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**DIPLOMOVÁ PRÁCE**

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**Bare *-ed* participles as modifiers**

**Holá minulá přičestí v pre- a postnominální pozici**

Tímto bych rád poděkoval především vedoucí své práce PhDr. Pavlíně Šaldové, Ph.D. za její podporu, trpělivost a ochotu a rovněž za její podnětné poznámky a rady, bez nichž bych si dokončení této práce nedokázal představit.

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## **Abstrakt**

Diplomová práce se zabývá modifikací substantiva holým minulým přičestím v pozici před a za řídicím substantivem a zaměřuje se na autentické příklady získané z psané složky Britského národního korpusu (*The British National Corpus*). Cílem je zmapovat možnosti excerptce této konstrukce v korpusu a následně kvalitativně porovnat participia v obou pozicích na příkladech s kontextem.

V prvním kroku byl zadán jednoduchý dotaz pro získání holých participií v postnominální pozici, s výsledkem 21.437 konkordančních řádků, které byly ručně protříděny. Z výsledných 14.529 relevantních řádků byl stažen náhodný vzorek o 400 příkladů, který byl opět ručně protříděn. Výsledný vzorek o 247 řádcích byl kvantitativně popsán z hlediska levostranného i pravostranného kontextu jmenné fráze a složení řídicích substantiv. Tento vzorek obsahoval 118 unikátních participií, ze kterých bylo náhodně vybráno 10 pro kvalitativní popis (70 bylo konkordančních řádků pro obě pozice, 140 příkladů celkem).

Celý soubor byl následně popsán z hlediska výskytu determinátorů, z hlediska typů určenosti, reference a restriktivity. Zajímavým rysem je přítomnost kvantifikátorů a obecně implikovaný kvantifikační význam této konstrukce. Pozornost byla také věnována možnosti výskytu jednotlivých participií v pozici před substantivem a případným sémantickým rozdílům.

## **Klíčová slova**

holé minulé přičestí, premodifikace, postmodifikace, prenominální pozice, postnominální pozice, reference, restriktivita, určenost, kvantifikátory, význam

## **Abstract**

This thesis deals with the modification of nouns by bare past participles in the pre- and post-head positions and uses authentic examples from the written component of *The British National Corpus*. The aim is to describe the possibility of corpus excerption of this construction and to qualitatively compare participles in both positions using examples with context.

In the first step, a simple search query was entered to retrieve bare past participles in the postnominal position with the result of 21,437 concordance lines which were then manually filtered. The resulting 14,529 lines were used to obtain a random sample of 400 lines which was again manually filtered. The resulting Sample 1 of 247 lines was described quantitatively in terms of the left and right context of the noun phrase and in terms of the head nouns. Sample 1 contained 118 unique participles, from which 10 were randomly selected for a qualitative description (Sample 2; 70 concordance lines per position, 140 lines in total).

Sample 2 was then described in terms of the presence or absence of determiners, in terms of the types of definiteness, reference and restrictivity. An interesting feature is the presence of quantifiers, and the generally implied quantificational meaning of the construction. Semantics and the possibility to occur in the prenominal position were also followed across the sample.

## **Key words**

Bare past participle, premodification, postmodification, pre-head position, post-head position, reference, restrictivity, determiners, quantifiers, semantics

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## List of Abbreviations

NP	Noun phrase
DP	Determinative phrase
PP	Prepositional phrase
VP	Verb phrase
BNC	British National Corpus
ČNK	Český národní korpus / Czech National Corpus
VVD	The past tense form of lexical verbs (BNC Tag)
VVN	The past participle form of lexical verbs (BNC Tag)
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
PU	Punctuation (BNC Tag)



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# I. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis is to provide a quantitative and qualitative description of bare past participles in pre-head and post-head positions functioning as modifiers. The topic is partly inspired by the related research on the modifying use of pre-head and post-head adjectives. Modifying past participles are taken to be a functionally and formally related as participles and adjectives overlap to some degree, as observed by for example Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 1436). Past participles functioning as modifiers are treated to some extent in major grammars (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 1175; Quirk et. al., 1985: 1246) as well as in several studies (e.g., Furuta, 2012; Šaldová, 2005; Sleeman, 2017; Černá, 2010 and others). There is, however, no detailed corpus-based analysis of bare past participles functioning as modifiers except for a brief survey by Furuta (2012) who provides a list of the most frequently used participles, of text types, and of their collocations and colligation features.

Building on previous research, the study aims to tackle two main issues: 1) the question of searchability of the construction in a corpus, assessing the range and representation of participles attested as bare postmodifiers; and 2) to test the degree to which the two positions are available to the past participles, taking into account the properties of the NP as a whole.

