as a specification of the vaguely expressed quantity '*a lot*' in the preceding clause.

As "extremely common" are considered occurrences with the verbs '*name*', '*call*' (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1382), see the underlying proposition 'Their names were x' of ex. 68 below:

(68) I had two really good friends. [DAMON and JIMMY their names were.][45]

A special case of clauses with focus preposing is that of "echoing". (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1382) Here "the link is being called to question" (ibid) as in ex. 69 adduced below:

(69) A: A cheeseburger, large fries, and a large Coke.   B: [Large FRIES you wanted?]

"Echoing questions whether this link represents the correct value of the variable, reflecting uncertainty or disbelief on the part of the speaker". (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1382) In FSP, this type of contextual situation in which the clause is embedded is conceived as the

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[43] Preposing concerns elements which in default structures follow the verb, such as object or subject complement – these are referred to by a roofing term '*complement*'. The change of positions between the verb and the subject is what is (also in structural grammar) referred to as '*inversion*'.
[44] Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1381, ex. 26i.
[45] Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1381, ex. 26ii.

second instance level: all elements are context-dependent but one which at the moment of utterance is singled out for prominence (see section 4.1.9 above).

4.4.5 Inversion

In FSP, the main type of inversion, i.e. with a preposed locative adverbial and the subject in a postverbal position, is recognized as a syntactic realisation of the Presentation Scale. In CamGEL it is only the existential construction where the presentative function is recognized.

CamGEL's treatment of inversion is relevant for this study due to the recognition of the scene-setting function and due to the lack of recognition of the concept of dynamic-semantic functions being patently manifest in this type of information-packaging constructions.

One of the criteria for inversion to be felicitous is that the preposed element must carry information that is either equally or more familiar than the information carried by the postposed element. (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1386) In the view of CamGEL's authors, it accordingly applies in narrative contexts where the preposed locative (although not mentioned in the preceding text[46]) is considered of little informational value in comparison to the information carried by the postposed subject. It is considered discourse-old in a narrative context which "evokes the notion of setting, triggering the inference to a set of possible settings, and the preposed PP provides one of these" (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1388), cf. ex. 70

(70) In a little wooden house in the middle of a deep forest lived a solitary woman who spent her days reading and gardening[47].

The notion of setting, however, is in CamGEL more or less restricted to opening clauses in narratives and the scene-setting function is ascribed rather to the whole clause than to the preposed element alone, cf. "An inversion commonly performs a scene-setting function at the outset of a narrative". (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1387) To demonstrate the scene-setting function of inversion in ex. 70, the CamGEL authors adduce ex. 71 below as a felicitous continuation of it. In contrast, they adduce example 72 as infelicitous, cf.

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[46] Often there is no prior text as this type of clauses commonly appears as an opening "at the outset of a narrative". (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1387)

[47] Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1387, ex. 7.

(71) She had recently won the lottery, and hidden the money under the mattress.

(72) It was badly in need of repairs, and everyone who saw it wondered whether it could hold up another year with its broken shutters and fractured foundation.

In FSP practice, we consider the thematic progression of the text in point. While exx. 70 and 71 form a simple thematic progression ($Rh_1 \rightarrow Th_2$), none of the types of thematic progression[48] is involved in the text formed by exx. 70 and 72, which thus displays a build-up that is non-sequitur and must be, in fact, considered a non-text[49].

The analysis of ex. 70 would benefit from the FSP concept of dynamic semantic scales. The presentative meaning of the clause introducing the postposed subject into the narrative presents a force that better explains the apt observation that "the discourse is far more coherent when the topic of the following clause or clauses is the entity represented by the postposed NP rather than that represented by the NP within the preposed phrase". (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1387) It is only natural to provide more information about the phenomenon freshly having been introduced into the narrative and thus to continue with a clause featuring the '*solitary woman*' as the subject rather than leave the presented phenomenon unnoticed in the follow-up to the clause.

The application of the scale of dynamic-semantic functions also helps understand the difference also in the two following clauses adduced in examples 73 and 74 respectively:

(73) My neighbours have a huge backyard. [Through it runs a string of beautiful Japanese lanterns.]

(74) My neighbours have a huge backyard. [Through it run my kids almost every afternoon.]

While example 73 is acknowledged as felicitous, example 74 is not. The CamGEL's approach explains the difference by referring to static meaning of the verb 'run' in ex. 73 and its dynamic meaning[50] in ex. 74. Referring to the two examples (here exx. 73-74), the CamGEL authors formulate an exception in the inversion usage: it is infelicitous with preposed

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[48] For types of thematic progression, see Daneš 1968.
[49] Dušková, private conversation.
[50] Viz. static verb expresses states, dynamic verb expresses action/activity.

locatives in clauses capturing dynamic situations. Inversion in these clauses is conceived as "semantically or pragmatically anomalous"[51].

The pragmatic aspect is not incorporated into the FSP theory. In the FSP approach, the felicitous clause is assessed as presentative, i.e. one whose main communicative purpose is to introduce a phenomenon into the flow of communication, where the motivating force for postposing the subject is its context-independence and its semantic augmentation by the static verb allowing presentative meaning, cf. *There runs a string of beautiful Japanese lanterns through it*. The communicative purpose of the infelicitous clause is not presentation: the subject is not context-independent, the verb cannot be interpreted as presentative either; there is no motivation for postposing the subject and thus its placement into the rhematic section of the clause forms an anomalous, unnatural structure.

Recognition of dynamic-semantic scales as a tool in the information structure analysis also proves helpful in the section dealing with another criterion for the felicity of inversion[52]; viz. "The verb must not represent information that is new to the discourse". (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1386) The criterion to a degree complies with the FSP concept of *transition* which ascribes the verb the function of a boundary between the rheme and the theme (the focus and the topic in CamGEL's terminology). In CamGEL all the adduced examples in the section treating inversion are presentative clauses with a context-independent subject and all but one comprise a verb displaying what was referred to as S − V affinity. The last example comprises the verb of existence on the scene '*remain*' (see Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1389).

An interesting problem is posed by example 75 below (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1388, ex. 9) comprising a phenomenon introduced into the flow of communication and a context-independent locative adverbial, a configuration identical with example 65 above (recalled

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[51] I borrowed the expression from CamGEL's explanation of the symbol # marking infelicitous structures, see the section on Notational Conventions, Huddleston and Pullum 2002: vii.

[52] There are three such criteria (see Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1366), apart from the two already mentioned (familiarity of the postposed element to be lesser than that of the preposed element and the discourse-old information conveyed by the verb) there is the criterion of discourse-old open proposition, viz. "except with preposed locatives, an appropriate open proposition must be derivable from the prior discourse, with the value of variable being given by the postposed subject". (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1388) Cf. the example 10iii (ibid): *They had every kind of cake imaginable, all lined up in a row.* [*Adorning the first one was a monstrous rose sculpted from white chocolate*.]

here for illustrative purposes without reference number). The inversion in 72 is conceived as infelicitous (the infelicity is represented by index symbol [#]):

(75) [Hey, did you hear the weird report on the evening news?] [#] <u>In the basement of a department store</u> are living <u>a bunch of alligators</u>.

To be compared with ex. (65):

[I had lunch at Ritzy's yesterday, and you wouldn't believe who was there.] <u>Behind a cluster of microphones</u> was <u>Hilary Clinton</u>, [holding another press conference.]

According to CamGEL's explanation, the infelicity of inversion arises in contexts other than story-telling for the reason that inversions with preposed locative "have a strongly literary flavour". (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1388) "In colloquial context the preposed PP represents discourse-new information, and though the new + new combination is not wholly excluded, it is out of place in the context of [9]" (ibid), (i.e. in the context of example 75). Here the question arises why in this context it is infelicitous while in example 65 above this type of inversion is fully acceptable, although the exchange is also informal and obviously an extract of casual conversation. Hence the register cannot be the decisive aspect by which the information structure of the two clauses differs. The answer rests in the interplay of the three factors applicable in written texts. Based on the immediately relevant context in which each of the clauses is embedded, together with the semantic and linear factors, we need to look at the successful competitors of the verb. The focus (rheme) of example 62 is pointed forward to by the semantics of the clause preceding it, viz. '*you wouldn't believe who was there*'. Filling the information gap (i.e. ***who*** *was there*?) is logically the communicative purpose of the clause in question and the initial adjunct functions as a setting on the background of which the entity represented by the subject is introduced.

In ex. 75, we have to do with a presentation sentence (specifically the Extended Presentation Scale). Both the locative and the postposed subject are context-independent, however the fact of a bunch of alligators find is possibly exceeded in informational value by the fact that they were discovered in an unusual place where alligators are not expected to be found. A motivating force for postposing of the subject is thus missing as the locative exceeds it in the degree of CD. The felicitous structure then displays both grammatical word order and basic

distribution of CD, which is a preferred arrangement[53], cf. A bunch of alligators (Ph) are living (Pr) in the basement of a department store (Sp). What blocks the inversion is the weight of information carried by the locative adverbial which exceeds the subject in informational weight and whose placement in initial position thus creates a pragmatically and semantically odd construction.

4.4.6   Existential Construction

Unlike in the FSP theory where four presentative structures are acknowledged, in CamGEL it is only the existential construction which is acknowledged as a syntactic arrangement of clause elements which serves to introduce a new phenomenon into the discourse. The term *presentational clause* is employed in CamGEL to refer to existential constructions with verbs other than '*be*', cf. "Presentational clauses have dummy there as subject and some verb other than *be* as predicator". (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1402) The presentative function of existential constructions is also reflected in the fact that the notional subject is typically preceded by the indefinite article, cf. "The existential construction is characteristically used to introduce addressee-new entities into the discourse, and for this reason the displaced subject NP is usually indefinite". (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1396)

What appears relevant to our comparison is the composition of the 'subject NP' regarding the context-dependence of its constituents. The CamGEL approach explains what in FSP is referred to as *heterogeneity* of FSP elements regarding their context-dependence. This aspect thus represents not a point of divergence in the two approaches but a point of agreement.

In the section focusing on the analysis of circumstances in which the notional subject is definite and yet carries addressee-new information, apart from instances of cataphora, of entities outside the retrievability span, or 'false definite *this*'[54] we also find instances of complex subject NP where the head is context-dependent but its modification brings new information into the discourse. CamGEL distinguishes two such types, viz. "addressee-new tokens of addressee-old types" and "addressee-old entities newly instantiating a variable"

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[53] See Dušková: 1999a.

[54] As in *Last week there was this strange dog wandering around the neighbourhood*. Pragmatically the demonstrative is replaceable by the indefinite article (*a strange dog*). Such use is typical of informal style, see Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1401, ex. 32i.

(Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1398-1399), examples 76 and 77 below illustrate these respectively, (the head of the NP in point is underlined):

(76) Physics majors are required to take three courses in a foreign language,] and there is <u>the same requirement</u> placed on students in the other sciences.[55]

(77) A: [I must be getting sensitive to garlic; it's upset my stomach twice this week. The first time was on Sunday, when I had too much garlic bread.] Then there was <u>the spicy pasta</u> that you and I shared for lunch yesterday.[56]

In FSP, the notional subjects in the examples above are treated as context-independent since the irretrievable information predominates in the extended postmodification communicating new aspects of a retrievable phenomenon (example 76) or of a phenomenon known to the addressee (but irretrievable from the immediately relevant context) and now mentioned in a new perspective (example 77).

4.4.7 Summary and Discussion

Both approaches work with the clause as the basic syntactic unit where information structure is put to operation. Both approaches apply the four factors in their analysis of information structure, even though to a different extent.

In CamGEL, the linearity factor is indicated by the end-weight and end-focus principle. The semantic factor is represented by the proposition formula applied to extract the variable x which stands for the element carrying the heaviest informational load. The contextual factor is engaged by taking into account the familiarity of the information carried by the clause elements in regard to the addressee and the discourse in which the clause is embedded. The vast concept of discourse is restricted to the "currently salient stretch of discourse" (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1386) as relevant to the information structure analysis. The intonation factor is involved in defining the focus as the element carrying the nuclear stress.

Since the main aim of CamGEL's treatise of information structure is to present the array of syntactic structures available in the English language for arranging elements of a clause in

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[55] Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1398, ex. 25i.
[56] Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1399, ex. 28i.

such a way that the focus is made a structurally prominent part of it, the four above-mentioned factors (viz. linearity, semantics, context and intonation) are merely indicated rather than elaborated in detail and their application is illustrated by examples representing straightforward (central) cases. The linear factor is restricted to the two aforementioned principles, the contextual factor (although elaborated in more detail than what we observed in the other two approaches in British theory) does not show its components (i.e. addressee-related context and discourse-related context) in hierarchy which is, however, acknowledged to apply (as in the treatment of inversion). Deliberation on the application of the semantic factor reveals that in the CamGEL's approach it functions as an *ad hoc* verification of the identified focus rather than as a tool of focus identification itself. In the clauses below (with the focus in capital letters), the first example shows a neutral structure while the other is a marked structure with the variable *x* shifting accordingly, cf.

Dave will bring REFRESHMENTS. – Dave will bring *x*.
DAVE will bring refreshments. (in contrast to *Mary will bring refreshments*) – *x* will bring refreshments.

Moreover, the description of information content of a clause is based on semasiological procedure, i.e. the form of each information-packaging construction is presented and related to the meaning it characteristically conveys. Hence, the account is restricted to nine information-packaging structures, but such occurrences as those of rhematic subject, for instance, are left unaccounted for.

The FSP function of *transition* has no counterpart in the CamGEL's approach; nevertheless, the concept to a small degree manifests itself in one of the conditions underlying the felicity of inversion, viz. that the verb must not carry information which is new to the flow of communication. The observation was significant in accounting for the rhematic subject in the postverbal position. Otherwise, the concept is not acknowledged.

As demonstrated above, the CamGEL's approach does not recognize the dynamic-semantic scales and thus the presentative function of the inversion with a preposed locative and a context-independent subject is left unnoticed.

The definition of the topic is sketchy due to the fact that the concept itself is not conceived as significant in the descriptions of information-packaging structures and the conditions under which they are felicitous. Unlike in other British theories, it is not bound to the clause-initial position.

In final remarks it should be pointed out, that the CamGEL's approach displays many apt observations on information structure and its assertion in the arrangement of clausal constituents. These observations, however, are not incorporated into a larger theoretical framework as it is in the case of the FSP theory.

4.5 FSP and William Chafe's Information Flow

The last approach to be introduced represents an influential theory in American linguistics, a fact which is reflected in the interest which the theory ignited in the works of linguists currently working in the field of FSP (especially Chamonikolasová 2000, 2012) and in the works of Jan Firbas himself (1987, 1992: 37, 105-107). The latest publication (Chamonikolasová 2012: forthcoming) draws a detailed comparison of the two theories. Here, we will first focus on the basic constituents of information structure as they are conceived in the theory of *information flow*.

4.5.1   Information flow: basic constituents

In Chafe's cognitive approach, movement of information in language is expressed by the metaphor of *flow*, reflecting the dynamic nature of consciousness. Consciousness, a concept of cognitive science, forms a larger framework within which the concept of information processing is placed. It is of importance to note at the outset that the Information Flow theory is applied to spoken language, more precisely the language of 'ordinary conversation', conversing being conceived by Chafe as the most natural way language is used, cf. "In this book I assume that there is one particular use of language – ordinary conversation – whose special status justifies treating it as a baseline from which all other uses are deviations". (Chafe 1994: 41) As the FSP theory is applied both to spoken and written language and the application is demonstrated on authentic texts in both of the modes, the two approaches yield differences resulting from the domain of language where they are put into operation. While

the Information Flow theory derives all its observations from spoken language, the FSP theory incorporates research findings from both of the modes into its axioms.

As mentioned in the Introduction, this account is based on Chafe's text (1994) *Discourse, Consciousness, and Time*. The subject matter of *consciousness* is treated in part 1, chapter 3 (The Nature of Consciousness, 26-40) which also comprises the definition of *flow* (Chafe 1994: 30). The approach to information processing in language (*information flow*) is treated in part 2, chapters 5-14 and it is this section of the book that is subjected to a comparison with the FSP theory.

Consciousness is defined as "what we experience constantly while we are awake and often while we are asleep". (Chafe 1994: 27) A crucial feature of our consciousness is that only a small part of it can be activated at a time and thus the concept relevant for further linguistic work is restricted to "this limited activation process"(Chafe 1994: 28), cf. "Consciousness is an active focusing on a small part of the conscious being's self-centred model of surrounding world". (ibid.) Chafe further claims that "this limited capacity of consciousness is reflected linguistically in the brief spurts of language" which are referred to as *intonation units*, and that "each such unit verbalizes a small amount of information which, it is plausible to suppose, is that part of speaker's model of reality on which his or her consciousness is focused at the moment". (Chafe 1994: 29) *Flow* is then described as a metaphor "which is intended to capture the dynamic quality of the movement of information into and out of both focal (active) and peripheral (semiactive) consciousness". (Chafe 1994: 30)

4.5.1.1   Intonation Unit

The intonation unit (IU) is defined as "a unit of mental and linguistic processing […] that seems to be of exactly the right size to be processed in its entirety […]". (Chafe 1994: 55) Chafe identifies three major types into which intonation units break down, viz. *substantive*, *regulatory*, and *fragmentary* (truncated) *IUs*. This classification is based on their function in the information flow; *substantive IUs* "convey ideas of events, states, or referents" (Chafe 1994: 63) and are most often realised by a single clause (60% in Chafe's sample of substantive IUs), *regulatory IUs* function "in the sense of regulating interaction or information flow" (ibid.) – they mostly coincide with discourse markers and consist in most cases of simple particles (as '*well*', '*so*', '*maybe*', etc.), and *fragmentary IUs* which are

defined as having "no determinate structure" [57]. (Chafe 1994: 69) In his research on information flow, Chafe focuses on substantive IUs.

An important feature of the intonation unit is that it can convey just one new idea, i.e. "each activation applies to a single referent, event or state, but not to more than one". (Chafe 1994: 109)[58]

Chafe subscribes to (in his words) "intuitive" view that intonation units comprise some information that is old / given and other that is new (Chafe 1994: 71). Unlike linguists working in the frameworks of the aforementioned theories (viz. the FSP, CGEL and Halliday's approach), Chafe embeds information into a larger framework of cognitive processes which he refers to as *consciousness*; cf. "It is ultimately impossible to understand the distinction between given and new information without taking consciousness into account". (Chafe 1994: 72) A status of information is thus determined by the amount of energy needed for mental activation of the concept in question at the moment of utterance.

4.5.1.2 Topic and Focus

The categories of topic (theme) and focus (rheme) as constituents of information structure are not recognized; Chafe dismisses the traditional view of the categories due to the imprecision in their definition which in his view causes confusion (Chafe 1994: 78, 84)[59]. In the theory of information flow they are superseded by categories denoting types of information forming an intonation unit, viz. *given*, *accessible* and *new information* (see below).

The term 'focus' is used in the sense of *focus of consciousness* (Chafe 1994: 29, 65) and is explained as "a small part of experiencer's model of the surrounding world" (Chafe 1994: 29) that can be *activated* at a time in his/her mind. In spoken language, this *activation* translates into an *intonation unit* (see below).

The term 'topic' is used in the sense of *discourse topic*, i.e. a topic of conversation, and as such it is further elaborated into more subcategories, namely *basic-level topic* (a single topic within a conversation, a conversation comprises one, but usually more basic-level topics),

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[57] *Fragmentary IUs* are thus determined by their form rather than their function.
[58] The concept is discussed in detail in chapter 9, The One New Idea Constraint (108-119).
[59] We have seen that this imprecision is acknowledged by linguists working in the frameworks of all the aforementioned British theories of information structure. Firbas's definition of theme / rheme based on objectively assessable factors has no counterpart.

supertopics "that tie together a group of basic-level topics which may in turn contain *subtopics* within them". (Chafe 1994: 121)

4.5.2   Sentence – Flow relation

Chafe's view of the function of sentence as a unit of language in the information flow merits a comment. Sentence is viewed as a unit too large to be processed as an unbroken whole, i.e. "to be comprehended in one focus of active consciousness". (Chafe 1994: 140) It is speculated that it is the manifestation of human everlasting strive for better cognitive performance, in Chafe's words it represents "attempts […] to push the mind beyond the constraints of active consciousness" since humans have been left with incomplete abilities to focus on larger chunks of reality despite the "remarkable growth of the human cortex". (ibid.)

While basic-level topics verbalize the content of semiactive consciousness and intonation units the content of active consciousness, the sentence is placed somewhere in between to verbalize what Chafe refers to as *centres of interest*. These can be regarded as "superfoci of consciousness, and they come to be expressed in language as super-intonation units" whose completion is expressed with "a sentence-final intonation contour". (Chafe 1994: 140) A syntactic structure realizing the verbalization of such centres is often associated with sentencehood, which however does not apply in many cases occurring in ordinary conversation (unlike in the case of intonation units which form a building block of every spoken intercourse). A sentence as a basic stretch of language where information structure applies is thus dismissed.

4.5.3   Given, accessible and new information. Activation cost

New information is thus in Chafe's view information that needs to be "*newly activated at this point in the conversation*" and given information is then defined as "*already active at this point in conversation*". (Chafe 1994: 72) As a medial category the *semiactive* state is introduced which yields so-called *accessible* information[60]; concepts conveyed in a conversation can thus carry *given information* (i.e. active at the moment of speaking), *accessible information* (semiactive at the moment of speaking), and *new information* (i.e. newly activated at the moment of speaking). The amount of mental energy needed for the activation is referred to as *activation cost*. The figure below illustrates the process:

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[60] A discourse topic is a carrier of semiactive / accessible information (Chafe 1994: 135).

Fig. 1
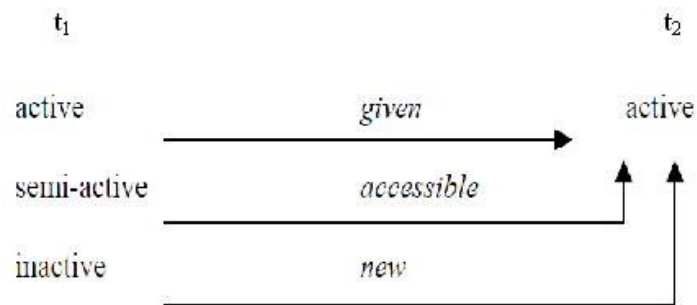
(Activation States, Activation Costs, and Time in Chafe: 1994: 73)

The figure above shows the processing of information in time and in dependence on its state. The activation of given information is most straightforward and thus least costly in regard to the mental effort involved in the process. Accessible information costs more mental energy in the activation process and finally, new information is most costly in the process of its transition from t_1 to t_2 at the end of which it reaches an active state.

All the aforementioned categories are both listener- and speaker-oriented, what differentiates the two perspectives is the timing in the information processing. Figure 2 below illustrates the process from both viewpoints:

Fig. 2
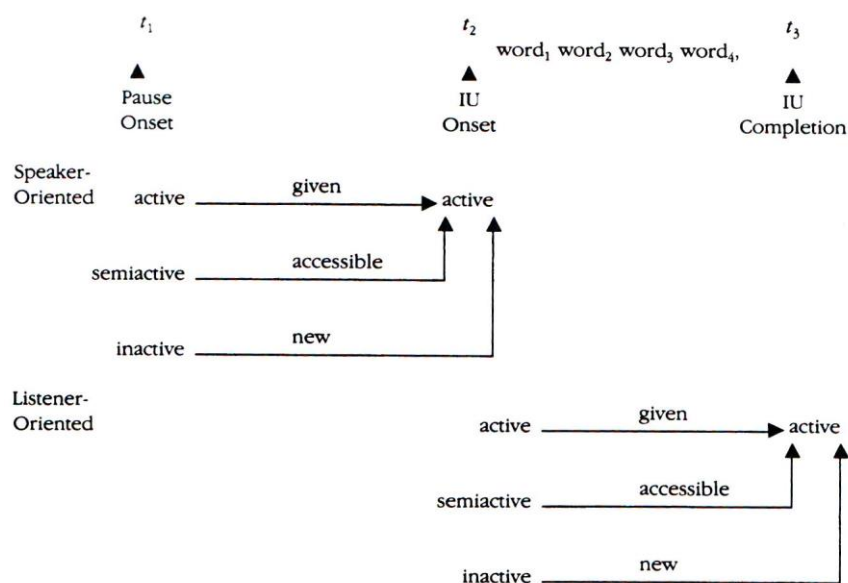
(The Timing of Activation Cost with Relation to Speaker and Listener, Chafe 1994: 74)

The upper part of the diagram above illustrates the process of activation in the speaker's mind: by the time of the IU onset, all the concepts the speaker intends to mention are activated. The lower part of the diagram then shows the information processing regarding its timing in relation to the listener: at the IU onset the process of activation begins and at the point of IU completion, all the referents (realised by the IU's elements) are active in the listener's mind.