The section Theoretical background provides an overview of the features most relevant to the analysis of pre-head and post-head participles. The first chapter deals with the noun phrase as described mainly by Quirk et al. (1985) and Huddleston & Pullum (2002) and their view on the nominal structure and the determiner function. Sections on reference and quantification follow, drawing mainly from the two grammars mentioned with accompanying observations from studies specifically dealing with past participles. The following section deals with nominal dependents and with their function as either modifiers or complements and a short comparison between the two types of dependents. The second chapter focuses on the verb phrase and on non-finite clauses, as the post-head past participle is usually analysed as a reduced relative clause (Quirk et. al., 1985: 1264). This chapter includes section on the postnominal position from a more general standpoint (i.e., not focusing specifically on the postnominal position of participles only) drawing from Matthews (2014), Šaldová (2005), Quirk et. al. (1985), James (1979). Section 2.3. compares prenominal and postnominal positions using Bolinger's (1952) view on linear modification as the main differentiating factor. Section 2.4. takes Keizer's (2019) view on restrictivity. Linear modification is then expanded in section 2.5. describing Bolinger's (1967) types of modification based on two dichotomies.

The section Practical part starts with a short introduction of the whole practical part, then provides a short overview of the main source used – *The British National Corpus* and then describes the steps taken to extract first Sample 1 for a quantitative analysis and then an inventory of ten participles for a qualitative description. The results of the quantitative analysis of Sample 1 are also presented here. The chapter Qualitative description (5.) deals with four main features of the modifying bare participles – reference (5.1.), determiners (5.2.), quantification (5.3.) and semantics (in Semantic gradience 5.4.) and the differences in these features observed between the two positions. This chapter is concluded with a summary of the observations for each position.

Finally the thesis ends with a conclusion that provides a summary of the results. Appendices with the concordance lines can be found attached at the end very end.

## II. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

### 1. Noun phrase

The noun phrase consists of an obligatory head, typically realized by a noun, and a varying number of optional elements. A simple NP consists of the obligatory head only, here realized by a personal pronoun:

(1) [She] is my sister. (Quirk et al., 1985: 245)

A complex NP may consist of a variety of other elements that function as modifiers:

(2) [The blonde girl wearing blue jeans] is my sister. (ibid.: 245)

Here, the NP contains, in addition to the determiner and head, also a premodifier *blonde* and a postmodifier realized by a nonfinite clause.

#### 1.1. Nominals

Huddleston & Pullum (2002) recognize an intermediate category between nouns and NPs called nominals. Unlike the NP, a nominal does not include the determiner and unlike the noun it includes pre- and post-modifiers:

(3) a) the [old man]  
b) that [book you were talking about] (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 329)

The obligatory position in the NP is then either the head in Quirk's view or the ultimate head, as understood by Huddleston & Pullum. The head/ultimate head can be realized by a noun, pronoun or an adjective (*the poor*) (Quirk et al., 1985: 64).

#### 1.2. The determiner function

The most important dependent is the determiner which is often obligatory. The determiner function can be performed by either a determiner (a word-category), such as *the, a, no, every*, or a by an NP, usually in the genitive case ([*the teacher's*] *glass*) (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 330).

The determiner completes a nominal and together form an NP. Such NPs are determined NPs but "under certain circumstances, nominals can themselves form NPs in the absence of a

determiner, and we speak here of bare NPs” (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 355). Bare NPs are acceptable for nominals headed by plural nouns and non-count nouns, forming bare indefinite NPs (*new cars*) (ibid.: 355). While “each determiner has its own specialised meaning” there is one general function: “to add a specification of definiteness (as with *the* or *Ally’s*) or indefiniteness (*one*)” (ibid.: 355).

Huddleston & Pullum recognize three categories of determiner:

(4)	a) basic determiners	determinatives	<i>the tie</i>
		DPs	<i>almost every tie</i>
	b) subject-determiners	genitive NPs	<i>my tie</i>
	c) minor determiners	plain NPs	<i>what colour tie</i>
		PPs	<i>over thirty ties</i>

(ibid.: 355)

Determiner is then a term denoting the function in the structure of the NP and determinative is a category “whose distinctive syntactic property concerns their association with the determiner function” (ibid.: 355). Subject determiners “combine the function of determiner with that of subject of the NP” and they specify the NP as definite (ibid.: 357). Minor determiners contain “a narrow range of plain-case NPs and PPs” where the NPs are “headed by nouns denoting elementary properties, such as size, shape, and colour” and “occur most readily in interrogatives (*What size hat do you take?*)” but are also possible with a demonstrative (*They don’t stock that size shoes.*) (ibid.: 357). “PP determiners normally have a cardinal number as complement of the preposition (*around ten thousand copies*) ... these PPs are semantically comparable to DPs like *more than ten thousand*” (ibid.: 357).

“The term article is used for the special subcategory of determinatives that provide the most basic expression of definiteness and indefiniteness (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 368). The definite article *the* is the most basic indicator of definiteness: *Bring me the ladder* (ibid.: 368). “Use of the definite article here indicates that I expect you to be able to identify the referent – the individual ladder” (ibid.: 368). “The kind of identifiability signalled by *the* is of a relatively weak kind” because it is not necessarily the case that the recipient is always able to identify the referent (ibid.: 368). In a sentence such as *The father of one of my students rang me up last night*, the definite article is required because the “the property of being a father of that student

provides distinctive, hence identifying information about the referent” (ibid.: 368) despite the fact that the recipient cannot know which student and therefore which particular father is being referred to.

The definite article can also function as a modifier in construction with superlatives and comparatives respectively in: *She ran the fastest she had ever run* and *The longer we stay, the more chance there is we’ll be caught* (ibid.: 371).

The indefinite article *a* is not expected to appear with past participles as modifiers in postposition because participles in the post-head position help identify the referent and so the most frequent article used in the NP structure is expected to be *the*. There are other determinatives which express definiteness and could therefore appear in NPs containing postmodifying past participles. These include demonstrative determinatives *this* and *that* which in central cases “add to basic definiteness the notion of spatial deixis” (ibid.: 373). *This* and *that* can also be used anaphorically (in cases where *the* could be employed instead) to mark the relationship “more clearly or explicitly” as in *I suggested we call the police, but he didn’t like that idea* (ibid.: 373). More in sections Reference (5.1.) and Determiners (5.2.).

### 1.2.1. Reference

Huddleston & Pullum recognize two related notions: reference and denotation. “A linguistic expression has reference if, by using it on a given occasion, a speaker intends it to pick out some independently distinguishable entity, or set of entities” (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 399). Such an expression is also termed referential with the entity or set of entities being its referent.

Reference is context-dependent in that the same expression can have different referents in different contexts. Denotation is an expression that does not pick out any particular entity but instead indicates “a relation between two arguments” (verb) or a property of an argument (adjective) (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 399-400). Denotation then is not context-dependent: the meaning of an expression is coded in the language system and does not change with context.

“Referential expressions are generally NPs. Nouns (or nominals), by contrast, are not themselves referential” (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 400). Non-referential NPs are those that do not refer to a specific entity (*Did anyone telephone while I was out?*) (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 400). Some NPs can only be used non-referentially, including negative NPs (*No students arrived on time*) some determinatives (*Either city might win the Olympics*) or bare role NPs (*I*

*was elected treasurer two years ago*) (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 401). However, most NPs can be used either referentially or non-referentially. Proper names, for example, will typically be used referentially but a metalinguistic use (*Mary is still one of the most popular girl's name*) is non-referential; the same applies to descriptive interpretations (*Paul is that guy over there by the piano*) where the proper name “acts as a description of some individual by virtue of his name” (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 402).

Šaldová (2005:238-39) suggests that postnominal bare participles are “anaphoric” due to their elliptical nature and that the definite article frequently coinciding with such nominals may not be anaphoric “but rather cataphoric, the presence of the presupposing participle leading to the use of the definite determiner in the noun phrase” as can be seen in example (17) in Section 2.2.1. repeated here:

Coffee *decaffeinated by chemicals* is generally thought to be as harmful as the beans containing caffeine, so always look for *the water processed* decaffeinated coffee. The price of the product will reflect *the process used*, water processing producing a better quality, purer coffee at a higher price. (ibid.: 7)

If the definite determiner is cataphoric and the anaphoric function is fulfilled by the postnominal participle, then the nominal may occur with other determiners as well, including the indefinite article. The indefinite article may also be used with postmodified nominals if there are multiple possible referents (e.g., *We took a train that stops at every station.* (Dušková, 2012: 68)), in the case of the indefinite first mention (e.g., *He mentioned an incident that I had remembered from my childhood.* (Dušková 2012: 68))

### 1.3. Quantification

Though there is an overlap between determiners and quantifiers, Huddleston & Pullum “use quantification and quantifier as semantic terms, noting that there is no one-to-one relation between them and the syntactic category of determinatives” (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 358). Quantification can also be expressed by adverbs such as *very*, *always*, *sometimes*, adjectives such as *numerous*, *whole*, *complete* or nouns such as *lot*, *number* (ibid.: 358). Some demonstratives (*this*, *that*) also do not express quantification.

There are two types of quantification: existential quantification (*Some of the meat was fresh*, ibid.: 358) and universal quantification (*All of the meat was fresh*, ibid.: 358). Huddleston & Pullum employ the concept of predication property, which is “given by the clause in abstraction

from the quantified NP itself” (ibid.: 358). So for example in [*Three students*] *coughed*. “the number of members of the set denoted by the head *students* that have the predication property is three” (ibid.: 358). Existential quantification “indicates a quantity or number greater than zero, and has *some* as its most straightforward member” (ibid.: 358). Universal quantification is defined “in terms of existential quantification and negation” and “*all* is the most prototypical” member (ibid.: 359). So for example [*All of the meat*] *was fresh* can be rephrased in terms of existential quantification as “It is not the case that some of the meat wasn’t fresh” or using negation as *None of the meat wasn’t fresh* (ibid.: 359). Existential quantifiers can then be further subclassified into basic (*some*) non-affirmative (*any*) and negative (*no*). Both categories usually use alternative dual quantifiers if the set contains just two members (universal *both* and existential *either* and *neither*) (ibid.: 361).