As the 'activation cost' cannot be objectively measured (or at least not by the listener in the act of communication, and without brain screening devices), a question arises how it is expressed linguistically. The question is addressed by Chafe (Chafe 1994: 75-81) on several distinct levels of language description: phonologically, contextually, and lexically.

Phonological signal of a status of information within an intonation unit is the prominence of accent, viz. weak accents signal given information (requiring low activation cost) while strong accents signal new or accessible information (triggering higher activation cost). As an exception to the rule, the case of contrastiveness is presented when a given element can carry the primary accent. The occurrence of contrastiveness is found "independent of the activation cost" (Chafe 1994: 77), i.e. "a contrastive element may be given, accessible, or new" (ibid.) This is illustrated by a mixture of examples also comprising cases of selection and correction. Most significantly, the phenomenon of contrastiveness is left unrelated to the focus (rheme in

FSP). In Chafe's view, the term *focus* "suffers from the same lack of precision as the term *topic*" (Chafe 1994: 78) and reference to it is thus avoided.

Contextual means of signalling activation cost involve a mixture of what Firbas refers to as context of situation, experiential context and immediately relevant context. Chafe works with the concept of identifiability / nonidentifiability and he presents how givenness is established in language: by means of pronominalization of active elements whose referent is either present in the preceding context of a short stretch of text (immediately preceding context in FSP) or it is present in the environment in which the communication takes place (situational context in FSP).

The simple definition of identifiability / nonidentifiability, cf. "To put it simply, an identifiable referent is one the speaker assumes the listener will be able to identify" (Chafe 1994: 93) is elaborated in more detail. It includes *sharedness* (the speaker and the listener share the knowledge of the referent in question), *verbalization* "in a sufficiently identifying way" (Chafe 1994: 94), and *contextual salience*. Verbalization in fact stands for linguistic realisation of sharedness, viz. "personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, proper names, common nouns with the definite article or a demonstrative article" and "more complex noun phrases that include some type of modification". (Chafe 1994: 97) Contextual salience is defined as "the degree to which a referent 'stands out' from other referents that might be categorized in the same way", i.e. from other identifiable referents (Chafe 1994: 100). This type of prominence can be established by means of many various factors, in Chafe's summarization "by the discourse, by the environment within which a conversation takes place, by the social group to which the participants in a conversation belong, or by commonness of human experience". (ibid.)

Lexically, the activation cost is reflected in the usage of (accented) full noun phrases (new and accessible information) or (weekly accented) pronouns and in some language by no overt representation of a given referent (given information) (Chafe 1994: 75). Moreover, activation cost is relevant only in elements expressed by content words and pronouns – so-called *ideas*– whereas functional words are outside its scope (Chafe 1994: 81).

In his treatment of given referents, Chafe asks an interesting question of how long a referent retains its given status (Chafe 1994: 79). The same line of inquiry also raised Firbas's interest,

which gave rise to the concept of *immediately relevant context* (cf. 2.1.9). They both come to the conclusion that the activation (to keep Chafe's terminology) lasts for only a short period, Firbas (in accordance with Svoboda's original finding, cf. Svoboda 1981) suggests the length of 7 preceding sentences[61], while Chafe comes to the conclusion that "no simple answer is possible, because it is up to the participants in a conversation to decide whether they will keep a referent active by repeatedly refreshing it throughout a sequence of intonation units, or whether, at the other extreme, they will let it recede from the active state after a single, glancing mention". (Chafe 1994: 79)

4.5.4   Summary and discussion

I offer the following commentary and discussion. It can be agreed that if a spoken communication is to be successful, maximum of effort needs to be put into organization of our communication into easily processible segments of language. Without doubt, the intonation unit plays a major role in mediating a message from the speaker to the listener in that it enables the latter to absorb longer clauses gradually, step by step.

Nevertheless, our experience strongly suggests that it is the clause that is the relevant stretch of language in regard to the information structure. While the intonation unit enables processing of a message part by part, the clause is the carrier of the message as a whole and it is to this whole that intonation units are related. Therefore it appears as more plausible to study the information as it develops in a clause rather than in an intonation unit. It is especially evident in clauses with heavy (complex) constituents; as a rule, these constituents form a separate intonation unit and their information structure analysis lacks sense unless related to the rest of the clause. Although the following example comes from a corpus of written texts, it illustrates the point. Moreover, it is not implausible to imagine it in a spoken conversation (e.g. in story-telling) cf. ex. 78

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[61] This suggestion – borne out in Svoboda's and later Firbas's empirical studies – is recalled in Firbas 1995: 18. It was already pointed out earlier that, due to the graded nature of context, any specific number of sentences must be understood as tentative, not ultimate, cf. Firbas's observation, "Though playing the most important role in the process of obliteration, the distance between an expression and its re-expression does not operate quite independently of other features in the text, such as the length of the intervening sentences and the character of their semantic content" (1994: 121).

(78)   Somewhere high among the trees (Th, Set) an owl (Rh, Ph) was calling (Tr/Pr). (NE 309)[62]

The communicative purpose of the underlined clause above is to introduce a new phenomenon (*an owl*) into the flow of communication. At the same time the clause begins with a complex of two adverbials forming a separate intonation unit. Looking at how the adverbial section (intonation unit) is structured informationally does not bring the listener (the reader in this case) closer to what is being communicated and how. Only when put into the clausal frame, the elements acquire their function, i.e. the initial adverbials perform the function of the theme and fulfil the dynamic-semantic function of setting against the background of which the subject is foregrounded, the verb acquires the function of transition between the theme and the rheme, and the context-independent subject serves the FSP function of the rheme, i.e. the informationally most loaded element.

In conversation the pattern of clause is always present even though not in the surface realisations. For a message to be decoded, its parts (intonation units, which are more often than not realised by syntactic fragments) need to be related to the higher framework of the clause and working in the syntactic relations within it is a necessary part of the decoding process. It is actually one of the reasons why we understand one another despite the fragmented character of everyday-like conversation: the pattern of a clause represents the structure to which the fragments are related, the missing components being filled in on the part of the listener. Therefore it seems plausible to understand syntactic relations as an inherent part of information structure analysis rather than rely primarily on intonation. Although intonation is a significant factor, it is a participant rather than the foremost force in information processing. To illustrate the point, let me comment on one of the examples adduced by Chafe (1994: 141). It is a simplified version of the example; Chafe's complex prosody marking is reduced to that of primary stress (capital letters), the comma stands for "a terminal contour which is not sentence-final" (Chafe 1994: xiii: Symbols Used in Transcriptions of Speech), the full stop signifies "a sentence-final falling pitch" (ibid.). The highlighting is mine and marks the most relevant part for the analysis below. The extract is organized by intonation units, cf. ex. 79

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[62] The example comes from my corpus collected for the purpose of this study, see Sample Sources.

(79) IU1   I was on the BUS today,

      IU2   and **there was this WOMAN saying**,

      IU3   **that her SON**,

      IU4   **works for the RANGER service or whatever**.

      IU5   And there was SNOW,

      IU6   CHEST HIGH,

      IU7   at Tuolomne MEADOWS.

In my view, considering the information structure of IU3 above in isolation misses the point that the lexeme '*son*', although a carrier of the primary stress, is (together with its determiner) the least informationally loaded element in the dependent clause whose subject it is. The stress alerts the listener (to the credibility of the statement to come, stressing the reliability of the source of the information[63]), but the informational peak is yet to come as the clause unfolds. Information structure becomes relevant on the clausal level the most.

In FSP, the highlighted section of the conversation above is recognized as a basic distributional field: *there* (Th) – *was* (Tr) – *this woman saying that her son works for the ranger service or whatever* (Rh). The rhematic section comprises a communicative subfield realised by the adjectival relative clause [*who* (Th)] *was*] *saying* (Tr) *that <u>her son works for the ranger service or whatever</u>* (Rh) with the underlined content clause performing the function of the rheme in that subfield. On yet another sublevel the content clause is analysable as a communicative field of the third rank, cf. *her son* (DTh) *works* (Tr) *for the ranger service* (RhPr) *or whatever* (Rh). The subject (*her son*) is rendered diathematic. Its diathematic function arises from the fact that is a newly introduced scenic element. (In support of the argument, see Svoboda's analysis of another text, 1981: 43)[64]

The main objection to the central concept of the Information Flow theory, *activation cost*, is that it is impossible to assess objectively. Yet, it is essential for a linguist applying the theory practically either in analyses or in teaching to rely on objectively set criteria. Teaching translation skills springs to mind as an example where identifying the rheme on the basis of clearly defined linguistic signals is of crucial importance in creating naturally flowing texts

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[63] A son would not lie to his mother and thus the impression is created that the information can be relied on.
[64] Svoboda (1981: 43) ascribes two semantic roles to a diathematic subject, viz. it is a) "the newly introduced scenic element employed as the quality bearer for the first time", b) "the well-established scenic element ("old" quality bearer) picked up again after some time, most frequently in mild contrast with the preceding quality bearer functioning as diatheme".

with the carriers of informational peaks positioned fittingly in clauses of the target language. Linguistic signals of activation cost listed by Chafe do not seem to be sufficient for a consistent information structure analysis: for example, identifying the concept of '*son*' in example 76 above as new information of high activation cost (carrier of intonation nucleus, realised by a full noun phrase) would not guide the translator to place it into the thematic section of the clause in the target language. In contrast, the concept of *communicative dynamism*, a rough FSP counterpart to *activation cost*, proved a reliable identifier of the theme / rheme not only in English, but also in German, French, Italian, and in small languages like Czech or Norwegian[65] (although there is space for potentiality as in other fields of linguistic inquiry).

Finally, a brief comment on Chafe's criticism of FSP (Chafe 1994: 161-164). Two major objections are presented: first, FSP's avoidance of "any broader social or cognitive commitments" (Chafe 1994: 162) and ignoring the role of consciousness (ibid.) in information processing; second, the constructed examples to which FSP axioms are applied[66] (Chafe 1994: 162, 163).

The FSP theory is strictly language-autonomous, i.e. observations about the language come from the language itself, which makes it better applicable to (both spoken and written) texts as it leaves little space for speculation: all the linguistic evidence comes from the texts themselves. The second objection presumably results from Chafe' being unfamiliar with Firbas's monograph (1992) where the FSP theory is applied to and demonstrated on authentic literary and spoken (recorded and transcribed) texts, just as it was in Svoboda's Diatheme (1981) and in many further studies in the field.

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[65] Firbas (1992, 1994) works with texts in English, German, French and Czech. For FSP application to Italian texts, see e.g. Klímová (2010). For FSP application to German texts see the works of E. Beneš. A new publication has just come out listing all (including those mentioned above) works in the area of FSP and TFA published between the years 1956 and 2011, cf. Drápela, 2015. For reference to the application of FSP to texts in Norwegian, see footnote 16. FSP's universal character will surely provoke further studies working with still more languages. It has been an interesting field of linguistic investigation in diploma theses and beyond.

[66] Interestingly, Halliday's constructed example *The duke gave my aunt this teapot* and its variations is, in spite of its unnatural character, appreciated by Chafe, see pp. 165, 166, and 167.

5 Analysis and Results

The overall results are presented in Table 1 below.

Table 1

ACADEMIC PROSE	Pr. Scale		Pr. Scale without EC		EC		Basic Distributional Fields		Pages
	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	
Dahl	68	1.94	39	1.11	29	0.83	3513	100	155
FaG	70	4.90	42	2.94	28	1.96	1430	100	78
GaE	180	5.29	108	3.18	72	2.12	3400	100	136
Hawking	163	5.19	39	1.24	124	3.95	3142	100	145
Morris	249	7.52	92	2.78	157	4.74	3309	100	175
Searle	96	5.58	10	0.58	86	5.00	1720	100	89
TOTAL	**826**	5.00	**330**	2.00	**496**	3.00	**16514**	100	**778**

FICTION	Pr. Scale		Pr. Scale without EC		EC		Basic Distributional Fields		Pages
	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	
Evans	307	3.05	82	0.82	225	2.24	10059	100	382
Ishiguro	68	4.12	30	1.82	38	2.30	1650	100	99
Rosten	87	4.63	43	2.29	44	2.34	1878	100	131
Roth	60	2.60	11	0.48	49	2.13	2304	100	108
Smith	103	2.55	59	1.46	44	1.09	4032	100	192
Styron	280	2.67	108	1.03	172	1.64	10491	100	632
TOTAL	**905**	2.98	**333**	1.09	**572**	1.88	**30414**	100	**1544**

The data show that the communicative goal of presentation is pursued by 5% of all sentences functioning as basic distributional fields (thereafter 'sentences' or 'basic distributional fields') in the academic prose sample; in fiction the amount is lower at slightly less than 3% of all basic distributional fields, i.e. 5 and 3 sentences in a hundred realise the Presentation Scale in academic prose and fiction respectively, the bulk of the rest is communicatively oriented towards a quality.

To obtain a comparable number of target presentation sentences (330 and 333 in academic prose and fiction respectively) almost the double number of pages (as well as distributional fields) needed to be searched in the texts of fiction. The fact that presentation sentences are altogether more often employed in academic prose than in fiction is in line with the experience a reader makes when going through the two types of texts. Writers of fiction use less straightforward techniques to introduce a new element into the flow of communication; a new element is often embedded in a quality sentence, cf. the example below with the new element underlined:

(80)   From the single grime-encrusted window in my rear fourth-floor cubicle I could stare
down into the <u>ravishing garden</u> of a house on West Twelfth Street, and occasionally I
glimpsed what took to be <u>the owners of the garden</u> – a youngish tweedy man whom I
fantasized as a rising star at the New Yorker or Harper's, […]. (WS10)

This is a typical example not only of Styron's style: new elements (*Under my rear fourth-floor cubicle was <u>the ravishing garden of a house</u>*, and *occasionally there appeared <u>the owners of the garden</u>*) are placed within the Quality Scale sentences, viz. *I could see/ I glimpsed + <u>a new element</u>*.   Regarding the information structure, however, the two types of sentences (i.e. Presentation Scale sentence and Quality Scale sentence) are in this case neutralized as the new element is in both structures rhematic be it a specification of quality or a presented phenomenon.

The higher frequency of presentation sentences in the academic prose sample may be grounded in the primary aim of the genre, i.e. to mediate information as straightforwardly as possible and this comes hand in hand with the accordance of meaning (e.g. introduction of a new phenomenon) and form (presentation sentence). The writers of fiction, on the other hand, are in everlasting search for new ways of expression and are not tied by formal properties of sentences.

A closer look at individual authors in Table 1 above, however, reveals differences within each functional style. In the academic prose sample, the most remarkable difference can be observed in Dahl's work which stands out for the lowest frequency of presentation sentences (1. 94 %) and which would better fit the fiction sample. This is due to the specific nature of the philosophical text conceived as a narrative not much different from the narratives we encounter in fiction. A similar claim can be made about Fairbank and Goldman's work which also reveals below-average employment of presentation sentences ascribable to the narrative nature of a history book. Indeed, even the category of functional style is of a scalar character.

It is of interest to look at the frequency of occurrence of the existential construction, a presentation structure *par excellence*. It accounts for 3% of all distributional fields in academic prose as opposed to 1. 88% in fiction and is thus in agreement with what is stated above regarding the difference between the two functional styles. Whereas writers of

academic prose more rely on the prototypical syntactic structure conveying presentation of a phenomenon, writers of fiction, where the demand on variation of forms is greater, employ the range of presentation structures to the fullest.

5.1 Syntactic Realisations of Presentation Scale in Academic Prose and in Fiction

The overall results regarding the occurrence of individual types of syntactic realisation of Presentation Scale in both samples are given in Table 2 below.

Table 2

Author	Extended Presentation Scale				RSPP				I		LS		EC		Total
	RSPP (spec.)		RSPPpass (spec.)		RSPP		RSPPpass								
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	
Dahl	4	6	2	3	20	29	6	9	6	9	1	1	29	43	68
FaG	1	1	0	0	17	24	10	14	11	16	3	4	28	40	70
GaE	19	11	31	17	15	8	33	18	1	1	9	5	72	40	180
Hawking	7	4	2	1	5	3	11	7	1	1	13	8	124	76	163
Morris	7	3	12	5	25	10	46	18	1	0	1	0	157	63	249
Searle	1	1	1	1	2	2	0	0	3	3	3	3	86	90	96
Total	39	5	48	6	84	10	106	13	23	3	30	4	496	60	826
Total (Abs.)	87				190				23		30		496		826
Total (%)	11				23				3		4		60		100

<p align="center">Presentation Scale in Academic Prose (table above)</p>

Author	Extended Presentation Scale				RSPP				I		LS		EC		Total
	RSPP (spec.)		RSPPpass (spec.)		RSPP		RSPPpass								
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	
Evans	19	6	1	0	40	13	1	0	21	7	0	0	225	73	307
Ishiguro	4	6	2	3	17	25	3	4	4	6	0	0	38	56	68
Rosten	13	15	0	0	27	31	0	0	2	2	1	1	44	51	87
Roth	2	3	1	2	7	12	0	0	1	2	0	0	49	82	60
Smith	7	7	2	2	35	34	3	3	12	12	0	0	44	43	103
Styron	32	11	0	0	51	18	1	0	25	9	0	0	171	61	280
Total	77	9	6	1	177	20	8	1	65	7	1	0	571	63	905
Total (Abs.)	83				185				65		1		571		905
Total (%)	9				20				7		0		63		100

<p align="center">Presentation Scale in Fiction (table above)</p>

Unsurprisingly, the existential construction (EC) is the most frequently employed type in both samples. It accounts for 60 and 63% of all presentation sentences in academic prose and fiction respectively. This outcome confirms the results of earlier empirical studies of this kind (e.g. Dušková 1998), and is in full agreement with Adam's findings (see Adam 2013: 61-62). In his fiction sample the existential construction accounted for 64% percent of all (488) presentation sentences. If the centre-periphery approach is applied, the result confirms the very central position of the existential construction in the category of presentation sentences.

In both samples, sentences with the rhematic subject in the preverbal position (RSPP) are the second most frequently employed type of presentation sentences, i.e. 23% and 21% in academic prose and fiction respectively. Looking at the subtype with the presentation verb in the passive (RSPPpass), however, reveals a considerable difference between the two samples. Whereas it accounts for 19% of all presentations sentences in academic prose (in Table 2 see the RSPPpass slot totalling 13% plus the RSPPpass (spec.) slot totalling 6%), it is only 2% in fiction. Higher rate of passive presentative verbs in academic prose was also recorded in sentences realizing the Extended Presentation Scale alone, viz. 48 out of 87 occurrences against 6 out of 83 occurrences in academic prose and fiction respectively. High occurrence of the passive in academic prose is generally acknowledged and it is often ascribed to the impersonal style the writers of academic prose strive for as it contributes to the neutral tenor of their presentations. A frequently employed syntactic instrument for achieving neutrality is the passive voice as it enables avoidance of the reference to the agent of the predication. On the contrary, all fiction texts display remarkably low occurrence of the RSPPpass subtype as the writers aspire to create very personal fictional milieus where readers can identify with what they are reading. Neutrality in style is mostly not desirable.

The Extended Presentation Scale was identified in 11% and 9% of all presentation sentences in academic prose and fiction respectively.

Sentences displaying inversion of the subject and the verb (I) occur with different frequency in dependence on functional style. Whereas in academic prose they are the least frequent type of presentation sentences (3%), in fiction they represent the third most frequently employed type of presentation sentences (7%). This confirms the results of my previous study (Rohrauer 2013), where the greater occurrence of presentation sentences with inverted word order in fiction is ascribed to a greater emphasis on cohesion in imaginative texts (the inversion is triggered by initially placed adverbial functioning as a link to the preceding text).

Sentences with the locative subject (LS) generally represent the rarest type of presentation sentences and in this category, as mentioned earlier, they are considered peripheral, i.e. transitional between two categories. Interestingly, in the academic prose sample, they account for 4% of all presentation sentences which makes them more numerous than the sentences with inversion and they show an overwhelming tendency to comprise one specific verb, viz.

the verb *contain.* It was recorded in 27 out of 30 sentences with the locative subject, which amounts to 90%. In the fiction sample, only 1 occurrence (0%) was found altogether.

5.1.1   Academic Prose – FSP and Syntactico-Semantic Analysis
Before the results are presented it needs to be stressed that the syntactic-semantic analysis was performed on the target presentation sentences, i.e. with the exclusion of the existential construction, and thus it concerns 330 presentation sentences (RSPP, I, LS) out of 826 presentation sentences ascertained in the sample (RSPP, I, LS, EC). As mentioned earlier, this is due to the fact that existential sentences have already been explored in detail and that this project aims at contributing to the exploration of the other three syntactic realisations of Presentation Scale.

5.1.1.1   Presentative verbs
In the sample 117 presentative verbs (types) were identified among 330 occurrences (tokens). Out of these 55 types/174 tokens occur in active voice and 65 types/ 156 tokens in passive voice sentences, cf. Table 3.

Table 3

Presentative verbs in academic prose		
	Types	**Tokens**
Presentative verbs in active	55	174
Presentative verbs in passive	65	156
Presentative verbs in total	117	330

Looking at the 'Types' section of the Table above reveals a discrepancy in the total, viz. 65+55 makes 120, not the declared 117. This is due to the overlap between the passive and active verb forms. Three types of presentative verbs appear in both of the verb sets: *develop, form,* and *evolve*. Their usage is illustrated below (exx. 81-83), the verb (Pr) underlined, the context-independent subject (Ph) in bold.

(81)   A) In order to facilitate this lack of social contact, **anti-touching behaviour patterns** <u>develop</u>. (DM185)

B) **An extensive derivative chemistry of these various species** <u>has been developed</u>. (GaE202)

(82)   A) As explained above, **an early generation of stars** first <u>had to form</u>. (SH124)

   B) […] and above 450°C **polar —B=O groups** <u>are formed</u>. (GaE 229)

(83)   A) At last, **a new species** <u>would have evolved</u>, **separate and discrete, a unique form of life, a three hundred and sixty-seventh kind of squirrel**. (DM14)

   B) **Special submissive postures** <u>have been evolved</u> **which automatically appease a dominant animal and inhibit its attack.** (DM26)

All three verbs display a different semantic connection between subject and verb in dependence on whether they are used transitively or intransitively. In their intransitive function, all three verbs have the semantic load of "come into existence" and hence resultant character of the subject. Yet they do not form a homogeneous group. The difference comes to the fore in their transitive function: while the verbs *develop* and *evolve* both have affected subject, cf. *Our species* (affected subject) *developed anti-touching behaviour patterns* and *Man* (affected subject) *evolved special submissive postures,* the verb *form* differs from the previous two in that it has agentive subject, cf. *God* (agentive subject) *formed an early generation of stars*.[67]

With the exception of these three verbs the two sets (active and passive verbs) do not overlap and will be discussed separately.

The active voice verb set is more numerous as regards the tokens but less varied (formed by a smaller number of types) than the passive voice verb set. Table 4 lists the most frequently employed verbs and the type of presentation sentences in which they occurred.

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[67] For more details about the relation between transitive and intransitive verbs and their subjects, see Quirk et al 1985: 745-6, 1169-70.