The use of universal quantifiers normally presupposes that the quantified set is not empty: “*All left-handed philosophers* presupposes that there exist left-handed philosophers” (ibid.: 362). Whenever the existence of the set is not strictly speaking entailed, the existence is still suggested or presumed: *All candidates who score 100% on the test will receive a \$100 prize* “does not entail that there will actually be candidates who score 100%...*all* nevertheless suggests a disposition to believe that some candidates will do so” (ibid.: 363).

## 1.4. Nominal dependents

The nominal has two kinds of dependents: internal and external which together constitute the NP. Internal dependents include modifiers and complements. Internal dependents can occur either in pre-head (*some wonderfully warm woollen blankets*) or post-head position (*photographs of Paris which her father had taken*). External dependents include the determiner, predeterminer (*such a brilliant idea*) and peripheral modifiers (*by far the most difficult path*) (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 330-331).

### 1.4.1. Modification

Modification is largely optional and is usually performed by adjectives. Premodifiers precede the head and postmodifiers follow it. “Semantically, modifiers add ‘descriptive’ information to the head, often restricting the reference of the head” (Quirk et al., 1985: 65). “The modification is restrictive when the reference of the head is a member of a class which can be identified only through the modification that has been supplied” (ibid.: 1239). The reference of the head may be unique or previously identified in the preceding context and the modification of such a head



is providing only additional information and is thus nonrestrictive (ibid.: 1239). Restrictive modification can be seen in (5) where the speaker has several daughters and the modification *younger* identifies the reference of the head:

(5) Come and meet my younger daughter. (ibid.: 1239)

In (6) the modification is nonrestrictive because the reference of the head is identified by a proper name:

(6) Mary Smith, who is in the corner, wants to meet you. (ibid.: 1239)

#### 1.4.2. Complementation

Complementation is that part of a phrase which follows a word (and so is part of postmodification) and “completes the specification of a meaning relationship which that word implies” (Quirk et al., 1985: 65). Complementation may be obligatory or optional and functionally overlaps with adverbials and modifiers. Obligatory complementation is seen in examples (7a and 7b) and an optional complement in (8):

(7) a) a better story than that (Quirk et al., 1985, 62)

b) Mr Gould is likely to resign (ibid.: 66)

(8) The boat was ready (for departure). (ibid.: 66)

In (8), it is still implied that the boat was ready for something even if the complementation is omitted (ibid.: 66).

#### 1.4.3. Complementation versus modification

Although both modification and complementation may be optional, there are some important distinctions. The omission of complementation “implies that some element of meaning in a preceding word is ‘unsatisfied’, and therefore has to be provided through context” (Quirk et al., 1985: 66), cf. Šaldová (2005) on the presupposed missing complements in bare postmodifiers. The second difference is syntactic: “the modifying function always relates to the head of a phrase, the complementing function may relate to a premodifier” as in *She was too ill to travel* (ibid.: 66).

## 2. Verb phrase and non-finite clauses

“Verb phrases are headed to the extent that they are composed of two kinds of element, auxiliaries, and main verbs, such that every unreduced verb phrase contains a main verb, but not necessarily an auxiliary. However, a nonfinite main verb cannot normally stand on its own in independent clauses” (Quirk et al., 1985: 61). Verb phrases “consist of a main verb which either stands alone as the entire verb phrase, or is preceded by up to four verbs in an auxiliary function” (ibid.: 62), as in: *may have been being sunk* (ibid.: 62). The *-ed* participle is a nonfinite verb form. Any phrase in which a nonfinite verb form is the first or only word is a nonfinite verb phrase.

When it comes to (bare) past participles as postmodifiers, we are dealing with non-finite reduced relative clauses: “The non-finite *-ed* participle clause (9) can be related to the finite relative clause (10) as long as the relative pronoun is the subject” (Quirk et al., 1985: 1264):

(9) The car (being) repaired by that mechanic...

(10) The car **that** will be repaired / is (being) repaired / was (being) repaired by that mechanic (Quirk et al., 1985: 1264)

“Non-finite clauses are distinguished from finites largely but not wholly by the inflectional form of the verb. Clauses whose verb is a gerund-participle or past participle are always non-finite” (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 1173). Huddleston & Pullum further label non-finite clauses whose verb is past participle as past-participial (ibid.: 1174). Importantly, subjectless past-participials are regarded as clauses (*The sum [spent on gambling] was extraordinary*, ibid: 1175) consisting of “just a VP...we take the VP to be the head of the clause and the presence of a VP is normally sufficient to establish a clausal status” (ibid.: 1175). Attributive VPs in an NP structure present the main exception and are treated as “VPs, not clauses”:

(11) a) our rapidly approaching deadline

b) a poorly drafted report (ibid.: 1175)

These are treated as subclausal expressions because “the expansion of the verbs...is virtually limited to adverbial modifiers preceding the verb: the range of structural possibilities here is quite different from that found in clauses” (ibid.: 1175). This view is shared by Quirk et al. (1985: 1263) and Matthews (2014: 161), with the latter one adding that “participial phrases which are also clauses...are excluded as premodifiers” (ibid.: 161).

Postmodifiers can generally be regarded as reduced relative clauses and this applies to postmodifiers realized by “non-finite clauses..., prepositional phrases..., adjective phrases” (ibid.: 161). This view “would also apply to modifiers formed without a following dependent” (i.e., bare *-ed* participles) (ibid.: 162).

“Single participles can also be attributive, like *changing*. But such uses tend to be restricted” (ibid.: 162). Postpositive bare participles tend to be more “normal” and to complicate the matters further, the “boundary between a participle and a participial adjective is as fluid as they come” and “even when there is no case for conversion, the meaning of a verb may limit what is normal. *Smoking*, for example, forms a premodifier in *the still smoking ruins*; but *the still smoking people*, of people who will not give up tobacco, is less usual” (ibid.: 162).

Past-participial clauses functioning as modifiers differ from those functioning as complements in that they “cannot contain an overt subject” as modifiers (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 1264). “Past-participials are semantically similar to relative clauses (*a letter that was written by my great-grandfather*, ibid: 1265)” but “we do not analyse them as relative clauses since there is no possibility of them containing a relative phrase (cf. *\*people who living near the site*)” (ibid.: 1265). Yet most other sources do analyse them as reduced relative clauses (Quirk et. al., 1985: 1264; Matthews, 2012: 161; Cinque, 2010: 64) although this analysis is also questioned by some (e.g., James, 1979: 694). For a detailed account, see Sleeman (2017).

Past-participial modifiers “are bare passives, as evident from the admissibility of a *by* phrase in internalised complement function” (ibid.: 1265). Unlike *be-* and *get-* passives, bare passives contain no auxiliary verbs:

- (12) a) He saw Kim mauled by our neighbour’s dog.  
b) The guy mauled by our neighbour’s dog is in intensive care.

(Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 1430)

Bare passives “usually have no overt subject, as here (*Kim* in (12a) being syntactically an object)” (ibid.: 1430). Sometimes they do have an overt subject as in the short (uncomplemented by a *by*-phrase) passives of (13a, b) and the long passives of (13c, d):

- (13) a) All things considered, we’re lucky not to have been sued for a lot more.  
b) People really are inconsiderate – present company excepted.  
c) My house wrecked by a tornado is something I don’t ever want to see.

d) Their vehicle immobilised by the mud, they had to escape on foot.

(ibid.: 1430)

“Because the verb is in the past participle form, such clauses are always non-finite and hence restricted to subordinate position: passive main clauses always contain either *be* or *get*” (ibid.: 1430).

Nonfinite adverbial clauses that “have an overt subject but are not introduced by a subordinator and are not the complement of a preposition are absolute clauses, so termed because they are not explicitly bound to the matrix clause syntactically” (*Lunch finished, the guests retired to the lounge.*) (ibid.: 1120) (also in Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 1265-1266) as supplements or absolute constructions).

Another issue is the case of complex transitive complementation where verbs are complemented by an object complemented by an *-ed* participle. There are four types of verbs complemented by a raised object followed by an *-ed* participle:

(14) a) She got/had the watch repaired immediately.

b) I want/need this watch repaired immediately.

c) Someone must have seen/heard the car stolen.

d) They found/discovered/left him worn out by travel and exertion.

(ibid.: 1207)

These examples will not be included in the analysis because the object and object complement “does not act syntactically as a single constituent, as is evident in the passive where the object is separated from its complement” (ibid.: 1195). The passive construction for this object + *-ed* participle construction is “at best dubious: *?The car must have been seen stolen*” (ibid.: 1207, note a). *Have* in this construction can be interpreted as “either an agentive causative meaning, or a stative meaning” but to complicate matters further. the *-ed* participle in this construction can also sometimes be interpreted “as a postmodifier of the object: *She had a book (which was stolen from the library)*” (ibid.: 1208, note b).