Table 4

Presentative verbs in active voice in academic prose		
Most frequently employed verbs	Occurrence	Syntactic Structure
contain	27	LS
occur	21	RSPP, RSPP (spec.)
(existential) be	17	I, RSPP (spec.)
come	10	I, RSPP (spec.)
appear	8	RSPP, RSPP (spec.)
arise	8	RSPP, RSPP (spec.)
exist	7	RSPP, RSPP (spec.)
be available	6	RSPP
follow	5	RSPP
lie	5	I

The first slot is occupied by the verb *contain* with 27 occurrences exclusively tied to presentation sentences with locative subject. It was employed by all the authors of academic prose under examination except of one, viz. Dahl, whose text has been earlier described as closer to the texts of fiction than any of the other texts of academic prose. The sample analysis and the sample comparison thus imply that presentation sentences with locative subject are more characteristic of academic prose than of fiction, and moreover in an overwhelming majority they tend to employ one specific verb. For illustration, the example below is adduced (the presented phenomenon in bold, the verb underlined, the outside of the basic distributional field scope in square brackets):

(84)   Zhu Xi's amendments also <u>contained</u> **detailed instructions on the way how to greet a fellow compact members, how to invite them to banquets, and how to conduct banquets – what to wear, what name cards to use, and so on**. [What an organization man!] (FaG 99)

An exclusive bond between a verb and a type of presentation sentence is also observed in the verbs *lie* (meaning 'be located or situated somewhere') found only in sentences with S-V inversion (I), *follow* and *be available* (found exclusively in the RSPP sentences) . Interestingly, without exception all the locative adverbials preceding the verb *lie* are locative in an abstract sense, cf. exx. 85-86:

(85)   Between the two extremes <u>lie</u> a number of alternatives that provide a place for argument drawing on human reason and human experience. (RD67)

(86)   Beyond the national state now <u>lies</u> the possibility of even larger and more inclusive supranational political associations. (RD213)

The verb *follow* is used intransitively as illustrated below:

(87)   But if this system fails, as it often does under conditions of extreme crowding, for example, then real fighting **follows** and the signals give way to the brutal mechanics of physical attack. (DM155)

(88)   Other discoveries **followed**. (FaG30)

The verb *occur* (meaning *appear, arise*) displays a formal character (from Latin *occurrō* meaning *present itself*[68]) and it is not surprising that it is numerous in the functional style that is by definition more formal than that of fiction[69]. The verb *be* has existential meaning and is found in sentences with inversion or in sentences realizing the Extended Presentation Scale.

The combination '*be + available*' is worth special attention. The objection that we have to do with a verbonominal predication (and thus with a Quality Scale) rather than with a single verb seems to be overruled by its semantic load which is in the examined texts strongly presentative and allows substitution with a single verb, viz. *exist*. The combination is thus analysed as one communicative unit carrying out the dynamic-semantic function of presentation. With a context-independent subject the whole predication acquires presentative character, cf. the examples below (the pr-verb is underlined; the subject is highlighted in bold and the irrelevant part of the sentence, i.e. the part outside the basic distributional field, in square brackets):

(89)   **Many reactions** <u>are available</u> **for the preparation of hydrogen** [and the one chosen depends on the amount needed, the purity required, and the availability of raw materials]. (GaE 45)

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[68] www.etymonline.com Retrieved 20.12.2014

[69] In fiction we expect it in structures like "[…] *it didn't immediately occur to him that, if he chose to, he could lie about his race as well*" (PR109), i.e. as a verb of cognition (*occur + idea*) in constructions with the anticipatory 'it'. In academic texts it is a verb of appearance as in "*Further catastrophic changes may then occur* […]" (GaE6)

(90) **Numerous reactions** <u>are available</u> **for the artificial production of tritium** [and it is now made on a large scale by neutron irradiation of enriched ^{6}Li in a nuclear reactor] (GaE 48)

(91) […] but **little detailed structural information** <u>is available</u>. (GaE101)

It is also worth noting that 4 out of 6 of these verbs appear in sentences where the subject phrase displays syntactic discontinuity, i.e. the postmodification does not immediately follow the head. This will be discussed in more detail in due course.

Apart from *be available*, more combinations *verb+ element* standing as one complex lexeme were identified: *be + at work / in the making / in the offing*, *come + to light / into existence*, *take + place / root* or *gain ground*. All of these combinations explicitly express existence or appearance on the scene and are substitutable by one verb, viz. *exist* or *appear*. In the analyses they are treated as one communicative unit carrying out the dynamic-semantic function of presentation[70]. Also combinations like *begin + to grow / to emerge / to take place* are worth noting, here the verb *begin* is an aphasal verb, i.e. it denotes only the initial stage of an action and is semantically complete only with the infinitive following it.

Apart from the occurrence of passive verb forms in the structures with the subject in the preverbal position (RSPPpass), two such occurrences were identified in the structure with the subject – verb inversion. In both cases it is the verb *find,* which with 11 occurrences altogether ranks among the most frequently employed verbs in passive, cf. Table 5 below.

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[70] This approach where some combinations '<u>verb + adverbial/object</u>' are treated as one communicative unit is adopted by Svoboda (1989: 79-80).

Table 5

Presentative verbs in passive voice in academic prose		
Most frequently employed verbs	**Occurrence**	**Syntactic Structure**
make	12	RSPPpass , RSPPpass (spec.)
find	11	RSPPpass , RSPPpass (spec.), **I (2x)**
give	10	RSPPpass (spec.)
know	7	RSPPpass, RSPPpass (spec.)
develop	6	RSPPpass , RSPPpass (spec.)
add	5	RSPPpass , RSPPpass (spec.)
obtain	5	RSPPpass , RSPPpass (spec.)
build	4	RSPPpass
observe	4	RSPPpass
produce	4	RSPPpass , RSPPpass (spec.)
propose	4	RSPPpass , RSPPpass (spec.)
show	4	RSPPpass (spec.)

For illustration the two sentences with inverted word order are adduced below:

(92)   Overlying the Painted Pottery <u>has been found</u> **a thinner, lustrous Black Pottery (called Long Shan) more widely distributed throughout North China, the Yangzi valley, and even the southeast coast, indicating a great expansion of Neolithic agriculture with many regional subcultures**. (FaG32-33)

(93)   At Anyang <u>were found</u> **the stamped-earth foundations, as hard as cement, of 53 buildings, with many stone-pillar bases**. (FaG33)

In both cases the subject phrase is very complex and the principle of end-weight applies merging here with the principle of end-focus. It is perhaps worth noting that the initial element in ex. 92   differs in that it is not a locative adverbial as in ex. 93, but a fronted modification formed by a participial clause, cf. *A thinner, lustrous Black Pottery <u>(which is)</u>* <u>*overlying the Painted Pottery*</u> *has been found more widely distributed throughout North China [...]*

An untypical and admittedly peripheral verb in its passive form identified as presentative is the verb *know*. It was recorded exclusively in the text on chemistry. In this specific context of scientific exploration of chemical elements and their derivatives the verb semantically functions as a presenter of what elements/ their derivatives/ their behaviour under certain circumstances/ etc., have already been discovered and are thus *known* to the experts in the

field and hence to laymen public. Here applies that what is not known by way of scientific discovery and description does not exist and vice versa. With a context-independent subject the structure acquires a strongly presentative character. To illustrate the point, all the occurrences are listed below (exx. 94-100) with the verb (Pr) underlined, the presented phenomenon (Ph) in bold and the outside of the basic distributional field in square brackets:

(94) [This book presents a united treatment of the chemistry of the elements.] At present **107 elements** <u>are known</u>, though not all occur in nature: of the 92 elements from hydrogen to uranium all except technetium and promethium are found on earth and technetium has been detected in some stars. (GaE1)

(95) The closely **related phenomenon of antiferroelectric behaviour** <u>is</u> also <u>known</u>, **in which there is an ordered, self-cancelling arrangement of permanent electric dipole moments below a certain transition temperature**; [H bonding is again implicated in the ordering mechanism for several ammonium salts of this type, e.g. […]] (GaE62)

(96) **Numerous examples** <u>are</u> also <u>known</u> **in which hydrogen acts as a bridge between metallic elements in binary and more complex hydrides**, [and some of these will be mentioned in the following section which considers the general question of the hydrides of the elements.] (GaE69)

(97) **Many other complexes $[M(B_{10}H_{12})2]^{2-}$ and $[L_2M(B_{10}H_{12})]$** <u>are known</u> **with similar structures except that, where M = Ni, Pd, Pt, the coordination about the metal is essentially square-planar rather than pseudo-tetrahedral as for Zn, Cd, and Hg**. (GaE201)

(98) [Chlorine forms a series of neutral *closo*-poIyhedral compounds B_nCl_n (n =4,8—12) and] **several similar compounds** <u>are known</u> for Br (n= 7—10) and I (e.g. B_9I_9). (GaE220)

(99) In addition, **vast numbers of predominantly organic compounds containing B—O** <u>are known</u>. (GaE228)

(100) **Borates** <u>are known</u> **in which the structural unit is mononuclear (1 B atom), bi-, tri-, terta-, or penta-nuclear, or in which there are polydimensional networks including glasses.** (GaE231)

Except exx. 94 and 99, all subject phrases display discontinuous modification which will be discussed later as well as the observation that the subject phrase is in most of the cases heterogeneous regarding context-dependence.

As well as in the active verb set, a combination of words considered as one lexeme was identified in the passive verb set, viz. *bring into play* which is in its passive use synonymous with *appear (on the scene),* cf. ex. 101:

(101) The moment that serious combat begins, **artificial weapons of one sort or another** <u>are brought into play</u>. (DM174)

5.1.1.2   Rhematic Subject in the Preverbal Position (RSPP)

Out of 330 target presentation sentences, 278 with rhematic subject in the preverbal position were identified, which accounts for 84%. The subset of 278 contains a collection of 88 sentences extended by specification (realizing the Extended Presentation Scale). Within both groups (i.e. presentation sentences with RSPP and sentences realizing the Extended Presentation Scale) variants with passive verb occur, cf. Table 6

Table 6

Distribution of RSPP in Academic Prose							
RSPP				Extended Presentation Scale			
RSPP		RSPPpass		RSPP (spec.)		RSPPpass (spec.)	
84	44%	106	56%	39	45%	48	55%
	190	69%			87	31%	
		277		100%			
Total of all target sentences abs. 330 (84% RSPP)							

The presentation of the analysis below is organized as follows:

Subtype 1: RSPP, i.e. structures without specification and without a verb in the passive

Subtype 2: RSPPpass, i.e. structures without specification and with the verb in passive

Subtype 3: RSPP (spec.), i.e. structures realizing the Extended Presentation Scale

Subtype 1 and Subtype 2 form the left-hand side of Table 6.

5.1.1.2.1 Subtype 1: RSPP

84 occurrences of Subtype 1 were recorded. Out of these 11 display semantic affinity between the subject and the verb, 18 comprise a syntactic discontinuity between the head of the subject phrase and its postmodification, 11 comprise a final adverbial, and finally, there are 6 structures displaying the SVO pattern.

5.1.1.2.1.1 Semantic affinity between the subject and the verb

A verb which displays semantic affinity with its subject and hence "prepares the way for the phenomenon to be presented" (Firbas 1992: 61) was unequivocally identified in three cases (exx. 102-104), viz. *evolve – new species, stare back – face*, and *rage – rebellion*:

(102) At last, <u>a new species</u> **would have evolved**, separate and discrete, a unique form of life, a three hundred and sixty-seventh kind of squirrel. (DM14)

(103) What happens is that a few lines or spots are placed inside the outline of the circle and then, as if by magic, <u>a face</u> **stares back** at the infant painter. (DM133-4)

(104) From 755 to 763 <u>a frightfully destructive rebellion</u> **raged** across the land. (FaG82)

As a majority of head nouns in the subject phrases are abstract (65 out of 85), comprising semantically neutral items like *process*, *change*, *reaction*, *objection*, *alternative*, *circumstance*, *belief*, and the like; it is problematic to pinpoint a semantic feature which would affiliate them with the presentative verb. In the sample, 8 cases were identified in which the verb is a collocant of its subject, and thus in a kind of semantic affinity with it, viz. *occur – change / shift* (5 occurrences, see ex. 105), *question – arise* (2 occurrences, see ex. 106), *go on – activity* (1 occurrence, ex. 107):

(105) When a mammal becomes aggressively aroused **a number of basic physiological changes** <u>occur</u> within its body. (DM149)

(106) **Three questions** <u>arise</u>: First, is it possible to get around the principle of competence in deciding on the inclusiveness of the demos? (RD126)

(107)   When you have a thought, **brain activity** <u>is</u> actually <u>going on</u>. (JS25)

The fact that semantic affinity between the verb and its subject was also identified in the academic prose sample (13. 5% of all Subtype 1 sentences) – we intuitively expect it in texts

of fiction but not in texts of science – supports Adam's claim that "the (potential) semantic affinity operating between the Pr-verb and the rhematic subject appears to play an even more important role in the basic distribution of the degrees of CD than had been assumed in the past. Recent research has indicated that it actually represents one of the leading criteria that enable a verb to act in the Presentation Scale". (Adam 2013: 118)

5.1.1.2.1.2   Rhematic Subject – Syntactic Discontinuity

Two types of syntactic discontinuity were recorded concerning the subject: discontinuous postmodification and discontinuous appositive. The two types differ in the relationship between the concerned elements: while the postmodifying element is subordinate to its head (noun), in apposition the two linguistic units (noun phrases) are in a coordinative relationship and they are either "identical in reference" or "the reference of one must be included in the reference of the other" (Quirk et al. 1985: 1301).

Both discontinuities make the RSPP structure interesting in that the head/one element of the apposition appears in the preverbal position as this type of FSP structuring requires, but its postmodification/appositive is placed after the verb. In the sample all such postmodifying elements occupy the ultimate (final) position, cf. ex. 108 with the subject phrase comprising discontinuous non-appositive postmodification in bold:

(108) During the first half of the fifth century B. C., **a transformation** took place in political ideas and institutions among Greeks and Romans **that was comparable in historical importance to the invention of the wheel or the discovery of the New World**. (RD13)

The discontinuity is in all cases motivated by the principles of end-weight (the postmodifying elements being very complex as illustrated in the example above) and end-focus (the postmodification carrying the highest degree of CD). The following types of postmodifying elements were identified: postmodification by an adjectival relative clause (8 occurrences, ex. 108), postmodification by a prepositional phrase (5 occurrences), postmodification by an adjectival content clause (2 occurrences), postmodification by a participle (1 occurrence). 2 occurrences were ascertained with a complex noun phrase appositive to the sentence-initial

noun phrase (both noun phrases functioning as a clausal subject). For illustration, see exx. 109-112 below with the subject in bold and the type of postmodification adduced:

(109) *Postmodification by a prepositional phrase*: **The technology** already exists **for producing hydrogen electrically and storing it in bulk**. (GaE46)

(110) *Postmodification by a content nominal declarative clause[71]*: By the eighteenth century, **the belief** gained ground **that if constitutions and man-made laws were to be legitimate and acceptable, they must not violate the "higher laws" prescribed by nature and by natural rights**. (RD39)

(111) *Postmodification by a participle*: **Carbon burning** can follow in older red giants **followed by the α-process during its final demise to white dwarf status**. (GaE9)

(112) *Appositive element in the final position*: At last, **a new species** would have evolved, **separate and discrete, a unique form of life, a three hundred and sixty-seventh kind of squirrel**. (DM14)

The postmodification by a prepositional phrase is a case of potentiality due to the double possible interpretation of its syntactic function, i.e. a postmodifying element or an adverbial element. In 3 sentences (out of 5) it concerns one type of a structure, viz. *noun + be available/exist + for sth* (cf. exx. 113, 114).

(113) **Many reactions** are available **for the preparation of hydrogen** [and the one chosen depends on the amount needed, the purity required, and the availability of raw materials.] (GaE45)

(114) **The technology** already exists **for producing hydrogen electrically and storing it in bulk**. (GaE 46)

The final prepositional phrase can be interpreted as an adverbial of purpose complementing the verb (i.e. to be available for what purpose?). Here such cases were analysed as structures with a postmodifying prepositional phrase in the final position on the basis of the following:

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[71] This type of postmodification is often regarded as standing in apposition to its head (Dušková 1988: 600, Note 1). It may as well be referred to as appositional modification.

the prepositional phrase is substitutable with a relative clause, viz. *many reactions which enable the preparation of hydrogen* and an *numerous reactions which enable the artificial production of tritium,* and thus it particularizes the meaning of the head (i.e. what reactions) rather than complements the verb.

The following example (ex. 115) is different from the previous two and is adduced for comparison. Here the prepositional phrase has a dynamic-semantic function of specification, syntactically it is an adverbial of purpose (in the brackets the FSP function and the dynamic-semantic function is adduced):

(115) Gratitude and admiration (Rh, Ph) must be expressed (Tr, Pr) **for the efficiency of his action in stopping you (RhPr, Sp)**. (DM172)

5.1.1.2.1.3   Final Adverbial

The occurrence of a final adverbial in RSSP structures, Type 1, is interesting due to a certain degree of potentiality identified in 1 out of 11 cases, cf. ex. 116 with the final adverbial in italics.

(116)   When this is activated, **adrenalin** <u>pours</u> *into the blood* [and the whole circulatory system is profoundly affected.] (DM149)

The final adverbial is not present in the immediately preceding context and thus disposed to be interpreted as context-independent. Here, however, the adverbial was assigned the FSP function of the theme: adrenalin is a substance that can pour only into the blood and nowhere else and thus the final adverbial is not perceived as an element carrying a higher degree of CD than the clausal subject.

5.1.1.2.1.4   The SVO Pattern

As the usage of a transitive verb is usually accompanied by a metaphorical shift, it is not associated with factual texts as those of academic prose. However, in line with Lakoff and Johnson (1980), who in their book *Metaphors We Live By* claim that metaphor is inconspicuously present in all the language we use (as our conceptual system is metaphorical in nature), in 6 cases it was also identified in the academic prose sample, cf.

(117) From antiquity **a ghostly presence** <u>has haunted</u> the discussion of the general good. (RD72)

(118) Among all these bizarre and poignant ironies, **one unanswered question** <u>haunts</u> all Chinese patriots today. (FaG2)

(119) **A curious anomaly** <u>haunts</u> the three centuries of the Song in China. (FaG88)

(120) **The fundamental patterns of behaviour laid down in our early days as hunting apes** still <u>shine through</u> all our affairs, [no matter how lofty they may be]. (DM 40)

(121) **The development of pubic hair, the broadening of the hips, and the swelling of the breasts** <u>accompanies</u> this change [and, in fact, slightly precedes it.] (DM60)

(122) **Basic biological changes in the nature of the hunting ape** <u>had to accompany</u> this process. (DM34)

The context immediately preceding the sentences in examples 117 and 118 needs to be adduced (in paraphrase) to substantiate the decision to assign the objects thematic function. The former is an excerpt from the philosophical text (*Democracy and Its Critics*) advocating and reasoning in favour of the democratic system as the best socio-political organization of modern communities. The discussion of the general good is present throughout the text as its hypertheme. The latter, placed paragraph-initially, comes from the text on Chinese history (*China. A New History*). The preceding paragraph begins with this topic sentence: *Today the old men in Beijing do not want China flooded with the commercial world's pop culture* and then it flows with information about American influence. This new paragraph (comprising ex. 118) creates a textual link with the topic sentence of the previous one withing the retrievability span (the distance amounts to 5 sentences) and hence the object phrase "*Chinese patriots*" is perceived as context-dependent.

The first example of the set displays the subject – verb semantic affinity, viz. *ghostly presence – haunt*. All examples display a semantic shift in the verb although the last two (*accompany*) less conspicuously. While the sentences with the verb *haunt* are not far away from a poetic metaphor (characteristically they come from the two academic texts conceived as a narrative and hence closest to fiction), the verb *accompany* displays a semantic shift of another kind, viz. animate → inanimate where an activity associated with live objects, mainly with human beings, is ascribed to an inanimate, abstract entity such as *anomaly*, *development*, or *change*.

The verb *shine through* is typically associated with entities emanating light; in the arrangement with the subject '*patterns of behaviour*' it acquires metaphoric flavour.

5.1.1.2.2   Subtype 2: RSPPpass (the passive variant)

With its 106 occurrences in the sample, the Subtype 2 structure (comprising a passive predicate and no extension by a specification) is the most numerous within the RSPP group. Overall it is the second most frequently employed structure realizing the Presentation Scale in academic prose, exceeded only by the existential construction (cf. Table 2). The well-acknowledged fact that scientific writing abounds with passive structures is thus also confirmed as regards presentation sentences.

The passive voice verb set comprises verbs of production (verba efficiendi), one of the most prototypical representatives, *make*, being the most frequently employed verb in the set (7 occurrences). Other verbs of this kind recorded in the sample are *build*, *create*, *develop*, *devise, draw, form, generate, establish, isolate* (in chemistry), *produce.* The verbs *propose* or *advance, put forward* fall into the same category, denoting production in abstract sense, i.e. an idea is created). A few examples below are adduced for illustration with the subject in bold and the verb underlined. Example 124 displays apposition in the subject noun phrase.

(123)   **Progress** <u>was being made</u> here, too. (DM18)

(124)   Whatever the reasons, a large number of people soon began to work on string theory and **a new version** <u>was developed</u>**, the so-called heterotic string, which seemed as if it might be able to explain the types of particles that we observe**. (SH162)

(125)   [[…] but, as with the alkali metals, reactivity within the group increases with increasing electropositivity,] and **few organometallic compounds of Ca, Sr, or Ba** <u>have been isolated</u>**.** (GaE141)

(126)   **Two alternative programs** <u>have been proposed</u>**.** (RD75)

(127)   […] and **cogent arguments** <u>have been advanced</u> **both for the presence of hydride ions H⁻ and for the presence of protons H⁺ in the d-block and f-block hydride phases**. (GaE73)

Verbs of perception / cognitive processes were recorded: *know*, *note*, *observe*, *record*, *see*:

(128) **Various trends** <u>have long been noted</u> **in the acid strengths of many binary hydrides and oxoacids**. (GaE53)

(129) In more recent times **a case** <u>has been recorded</u> **of a male boring holes in his mate's labia and then padlocking her genitals after each copulation**. (DM86)

(130) **Sudden spontaneous outbursts of running, chasing, jumping and dancing** <u>are</u> commonly <u>seen</u> [and juvenile play patterns may reappear.] (DM52)

It is worth noting that the subject in examples 124, 127, 128 and 129 displays a discontinuous postmodification. The convenience of not having to express the agent is accompanied by the option of placing the element with the highest degree of CD clause-finally. This type of syntactic and FSP structuring was identified in 38 (36%) out of 105 (100%) cases.

As stated earlier, the set of passive verbs is very varied and the variation is also reflected in the fact that with the exception of the two categories mentioned above, it is difficult to find more clusters of verbs identifiable as one (static) semantic class. In most of the cases it is one class per one verb and thus categorization becomes ineffective. Inspired by Adam (2013: 88-90), I will adduce some more examples representing a semantic class (exx. 131-133).

(131) *Verb of Combining and Attaching*: **The appropriate postures and gestures** <u>must be added</u>. (DM172)

(132) *Appoint Verb*: **One or two heads** <u>were elected</u>, [and quite detailed regulations regarding behaviour were adopted.] (FaG99)

(133) *Verb of Change of Possession*: **A lot of prizes** <u>have been awarded</u> **for showing that the universe is not as simple as we might have thought**! (SH78)

It will be noted that the last example displays a degree of semantic affinity between the subject and the verb, viz. *prize – be awarded*.

5.1.1.2.3 Subtype 3: The Extended Presentation Scale (RSPP (spec.), RSPPpass (spec.))

Three criteria define the Extended Presentation Scale, viz. the presence of a context-independent subject, a presentative verb, and of a context-independent final adverbial[72]. In terms of dynamic-semantics the context-independent subject fulfils the function of a phenomenon presented onto the scene (Ph), the presentative verb the role of presentation (Pr)

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[72] Adam (in reference to Chamonikolasová and Dušková) distinguishes the Extended Presentation Scale from the Combined Scale in that in the former the presentative verb is "physically present", see Adam (2013: 138)

and the final context-independent adverbial the function of specification (Sp) by which the Presentation Scale is extended.

87 occurrences of the Extended Presentation Scale were recorded which amounts to 11% of all (826) presentation sentences and to 26% of all target presentation sentences (330) in the sample. The numbers show that sentences realizing the Extended Presentation Scale form a significant part of the sample. The passive variant prevails with 48 occurrences; 39 comprise a presentative verb in the active voice.