## 2.1. Participles as modifiers based on adjectives in the same function

Given that modifying participles are adjectival at least to the extent that they are the “head of an expression whose function is like that of an expression headed by an adjective, i.e. of an

AdjP” (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 79), it is necessary to describe the function of adjectives in some detail. Adjectives have two major tasks. The first is to “make a statement that something has a certain property” (Dixon, 2010: 70, in Matthews 2014: 62), as in *The chief is tall* where the person referred to by *the chief* is assigned the property of being tall (Matthews, 2014:1). The second task is “specification that helps identify the referent of the head noun” (Dixon, in Matthews, 2014: 64), as in *the tall chief* where the person identified as a chief is specified as being tall (Matthews, 2014: 1). The first function – to make a statement about something – is essentially the same as predication (therefore same as verbal predication *The chief spoke* (ibid.: 2)). The second function is attributive – that of a modifier of a noun. Attribution occurs “within the structure of phrases” and predication “in the structure of a clause or sentence” (ibid.: 2).

Adjectives are then categorized depending on the position they can occupy as “default” (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 553) or “central” (Quirk et al., 1985: 403) if they are allowed in both attributive and predicative positions; “attributive only” (Quirk et al., 1985: 428) and “predicative only” (ibid.: 432) or “never attributive” (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 550). Both Quirk et al. (1985: 418) and Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 528) talk about postposition as the third main function. Matthews however points out that position and function may not be equivalent – position may mean “a place in a sequence (2014: 10) whereas function is “a role within what is traditionally a ‘construction’” (ibid.: 10). And so while the position of postpositive modifiers is obviously distinct from both prepositive attribution and from predication, its function may be the same as that of prepositive attribution. This is because “units are construed one with another independently of which comes first or whether, indeed, they are adjacent” and thus “all modifiers have the same construction” (ibid.: 10). While it is impossible to say *the chief tall* or *a tall someone*, it is only because of the position, and the position is restricted “by the type of unit...that is modified” – the function remains the same in both (ibid.: 10). Functionally, adjectives in all three positions are dependents, the difference is in their type: *tall* in *the chief is tall* is a complement; *tall* in *the tall chief* and *the chief tall* is a modifier but a modifier of a different kind in each position.

## **2.2. Modifying participles and position**

There are two possible sources for attributive adjectives suggested by Cinque (2010: 64): direct and indirect modification. Indirect modification is the case when the AdjP “is in the predicate position of a reduced relative clause merged above the specifiers hosting direct modification

adjectives”. Indirect modification is the usually seen as the source for past participles functioning as modifiers.

As mentioned earlier, some scholars suggest that all prenominal modifiers “whether underived or morphologically derived from active or passive participles are categorically adjectives” (ibid.: 64). This includes Freidin 1975, Wasow 1977, Bresnan 1978, Levin and Rappaport 1986, Haspelmath 1994, Bolinger, 1952 and others. And conversely that postpositive modifiers are verbal in nature, although not categorically verbs. Cinque objects that this view “does not seem to be justified” (2010: 64). There is a clear difference in that adjectives “are compatible with *very*, but not with (*very*) *much* while verbs are compatible with *very much* but not with *very*” (ibid.: 64).

The participle is “firmly linked with the passive voice”, thus “since *-ed* participles can never be passive with intransitive verbs, there is no *-ed* postmodifier corresponding exactly to the relative clause” as in (15) (Quirk et al., 1985: 1265):

(15) The train which has arrived at platform 1 is from York.

\*The train arrived at platform 1 is from York. (ibid.: 1265)

But the reduced form may be acceptable when the *-ed* participle “is preceded by certain adverbs” (*The train recently arrived at platform 1 is from York*) (ibid.: 1265). Premodification of this kind is “related to our ability also to premodify nouns with participles which, unless themselves premodified, can only postmodify” (ibid. 1265). The default position of complemented participles, on the other hand, is post-head (Dušková, 2012: 582).

Since some prenominal participles can be modified by (*very*) *much*, these participles are verbal, “presumably within a reduced relative clause” (Cinque, 2010: 64):

- (16) a) a very much respected scholar  
b) a very much debated issue  
c) a very much appreciated service  
d) the much talked about new show (ibid.: 64)

The status of the postpositive position becomes more complicated since it is not related exclusively to attribution. There is “an important link between the postpositive position and the predicative”: only those default and ‘never attributive’ adjectives occur in postposition (ibid.:

11). Postposition is formed from a reduced relative clause: *a chief who is taller than the others* – the AdjP is in “predicative position within a modifying clause” and in *a chief taller than the others* “the modifier is reduced to” the AdjP alone (ibid.: 12). It would not be true to claim that the postpositive position is a mere “extension of the predicative” because there are some adjectives that are “either restricted to this position or are restricted...in certain senses” (ibid.: 12). Matthews gives the example of *proper* having a specific meaning in the postpositive position (*the city proper*) which it does not have in any other position (ibid.: 12).

Matthews (2012: 164) notes that there is a “general tendency in English...for modifiers that are usually postpositive, or were so earlier in its history, to become more usually attributive.” This should apply to participles, bare and complemented, but would likely be difficult to track within this study. It is however a trend that may continue and one that may be less represented in the BNC since it contains texts from 1990s.

Ferris (1993: 43) poses a question: “What is the difference in effect or value obtained by the speaker who uses postnominal position when prenominal position is equally grammatical?” To which Matthews (2014: 168) answers simply that “the ‘effect or value obtained’ is to make clear that the meaning is restrictive” In this way “the postpositive position would...represent the ‘marked’ term...in an opposition” (ibid.: 168). Premodifiers are, by their position, ambiguous in restrictivity, but in speech, “the effect a speaker would be said to obtain could also be obtained by varying intonation”, which of course cannot be achieved in writing and that could explain why bare past-participial postmodifiers are more typical of written English, as shown by Furuta, (2012: 515), and most frequent in academic/informative texts (Šaldová, 2005: 233).

### **2.2.1. Postnominal position**

The complement of the postmodifier can be “latent” or “identifiable in the context” for example *the students eligible* refers to “students eligible for a prize or entry to a competition” (Matthews, 2014: 170).

Matthews writes that “where an adjective has a sense in which it is not attributive, it can be used as a modifier, with that sense, only if it is postpositive” (ibid.: 171). So for example in *the people actually ready*, “the sense of *ready* is the one it would have in *they are ready*, and could not have in *the ready people*” (ibid.: 171).

Postpositive past participles can be seen as relative clauses (Section 2., also in Quirk et al., 1985: 418) and so one of their functions is condensation. The bare postpositive past participle “is a form of presupposition, thus having a cohesive effect” (Šaldová, 2005: 236). For example:

(17) Coffee *decaffeinated by chemicals* is generally thought to be as harmful as the beans containing caffeine, so always look for *the water processed* decaffeinated coffee. The price of the product will reflect *the process used*, water processing producing a better quality, purer coffee at a higher price. (ibid.: 236)

“The antecedent head corresponds to the implicit subject of the nonfinite clause” (Quirk et al., 1985: 1263). Postmodifying *-ed* clauses are usually restrictive. When they are not restrictive, they can be moved into clause-initial position without the change of meaning: *The substance, discovered almost by accident, has revolutionized medicine* (Quirk et al., 1985: 1270) which “implies that nonfinite nonrestrictive clauses are equivocal between adnominal and adverbial role...the nonfinite clause could be a reduction of a relative clause, ... a causal clause, or a temporal one” (Quirk et al., 1985: 1271).

### **Postposition of bare *-ed* participles**

Bare postpositive participles are generally characteristic only of formal written style (James, 1979: 688). Complemented postpositive participles and bare postpositive participles differ in the constraints placed on them. Complemented participles enjoy more freedom as illustrated by (18a) and (18b):

(18) a) John was a man happy to be home.

b) \*John was a man happy. (ibid.: 688)

The constraints placed on bare postpositive participles are semantic in nature. The first constraint, related to the determiner of the NP, requires the referent expressed by the NP to be presupposed in linguistic or non-linguistic context. By extension, the determiners *the, all, each, every* and *most* will in combination with postpositive bare participles generally produce grammatical sentences while *a(n)* will not (*A lot of birds singing were in the trees*) (James, 1979: 689). It is not simply the case that grammaticality would depend on the determiner alone because the grammaticality “with determiners such as *some, several, many, a lot of* and numbers” depends on context – on presupposed knowledge of the referent (as in *Some/several/many/three/a lot of faculty members hired should not have been hired.*) (ibid.: 689). In this regard, it is useful to divide the determiners into two categories based on



interpretation: cardinal and quantificational determiners. Quantificational determiners “specify some quantity of an already known and identifiable set, a set which is presupposed to exist ... in context” (ibid.: 690). The first group of determiners mentioned (*the, all...*) are always quantificational. Cardinal determiners are used when “the set described by the NP is not already known and identifiable ... and it specifies the approximate number of members in the set” (ibid.: 690). *A(n)* is always cardinal (except when used in generic reference, then it is quantificational). The remaining group (*some, many...*) can be either cardinal or quantificational.

There are some exceptions to this: if *the* is used despite no presupposed knowledge of the referent, bare postpositive participle becomes impossible: *\*If you're going over there, watch out for the fence painted* (ibid.: 691). The second exception are the determiners *some, no, any* and *-body, -one, -thing*. These can never be preceded by a modifier and so the usual constraints do not apply: *someone angry came in* is perfectly acceptable without *someone* being presupposed in context (ibid.: 691).

There is one historical exception to this constraint: in 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century we can see sentences like *my heart bounded like a prisoner escaped* (Samuel Johnson) or *happy was Rosamund though a girl grown* (Charles Lamb) (ibid.: 704, note 8). These are not likely to appear in regular use today but could conceivably appear in poetic language. It shows that this constraint is a “relatively recent development in English” (ibid.: 704, note 8).