The examination of this subset of presentation sentences was undertaken with the aim to look more closely at the 3 constitutive features: apart from the syntactic-semantic qualities of the verb I examined the character of the subject and the final adverbial and I was mainly interested in how the presentative features assert themselves in this type of sentences.

The verb is in all cases <u>explicitly</u> presentative, the active voice verb set comprises such typical expressions as *appear (5x)*, *arise (2x)*, *(existential) be (7x)*, *be in the offing (1x)*, *come (5x)*, *come to light (1x), ensue (1x), exist (1x), occur (8x), persist (1),* or *take place (1x)*. The expression *be available (3x)* was recorded, which is considered presentative due to its contextual exchangeability with the verb *exist* as argued above. The passive voice verb set comprises verbs of production (verba efficiendi) such as *construct (2x)*, *develop (1x)*, *make (5x)*, *produce (2x)*, *form (1x)*, *propose (1x), put forward (1x)*, other verbs expressing a result, viz. *achieve (1x)*, *establish (1x)*, *find (3)*, *gain (1x)*, *identify (1x)*, *obtain (4x)*, *provide (1x)* and verbs occurring also in sentences without specification (Subtype 2 above) identified as presentative, viz. *add (1x)*, *express (1)*, or *know (2x)*. Moreover the verbs *require (1x)* and *apply (2x)* were recorded as presentative in their passive form.

It has been observed that the verb is either presentative *per se* (statically), or it displays semantic affinity with its subject and thus strengthens the presentative character of the clause. In the active voice verb set 3 such cases were identified, viz. *adrenalin – pour, teeth – erupt, foundation – construct* in the examples below where the (relevant part of the) rhematic subject is highlighted, the verb is underlined, the adverbial fulfilling the dynamic semantic function of Specification is in italics:

(134) When this is activated, **adrenalin** <u>pours</u> *into the blood* [and the whole circulatory system is profoundly affected]. (DM 149)

(135) The permanent **teeth** <u>erupt</u> *in the sixth year*, (DM 110)

(136) Although the idea of Intrinsic Equality, standing alone, is too weak to support the Strong Principle Equality, **a stout foundation** <u>can be constructed</u> by joining it with a second assumption that has been a cornerstone of democratic beliefs (RD 99)

Ex. 136 displays another feature contributing to the presentative character of the clause, viz. the subject stands in contrast to the subject of the immediately preceding clause and thus it gains a specific communicative importance, cf. *weak idea of Intrinsic Equality* vs. *a stout foundation*.

The S-V semantic affinity was also identified in the passive voice verb set (3 occurrences), the subject and the verb stand in all three cases in a collocation, cf.

(137) **Care** should be <u>taken</u> in these reactions *because B_2H_6 is spontaneously flammable*; [it has a higher heat of combustion per unit weight of fuel than any other substance except H_2, BeH_2, and $Be(BH_4)_2$] (GaE187)

(138) As the battle was to be won by brain rather than brawn, some kind of dramatic evolutionary **step** had to be <u>taken</u> *to greatly increase his brain-power*. (DM 32)

(139) The increased novelty of the environment heightens the neophobic fears, and heavier **demands** are <u>made</u> on the comforting devices *to counteract this*. (DM 143)

In addition to the explicitly presentative semantics of the verb, the subject also displays features contributing to the presentative character of the whole clause. First of all it is its complexity which provides the subject with robustness stressing its communicative importance especially in the presence of a simple specifying adverbial. The examples below illustrate the point (the subject underlined, the specifying adverbial in bold italics):

(140) <u>A spectacular example, which affects virtually every element in the central third of the periodic table</u>, has recently come to light ***with the discovery of prehistoric natural nuclear reactors at Oklo in Africa***. (GaE. 22)

(141) Reductive cleavage of strained rings such as those in cyclopropanes and epoxides occurs ***readily*** [and acetyle (or ketals) are also reductively cleaved to yield an ether and an alcohol (GaE 193)

This type of structuring (i.e. the subject phrase heavier than the final context-independent adverbial) does not necessarily implement the Extended Presentation Scale. Exx. 142-146 illustrate the point: despite the complexity of the subject noun phrase (left-branching), the sentences are perspective to the final adverbial. The subject noun phrase is in all cases predominantly context-dependent (and summarizes points discussed in the preceding text). We have to do with the Quality Scale, cf. exx. 142-146.

(142) As the genesis of the elements is closely linked with theories of stellar evolution, a short description of the various types of star is given ***in the next section*** [and this is then followed by a fuller discussion of the various processes by which the chemical elements are synthesized.] (GaE 4)

(143) An illustration of dramatic and continuing improvement in accuracy and precision during the past 100 y is given ***in Table 1 4***. (GaE18)

(144) A full discussion of these effects, including the influence of solvent, concentration, temperature, and pressure, is given ***in ref. 22***. (GaE 63)

(145) Numerous other examples of H bonding will be found ***in later chapters***. (GaE 65)

(146) [Structural data are also available] and an example of a solvated 8-coordinate Ca complex [(benzo-15-crown-5-Ca(NCS)$_2$.MeOH] is shown ***in Fig. 5.7 (p. 139)***. (GaE 137)

At first, the examples were collected as presentation sentences, after re-evaluation they are adduced as structures implementing the Quality Scale displaying an interesting pattern: functionally, all the above adduced sentences operate on the level of meta-text, i.e. they inform about the text itself[73]. Their main purpose is to instruct the reader in what sections of the text further information about the issues expressed by the subject can be found. They

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[73] Meta-text is defined s 'text that describes or discusses text' (www.yourdictionary.com). The term is used in literary theory and is also referred to as 'hypertext', see Gérard Genette's *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*: "Hypertextuality refers to any relationship uniting a text B (which I shall call the hypertext) to an earlier text A (I shall, of course, call it the hypotext), upon which it is grafted in a manner that is not that of commentary." (1997: 5)

mostly comprise the passive form of the verb *give*, but also verbs *find* or *show* (exx. 145 and 146 respectively) were recorded. This type of sentences was recorded mainly in the most technical of the academic prose texts (*Chemistry of Elements*).

At this point, the syntactic-semantic character of the presentative verb occurring in the Extended Presentation Scale can be summarized. The passive voice verb set displays different static semantic qualities, naturally, than the active verb set. The former comprises mostly verba efficiendi, the latter mostly verbs of existence/appearance/occurrence. Both sets involve verbs displaying semantic affinity with their subjects. Table 7 below presents the most frequently occurring semantic classes statistically:

Table 7

Academic Prose: Distribution of Verbs in the Extended Presentation Scale Subset		
	Active Voice Verb Set	**Passive Voice Verb Set**
Verbs of Appearance/Existence/Occurrence	29 (74%)	----
Verba Efficiendi	----	28 (58%)
Verbs in Semantic Affinity with the Subject	3 (8%)	3 (6%)
Total	39 (100%)	48 (100%)

The presentative character of a clause realizing the Extended Presentation Scale can be additionally emphasized by the subject preceded by a focalizer. The following example (ex. 147) further illustrates the point:

(147) [It could be argued that evolution might have favoured the less drastic step of developing a more typical cat- or dog-like killer, a kind of cat-ape or dog-ape, by the simple process of enlarging the teeth and nails into savage fang-like and claw-like weapons. […]] Instead, **an entirely new approach** was made, *using artificial weapons instead of natural ones*, and it worked. (DM 21)

High communicative value of the subject "*new approach*" is augmented by the focalizer "*entirely*".

We can now make a tentative summary: The features that seem to play an important role in augmenting the presentative aspect of a clause realizing the Extended Presentation Scale are the explicitness of the presentative verb and an augmented subject (either by contrast, its complexity or a focalizer).

Finally, the formal and semantic properties of the final adverbial serving as Specification need to be considered. Formally, the final adverbial is very varied. The most frequent realisation is that by a prepositional phrase, i.e. preposition + noun (52 occurrences out of 87, which amounts to 60%), ranging from relatively simple phrase (ex. 148) over a complex phrase (ex. 149) to a very complex phrase comprising multiple modification (ex. 150). The subject is underlined, the specifying adverbial in bold italics:

(148)   An unusual and virulent form of influenza has appeared ***in Asia***, [and it is expected to reach the United States]. (RD 75)
(149)   A more serious dispute arose ***with the German philosopher Gottfried Leibniz***. (SH. 182)
(150)   Consequently, a strong countercurrent favoring the ideal of a fully participatory democracy persists ***among advocates of democracy, who often hark back to the older democratic vision that was reflected in Rousseau's Social Contract and in images of the Greek democracy***. (RD 225)

4 cases were recorded where the head noun of the Specification is preceded by a preposition and modified by a relative clause. These cases were extracted as a separate group due to the semantic relationship between the clause and the noun phrase, which resembles apposition, cf. ex. 151:

(151)   An important break from the prevailing orthodoxy occurred, however, ***during the English Civil War, when the Puritans were compelled in their search for a republican alternative to monarchy to raise many of the most fundamental questions of democratic (or republican) theory and practice***. (RD 28)

Furthermore 2 occurrences of the specifying adverbial realised by an adverbial of manner were recorded (see ex. 141 above).

10 occurrences of the specifying adverbial realised by a non-finite clause were recorded, viz. 5x the infinitive of purpose (ex. 152), 4 x a participial (ex. 153), 1 x an –ing gerund (ex. 154):

(152) <u>Two reversible reactions</u> also occur ***to give an equilibrium mixture of H_2CO, CO_2, and H_2O*** (GaE 45)

(153) <u>Eight general methods</u> are available <u>for the synthesis of borides</u>, ***the first four being appropriate for small-scale laboratory preparations and the remaining four for commercial production on a scale ranging from kilogram amounts to tonne quantities***. (GaE163)

(154) Although the idea of Intrinsic Equality, standing alone, is too weak to support the Strong Principle Equality, <u>a stout foundation</u> can be constructed ***by joining it with a second assumption that has been a cornerstone of democratic beliefs***. (RD 99)

Clausal realisation of the final specifying adverbial was recorded in 9 cases (adverbial clause of cause 4x, time 2x, condition 1x, concession 1x, and exception 1x).

Finally, in 10 cases a combination of two different adverbials was recorded, the difference resting in static semantics as well as in formal properties: combinations of adverbial of means (adverb) and concession (clause), adverbial of place (adverb) and accompanying circumstances (participial clause) and the like, occurred. Table 8 below gives an overview of the results:

Table 8

Extended Presentation Scale in Academic Prose	
Formal Realisation of the Specifying Adverbial	**Occurrence**
Preposition + Noun	52 (60%)
Adverbial Participial Clause	10 (11.5%)
Combination of Several Different Adverbials	10 (11. 5%)
Adverbial Finite Clause (Cause 4x, Temporal 2x, Conditional 1x, Concessive 1x, Exception 1x)	9 (10%)
Preposition + Noun Phrase + Relative Clause	4 (5%)
Adverb of Manner	2 (2%)
Total	**87 (100%)**

To sum up, the centrality of the verb fully reflects itself in the Extended Presentation Scale as it is the presence of an explicitly presentative verb that plays the major role in the presentative character of the sentence. The presentative character can be further emphasized by an augmented subject (by way of contrast or by a focalizer). Most often, however, it is the final specifying adverbial that displays these qualities: the complexity along with semantic prominence.

5.1.1.3   Subject -Verb Inversion

As regards terminology, 2 terms are used in connection with this type of presentation sentences, viz. '*S-V inversion*' and '*fronting*'. In Quirk et al. (1985: 1377-1383) we find the term '*fronting*' to refer to the information structure and the term '*inversion*' to the grammar structure of a sentence. The term '*inversion*' is here used to denote structures where the verb precedes the subject (hence S-V inversion); in majority cases this process is triggered by an adverbial placed initially: SVA→ASV. '*Fronting*', denotes all other structures involving any other element moved to the initial position where it is otherwise not usual (in the sample it mostly concerns a verbal element preceding the subject, e.g. *Entwined around his neck was a rope…*).

In the academic prose sample, 23 occurrences of sentences (classified as basic distributional fields) displaying the subject-verb inversion were recorded. It has already been mentioned above that this type of information structuring (the fronted adverbial serving as scene-setting, the verb serving as presentation followed by the subject serving as a presented phenomenon) is more frequent in fiction than in academic prose. In an earlier study (Rohrauer 2013) this fact was ascribed to the capacity of such structures to enhance cohesion and (thus contribute to a finer texture of the writing) as the initial fronted adverbial serves as a direct link to the preceding text (see ex. 155 below). It was also maintained that in academic prose it is rather a clear, explicit, unambiguous presentation of facts/findings that motivates the texture. Juxtaposition of sentences serves as a frequent cohesive tool, linking devices do not abound as narrative passages are rather rare.

The findings based on the study of this sample confirm the above-made assertions. Looking at Table 2 reveals that most of the academic prose texts comprise 1 to 3 occurrences and the biggest number of sentences with S-V inversion is found in two texts classified as those resembling a fiction narrative (not by their content but by the presentation style based on

narrative techniques), viz. the text on China's history (FaG) with 11 occurrences and the text on philosophy (Dahl) with 6 occurrences. Below an example with linking initial adverbial is adduced (the initial adverbial in a cohesive tie[74] with the subject of the immediately preceding clause is in italics, the subject in the postverbal position is highlighted in bold):

(155)   As interstate rivalries intensified, *the ingredients of a new order* began to emerge that would contribute to the unification of the Warring States. *Among these ingredients* was **the use of infantry armies in hilly terrain on northern and southern frontiers, areas which were difficult for chariots to manoeuvre in**. (FaG 54)

The most often employed verb in this subset is the existential *be* (9x; ex. 156), followed by the verb *lie* in the sense of '*being situated or located somewhere*' (5x; ex. 157 above), *come* (4x, ex. 157), *go* (1x; ex. 158), *stretch* (1x; ex. 159) and the passive form of *find* (1x; ex. 160), cf.

(156)   *Here* plainly <u>was</u> **a tool which the Confucian adviser could use to affect the emperor's behaviour**. (FaG 66)

(157)   *First* <u>came</u> **military overexpansion, ruinously expensive**. (FaG 82)

(158)   [From tool-using to tool-making was the next step,] and *alongside this development* <u>went</u> **improved hunting techniques,** not only in terms of weapons, but also in terms of social co-operation. (DM 21)

(159)   *East of it in the north* <u>stretches</u> **the North China plain**. (FaG 29)

(160)   *At Anyang* <u>were found</u> **the stamped-earth foundations, as hard as cement, of 53 buildings, with many stone-pillar bases**.(FaG 33)

Constructions involving the verb preceding the subject also involve fronting of verbal elements. In our sample 2 fronted *–ing* participles occur:

(161)   *Lying above the red giants* are **the supergiants such as Antares** (Fig. 1.4), **which has a surface temperature only half that of the sun but is 10 000 times more luminous**: it is concluded that its radius is 1000 times that of the sun. (SH 8)

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[74] For a description of the concept of a cohesive tie, see the seminal text by Halliday and Hasan (1976:3-4). The example adduced involves what Halliday and Hasan refer to as *lexical cohesion* based on a reiteration of a lexical item (see Halliday and Hasan 1976: 277-282).

(162) *Overlying the Painted Pottery* has been found **a thinner, lustrous Black Pottery (called Long Shan) more widely distributed throughout North China, the Yangzi valley, and even the southeast coast, indicating a great expansion of Neolithic agriculture with many regional subcultures**. (FaG 32-33)

It will be noted that ex. 162 comprises a passive verb (one of the two ascertained in this subtype of presentation sentences) and that the fronted element is a verbless adverbial clause by which it differs from the previous example (161) where the fronted element is the main verb in the present continuous form.

As a conclusion, a quote from Quirk et al. seems best fitting, viz. fronting often serves "the function of so arranging clause order that end-focus falls on the most important part of the message as well as providing direct linkage with what has preceded" (1985: 1377). With the exception of exx. 158 and 159, the end-focus merges with the end-weight.

5.1.1.4   Locative Subject

In contrast to the preceding types, which are characterized by all constitutive features of the presentation sentence, sentences with a locative subject represent a transitional (peripheral) case. Formally, this structure comprising a context-dependent subject and a context-independent object qualifies as the Quality Scale. Semantically (in both the static and dynamic sense of the word), however, it conveys presentation of a phenomenon (realised by the rhematic object) onto the scene (realised by the thematic locative subject).

The incidence of this type of presentation sentences in academic prose differs substantially from that in fiction; compare 30 occurrences (4% of all presentation sentences) and 1 occurrence (0%) in the two samples, respectively (cf. Table 2). Remarkably, the set of the employed verbs in this type of presentation sentences is very homogeneous: out of 30 verbs, 27 are accounted for by the verb *contain*[75]. Interestingly, it is found in all the excerpted texts but one, viz. Dahl's philosophical text. The highest incidence of the verb was observed in the most technical of the texts representing exact sciences, viz. Hawking's text on astronomy with 13 occurrences and Greenwood and Earnshaw's text on chemistry with 9 occurrences. Further, 2 occurrences of the verb *carry* and 1 of the verb *hold* were identified. The examples

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[75] The verb '*contain*' implies existential construction, viz. This jar contains coffee. ['There' coffee in this jar'] (Quirk et al. 1985: 747)

below are adduced for illustration, the locative subject is in italics, the verb underlined and the context-independent object carrying out the dynamic-semantic function of presented phenomenon is in bold:

(163) *Magnesium alloys* typically <u>contain</u> **90% Mg together with 2 – 9% Al, 1 – 3% Zn, and 0,2 – 1% Mn**. (GaE 121)

(164) In practice, however, *arrangements like these* <u>carry</u> **two serious risks**. (RD 185)

(165) As the political and administrative center of Northern Song, *Kaifeng* <u>held</u> **a great concentration of officials as well as service personnel, troops, and hangers-on attracted by the court**. (FaG 89)

These findings (both quantitative and qualitative) confirm the results of the aforementioned earlier study (Rohrauer 2013) which was performed on a much smaller corpus comprising 80 target presentation sentences (i.e. RSPP, I, LS) excerpted from texts of academic prose (unlike this study which is based on examination of 330 such sentences). In conclusion we can thus make a tentative claim that presentation sentences with thematic locative subject and rhematic object present a distinctive feature differentiating the functional style of academic prose from that of fiction. Whereas in fiction it is the rarest type of the four syntactic realisations of the Presentation Scale, in academic prose it is employed more frequently than the structure with S-V inversion and moreover, there is a preference for one specific verb, viz. the verb *contain*. This seems to hold true especially of exact scientific texts.

5.1.1.5 *Have* – A Special Case of Presentation

The following examples represent a special type of sentences. They were recorded aside the corpus out of the interest in their noticeably presentative make-up (which is reflected in their potential paraphrase by an existential sentence) and their yet unacknowledged syntactic make-up[76] not dissimilar from that of presentation sentences with locative subject in that they comprise a context-dependent thematic subject and a context-independent, rhematic object. Let us consider the following set of examples with their paraphrase adduced below them. The rheme is in bold, the verb is underlined, the subject[77] in italics. The marking in italics is

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[76] By 'unacknowledged syntactic make-up' I mean that this type of sentences does not form a part of the canon of four acknowledged syntactic realisations of presentation scale.

[77] In the paraphrases by the existential construction the existential 'there' is underlined which is the subject of the surface structure. The notional subject in these constructions is, of course, the rheme in bold.

designed to show the parallel between semantically weak '*we*' and '*there*' (neither is void of meaning, but the semantic load of each is weakened in relation to the final clausal element).

(166) If four solutions can be called on to deal with three types of possible violations, then formally speaking *we* <u>have</u> **at least twelve possible arrangements**. (RD 183)

Paraphrase: […] then formally speaking *there* <u>are</u> **at least twelve possible arrangements**

(167) *We* <u>do not have</u> **a complete consistent theory that unifies general relativity and quantum mechanics**, but we do know a number of the features it should have. (SH 61)

Paraphrase: *There* <u>is not</u> **a complete consistent theory that unifies general relativity and quantum mechanics**, […].

(168) *We* also now <u>have</u> **evidence for several other black holes in systems like Cygnus X-l in our galaxy and in two neighboring galaxies called the Magellanic Clouds**. (SH 94-95)

Paraphrase: *There* <u>is</u> also now **evidence for several other black holes in systems like Cygnus X-l in our galaxy and in two neighboring galaxies called the Magellanic Clouds**.

(169) *We* <u>have</u> **evidence** from cosmic rays **that the same is true for all the matter in our galaxy**: there are no antiprotons or antineutrons apart from a small number that are produced as particle/antiparticle pairs in high-energy collisions. (SH 76)

Paraphrase: *There* <u>is</u> **evidence** from cosmic rays **that the same is true for all the matter in our galaxy**: […].

All of the examples above display the subject semantically functioning as the universal human agent '*we*' in the sense '*we = people*' or, perhaps more precisely, the semantic interpretation is that of exclusive '*we = scientists*' and thus by implication '*we = people*' (as without scientific discovery the *evidence/ theory/ (theoretical) arrangements* would not be existent altogether). The subject is followed by the transitive verb '*have*' which is not explicitly presentative, yet it has a presentative potential as it points forward to its object in the sense that when we have something, it, by implication, exists. In the arrangement with the subject conceived as the universal human agent, the verb '*have*' obtains strongly presentative

meaning and the object, if context-independent, obtains the dynamic-semantic meaning of a presented phenomenon.

What has just been described above is not unacknowledged in the literature. The presentative character of the verb 'have' is fully recognized in CGEL (see '*have*-existentials' in Quirk et al. 1985: 1411-1414). In her study of thematic progressions in texts of academic prose and fiction, Dušková (2010b: 255)[78] observes that the universal human agent is rather frequently employed in her sample of academic prose, which she understands to be motivated primarily by the principle of end-focus: the context-independent complementation of the verb occupies the post-verbal position and is thus in harmony with the final placement of the rheme. Dušková (ibid.) adds that next to passive constructions this type of arrangement seems to represent an important means in scientific text structuring. In the texts under examination in this study, this type of sentences was also recorded with the universal human agent conveyed by '*one*', cf.

(170) In attempting to incorporate the uncertainty principle into general relativity, *one* <u>has</u> **only two quantities that can be adjusted**: **the strength of gravity and the value of the cosmological constant**. [But adjusting these is not sufficient to remove au the infinities.] (SH 157)

Touching upon the existential meaning of the verb *have,* in his commentary on sentences '*I have got a book*' and '*There is a book in my possession*' Firbas (1992: 63) maintains that both verbs (*have got* and *is*), "have *a book* as their competitor, provided it is context-independent. Under this condition, they both introduce *a book* into the communication, and in the absence of other competitors orient the communication towards it. In either case the meaning of existence participates in taking the communication a step further". In a similar vein, Lyons (1977: 480) in his book *Semantics 2* observes the difference between the sentences '*The book is on the table*' and '*The table has a book on it*'. While the latter is semantically compatible with '*There is a book on the table*', the former "is most naturally interpreted as expressing a proposition about the book that is being referred to (on some occasion of utterance)" (ibid.)[79]

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[78] The article is written in Czech. Here, the point most relevant to the phenomenon under discussion is formulated in English – all potential obscurities are to be ascribed to an inapt paraphrase of mine, not to the quoted linguist.
[79] See also Lyons (1967) 'A Note on Possessive, Existential and Locative Sentences'.

In FSP terminology, while the former realises the dynamic-semantic scale of Quality, the latter is perceived to imply the dynamic-semantic scale of Presentation.

The formula 'universal human agent + *have* + context-independent object' differs from sentence types '*The table has a book on it*', however. In the former the initial element is not locative and we have to do with a possessive-existential predication, in the latter it is locative-existential.

5.1.2   Fiction – FSP and Syntactico-Semantic Analysis

5.1.2.1   Presentative verbs

In the sample of 333 basic distributional fields, 164 presentative verbs (types) were identified in the total of 337 occurrences (tokens). Out of these 149 types/319 tokens occur in the active voice and 16 types/ 18 tokens in the passive voice sentences, cf. Tab 9.

Table 9

Presentative verbs in fiction		
	Types	**Tokens**
Presentative verbs in active	149	319
Presentative verbs in passive	16	18
Presentative verbs in total	164	337

As in the academic prose sample, there is an overlap between types in the passive voice and active voice verb set resulting in the discrepancy in the total of Types, viz. 149 + 16 makes 165 instead of the declared 164. One verb type appears in both of the sets: the verb *hang*, cf. the pair of examples below with the verb (Pr) underlined, the context-independent subject (Ph) highlighted in bold.

(171)   A) **Yellow lanterns, the colour of rape seed**, <u>hung</u> in the branches of the trees. (ZS 64)
B) To pass the time while descending it, **a photographic Belsey family gallery** <u>has been hung</u> on the walls, following each turn that you make. (ZS 16)

The 'Tokens' section of the Table reveals more tokens (occurrences) of presentative verbs (337) than basic distributional fields forming the sample (333). This is due to the occurrence of a multiple verb in three sentences, cf.

(172) Nearby, <u>leaning</u> on the hood of a rusted pale blue pickup and <u>listening in</u>, <u>was</u> **the little hunter guy in the fur hat who had raised the alarm**. (NE 26)

(173) At the centre, <u>rearing</u> and <u>screaming</u> and <u>striking</u> each other with their hooves, <u>were</u> **Pilgrim and the white stallion Tom had seen that day with Annie**. (NE 406-407)

(174) In my own room, with its door ajar, **Yetta Zimmerman** <u>half lay</u>, <u>half sat</u>, sprawled in a chair, muttering distractedly in Yiddish. (WS 621)

It will be noted that in exx. 172 and 173 we have to do with fronting of the main verb in the form of present participle (a commentary on the phenomenon comes below in Section 5.1.2.2.4 on S-V inversion) and that exx. 171 and 174 implement the Extended Presentation Scale, which is commented upon in the appropriate section (5.1.2.2.3) below.

The most frequently employed eleven verbs in the active voice verb set are presented below in Table 10.

Table 10

Presentative verbs in active voice in fiction		
Most frequently employed verbs	**Occurrence**	**Syntactic Structure**
come	41	RSPP, I (12x), RSPP (spec.)
(existential) be	38	RSPP, I (29x), RSPP (spec.)
stand	9	RSPP, RSPP (spec.), I (5x)
appear	8	RSPP, I (1x), RSPP (spec.)
hang	8	RSPP, I (1x), RSPP (spec.)
ring	7	RSPP
rise	7	RSPP, I (1x), RSPP (spec.)
enter	6	RSPP, RSPP (spec.)
fall	5	RSPP, RSPP (spec.)
follow	4	RSPP, I (2x), RSPP (spec.)
go through (something, somebody)	4	RSPP, RSPP (spec.)

Two prototypical presentative verbs appear atop the Table, viz. *come* with 41 occurrences and *be* (a full verb denoting existence). As in the academic prose sample, existential *be* appears prevailingly in sentences displaying the S-V inversion (here in 29 out of 38 cases).

Those verbs in the Table whose static semantics is not presentative *per se* (i.e. statically), viz. *ring* and *fall*, display semantic affinity with their subjects (the verb underlined and the rhematic subject in bold):

(175)   The **doorbell** <u>rang</u>. [Howard took a step down, kissed the back of his son's head, ducked under one of his arms and went to the door.] (ZS 24)

(176)   […] and a tender **light** <u>was</u> <u>falling</u> across the foliage. (KI 106)

It will be noted that the subject in ex. 175 (*the doorbell*) is irretrievable from the immediately relevant context, the definite article denotes the unique quality of the doorbell (there is usually one at the main entrance door), and in our example first mention is made of it. Adam (2013: 129-132) refers to this type of presentation sentences as *thetic sentences*, i.e. "sentences that can be characterised by a single idea (hence 'thetic', i.e. point-by-point character) – it almost seems that the subject and the verb (or functionally speaking, the basis and the nucleus) merge into one compound predication." In the sample here all seven occurrences of *ring* are found in such predications with the subject of *doorbell*, *school bell* or *town clock bell*.

The following combinations '*verb+ element*' are treated as one communicative unit: *come into play, grope one's way, make one's way,* and *make a bloated buzzing.* They are perceived as one semantic unit, cf. come into play (= appear), grope one's way (= advance), make one's way (= advance), make a bloated buzzing (= buzz), carrying out the dynamic-semantic function of presentation[80].

Regarding the static semantics, the presentative verb set is far more varied than what we saw in the academic prose sample. Table 11 presents all 218 presentative verbs ascertained in their active voice form (the passive voice verb set of mere 18 items is presented separately below). 1 verb is not adduced as it was ascertained in a sentence with the locative subject, viz. *contain*[81], and which is thus of a somewhat special character. The static semantic classification model is taken over from Adam (2013)[82] for comparative purposes and also due to the 'user-friendly' categories which accurately reflect the (static) semantic variation in the verb set.

Table 11

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[80] Adam describes these cases as "deep 'intransitive understanding' of S-V transitive structures" and he maintains this has to do with their figurative content. He adduces examples like 'coil its way', 'throw a pool of light', or 'wake the silence' (2013: 126)

[81] Quirk et al. (1985: 205) list the verb among 'verbs of being and having' referring to the paraphrase "The box *contains* a necklace. [= 'A necklace is in the box']"

[82] For the whole list he worked with, see Adam 2013: 88-90. The individual semantic classes are further sub-classified; in this study reference to the subclasses is made where relevant. Adam (2013) bases his classification on Levin (1993).

Static semantics of pr-verbs in fiction	Occurrence	Types
Verbs of Motion	99	arrive, barrel, circle, come, come back, come in, come out, come up, cross, descend, enter, escape, fill, flood, fly, go through, go by, go up, grope one's way, chase one another, leap, lift, line up, make one's way, mill about , parade, pass, pull up, rear, roam, romp, run in , run, skitter, steal, strut, take off, tramp, vault away, wash
Verbs of Existence	92	adorn, be, cramp, crowd, dot, echo, encompass, envelope, fall, flapp, flicker, flow, flutter, graze, grow, hang, hover, churn up, loom, lurk, mount guard, plume away, pulse, shade, shine, slither, slope, stalk, stream, stretch, swim, whoosh
Verbs of (Dis)Appearance/Occurrence	52	appear, come into play, come on, creep, crop up, emerge, erupt, filter in, follow, happen, intercede, intrude, invade, push through, reach, rise, seep, set in, sidle, soar, spread, strike, surround, turn up, unfold, wander, well up
Verbs of Emission	20	blare by, flash, freshen, gleam, glow, pour, scream, reek, reverberate, ring, shimmer, shine, spill
Verbs of Assuming a Position	18	lean, lie, sit, rest, stand
Verbs of Lingering and Rushing	9	dash, funnel, linger on, shoot, sweep, whipp
Verbs of Sounds of Animals	5	call, make a bloated buzzing, whinny
Aspectual Verbs	5	begin, commence, end, start up
Verbs of Contact by Impact	7	break, crash, disturb, gripp, strike, stabb, touch
Verbs of Perception	4	listen in, peep around, stare, watch
Verbs of Combining and Attaching	3	carpet, jamm, wrap oneself
Verbs of Change of State	2	open, squeeze
Verbs of Communication	1	answer
Weather Verbs	1	blow
Total	318	

Note:The total of 318 verbs stands for all verbs in the active voice form isolated in the fiction sample with the exception of the verb *contain*

It needs to be pointed out that the classification is not free of ambiguities and neither does one verb exclusively fit one semantic class. For example the verb *shine* was classified as a Verb of Existence, namely as a Verb of Entity-Specific Modes (a subclass within the Verbs of Existence) when it occurred with the subject *star*, and as a Verb of Emission (namely as a Verb of Light Emission) when it occurred with the subject *light*. The static semantics of the verb *romp* is equivocal: it is a Verb of Motion, but with the subject *stallion*, it would also be legitimate to ascribe it the semantics of existence (Verb of Entity-Specific Modes). As the static semantics is considered, the context was taken into account minimally (except where disambiguation of polysemic lexemes was needed), and thus the verb *romp* is in the semantic class of Verbs of Motion. 14 semantic classes were identified in the set of 318 verbs; their full list is adduced in Table 11 above. Verbs of Motion, Verbs of Existence, and Verbs of

Appearance/Disappearance/Occurrence are the strongest groups constituting 76% (243 tokens) of the total of presentative verbs in the set. This is in line with Adam's findings; his corpus of fiction and religious texts displayed presentative verbs recruiting mainly from the first four semantic classes adduced in the Table, although in a slightly different order, viz. Verbs of Appearance/Disappearance/Occurrence are followed by Verbs of Motion, Verbs of Existence, and Verbs of Emission respectively (Adam 2013: 151).

The passive voice verb set is presented in its exhaustive list in Table 12 below.

Table 12

Presentative verbs in passive voice in fiction		
Full list	Occurrence	Syntactic Structure
lay out	3	RSPPpass
arrange	1	RSPPpass (spec.)
build	1	RSPPpass
entwine	1	I (fronting)
gather	1	RSPPpass (spec.)
hang	1	RSPPpass (spec.)
hear	1	RSPPpass
choose	1	RSPPpass
make	1	RSPPpass
perch	1	I
pin	1	RSPPpass (spec.)
quarter	1	RSPPpass
see	1	RSPPpass
set	1	I (fronting)
sing	1	I (fronting)
wind	1	RSPPpass
Total	18	

Out of 18 verbs, 4 occur in sentences displaying the S-V inversion (out of it 3 display fronting) and are discussed separately in section 5.1.2.2.4 below. 4 verbs are found in sentences realizing the Extended Presentation Scale, viz. *arrange*, *gather*, *hang*, and *pin*. All the verbs are transitive and in the passive voice sentence they point forward to the subject which is perceived as a result of the activity conveyed by the verb, cf. three illustrating examples below (the verb (Pr) underlined, the context-independent subject (Ph) highlighted in bold):

(177) Outside Mrs Kawakami's, where once throngs of pleasure-seekers had squeezed past one another, **a wide concrete road** is being built, [and along both sides of it, the foundations for rows of large office buildings.] (KI 99-100)

(178) **A suitable buyer** could thus be chosen. (KI 9)

(179) **Strands of lights - not yet lit -** <u>had been wound</u> around the trunks of both these trees –
and *laid* among their branches. (ZS 83)

5.1.2.2   Rhematic Subject in the Preverbal Position (RSPP)

Out of 333 target presentation sentences, 268 with rhematic subject in the preverbal position
were identified, which accounts for 80%. The subset of 268 contains 82 sentences extended
by a specification (implementing the Extended Presentation Scale). Within both groups (i.e.
presentation sentences with RSPP and sentences implementing the Extended Presentation
Scale) variants with passive verb occur, cf. Table 13

Table 13

Distribution of RSPP in Fiction							
RSPP				Extended Presentation Scale			
RSPP		RSPPpass		RSPP (spec.)		RSPPpass (spec.)	
177	95%	9	5%	77	94%	5	6%
	186	69%			82	31%	
		268		100%			
Total of all target sentences abs. 333 (80% RSPP)							

The presentation of the analysis below is organized as follows:

Subtype 1: RSPP, i.e. structures without specification and without the verb in its passive form.

Subtype 2: RSPPpass, i.e. structures without specification and with the verb in passive

Subtype 3: RSPP (spec.), i.e. structures realizing the Extended Presentation Scale

Subtype 1 and Subtype 2 form the left-hand side of Table 13.

5.1.2.2.1   Subtype 1: RSPP

177 occurrences of Subtype 1 were recorded. Out of these 71 display semantic affinity
between the subject and the verb, 24 comprise a syntactic discontinuity between the head of
the subject phrase and its postmodification, and there are 25 structures displaying the SVO or
SVOA pattern.

5.1.2.2.1.1   Semantic affinity between the subject and the verb

Out of 177 presentation sentences of Subtype 1 in the fiction sample, 71 display an affinity between the verb and the subject, which amounts to 40% in the Subtype 1 group. All 71 occurrences were assigned into 6 semantic groups according to a type of semantic affinity as defined by Adam (2013: 118-132). In his approach (adopted here), in identifying a type of semantic affinity the main focus is on the subject and a static semantic link is sought to its predicate. Unlike in Adam (ibid.), however, here the explicitly presentative verbs of such a general semantic load as *come*, *appear*, *pass*, *enter* were excluded (and thus the presentation sentences comprising them). The method was motivated by the fact that such verbs can stand in an affinity to almost any entity expressed by a subject and thus no specific link between such a verb and its subject can be identified.

Table 14 presents the results statistically; each of the semantic classes is illustrated by several examples from the sample (Subtype 1 group). The subject carrying out the dynamic-semantic function of phenomenon is adduced in bold, the verb is underlined:

Table 14

RSPP in Fiction: S-V Semantic Affinity		
Semantic Categories (after Adam 2013)	Example(s)	Occurrence
Fauna and Flora	**Curlews** strutted on the road in front (NE 187), Somewhere down by the creek **a horse** whinnied. (NE 365), [...] and **wildflowers** grew among it **of a kind Grace had never seen.** (NE 256)	20 (28 %)
Inherent qualities/actions of inanimate objects	Traffic blared by (NE 99), [The Commandant's face was flushed with anger,] **a wormlike vein** pulsed just below his cropped pate. (WS 324), **Yellow lanterns, the colour of rape seed,** hung in the branches of the trees. (ZS 64)	16 (22 %)
Natural/supernatural phenomena unaffected by people, such as weather	**A single star** shone in a wedge of deep blue above the woods. (NE 4), **Two creeks** ran through the Booker brothers' land (NE 169), **The March rain** slithered across the windows. (LR 87), **Lightning** had struck somewhere nearby; (WS 371)	16 (22 %)
Figurative Expressions (metaphor, personification, abstract – concrete shift)	[You peer over the precipice:] **a burst of ethereal noise** crashes over you. (ZS 69), Suddenly a **sedulous look** shot into Mr. Kaplan's eyes. (LR 123), **The distant sound of band music** made its way into the compartment. (WS 590)	11 (15 %)
Sensory effects/perception (acoustic, visual, olfactory, etc.)	[...] and **a tender light** was falling across the foliage. (KI 106), [...] and **other words** echoed in my ears [...]. (WS 91), **A sliver of light** was spilling in from the barn (NE 394)	9 (12 %)
Facial expressions/bodily feelings	**Sadness** sidled up to Howard. (ZS 110)	1 (1 %)
Total		71 (100%)

The three most frequently occurring types of semantic affinity, viz. 'fauna and flora', 'inherent qualities/actions of an inanimate object', and 'natural/supernatural phenomena…',

amount to 52% of the set. Out of these three, two examples (exx. 180 and 181 below) merit a further comment, not as much regarding the semantic link between the subject and the verb, but rather on account of their final adverbials whose relative complexity and vividness of expression may raise doubts as regards their ascribed dynamic-semantic function of setting:

(180) [The Commandant's face was flushed with anger,] **a wormlike vein** pulsed just below his cropped pate. (WS 324)

[Obličej Herr Kommandanta byl zarudlý vzteky,] pod krátce zastřiženými vlasy na lebce pulsovala **žíla podobná zkroucenému červu**. (RN 363)
[under short-cut hair on skull pulsed a vein resembling wriggled worm]

(181) **A single star** shone in a wedge of deep blue above the woods. (NE 4)

V temně modrém pásu nad lesem svítila **jediná hvězda**. (AJ-Š 6)
[In deep-blue wedge above woods shone single star]

In ex. 180 the vivid description of the vein as well as the semantic affinity between *vein* and *pulse* foregrounds the subject. Moreover, the Czech translation confirms this interpretation by placing the subject sentence-finally in accordance with the end-focus. Ex. 181 comprises a poetic description of the scene-setting (realised by the final adverbial). Poeticism (or a new, vivid form of expression) can be considered as a carrier of new information adding new features to a known entity; here, however, it seems to be backgrounded by the context-independent subject whose communicative importance is stressed by the quantifier *single* and by the semantic affinity with its verb. The translation – placing the subject noun phrase sentence-finally – confirms this interpretation[83].

The type of S-V affinity 'Facial expressions/bodily feelings' is surprising due to its scarcity in occurrence in the set. In fiction, where the precision in description of feelings is an important stylistic aspect, a larger incidence is expected. The contradictory outcome is due to the fact that most of the presentation sentences introducing a facial expression or bodily sensation into the narrative comprise an explicitly presentative verb from the centre of the category – these

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[83] The translations in the fiction sample have been found far more reliable than those in the academic prose sample where usually a collective of authors, scientists themselves, focused more on the technical aspects (e.g. correct terminology) than on a fitting information structure of Czech equivalents.

verbs were excluded for the reasons mentioned above. Moreover, these sentences more often than not involve a semantic shift (as the description of feelings/sensations is necessarily an important facet of any narrative involving human characters) and they appear in the 'Figurative Expressions' group, cf. two examples illustrating the point:

(182)   **Dismay** <u>crept</u> into Mr. Kaplan's face [and wrestled with the great smile.] (LR 119)

(183)   For a moment **shame** <u>washed</u> over her for thinking the thought, […]. (WS 455)

In ex. 182 the abstract notion of *dismay* is ascribed an animate quality of creeping, in ex. 183 the sensation of *shame* is described as a liquid substance. Overall the 'Figurative Expressions' group overlaps with the rest of the semantic classes as any of the semantic features they represent can also be expressed figuratively.

Many of the 71 instances are also found in the SVO/SVOA pattern set (see below) as an S-V semantic affinity is often an accompanying feature in presentation sentences comprising a transitive verb (as has been mentioned several times above).

A plentiful incidence of S-V semantic affinity was also identified in Subtype 3 (the Extended Presentation Scale, see below), which seems to confirm the observation that it significantly contributes to the presentative character of a sentence.

5.1.2.2.1.2   Rhematic Subject – Syntactic Discontinuity

In the chapter focusing on the same phenomenon in the academic prose analysis, two types of syntactic discontinuity within a subjectival noun phrase were described, viz. discontinuous postmodification and discontinuous appositive. It was also pointed out that this type of structuring enables the element carrying the highest degree of CD (i.e. the postmodification or the appositive) to be placed in agreement with the principle of end-focus. In an overwhelming majority of cases, in addition to the principle of end-focus it is also the principle of end-weight that motivates this type of sentence architecture. Not one case of heavy discontinuous postmodification/appositive was recorded in thematic function.

24 cases of syntactic discontinuity as regard the subject were recorded. As for the formal realisation of postmodification in this set, the prepositional phrase was the most frequent (7 occurrences), in frequency followed the perfect participle (4x), adjective (2x), relative clause (2x), and nominal content clause (1x). It will be noted that the last named is often considered

as a type of apposition. Discontinuous appositive was further identified in 6 cases. The examples below are adduced for illustration (the rhematic subject in bold):

Postmodification by a prepositional phrase (7x):

(184) **A new sorrow** had entered her voice, **of a different, perhaps more urgent tone than the one which had infused her reminiscences of the camp.** (WS 499)

(185) In the local weekly**, a letter to the editor** will regularly appear **from someone who has recently found a better life out along these rural roads**, (PR. 46)

Postmodification by a participle (4x):

(186) When she swung left off 89, **the Rocky Mountain Front** loomed before her**, topped with cloud that seemed squeezed from some galactic can of Chantilly**. (NE 214)

Postmodification by an adjective (2x):

(187) **The children** come first in black and white: **podgy and dimpled, haloed with curls.** (ZS 16-17)

Postmodification by an adjectival relative clause (2x):

(188) But then **one particular exchange** has come back to me **which I gave little significance to before**. (KI 54)

Postmodification by a nominal content declarative clause (1x):

(189) Nevertheless, as I pondered over the whole business during the days which followed, **a new idea** struck me: **that perhaps the encounter itself had helped bring about the withdrawal**. (KI 54)

Appositive element in the final position (6x):

(190) For a moment **shame** washed over her for thinking the thought, **shame at entertaining the notion in the same habitation where she shared room with Wanda and Jozef, these two selfless, courageous people whose allegiance to humanity and their fellow Poles and concern for the hunted Jews were a repudiation of all that her father had stood for.** (WS 455)

(191) [Kiki felt moved,] and then **another feeling** interceded: **pride**. (ZS 70)

The last two examples differ in the sentence-final appositive: while in ex. 190 it displays both end-weight and end-focus, in ex. 191 we have to do with a bare noun phrase displaying end-focus only. Such cases are, however, not numerous in the sample (3 occurrences out of 24 in the set).

5.1.2.2.1.3 The SVO Pattern

In comparison to the texts of academic prose, in fiction sample a significantly higher number of presentation sentences displaying the SVO pattern was recorded. 25 occurrences (14%) were ascertained among the 177 (100%) structures of Subtype 1. Interestingly, 2 occurrences were also recorded among the sentences realizing the Extended Presentation Scale (Subtype 3). To meet the criteria of a presentation sentence, the subject needs to be context-independent carrying out the dynamic-semantic function of a phenomenon which is presented onto the scene (setting), here realised by a context-dependent object. Consider the following examples (the subject (Ph) highlighted in bold, the verb (Pr) underlined, and the object (Set) in italics):

(192)   When he came back (Set), **something new - a kind of fascination** (Ph) **-** <u>had entered</u> (Pr) *his manner* (Set). (KI31)

(193)   **A nonplussed silence** (Ph) <u>gripped</u> (Pr) *the class* (Set). (LR 50)

(194)   **A pot-pourri of orange, red, yellow and purple leaves** (Ph) <u>carpeted</u> (Pr) *the ground* (Set). (ZS 143)

Examples (192, 193, and 194) illustrate the point: new phenomena (denoted by the subjects) are brought into the flow of communication, viz. *a kind of fascination*, *a nonplussed silence*, and *a pot-pourri of orange, red, yellow and purple leaves* respectively, while the objects serve as the scene-setting, cf. *in his manner* something new appeared, *in the class* silence occurred, and *on the ground* were colourful leaves.

A range of (static) semantic features within the subset of 25 was identified. The scenic milieu is often a person/character (Set) in whom emotions, perceptions, and cognitive processes (Ph) take place (13 occurrences were recorded, out of these 2 in sentences realizing the Extended Presentation Scale, viz. ex. 198), cf.

(195) Nevertheless, as I pondered over the whole business during the days which followed (Set), **a new idea** (Ph) <u>struck</u> (Pr) *me* (Set)*:* **that perhaps the encounter itself had helped bring about the withdrawal** (Ph). (KI 54)

(196) **A vagrant pang of memory** (Ph) <u>stabbed</u> (Pr) *me* (Set) [but I thrust the ache aside; certainly I could not be a homosexual, could I, feeling for this creature such abiding, heartbreaking desire?] (WS 549)

(197) **An appreciative rumble of Howard's laughter** (Ph) <u>reached</u> (Pr) *her* (Set). (ZS 98)

(198) For the rest of the night (Set) **gloom** (Ph) <u>enveloped</u> (Pr) *him* (Set), **like a shroud** (Sp). (LR 105)

Example 195 comprises a discontinuous appositive clause.

6 SVO sentences featuring sound effect appearing on the scene were recorded:

(199) **A terrible drawn-out groan** (Ph) <u>escaped</u> (Pr) *Sophie* then (Set), **so loud and tormented that only the frenzied squalling of the Andrews Sisters prevented from being heard throughout the entire bar** (Ph). (WS 253)

(200) **Cracklings and peeps** (Ph) <u>disturbed</u> (Pr) *the air* (Set). (WS 488)

(201) **The sound of the fire door's bar being shunted downwards** (Ph) <u>ended</u> (Pr) *this quiet* (Set). (ZS188-189)

4 SVO sentences were recorded where the phenomenon is depicted as assuming a position:

(202) **Only a few bathers** (Ph) <u>dotted</u> (Pr) *the beach* (Set); the air was muggy and breathless. (WS 431)

(203) **SS guards in swirls of steam** (Ph) <u>surrounded</u> (Pr) *the train* (Set). (WS 316)

3 SVO sentences featuring animals appearing on the scene were recorded:

(204) [Brook trout hung with their heads upstream in its breaks and eddies,] while **herons** (Ph) <u>stalked</u> (Pr) *its single beaches* (Set). (NE 169)

(205) **A fish or a frog** (Ph) <u>broke</u> (Pr) *the surface in front of the colt* (Set) (NE 244) Note: the surface of a creek

Finally, in 3 cases of a poetic metaphor was recorded, e.g.:

(206) **A mutual bad temper** (Ph) <u>stretched its black wings</u> (Pr) *over the conversation* (Set). (ZS 165)

The last example differs from all the rest in that here the dynamic-semantic function of (scene) setting is fulfilled by the finally placed, context-dependent adverbial. The verb and its object are here perceived as functioning as one semantic unit and together they are ascribed the dynamic-semantic function of presentation. What is metaphorically expressed here is the verb which together with its object denotes presentation paraphrasable by verbs like '*hung*' or '*hovered*'.

As a concluding remark it can be stated that in comparison to the academic prose sample, the subset of SVO/SVOA presentation sentences displays a greater variety both in the verbs employed and in the semantic qualities that the subjects and objects reveal. This is in line with a character of the two text sorts: while academic prose strives for precision in expression (often at the price of repetition), fiction is in an everlasting quest for finding new forms of artistic expression.

5.1.2.2.2 Subtype 2: RSPPpass (the passive variant)

That fiction texts make little use of the passive has already been mentioned and the incidence of 8 occurrences of Subtype 2 (in contrast to 106 in the academic prose sample) confirms it. Except for the verb *lay*, which occurs in three out of 8 presentation sentences in the passive voice, there is no reoccurrence of verbs. The remaining verbs are *build*, *choose*, *quarter*, *see*, and *wind* (to form into a wreath) which stands in coordination with *lay* in one distributional field, cf. ex. 207:

(207) **Strands of lights - not yet lit -** had been wound around the trunks of both these trees
        and laid among their branches. (ZS 83)

The subject as the only context-independent sentence element is the rheme of the basic distributional field whose communicative purpose is clearly to introduce the phenomenon (of *strand lights*) into the narrative. As has already been pointed out in section 4.1.5 (see the commentary regarding exx. 7-8), the use of passive is here motivated by the convenience of not having to refer to the agent of the predication. The linear arrangement of the clause is not in harmony with its interpretative arrangement and it is the interplay of linearity, the semantic and the contextual factor (in spoken language joined by the factor of intonation) that makes

the subject followed by a passive verb stand up as the rheme; namely the contextual independence of the subject and the meaning of the passive verb.

2 passive verbs in the set display semantic affinity with their subjects, and thus furthermore strengthen the presentative character of the sentence, cf. the two examples below (the rhematic subject in bold, the verb underlined):

(208)   **No stirring hymns** <u>were sung</u>, **only monotonous chants in which there was repeated with harsh insistency a word sounding like 'adenoids'**. (WS 224)

(209)   So now **all the cards** <u>were laid out</u>. (ZS 147)

5.1.2.2.3   Subtype 3: The Extended Presentation Scale (RSPP (spec.), RSPPpass (spec.))

83 occurrences of the Extended Presentation Scale were recorded which amounts to 9% of all (905) presentation sentences and to 25% of all target presentation sentences (333) in the sample. The numbers show that sentences realizing the Extended Presentation Scale form a significant part of the sample. The passive variant is – unlike in the academic prose sample – scarce with only 6 occurrences.

As in the academic prose sample analysis, the examination of this subset of presentation sentences was undertaken with the aim to look more closely at how presentative features assert themselves in this type of sentences. I looked mainly at the character of the verb and the final adverbial. Unlike in the academic prose analysis, however, here I worked more closely with the Czech translations which were rather revealing with regard to how sentences implementing the Extended Presentation Scale are perceived by professional translators sensitive to nuances which often escape a common reader. Specifically, I focused on how the presentative character of this type of sentences asserts itself in the translations.

In 36 cases, the verb displays semantic affinity with its subject, which amounts to 43% of all instances in Subtype 3 (including the passive). The subset of 6 passive sentences comprises 5 sentences displaying a semantic S-V affinity. Interestingly, the percentage is comparable to the semantic affinity incidence in Subtype 1 (RSPP), where it amounts to 40%; both sentences

implementing the Presentation Scale and sentences implementing the Extended Presentation Scale show similar results as regards the static semantic link between the verb and the subject.

Table 15 presents the results statistically; each of the semantic classes is illustrated by several examples from the sample (Subtype 3 group). The subject carrying out the dynamic-semantic function of phenomenon is adduced in bold, the verb is underlined and the extension by specification is adduced in italics.

Table 15

RSPP(spec.) in Fiction: S-V Semantic Affinity		
Semantic Categories (after Adam 2013)	Example(s)	Occurrence
Inherent qualities/actions of inanimate objects	**Celestial wings** <u>fluttered</u> over the beginners' grade of the American Night Preparatory School for adults, *whispering of the grandeur that was Popper*. (LR 85)	12 (33%)
Sensory effects/perception (acoustic, visual, olfactory, etc.)	**A baby** began to squall *with hellish abandon* behind me, [...]. (WS 550), And then **the voice of Mr. Kaplan** <u>rose</u>, *firmly clearly, with a decision and dignity which left no doubt as to its purpose*. (LR 60)	7 (19, 5%)
Figurative Expressions (metaphor, personification, abstract – concrete shift)	**Suspicion** <u>stared</u> out of Mr. Kaplan's eyes *as a placard*. (LR 100), **Gloom and despondency** <u>hung</u> over me *like the August darkness itself* [...]. (WS 507)	7 (19, 5 %)
Fauna and Flora	As Grace and Judith turned into the stable yard, **a cat** <u>skittered</u> away from them, *spoiling the snow*. (NE 9), **Butterflies** <u>lifted</u> before them, *making way in the shin-high grass which smelled warm and sweet with the sun and the crushing of their boots*. (NE 257)	6 (17%)
Natural/supernatural phenomena unaffected by people, such as weather	**Metallic clouds** <u>whipped</u> over the woods *like a film in fast-forward* [...] (NE 82), Outside, **the democratic East Coast snow** <u>was</u> still <u>falling</u>, *making the garden chairs the same as the garden tables and plants and mail-boxes and fence-posts*. (ZS 13)	4 (11%)
Facial expressions/bodily feelings	_____	0 (0 %)
Total		36 (100%)

As for the 4 instances in the passive voice, 1 was identified as the 'Fauna and Flora' type, 3 cases were compatible with the most frequently occurring type of S-V semantic affinity, viz. 'Inherent qualities/actions of inanimate objects' (ex. 210), cf.

(210)   To pass the time while descending it, **a photographic Belsey family gallery** <u>has been hung</u> on the walls, *following each turn that you make*. (ZS 16)

 The final adverbial carrying out the dynamic-semantic function of specification was analysed as regards its formal realisation. At the same time its Czech translation was taken into consideration regarding its semantic-dynamic function, namely whether its specifying character was kept. Table 16 presents the results statistically:

Table 16

Extended Presentation Scale in Fiction	
Formal Realisation of the Specifying Adverbial	**Occurrence**
Adverbial Participial Clause	34 (41%)
Preposition + Noun	33 (40%)
Adverbial Finite Clause (Temporal 4x, Comparative 2x, Concessive 1x, Purpose 1x)	8 (10%)
Combination of Several Different Adverbials	5 (6%)
Adverb of Manner *	3 (3%)
Total	**83 (100%)**

* Admittedly, the three presentation sentences where the extension is realised by an adverb of manner (see the last adduced category in Table 16) should have been excluded from the subset of sentences implementing the Extended Presentation Scale. Their analysis was based on the fact that an adverbial realised by a *–ly* adverb of manner "significantly amplifies the information conveyed by the verb and takes the communication a step further than the verb" (Firbas 1992: 53) and that such an adverbial "carries a higher degree of CD when occurring after the verb than when occurring before it" (ibid.). As all three adverbials under discussion appear post-verbally, one even after a comma in sentence-final position (see ex. 211 below), they were assessed as specifying. That they do not exceed the context-independent subject in CD became more obvious in confrontation with their Czech equivalents; cf. the examples below (the rhematic subject in bold, the verb underlined and the adverbial in question adduced

in italics – a graphic pattern that will be consistently followed in this section) and their translations:

(211) **A pair of small hands** <u>touched</u> the bottom of the box, *listlessly*. (LR 60)

Na temeni balíku spočívala *bez hnutí* **dvojice jakýchsi drobných ruček**. (PE 84)

[On bottom box(genitive) rested listlessly pair small hands(genitive)]

(212) From the ceiling **a tiny lightbulb** <u>pulsed</u> *spiritlessly* – […] (WS 454)

Na stropě *zoufale* mžourala **slabounká žárovka** – [...] (RN 499)

[On ceiling spiritlessly pulsed tiny bulb]

(213) Along the sidewalks below **gawkers in shirt sleeves** <u>sidled</u> *tentatively* toward the fire, […] (WS 571)

Na chodnících dole se tísnily **hloučky čumilů v košilích**, kteří se snažili dostat se blíž k ohni, [...] (RN 622)

[Along sidewalks below crowded knot gawkers(genitive) in shirt sleeves, who tried get closer to fire]

The only case of the Extended Presentation Scale can be observed in ex. 211; the adverbial of manner (*listlessly*) forms a separate distributional field as is indicated by the comma and in spoken language by intonation (also see *parcelation* in Nekvapil 1993: 215-216).

In Czech counterparts, without exception, the finally placed – *ly* adverb (in ex. 213 it is found in the penultimate position followed by a context-dependent spatial adverbial) was interpreted as non-specifying by the translators; the final position in the Czech equivalents was invariably occupied by the context-independent subject. The context-independent subject carrying out the dynamic semantic function of a presented phenomenon is perceived as the communicative goal of the sentence regardless the context-independent adverbial in the ultimate (in one case penultimate) position.

The combination of several different adverbials (5 occurrences) does not show any pattern, for illustration a sentence comprising a combination of a specifying adverbial realised by a complex noun phrase and a adverbial participial clause is adduced below:

(214) **A young black girl** (Ph) <u>answered</u> (Pr) *with a dishrag in her hand* (Sp1), *with poor English* (Sp2), *giving her the information that Mrs Kipps was in the 'leebry'* (Sp3). (ZS 167)

The adverbial dependent clauses (8 occurrences) are, with one exception, interpreted as specifying also in Czech translations as their final position reveals. In one case, however, a complex adverbial clause of time in the English original is divided into two separate distributional fields in the Czech translation. The effect is such that the presentation sentence in Czech (comprising the counterpart of the matrix clause with the presentative verb and the initially placed thematic adverbial clause of time) is given a separate distributional field (and thus a special prominence) and so is the verbless adverbial clause '*making its predestined way…*' (which forms a distributional subfield in the English original).

Such an arrangement reveals two motivating forces: first, the perception of presentation and that of quality seem to be equally strong, and thus the translator prefers two basic distributional fields, one communicating presentation, and the other quality. This would speak for Firbas's concept of the Combined Scale and further analysis of more such examples would make an interesting field of FSP research. Second, the complexity of the English clause in question is made more comprehensible in Czech translation by breaking it into shorter stretches of language.

Ex. 215 below does not only aptly illustrate the complexity of structures employed in fiction, but it also raises the question of limits of the extension by Specification in sentences implementing the Extended Presentation Scale. The translator opted for two basic distributional fields. The dynamic semantic functions are adduced in brackets, the rhematic subject is in bold, the verb is underlined and the final adverbial complex is adduced in italics:

(215) [I hugged Sophie softly and thought of my book:] **a thrill of pride and contentment** (Ph) <u>went</u> (Pr) through me (Set) *when I considered the honest workmanship I had so far put into the story, making its predestined way with grace and beauty toward the blazing denouement which remained to be set down but which I had already foretokened in my mind a thousand times* (WS 550)

[Něžně jsem Sofii k sobě přitiskl a přemítal o své knize;] když jsem pomyslil, co jsem do příběhu zatím vložil poctivého řemesla (Set), projela (Pr) mnou (Set) **vlna pýchy a spokojenosti** (Ph), [a uvažoval jsem, jak se děj osudově s grácií a krásou odvíjí až k oslnivému rozuzlení, které sice teprve mělo být napsáno, ale které jsem si v duchu snad tisíckrát líčil] (RN 600)

[when I considered what into story so far I put honest workmanship, went me(instrumental case) thrill pride(genitive) and contentment(genitive)]

The problem of the limits of the Specification in complex clauses (where the matrix clause contains a presentative verb) has not been solved yet and calls for further research.[84]

Apart from adverbial clauses of time (4 occurrences), adverbial clause of comparison (2 occurrences), adverbial clause of purpose (1x) and concession (1x) were recorded (see Table 16).

The second most numerous group of specifying adverbials are those expressed by a prepositional phrase further analysable into a preposition and a noun phrase (33 occurrences). The noun phrase often comprises a clausal amplification (10 such cases were recorded), cf. ex. 216 and 217 below. In ex. 216 it is the amplification that renders the adverbial rhematic.

(216) **Plenty of sunlight** (Ph) came (Pr) into the apartment (Set) *through the large windows, which I could see opened on to a narrow balcony* (Sp). (KI 109)

(217) [He had bled a lot,] but by the sheerest chance **the 'house doctor' of the McAlpin** (Ph) had been roaming (Pr) through the lobby (Set) *just at the moment that I shepherded the victim in* (Sp). (WS 356)

This group of specifying adverbials is also interesting from the semantic point of view, 12 out of 33 express a poetic/metaphoric comparison preceded by the preposition '*like*' or '*as*', cf. the exx. 218 and 219 below:

(218) [Sophie had not returned to her place next to me,] and **sudden fear** (Ph) wrapped itself (Tr) around me (Set) *like a quilt fashioned of many wet hands* (Sp). (WS 558)

(219) **Suspicion** (Ph) stared (Pr) out of Mr. Kaplan's eyes (Set) *as a placard* (Sp). (LR 100)

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[84] Dušková, 20.3.2015, personal conversation

Finally, the most frequently employed type of syntactic realisation of the specifying adverbial is that by a non-finite clause (34 occurrences). Out of these 33 are expressed by present-participial clause. Examples are adduced below which at the same time illustrate how this type of extension is translated (the specifying verbless adverbial clause is in italics and so is its Czech equivalent), cf.

(220)   Yesterday, as I was enjoying the tram ride down to the quiet suburb of Arakawa (Set), **the recollection of that exchange in the reception room** (Ph) <u>came</u> (Pr) into my mind (Set), *causing me to experience a wave of irritation* (Sp). (KI 50)
Když jsem se včera cestou do Arakawy těšil z pohledu na poklidnou předměstskou krajinu, vybavil se mi ten rozhovor v přijímacím pokoji, *a zaplavila mě silná podrážděnost*. (JH 44)
[and flooded me(accusative) strong irritation (nominative)]

(221)   As Grace and Judith turned into the stable yard, **a cat** (Ph) <u>skittered</u> (Pr) away from them (Set), *spoiling the snow* (Sp). (NE 9)
Když Grace a Judita zabočily do dvora ke stáji, proběhla kolem nich kočka *a poťapkala neporušený sníh*. (AJ-Š 10)
[and spoiled pristine snow (accusative)]

(222)   **Becky's mom** (Ph) <u>was</u> (Pr) there (Set), *talking to Mrs. Shaw* (Sp), […]. (NE 142)

Zahlédla tam matku kamarádky Becky, *jak mluví s profesorkou Shawovou*, […]. (AJ-Š 105)
[as she talks with Mrs. Shaw]

The formal counterpart of the English participle in Czech – the transgressive – is perceived as very formal and is often replaced with a dependent clause (Dušková 1988: 583), see ex. 222. Interestingly, out of 33 recorded present participial clauses, 14 (44%) were translated by means of a coordinated clause. The resulting effect has been commented above: the presentation sentence in Czech (comprising the counterpart to the matrix clause with a presentative verb) is given a separate distributional field and so is the counterpart to the participial clause.

Finally, the set o 34 non-finite clauses comprises 1 occurrence where the dynamic-semantic function of specification is expressed by a perfect-participial in combination with a present-participial clause.

(223)   In my own room, with its door ajar (Set), **Yetta Zimmerman** (Ph) <u>half lay, half sat</u> (Pr), *sprawled in a chair* (Sp1)*, muttering distractedly in Yiddish* (Sp2). (WS 621)

Ve svém pokoji jsem zahlédl dokořán otevřenými dveřmi Yettu Zimmermanovou: napůl seděla, napůl ležela *zhroucená v křesle a nepřítomně si cosi pro sebe mumlala v jidiš*. (RN 676)

[half lay(feminine, 3rd person, past tense), half sat(feminine, 3rd person, past tense) sprawled in chair and distractedly herself something or other muttered in Yiddish]

Here again the present-participial clause is in the Czech translation formed as a separate distributional field connected coordinately to the counterpart of the matrix clause while the perfect-participial clause is incorporated into the matrix clause.

To summarize the findings presented in this section: we have seen that both in the academic prose as well as in the fiction sample presentation sentences implementing the Extended Presentation Scale amount not to a negligible part of the corpus. Findings in both samples show similarities regarding the formal realisation of Specification: an adverbial participial clause and preposition + noun appear to be two central forms expressing the extension in sentences implementing the Extended Presentation Scale. Adverbial finite clause is the third (fiction)/fourth (academic prose) most frequent formal realisation, in fiction it is most often the temporal clause, in academic prose the adverbial clause of cause.

Specific to the fiction sample are specifying adverbials expressing comparison (often by way of a metaphor or a poetic allusion) by the sequence '*like/as + noun phrase*'.

Sentences implementing the Extended Presentation Scale often (43%) display S-V semantic affinity, a feature they share with sentences implementing 'pure' presentation (i.e. without specification, here it is the RSPP Subtype 1 subset).

Finally, very complex clauses with presentative verb in the matrix clause call for further research regarding the range of presentation in them.

5.1.2.2.4 Subject-Verb Inversion

65 presentation sentences displaying the subject-verb inversion were identified, which amounts to 7% of all presentation sentences (905) in the fiction sample. 4 sentences are in the passive voice and out of these 3 display fronting of perfect participle. Fronting of a verbal element amounts altogether to 11 occurrences, out of these 8 display the fronting of a present participle in a progressive predication (7 past continuous predicates, 1 present continuous), cf. Table 17

Table 17

Distribution of 65 Pr-Sentences with S-V Inversion			
Passive Voice		**Active Voice**	
Fronted past participle	3	Fronted present participle	8
Fronted adverbial & S-V Inversion	1	Fronted adverbial & S-V Inversion	53
Total	4	Total	61

The examples below are presented in the following order: fronted past participle in a sentence in the passive voice (ex.224), fronted present participle in the present progressive predication (ex.225), fronted present participle in the past progressive predication (ex. 226):

(224) Inside, *folded* in a sheet of plain white paper, *was* **the loop of cord he'd taken back from her on that last night they spent together in the creek house**. (NE 419)

(225) *Lurking* behind Höss as he writes, one feels, *is* **the spectral presence of the seventeen-year-old boy, the brilliantly promising young Unterfeldwebel of the army of another era, when distinct notions of honor and pride and rectitude were woven into the fabric of the Prussian code, and that the boy is stricken dumb at the unmentionable depravity in which the grown man is mired**. (WS 183)

(226) *Following* close behind it *was* **a big Ford pickup hitched to an open trailer**. (NE 48)

Such a syntactic arrangement is clearly FSP motivated; due to the fronting the rheme is placed finally. At the same time, the principle of end-weight applies in the examples above; the

finally placed rheme is realised by a complex (heavy) subject noun phrase[85]. The fronted participle is in all cases complemented by a scene-setting adverbial on the background of which the phenomenon is presented, cf. *in a sheet of plain white paper* (ex. 224), *behind Höss as he writes* (ex. 225.), *close behind it* (ex. 226).

The structures with a fronted adverbial (53 occurrences of sentences in the active voice) display a preference for the existential (full, lexical) verb *be* (29x), other frequently employed verb is that of *come* (12x), the full list is presented in Table18:

Table 18

Fronted Adverbial and S-V Inversion	
Verb	**Occurrence**
(existential) be	29 (54. 5%)
come	12 (22. 5%)
stand	5 (9. 5%)
lie	2 (3. 5%)
appear	1 (2%)
cram	1 (2%)
hang	1 (2%)
follow	1 (2%)
rise	1 (2%)
Total	53 (100%)

The following set of examples begins with the structure displaying a fronted adverbial and the verb in passive (ex. 227), and continues with sentences comprising the most frequently occurring verbs, viz. *be*, *come*, *stand* respectively.

(227) […] on the top of the phonograph itself *was perched* **a fat Bavarian Kewpie doll in pink celluloid, cheeks aburst, blowing on a gold-plated saxophone**. (WS 279-280)

(228) At the crest of the ridge that separated the two valleys *was* **a small, circular clearing where normally, if they approached quietly, they might find deer or wild turkey**. (NE 16)

(229) After the children *come* **four generations of the Simmondses' maternal line**. (ZS 17)

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[85] Ex. 225. is more complicated, the subject is realised by <u>a heavy noun phrase </u>(cf. *the spectral presence of the seventeen-year-old boy, the brilliantly promising young Unterfeldwebel of the army of another era, when distinct notions of honor and pride and rectitude were woven into the fabric of the Prussian code*) <u>in coordination with a content clause</u> (cf. *and that the boy is stricken dumb at the unmentionable depravity in which the grown man is mired*).

(230) On the top of the chest of drawers *stood* **a few modestly framed photographs of his family**. (NE 235)

S-V inversion with a fronted adverbial is recognised as typical of narrative texts (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1387-1388), and indeed we observe that its incidence is much higher in the texts of fiction than in the texts of academic prose, where, moreover, it was recorded prevailingly in the texts resembling narratives in their style (the text on the history of China, the text on the philosophical framework of democracy). Apart from the enhanced cohesiveness which inversion effects (as already mentioned), Adam (2013: 76) also remarks on its other stylistic effect. Quoting Tárnyiková (2009) and remarking on having made the same observation, he cites: "inversion is used to contribute to the vividness of the events described" (Tárnyiková 2009: 106). The subsequent observation follows this line of argument; let us first consider the set of examples below:

(231) [Now, she told herself, now I can be what I am, not what I do.] Then <u>came</u> **the miscarriage**. (NE 241)

(232)   [For a moment her stricken adorer remained motionless as if paralyzed, the face rigid with fright.] Then <u>came</u> **blessed relief**. (WS 320)

(233) [And of course at the end of six months another stroke of good fortune brought her the protective comforts and advantages of Haus Höss itself.] Yet first <u>came</u> **a critical meeting**. (WS 477)

(234) But then – [and oh, how true it is that most writers become sooner or later the exploiters of the tragedies of others –] <u>came (or went)</u> **Maria Hunt**. (WS 131)

In the examples above displaying the pattern <u>then (first)</u> + *come* + **(rhematic) NP**, the communicative weight is fully placed on the noun phrase which is kept (in most cases) very short and thus the effect of introducing a phenomenon into the flow of communication is very strong if not dramatic. 6 of these structures were recorded (in the set of 53 occurrences with a fronted adverbial), which amounts to 11%[86]. Although it is not a large number, it is worth noticing in the light of the fact that these structures were not recorded in the texts of academic prose.

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[86] This is in accordance with my observations made by examining a smaller corpus, see Rohrauer 2013. The incidence of these structures amounted to 19% in the S-V inversion set.

5.1.2.2.5 Locative Subject

Presentation sentences where the presented phenomenon is conveyed by the context-independent object and the scene-setting is realised by a locative subject are rare in general, yet it is surprising that a mere 1 occurrence (0, 1%) is found in the fiction sample comprising 905 presentation sentences (100%). It is adduced below with the locative subject underlined, the verb in italics and the context-independent object carrying out the dynamic-semantic function of presented phenomenon in bold:

(235) <u>Every assignment that bore that strange and unmistakeable signature, H*Y*M*A*N K*AP*L*A*N</u>, *contained* **some new and remarkable version of the English language which Mr. Kaplan had determined to master**. (LR 45)

More frequently, the locative subject appeared in structures with a context-independent agentive adverbial (19 occurrences were identified). Both structures are similar in their distribution of communicative dynamism which is in compliance with the word order: the thematic element realised by the locative subject in the dynamic-semantic function of setting carries the lowest degree of CD and is placed at the beginning of the sentence. The verb functions as a transition between the theme and the rheme, and at the end of the sentence the rhematic element with the highest degree of CD is placed. While example 235 displays the syntactic structure SVO and provides an example of a type of the presentation sentence, examples (exx. 236-239) display the SVA pattern and constitute the qualification scale. They were recorded to show a parallel between the Qualification and the Presentation Scales:

(236) <u>Then his eyes</u> *filled* **with a strange enchantment**. (LR 113)

(237) [She was alone.] <u>The room</u> *was flooded* **with sunlight**. (WS 316)

(238) <u>My ears</u> *echoed* **with a delirious, inconsolable passage from the St. Matthew passion which had wept out of Sophie's radio earlier that morning**, [and for no special reason yet in fitting antiphony I recalled some seventeenth-century lines I had read not long before: […]] (WS 431)

(239) <u>The air</u> *was laced* **with the clean smell of chlorine**. (NE 219)

Regarding the verbs employed, the parallel SVA structures show a greater variety, the only example with locative subject in our fiction sample comprises the verb *contain*.

5.1.3 Comparison of the Academic Prose Sample and the Fiction Sample: FSP and Syntactic-Semantic Aspects Summarized

Fig. 1 presents the quantitative outcome of the comparison between the two samples, viz. the academic prose sample and the fiction sample, and shows the incidence of four syntactic realisations of presentation sentences: the existential construction (EC), structures with a rhematic subject in the preverbal position (RSPP) and its variant with extension implementing the Extended Presentation Scale, structures with the subject-verb inversion (Inversion), and structures with a locative subject and an object expressing the phenomenon appearing on the scene (LS).

Fig. 1: Incidence (%) of Syntactic Realisations of Presentation Scale in Academic Prose and in Fiction
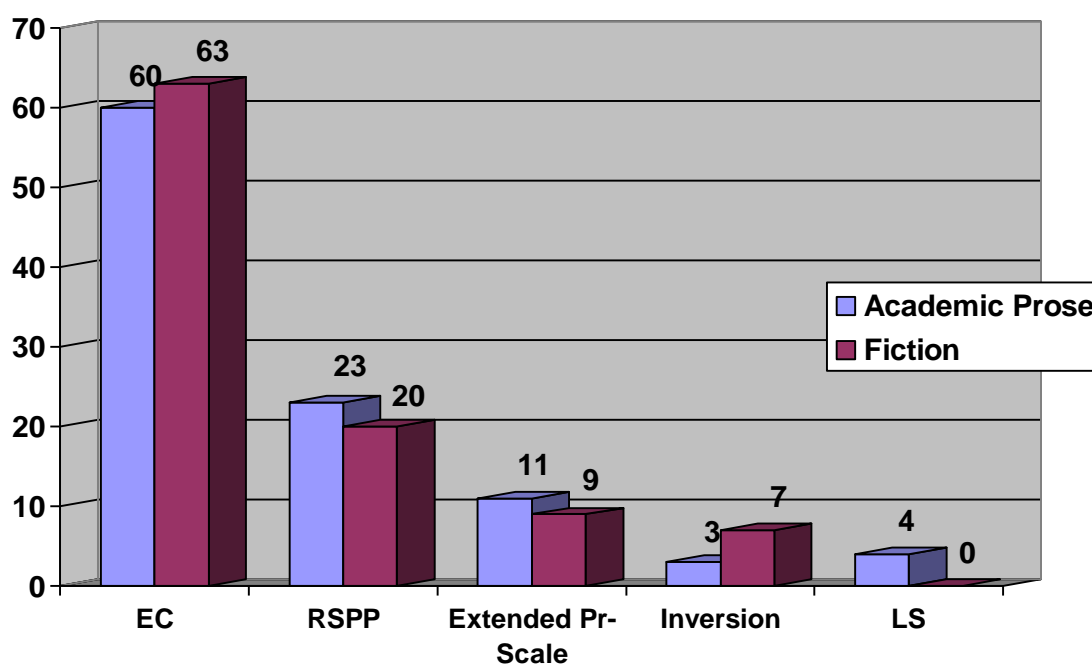
While the quantitative analysis of the two samples reveals comparable results as regards the frequency of occurrence of the existential construction and the structures with a rhematic subject in the preverbal position (including those implementing the Extended Presentation Scale), there is a difference in the incidence of structures with S-V inversion and structures with LS. In the texts of academic prose, to introduce a phenomenon into the flow of

communication, the presentation sentence with S-V inversion is the rarest type employed (23 such sentences were recorded, amounting to 3% of all presentation sentences in the sample). Such an outcome has been ascribed to the primary function of an academic text: to present scientific facts with the least degree of ambiguity. For such a presentation often a mere juxtaposition of sentences is sufficient. S-V inversion, on the other hand, ranks among those stylistic tools by which a careful knitting of text and enhancing textual cohesion is achieved. At the same time it is employed to enliven the narrative – a stylistic effect resulting from syntactically marked structure with a verb preceding the subject. These two aims (refined texture and vividness) are, logically, sought, rather than by writers of academic prose, by writers of fiction.

The frequency of occurrence of structures with locative subject is another point of difference between the two samples. Quite strikingly, only one occurrence was recorded in the fiction sample while in the excerpted texts of academic prose 30 occurrences were ascertained amounting to 4% of all presentation sentences in that sample. Even more strikingly, out of these, 27 comprised the verb '*contain*'. The strong presence of the verb has been ascribed to the specific character of the excerpted scientific texts: the texts on chemistry and astronomy together comprise 22 LS structures (73% of LS structures in the sample) often describing the structural make-up of elements, hence sentences like '*[...] the cubic unit cell of YB_{66} has a_0 2344 pm and <u>contains</u> 1584 B and 24 Y atoms*' (chemistry, GaE 66-7) or '*This system <u>contains</u> two neutron stars orbiting each other, [...]*' (astronomy, SH 90). On the other hand, there is a preference for the verb in LS structures recorded in the rest of the scientific texts: where a LS structure is employed, it most likely comprises the verb '*contain*'. Almost a complete lack of LS structures in the fiction sample is difficult to explain, except that the structure is rare and on the periphery of presentation sentence category in general. It is maintained, however, that structures with locative subject are mostly formal in character[87] and hence their scarcity in fiction.

Viewing the two samples through the prism of statistical data, we need to look at the occurrence of passive presentation sentences – here the two samples yield remarkably different results (though in harmony with our expectation). This is most manifest in the RSPP and RSPP (spec.) types of presentation sentences, see Fig. 2.

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[87] Dušková, 20.3. 2015, personal conversation

Fig. 2: Incidence (%) of passive presentation sentences in the structures with a rhematic subject in the preverbal position (RSPP) and in the variant with extension by specification (Extended Presentation Scale)
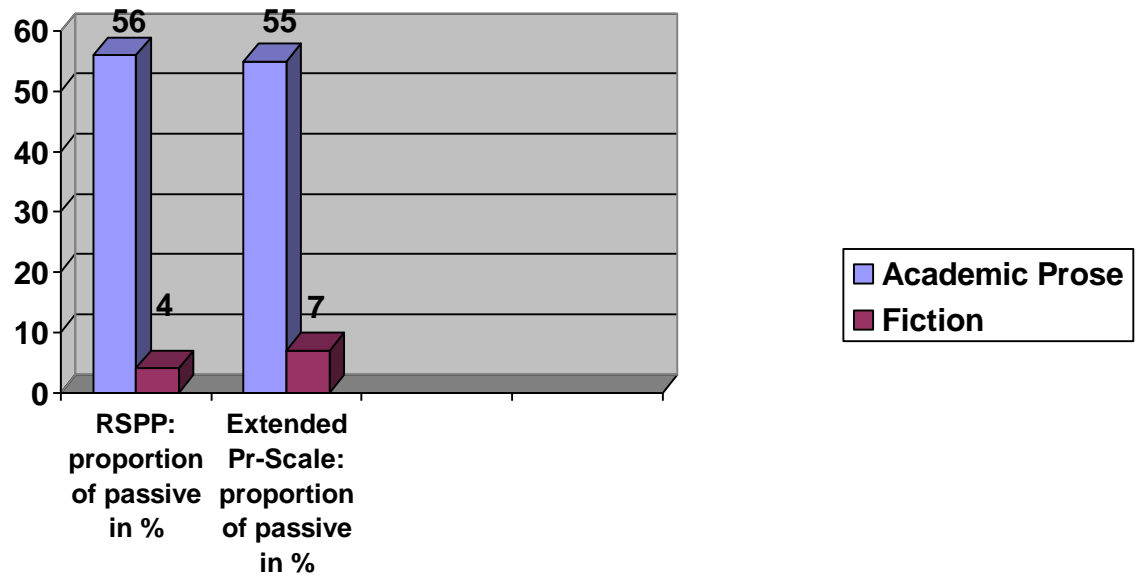
The findings confirm the well-acknowledged fact that texts of science abound with passive voice structures to generate the impersonal, neutral, objective tone inseparable from factual writing. Sentences in the passive voice, of course, enable impersonalization by permitting the agent of the predication to be left unexpressed. In fiction, on the other hand, personal views and individual mindscapes are often portrayed and thus personal, insider-like tenor is sought.

Apart from quantitative differences there are specific features in each of the functional styles as the analysis above has revealed:

1. In the academic prose texts it is the structure '*We (universal human agent) + have + context-independent object*' identified as strongly presentative. The structure is unequivocally paraphraseable by means of existential construction, cf. *We have evidence that….* (= *There is/exists evidence that…*) or *We have no unified theory…* (= *There is/exists no unified theory...*), and it does not have its equivalent in the fiction texts where the occurrence of universal human agent is scarce in general.

2. In the academic prose texts verbs '*know*' (in its passive form) and '*be available*' were identified as verbs with presentation potential.

3. In the fiction texts, the structure '*Then + came/comes + context-independent subject*' is found to have no analogy in the academic prose sample. Its incidence has been ascribed to the dramatic effect is generates – the context-independent subject is in these structures expressed by a bare (or simply modified) noun phrase which as the carrier of highest degree of CD strikes the reader as particularly powerful.

4. The fiction sample displays a much larger variety of presentative verbs which is also reflected in a greater variety of S-V affinity types. This has been ascribed to the never-ending quest of fiction writers for innovation and originality.

5. Finally, the two samples show a similar make-up of the extension in sentences implementing the Extended Presentation Scale with regard to the formal realisation of the adverbial fulfilling the dynamic semantic function of Specification. A participial clause and a prepositional phrase emerge from the analysis as two central realisations of the specifying adverbial. As regards the differences between the two samples, the poetic comparison expressed by the final specifying adverbial (e.g. '*like rancid meat*', '*like black shadows sweeping across a snowy field*', '*like a sweet summer breeze*', '*like a film in fast-forward*') has been identified as fiction text specific. This occasions no surprise since poeticisms are typically associated with fictional narratives. The tendency to translate the adverbial participial clause in sentences implementing the Extended Presentation Scale by a coordinated clause was ascribed to two underlying factors. First, long and particularly complex structures in English were made more transparent in translation by restructuring. Second, the communicative goal of presentation (pursued by the matrix clause) was put on equal level with that of quality (pursued by the participial clause) – such perception of the communicative goal toward which these complex structures are perspectived raises questions of reconsidering the concept of the Combined Scale and/or the delimitation of the range of presentation in such complex sentences (see section 5.1.2.2.3 on the Extended Presentation Scale in fiction above).

6   Preliminary Notes on Textual Functions of Presentation sentences in Academic Prose and Fiction

This brief chapter was inspired by Hasselgård (2004) and Dušková (2010a), who examined the relation between cleft-sentences and the discourse functions they perform in text.

Hasselgård's observation, viz. "Studying the It-clefts with adverbials in context, I found that they seem to have a range of textual functions in the organization of the flow of information in the discourse" Hasselgård (2004: 15), was applied to examine a potential correlation between a type of a presentation sentence and a textual function it carries out. Examining textual functions necessarily involves larger stretches of text. Following Dušková (2010a) I chose the paragraph as the textual unit in which textual functions are identified and examined. This approach also finds its support in Pípalová's monograph on the architecture of paragraphs and higher textual units, namely in her claim that "within the text as a product, a paragraph embodies a salient macrotextual unit accommodating an intricate web of diverse links and relationships. As the paragraph exhibits its own structure, a number of various cohesive and thematic strings may be traced in it." (Pípalová 2008: 13) Accordingly, a position in the paragraph of each of the presentation sentence under examination was taken into account in the analysis.

6.1 Research Question

The questions underlying the analysis are as follows: 'Is there a connection between a type of presentation sentence and the function it serves in text and if so, is this connection the same in both types of text examined in this thesis, academic prose and fiction?' At the same time a potential connection between textual function and position in the paragraph was examined; it was assumed that e.g. the textual function 'to introduce a summarizing comment' would be performed by a presentation sentence located in the final position of the paragraph.

It is to be pointed out that the research question defined above merits far more space than is available here and would in fact require a separate study. What was performed here is only a preliminary study, a probe into the subject matter.

6.2 Choice of Material

Out of the corpus, 2 texts yielding a comparable number of presentation sentences were chosen for the analysis. From the academic prose sample it was Desmond Morris's *Naked Ape* text with 249 presentation sentences and from the fiction sample Nicholas Evans's text *The Horse Whisperer* with 307 presentation sentences including the existential construction. The absolute figures obtained in both samples were converted into percentage values which were then compared.

The following categories were recorded and taken into account:

- o presentation sentence type, i.e. existential construction (**EC**), sentence with a rhematic subject in preverbal position (**RSPP**) – this category includes the passive variant as well as the variant with extension implementing the Extended Presentation Scale – sentence with S-V inversion (**I**), and sentence with locative subject (**LS**)
- o paragraph position, viz. **initial**, **near-initial**, **internal**, **near-final**, and **final**
- o textual function –basic textual functions were overtaken from Hasselgård's (2004), viz. topic-launching (here the function is described 'to introduce the main paragraph topic'), topic-linking (here split into two functions 'a link to reintroduce the main paragraph topic' and 'bridging to another topic'), summative (here 'to introduce a summarizing comment into the narrative/theory') and contrast ('to point out a change in mood/feelings', 'to point out a change in a facial expression', 'to point out a change in the character's cognitive process'). The term 'topic' refers to the main idea of the paragraph.

The intricate nature especially of the fiction texts required a finer scale of textual functions to be introduced, 23 altogether[88]; the full list is adduced in Tables 19 and 20 below. Here the quantitative outcome of the analysis is presented as well. An interpretation of the findings follows below the Tables.

6.3 Results

The Tables are organized as follows: On the left-hand side all 23 textual functions are listed as well as the paragraph positions in which they were identified. As the scientific text displayed a simpler paragraph structure, not all textual functions applied; those actually ascertained are graphically highlighted in bold. On the right-hand side the types of presentation sentences (i.e. four syntactic realisations of presentation scale) are adduced as well as the textual function they carry out and their paragraph position. The sum of the number of occurrences adduced on the right-hand side of the Table equals the total on the left-hand side of the Table. In short, the right-hand side is the particularized left-hand side of the Table.

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[88] The list of textual functions proved useful in all examined texts of fiction and academic prose, although due to the limited space of the thesis, only 1 text of each functional style has been put through a comprehensive analysis.

Table 19

Academic Prose - Textual Functions of Presentation Sentences											
Textual Functions	presentation scale			realization of presentation scale							
	Paragraph Position	abs.	%	existential construction		RSPP		inversion		locative subject	
				abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%
to introduce the main paragraph topic	Initial	49	87.5	30	61.2	18	36.7	1	2.0	0	0.0
	Near-initial	7	12.5	5	71.4	2	28.6	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**56**	**22.5**	**35**	**62.5**	**20**	**35.7**	**1**	**1.8**	**0**	**0.0**
to elaborate or further explicate the main paragraph topic	Near-initial	26	35.1	17	65.4	9	34.6	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Internal	29	39.2	18	62.1	11	37.9	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Near-final	11	14.9	7	63.6	4	36.4	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Final	8	10.8	6	75.0	2	25.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**74**	**29.7**	**48**	**64.9**	**26**	**35.1**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**
to elaborate or further explicate the main topic of the preceding paragraph	Initial	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Near-initial	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Internal	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Near-final	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**
to elaborate or further explicate a subtopic within a paragraph	Internal	36	57.1	24	66.7	11	30.6	0	0.0	1	2.8
	Near-final	14	22.2	10	71.4	4	28.6	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Final	13	20.6	8	61.5	5	38.5	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**63**	**25.3**	**42**	**66.7**	**20**	**31.7**	**0**	**0.0**	**1**	**1.6**
bridging to another topic	Initial	10	71.4	9	90.0	1	10.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Final	4	28.6	1	25.0	3	75.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**14**	**5.6**	**10**	**71.4**	**4**	**28.6**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**
to introduce a participant into the story/theory	Near-initial	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Internal	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Near-final	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**
to introduce a subtopic within a paragraph	Near-initial	1	5.3	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Internal	18	94.7	12	66.7	6	33.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Near-final	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**19**	**7.6**	**13.0**	**68.4**	**6.0**	**31.6**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**
to shift the narrative to a different participant	Internal	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Near-Final	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**
to introduce an element relevant for further evolvement of the story/theory	Initial	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Internal	1	33.3	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Near-final	2	66.7	1	50.0	1	50.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**3**	**1.2**	**2**	**66.7**	**1**	**33.3**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**
to introduce an event into the story/theory	Internal	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**
to introduce the time-setting	Initial	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**
to introduce the place-setting	Initial	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Internal	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**
to introduce a phenomenon important for an apt description of the background	Initial	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Near-initial	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Internal	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Near-final	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Final	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**

to point out a change in mood/feelings	Initial	0	0.0		0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Internal	0	0.0		0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**0**	**0.0**		**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**
to point out a change in a facial expression	Near-initial	0	0.0		0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Internal	0	0.0		0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**0**	**0.0**		**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**
to point out a change in the character's cognitive process	Initial	0	0.0		0	0.0		0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**0**	**0.0**		**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.4**
to point out a quality	Near-initial	0	0.0		0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Internal	0	0.0		0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Near-final	0	0.0		0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**0**	**0.0**		**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**
to record the occurrence of silence	Initial	0	0.0		0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Near-initial	0	0.0		0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Near-final	0	0.0		0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Final	0	0.0		0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**0**	**0.0**		**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**
to introduce a summarizing comment into the narrative/theory	Near-final	3	30.0		1	33.3	2	66.7	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Final	7	70.0		3	42.9	4	57.1	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**10**	**4.0**		**4**	**40.0**	**6**	**60.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**
to portray accompanying circumstances	Initial	0	0.0		0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Near-initial	0	0.0		0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Near-final	0	0.0		0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Final	0	0.0		0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**0**	**0.0**		**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**
to introduce a descriptive detail	Initial	0	0.0		0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Near-initial	0	0.0		0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Internal	0	0.0		0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Near-final	0	0.0		0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Final	0	0.0		0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**0**	**0.0**		**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**
a link to reintroduce the main paragraph topic	Internal	1	25.0		0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Near-final	2	50.0		2	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Final	1	25.0		0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**4**	**1.6**		**2**	**50.0**	**2**	**50.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**
to introduce a result of a process	Internal	4	66.7		1	25.0	3	75.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Near-final	1	16.7		0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Final	1	16.7		0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**6**	**2.4**		**1**	**16.7**	**5**	**83.3**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**
Total over all		**249**	**100**		**157**	**63.1**	**90**	**36.1**	**1**	**0.4**	**1**	**0.4**

Table 20

Textual Functions	presentation scale			realization of presentation scale							
	Paragraph Position	abs.	%	existential construction		RSPP		inversion		locative subject	
				abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%
to introduce the main paragraph topic	Initial	33	75.0	20	60.6	9	27.3	4	12.1	0	0.0
	Near-initial	11	25.0	9	81.8	1	9.1	1	9.1	0	0.0
	Total	**44**	**14.3**	**29**	**65.9**	**10**	**22.7**	**5**	**11.4**	**0**	**0.0**
to elaborate or further explicate the main paragraph topic	Near-initial	32	49.2	32	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Internal	18	27.7	18	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Near-final	11	16.9	10	90.9	0	0.0	1	9.1	0	0.0
	Final	4	6.2	4	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**65**	**21.2**	**64**	**98.5**	**0**	**0.0**	**1**	**1.5**	**0**	**0.0**
to elaborate or further explicate the main topic of the preceding paragraph	Initial	1	20.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0
	Near-initial	1	20.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0
	Internal	2	40.0	1	50.0	0	0.0	1	50.0	0	0.0
	Near-final	1	20.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**5**	**1.6**	**2**	**40.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**3**	**60.0**	**0**	**0.0**
to elaborate or further explicate a subtopic within a paragraph	Internal	10	38.5	9	90.0	0	0.0	1	10.0	0	0.0
	Near-final	9	34.6	9	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Final	7	26.9	3	42.9	3	42.9	1	14.3	0	0.0
	Total	**26**	**8.5**	**21**	**80.8**	**3**	**11.5**	**2**	**7.7**	**0**	**0.0**
bridging to another topic	Initial	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Final	12	100.0	9	75.0	1	8.3	2	16.7	0	0.0
	Total	**12**	**3.9**	**9**	**75.0**	**1**	**8.3**	**2**	**16.7**	**0**	**0.0**
to introduce a participant into the story/theory	Near-initial	1	33.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0
	Internal	1	33.3	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Near-final	1	33.3	0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**3**	**1.0**	**1**	**33.3**	**1**	**33.3**	**1**	**33.3**	**0**	**0.0**
to introduce a subtopic within a paragraph	Near-initial	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Internal	5	166.7	5	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Near-final	1	16.7	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**6**	**2.0**	**6.0**	**100.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**
to shift the narrative to a different participant	Internal	3	75.0	1	33.3	2	66.7	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Near-Final	1	25.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0
	Total	**4**	**1.3**	**1**	**25.0**	**2**	**50.0**	**1**	**25.0**	**0**	**0.0**
to introduce an element relevant for further evolvement of the story/theory	Initial	1	16.7	0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Internal	2	33.3	2	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Near-final	3	50.0	1	33.3	2	66.7	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**6**	**2.0**	**3**	**50.0**	**3**	**50.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**
to introduce an event into the story/theory	Internal	3	100.0	1	33.3	1	33.3	1	33.3	0	0.0
	Total	**3**	**1.0**	**1**	**33.3**	**1**	**33.3**	**1**	**33.3**	**0**	**0.0**
to introduce the time-setting	Initial	1	100.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**1**	**0.3**	**0**	**0.0**	**1**	**100.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**
to introduce the place-setting	Initial	3	75.0	2	66.7	0	0.0	1	33.3	0	0.0
	Internal	1	25.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**4**	**1.3**	**2**	**50.0**	**1**	**25.0**	**1**	**25.0**	**0**	**0.0**
to introduce a phenomenon important for an apt description of the background	Initial	15	21.7	4	26.7	9	60.0	2	13.3	0	0.0
	Near-initial	16	23.2	6	37.5	10	62.5	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Internal	19	27.5	10	52.6	9	47.4	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Near-final	8	11.6	7	87.5	0	0.0	1	12.5	0	0.0
	Final	11	15.9	2	18.2	9	81.8	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**69**	**22.5**	**29**	**42.0**	**37**	**53.6**	**3**	**4.3**	**0**	**0.0**

Function	Position	N	%								
to point out a change in mood/feelings	Initial	2	66.7	2	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Internal	1	33.3	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**3**	**1.0**	**3**	**100.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**
to point out a change in a facial expression	Near-initial	1	33.3	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Internal	2	66.7	1	50.0	1	50.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**3**	**1.0**	**2**	**66.7**	**1**	**33.3**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**
to point out a change in the character's cognitive process	Initial	1	100.0	0	0.0		0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0
	Total	**1**	**0.3**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**1**	**100.0**	**0**	**0.0**
to point out a quality	Near-initial	1	25.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Internal	2	50.0	2	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Near-final	1	25.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**4**	**1.3**	**4**	**100.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**
to record the occurrence of silence	Initial	20	76.9	20	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Near-initial	3	11.5	3	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Near-final	1	3.8	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Final	2	7.7	2	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**26**	**8.5**	**26**	**100.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**
to introduce a summarizing comment into the narrativ/theory	Near-final	2	33.3	2	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Final	4	66.7	4	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**6**	**2.0**	**6**	**100.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**
to portray accompanying circumstances	Initial	1	16.7	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Near-initial	1	16.7	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Near-final	3	50.0	3	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Final	1	16.7	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**6**	**2.0**	**6**	**100.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**
to introduce a descriptive detail	Initial	1	10.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Near-initial	2	20.0	2	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Internal	4	40.0	4	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Near-final	2	20.0	2	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Final	1	10.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**10**	**3.3**	**10**	**100.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**
a link to reintroduce the main paragraph topic	Internal	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Near-final	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Final	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**
to introduce a result of a process	Internal	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Near-final	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Final	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Total	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**	**0**	**0.0**
Total over all		**307**	**100**	**225**	**73.3**	**61**	**19.9**	**21**	**6.8**	**0**	**0.0**

6.3.1 General Comments on the Results

The most evident difference between the two functional styles is the number of textual functions identified: the scientific text displays 9 (in Table 19 highlighted in bold) out of 23 while the text of fiction makes use of nearly the whole range, viz. 21 (in Table 20 highlighted in bold) out of 23. The outcome reflects a more straightforward nature of paragraph organization in academic prose which points towards a less eventful nature of scientific texts.

On the other hand, considering the occurrence at 5% and higher, only five textual functions are employed. Out of these, three are found in both texts, viz. 'to introduce the main paragraph topic', 'to elaborate the main paragraph topic', and 'to elaborate or further explicate a subtopic within a paragraph'. In academic prose these three are followed in frequency by the functions 'bridging to another topic' and 'to introduce a subtopic within a paragraph'. In fiction, the remaining two functions are those of 'recording the occurrence of silence' and 'introducing a phenomenon important for an apt description of the background'.

The textual function 'to introduce a result of a process' (6 occurrences amounting to 2.4% of the sample) not recorded in the fiction text is clearly related to the informational character of scientific text, i.e. to report on results of experiments and various procedures.

As mentioned above, the narrative texts of fiction proved more complex in the paragraph structure and patterns were observed of no equivalent in academic prose, namely those related to unique features of fiction narratives such as a character or plot-setting portrayal. Also the textual functions of pointing out a quality (typically expressed by existential construction '*there was something + adjective+ about him/her…*') and recording the occurrence of silence[89] are clearly related to fiction narratives, namely to a character portrayal and pre- and/or post-dialogue description. In fiction, the text flows smoothly from one paragraph to another and this fluent, smooth character is reflected in occasionally vague boundaries of a paragraph. In 5 cases it was observed that the main idea of a paragraph was elaborated in the following paragraph and thus disregarding the paragraph boundaries (see the 'to elaborate or further explicate the main topic of the preceding paragraph' textual function in fiction, Table 20).

The most remarkable difference is found in the textual function denoted as 'to introduce a phenomenon important for an apt description of the background'. While it is entirely missing in the scientific text, in fiction it was identified as the most frequently occurring textual function a presentation sentence carries out. The interpretation is obvious: an evocative depiction of the situation in which story incidents occur and of plot-setting in general is one of the quests pursued by fiction writers as it contributes to the authenticity of narration. Pr-sentences serving this function occur numerously in all paragraph positions and they are

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[89] I wrote about how the existential construction is employed in texts of fiction to dramatize the onset of silence in communication in Rohrauer and Dubec (2011) and in Rohrauer (2013).

realised by all structural types recorded in the text, viz. EC, RSPP, I. Below examples are adduced, each representing one type of presentation sentence (except the LS type which was not recorded in the text): EC (ex. 240), RSPP (ex. 241), RSPP (spec.) pass (ex. 242), and I (ex. 243).

(240) There were no lights on inside and the hall walls [and ceiling gave a glimpse of blue as the headlights shafted briefly in.] (NE 57)

(241) A single star shone in a wedge of deep blue above the woods. (NE 4)

(242) Along the trail, every twenty yards or so, bright orange posters were pinned to the trees, threatening prosecution for anyone caught hunting, trapping or trespassing. (NE 16)

(243) [Cupboard doors hung open] and on the table stood the two unpacked grocery bags. (NE 57)

Below the list of most frequently occurring textual functions carried out by presentation sentences in both functional styles is presented.

Table 21: Most frequently occurring textual functions identified out of 249 (100%) presentation sentences in academic prose

Functional Style	Textual Function	Occurrence Abs.	Occurrence %
Academic Prose	to elaborate or further explicate the main paragraph topic	74	29.7
	to elaborate or further explicate a subtopic within a paragraph	63	25.3
	to introduce the main paragraph topic	56	22.5
	to introduce a subtopic within a paragraph	19	7.6
	bridging to another topic	14	5.6
	to introduce a summarizing comment into the theory	10	4
	to introduce a result of a process	6	2.4

Table 22: Most frequently occurring textual functions identified out of 307 (100%) presentation sentences in fiction

Functional Style	Textual Function	Occurrence Abs.	Occurrence %
Fiction	to introduce a phenomenon important for an apt description of the background	69	22.5
	to elaborate or further explicate the main paragraph topic	65	21.2
	to introduce the main paragraph topic	44	14.3
	to record the occurrence of silence	26	8.5
	to elaborate or further explicate a subtopic within a paragraph	26	8.5
	bridging to another topic	12	3.9
	to introduce a descriptive detail	10	3.3

With regard to similarities, introducing and elaborating the main paragraph topic are, of course, basic textual functions of any structured text regardless of the functional style – as is 'bridging to another topic' and thus they are found in both types of text.

6.3.2   Textual Function – Paragraph Position Correlation

Let us first look at the textual functions identified in both texts (7 functions; see Table 23 below). Except one, all of these were recorded in comparable positions which conform to the predicted paragraph topology: presentation sentences introducing the main paragraph topic were found in initial and near-initial positions; reversely, presentation sentences introducing a summarizing comment were identified in final and near-final positions. A subtopic within a paragraph was introduced midway down the paragraph (with the exception of two occurrences it was identified paragraph-internally) and subsequently the elaboration of the subtopic ('to elaborate or further explicate a subtopic within a paragraph') followed in paragraph-internal/near-final/final positions. An element relevant for further evolvement of the story/theory was introduced predominantly paragraph-internally and paragraph near-finally (only 9 occurrences were recorded, though; 3 and 6 in academic prose and fiction text respectively). A presentation sentence with the communicative goal of elaborating the main paragraph topic was in both texts identified in all paragraph positions.

The only significant difference between the two functional styles was identified in the position of presentation sentences with the discourse function of bridging to another topic (in Table 23 in bold). In academic prose these occurred in the initial and final positions: in the

initial position it was a lead-in sentence followed by the topic sentence[90]. In fiction, however, they occurred only paragraph-finally: such a build-up contributes to the tension necessary to maintain the reader's interest– this way expectation of what is to come in the next paragraph is fashioned.

Table 23: An overview of textual functions identified in both texts and their paragraph positions

	Academic Prose Text Paragraph Position	Fiction Text Paragraph Position
to introduce the main paragraph topic	initial, near-initial	initial, near-initial
to elaborate or further explicate the main paragraph topic	initial, near-initial, internal, near-final, final	initial, near-initial, internal, near-final, final
bridging to another topic	**initial, final**	**final**
to introduce an element relevant for further evolvement of the story/theory	internal, near-final	initial, internal, near-final
to introduce a subtopic within a paragraph	near-initial, internal	internal, near-final
to elaborate or further explicate a subtopic	internal, near-final, final	internal, near-final, final
to introduce a summarizing comment into the narrative/theory	near-final, final	near-final, final

Out of the textual functions recorded only in one of the texts, just the noteworthy findings will be discussed. In the academic prose text, a result of a process is introduced in the internal (4x), near-final (1x) and final (1x) paragraph position: first the experiment/procedure in question needs to be described and, quite logically, then the result is reported. Ex. 244 below illustrates the point: first the condition under which co-operativeness in hunt is turned into co-operativeness in a fight is described, and then the result of such a process, war, is introduced (see the underlined clause in bold). In the rest of the paragraph, the result and its implications are further discussed, cf.

> (244) Aiding and abetting this mayhem is our specially evolved co-operativeness. When we improved this important trait in connection with hunting prey, it served us well, but it has now recoiled upon us. The strong urge towards mutual assistance to which it gave rise has become susceptible to powerful arousal in infra-specific aggressive contexts. Loyalty on the hunt has become loyalty in fighting, **_and war is born_**. Ironically, it is the evolution of a deep-seated urge to help our fellows that has been the main cause of all the major horrors of war. It is this that has driven us on and given us our lethal gangs, mobs, hordes and armies. Without it they would lack cohesion and aggression would once again become 'personalised'. (DM 175)

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[90] Topic sentence is a sentence expressing the main idea of the paragraph.

In the fiction text, two textual functions merit a comment with regard to their paragraph position, namely 'to introduce a phenomenon important for an apt description of the background' and 'to point out silence'. While the former textual function does not seem to be bound to any specific position (from Table 20 we see that presentation sentences introducing such a phenomenon into the discourse are found plentifully in all paragraph positions), the latter is found predominantly in initial position: this has to do with the fact that silences usually follow dialogues and are thus expressed in the first sentence of a narrative section after a dialogue, see ex. 245 below (the presentation sentence under examination is in bold and underlined)

(245)   "Get the tree?" she asked.
          "You bet. Not as good as last year's, but it's pretty."
          There was another silence. He poured coffee for them both and sat down at the table. The muffins tasted good. It was so quiet he could hear himself chewing. Annie sighed. (NE 75)

6.3.3   Pr-Sentence Type – Textual Function Correlation

In academic prose the existential construction as well as the RSPP structure proved truly eclectic as regards the textual functions they serve – both were found to serve all the textual functions recorded in the text. At the same time they were found identical as regards the three most frequent textual functions they serve (see Table 24 below). Regrettably, no conclusions can be made as regards I and LS structures. Both occur only once in the text; the textual functions they serve are adduced in the Table. Due to the higher occurrence of existential constructions these prevail in all recorded textual functions except of two: a summarizing comment and a result of a process are introduced into the discourse more readily by the RSPP structure.

In fiction the situation is somewhat different. None of the presentation sentence types serves all the textual functions recorded; however, the existential construction was found to serve some of the functions exclusively, i.e. no other presentation sentence type was recorded in these functions (the numbers in the brackets show the number of occurrences): viz. 'to introduce a subtopic within a paragraph' (6x), to point out a change in mood/feelings (3x), to point out a quality (4x), to record the occurrence of silence (26x), to introduce a summarizing

comment into the narrative (6x), to portray accompanying circumstances (6x), to introduce a descriptive detail (10x). Moreover, in 64 out of 65 cases, the textual function 'to introduce the main paragraph topic' is performed by the existential construction (in 1 case by the structure with S-V inversion). The RSPP type was clearly preferred to introduce a phenomenon important for an apt description of the background into the discourse (37x, i.e. the function is in 53, 6% carried out by RSPP). The third type of presentation sentences, the S-V inversion structure, is found to be rather versatile; it serves 11 textual functions (cf. Table 20). Among others is the function 'to elaborate or further explicate the main topic of the preceding paragraph' which corroborates its capacity for linking.

The fourth type, the structure with locative subject, was not recorded in the text.

Regarding the three most frequently performed textual roles by the individual types of presentation sentences, there is one significant difference in comparison to the findings in the text of academic prose, namely the function 'to introduce a phenomenon important for an apt description of the background' carried out by all three types of presentation sentences occurring in the fiction text, see Table 24 below:

Table 24: Types of Pr-Sentences and 3 most frequent textual functions they serve in academic prose and in fiction

	EC	157 (100%)	RSPP	90 (100%)	I	1 (100%)	LS	1 (100%)
Academic Prose Text	to elaborate or further explicate the main paragraph topic	48 (30.6%)	to elaborate or further explicate the main paragraph topic	26 (28.9%)	to introduce the main paragraph topic	1 (100%)	to elaborate or further explicate a subtopic within a paragraph	1 (100%)
	to elaborate or further explicate a subtopic within a paragraph	42 (26.8%)	to introduce the main paragraph topic	20 (22.2%)	---	---	---	---
	to introduce the main paragraph topic	35 (22.3%)	to elaborate or further explicate a subtopic within a paragraph	20 (22.2%)	---	---	---	---
	EC	225 (100%)	RSPP	61 (100%)	I	21 (100%)	LS	---
Fiction Text	to elaborate or further explicate the main paragraph topic	64 (28,4%)	to introduce a phenomenon important for an apt description of the background	37 (60,7%)	to introduce the main paragraph topic	5 (23,8%)	---	---
	to introduce the main paragraph topic	29 (12,9%)	to introduce the main paragraph topic	10 (16,4%)	to elaborate or further explicate the main topic of the preceding paragraph	3 (14,3%)	---	---
	to introduce a phenomenon important for an apt description of the background	29 (12,9%)	to elaborate or further explicate a subtopic within a paragraph / to introduce an element relevant for further evolvement of the story/theory	3 (4,9%)	to introduce a phenomenon important for an apt description of the background	3 (14,3%)	---	---

6.3.4   Summary

The answer to the research question remains inconclusive –due to the small sample analysis, tendencies rather than distinctive patterns could be observed. In fact, only two types of presentation sentences could be looked into and compared in relation to the functional style comprising them, viz. the existential and RSPP constructions. In addition, tendencies of the S-V structure could be observed in the fiction text.

As regards the connection between a paragraph position and textual function, the following tendencies have been observed:

Paragraph-initial position is bound to the textual function 'to introduce the main paragraph topic' in both types of text. In academic prose it is followed in frequency by the function of bridging to another topic, otherwise no other textual function is performed in that position. In fiction the position is frequently connected with the abundantly occurring function 'to introduce a phenomenon important for an apt description of the background' and significantly with recording the occurrence of silence (which is most often expressed by a presentation sentence following conversation). In addition the textual functions 'to elaborate or further explicate the main topic of the preceding paragraph', 'to introduce an element relevant for further evolvement of the story', 'to introduce the time-setting/place-setting', 'to point out a change in mood/feelings', 'to point out a change in the character's cognitive process', 'to portray accompanying circumstances', 'to introduce a descriptive detail' were recorded in the initial position in fiction.

Paragraph-near-initial position is often connected to the textual function 'to elaborate or further explicate the main paragraph topic', but also the introduction of the main paragraph topic takes place in this position in both types of text. In fiction the position is moreover frequently related to the textual function 'to introduce a phenomenon important for an apt description of the background' and textual functions identified exclusively in the fiction text (those related to descriptions of characters and settings) were occasionally found in this position.

Paragraph-internal position is in both texts typically occupied by presentation sentences expressing elaboration of the main paragraph topic, in frequency followed by sentences explicating a paragraph subtopic and introducing a paragraph subtopic into the flow of communication. In academic prose the position is in 4 cases taken by a presentation sentence introducing a result of a process, in fiction it is the omnipresent pointing out of a phenomenon important for an apt description of the background. Moreover, the textual functions identified exclusively in the fiction texts occur, namely those related to the character or scenic portrayal such as 'to point out a change in mood/feelings', 'to point out a change in the character's cognitive process' or 'to introduce a descriptive detail'. These are, however, scattered all over the paragraph.

Paragraph-near-final position does not seem to be strongly linked to any of the recorded textual functions in any of the texts. Textual functions occurring in all paragraph positions are to be found here and in small numbers textual functions bound most strongly to the paragraph final position appear, namely the summative function. In the academic prose text it is also the introduction of a result of a process and linking to the main paragraph topic.

Paragraph-final position is in both types of text linked predominantly to the summative textual function. Moreover, in the fiction text, bridging to another topic appears in this paragraph position.

As regards the connection between a presentation sentence type and textual function, the following tendencies have been observed:

The existential construction (EC) was not identified to be in any strong connection with any of the textual functions in the academic prose texts (as it occurred in all of them). This confirms its most neutral character of the four presentation sentence types. Significantly, in fiction it was exclusively employed to record the occurrence of silence. It was found to exclusively express other discourse movements; these however in insignificant numbers and thus no conclusions can be drawn from the data.

The RSPP structure showed similar character as regards its capacity to serve in a variety of textual functions. In academic prose it was the preferred syntactic structure to introduce a result of a process and a summarizing comment into the flow of communication. In the fiction text it was most readily used to introduce a phenomenon important for an apt description of the background.

The S-V structure (**I**) was identified in more or less significant numbers only in the fiction text. Here it was employed to serve various textual functions, most preferably to introduce the main paragraph topic and to elaborate/explicate the main topic of the preceding paragraph. The latter confirms its linking capacity.

The LS structure occurred only once in the academic prose text, no occurrence was ascertained in the fiction text, and thus no conclusions can be drawn from the sample.

7 Final Conclusion

The aim of this thesis has been to explore the field of information structure of the sentence as it asserts itself within the framework of Functional Sentence Perspective. The focus of the study has been on sentences implementing the Presentation Scale; their syntactic-semantic as well as textual character has been examined and compared in connection with the functional style deploying them, namely academic prose and fiction.

At the same time two key questions have been raised: first, how the theory of FSP can be enriching in comparison to the well-acknowledged and widely applied theories of information structure, i.e. how the analysis of information structure can benefit from FSP; the second question, in extension of the first, considers FSP's applicability in automated language processing and the consequent enhancement of web search engines. The first is addressed in chapter 4, here the suggestion in the answer to the second was initiated as well and it is elaborated in chapter 8 below.

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regards the syntactic-semantic character of presentation sentence it has been shown that it differs in dependence on functional style both in the distribution of the presentation sentence types (i.e. the four types of syntactic realisation of Presentation Scale) and in the semantic character of the pr-verb. In the academic prose sample, the incidence of type of pr-sentence with locative subject surprisingly exceeds that of pr-sentences with S-V inversion. Moreover, the data suggest that the more technical text in character the higher incidence of LS structures. Interestingly, they are mainly restricted to sentences with the pr-verb '*contain*' which has been ascribed to the specifics of the scientific fields of chemistry and astronomy.

The pr-verbs display a much poorer diversity of semantic categories than those ascertained in the fiction sample, which has been ascribed to the more austere style of academic writing. In both samples semantic affinity of the pr-verb with its subject has been observed, although in the fiction sample a much wider range of types was recorded. Three verbs were repeatedly identified as presentative exclusively in the context of academic writing, viz. the passive form of the verb '*know*', the verbal phrase '*be available*', and finally the verb '*have*' in structures with the universal human agent '*we*'/'*one*' as the subject and with a context-independent object, semantically often implying '*knowledge*', '*theory*', '*evidence*', and the like.

Finally (and unsurprisingly), in the academic prose sample, a much higher incidence of pr-sentences in the passive voice was recorded in both RSPP structure and in structures implementing the Extended Presentation Scale. Differences between the two functional styles have been also found in the build-up of the last mentioned type of pr-sentences, namely in the specifying adverbial serving the dynamic-semantic function of Specification.

Regarding the similarities, both types of text show nearly identical frequency of occurrence of the existential construction – 60% and 63% of all pr-sentences in the academic prose and fiction texts, respectively – and of the RSPP structure –23% and 20% in academic prose and fiction texts, respectively. This confirms the central character of the two syntactic realisations of the Presentation Scale. While the presentative character of the existential construction is not doubted in literature, it is often disregarded either altogether or as marked as regards the RSPP sentences in major approaches to information structure, namely in Haliday's functional approach or the approach presented in CGEL (which relies heavily on Halliday's information structure theory, but is very influential in and of itself). FSP thus appears to enable to capture the information structure of sentences more reliably than the major trends in contemporary linguistics.

As regards the textual functions of presentation sentences only tentative conclusion can be made. It has been shown that the academic prose text operates with a smaller number of textual functions than the fiction text, viz. 9 vs. 23 respectively. This has been ascribed to a finer descriptive grain and thicker texture typical of fiction (which is also related to the bigger number of semantic categories identified in the pr-verbs alone and in the semantic link with their subjects in the fiction sample).

The strongest correlation between a paragraph position and textual function has been identified between the paragraph-initial position and the textual role of introducing the main paragraph topic, between the paragraph-internal position and introducing a paragraph's subtopic, and the paragraph-final position strongly correlates with the summative textual function, and this regardless of the functional style. In addition, the academic prose text shows a connection between the paragraph-initial position and the textual function of bridging to another topic (realised by a lead-in sentence) whereas in fiction the function is performed exclusively by paragraph-finally placed pr-sentences, which has been identified as a suspense

build-up technique. In fiction, a strong correlation between the function of recording the occurrence of silence in the narrative and the paragraph-initial position has been recorded.

As regards the correlation between a pr-sentence type and textual function, the analysis of the two samples has shown the eclectic nature of both EC and RSPP structures: they have been found to serve a great variety of textual functions. In the text of academic prose, a strong correlation between the RSPP structure the textual role of introducing a result of a process has been identified. In the text of fiction the same syntactic structure is strongly linked to introducing a phenomenon important for an apt description of the background. The pr-sentences with S-V inversion served a variety of textual functions in the fiction text, notably to elaborate or further explicate the main topic of the preceding paragraph which is in accordance with its linking capacity. No conclusions can be drawn as regards the LS structure due to its more than scarce occurrence in the texts.

8   Further Research

As indicated in the section on the Centre and Periphery, the prospective research regarding the information structure theory of FSP concerns computer (automated) language processing. Specifically, the proposal that will be outlined here relates to the area of the Internet where FSP may have a great potential as an effective, practical tool in creating enhanced search engines.

In his book *Internet Linguistics: A Student Guide* David Crystal (2011) outlines challenges of this new branch of linguistics as well as vast research possibilities it offers. One of them is a linguist's contribution in making software tools more effective in providing target information in an electronic search – surely an appealing task to anybody who has experienced the frustration of going over many irrelevant sources identified as significant in such a search.

At the moment, the key problems that employ linguists working in co-operation with IT engineers to devise a reliable and above all effective search engine have one common denominator and that is *relevance*. In other words, the key task is to capture what individual texts or web pages forming the mass of information on the web are about so that they can be later accurately selected as a relevant hit in an Internet search. This is done by *indexing* software whose task is to choose words which encapsulate the content of the text/web pages.

As Crystal argues, "Indexing is more than anything else a matter of judging relevance" (2011: 148) and he adds, "But indexing is really a domain of applied linguistics" (ibid.) Two indexing techniques are in practice, first so-called *index maximalism* when the software indexes everything except grammar words, which results in vast amounts of irrelevance; the second so-called *index minimalism* where teams of people scrutinize material on the web and index it manually, cf. "Someone has to go through the report and decide what the report is about and identify which words best capture that aboutness. It has to be someone. No machine can yet do this." (Crystal 2011: 147) It needs to be added that the latter technique has not shown satisfactory results so far either, which Crystal illustrates by examples from online advertising (where the method is applied) like placing an add "Get your knives at eBay" onto CNN news report page giving an account of a street stabbing (Crystal 2011: 146) Other examples of inappropriate add placement based on irrelevance are "advertising for DIY garden bridge alongside a description of the card game" or "advertising for Trojan condoms alongside a review of the movie Troy" (Crystal 2011: 97).

It is the "capturing of aboutness" of a text which can profit from employing Functional Sentence Perspective analyses. The idea is to trace the thematic progression and at the same time the rhematic progression of a text[91]. The thematic progression complemented by the rhematic progression based on FSP analyses is believed to provide a very reliable mapping of a text; it will trace where the text is going from and where it is going to. The thematic and rhematic 'maps of a text', so to speak, are believed to provide the most relevant data usable in effective indexing software.

In chapter 4 of this thesis, the theory of FSP was put alongside with other most prominent theories on information structure, 3 British and 1 American with the aim to compare and contrast those. It was shown that FSP analyses yield the most reliable results regarding information structure of sentences. It provides linguists with more precise tools to identify the theme and the rheme by incorporating the dynamic aspect of human communication. It was also pointed out that unlike e.g. Halliday's theory of information structure, the FSP theory is language universal, i.e. it can be effectively applied on languages as different from the English language as Czech or French. Surely, there will always be a degree of potentiality (as

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[91] When I discussed the idea of using FSP as an underlying functional resource for devising more effective search engines with Prof. PhDr. Libuše Dušková, DrSc., it was her who gave the idea firmer linguistic shape by suggesting the progressions.

potentiality is language inherent), but as has already been pointed out in the section on the Centre and Periphery, there is a prospect for translating potentiality in FSP (or in other words transitional areas in FSP categories) into a computer programme using Zadeh's Fuzzy-set theory.

It is thus believed that using the FSP theory in automated language processing might give it another, yet unexplored but (perhaps) the more fascinating, dimension.

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