A further constraint is that there must be another known thing that can be referred to by the noun but is not characterizable by the modifier (i.e., Bolinger's ‘selective contrast’). This applies when the postmodification is restrictive because it presupposes other possible referents, while premodifier could be either restrictive or non-restrictive without formal distinction. The constraints differ when the bare postnominal participle is non-restrictive.

- (19) a) The men, fired, walked away dejectedly.  
b) ?The men, fired, were all over forty.  
c) Fired, the men walked away dejectedly.  
d) The men, who were fired, walked away dejectedly. (ibid.: 694)

The questionable acceptability of (19b) lies in the fact that there is no clear causal relationship between the modification and the predication – the two may not overlap and may not be directly

related to each other (at least by the two processes coinciding temporarily). Furthermore, it is not clear whether the bare non-restrictive participles (19a, b) actually represent a reduced relative clause. This difficulty is illustrated by (19c) (which is equivalent to (19a)) where *fired* is placed initially in the sentence, which is not an acceptable position for a relative clause (\**Who were fired, the men walked away dejectedly*). It is also not clear whether bare non-restrictive postnominal participles “should be analysed as true modifiers of the noun (related to full nonrestrictive clauses) or as some type of adverbial element” (ibid.: 694). If they are to be understood as modifiers, then constraint of presupposed knowledge of the referent of the noun does not apply to them (because of the acceptability of: *A man, angry, left the room* (ibid.: 693)).

The second constraint is related to the semantic nature of the modification itself. The meaning can be permanent, or essential, or temporary. Postnominal adjectives are not acceptable unless denoting temporary state but such a clear distinction is not possible with past participles. Postnominal past participles denoting a permanent state “seem a little worse than those which denote events” (ibid.: 697). The comparison is visible below with participle denoting an event in (20a) and a more permanent or essential state in (20b):

- (20) a) Some of the trees were cut down. Each tree cut down was carefully disposed of by the municipality.
- b) One acre of forest is owned by someone. ?The acre owned belongs to the head of the Clarke Institute. (ibid.: 697)

For adjectives, the possibility to acquire the state suddenly seems to be a deciding factor. The same does not apply to past participles. *Love, know, believe* can all be acquired immediately but these are not acceptable in postposition (yet they are “in general more acceptable than adjectives of the *tall* type” since these cannot also denote permanent properties but ones that cannot be acquired or lost immediately (ibid.: 701)).

Similarly, past participles denoting permanent properties cannot be predicated on NPs with cardinal interpretation (?*A man was loved/believed/known* but *A man was stopped/murdered/hired*)(ibid.: 698).

Despite the slight differences in the application of the constraints, it is safe to say that adjectives and participles are semantically similar.

### 2.3. Prenominal versus postnominal position

#### Linear modification

Bolinger's view on linear modification can illuminate the difference between the use of past participles in pre-head and post-head position in relation to the modified head. The general premise is that with each successive element added to a sentence, the semantic range of the preceding elements becomes progressively more and more limited (1952: 1118). As a result, the elements closer to the beginning of a sentence have a larger semantic range than the elements towards the end of the sentence. This becomes evident when attempting to predict one's utterance: the first word can be selected from a virtually unlimited range of possibilities but with each new word the range of possibilities is reduced until finally the few last words can often be predicted with high accuracy (ibid.: 1119). So the relationship works in both directions: words positioned later in the sequence semantically restrict or specify preceding words, and words earlier in the sequence restrict the paradigm of possible choices for each consecutive word.

Bolinger (1952: 1117) recognizes two sets of dichotomies related to linear modification: spatial and temporal dichotomies. Spatial dichotomies include the oppositions of contiguous vs separate and within vs without, that is, the elements are either next to each other or not, and are either within the same phrase or not. Neither of these spatial dichotomies relate to the present problem. Temporal dichotomies include the oppositions of first versus last and before versus after. This is important when determining the difference between past participles as modifiers in prenominal as opposed to postnominal position. As mentioned before, individual elements have mutual effects on each other, it could be said that they, in some way, modify each other. For example, in *John eats* (ibid.: 1119), *John* modifies *eats* and vice versa. The verb modifies *John* in that it changes the representation of him and same could be said in the opposite direction.

This example does not show much in terms of linear modification, however, since there is no other order permitted. But for example, Spanish does allow V-S order and we can form a pair like *Juan canta* and *canta Juan* (ibid.: 1120). *Juan canta* means that he sings for a living, whereas *canta Juan* means that he is singing at the present moment. We can see then that the latter element semantically restricts or differentiates the preceding, more general, element. In the first example, *Juan* is differentiated from others in that he is a singer. In the second example, placing *canta* first suggests an action that could be carried out by anyone, and *Juan* then

restricts this possibility to one agent. This also coincides with theme and rheme – especially visible in the marked order *canta Juan*, *canta* is known information and *Juan* is new information so Bolinger’s linear modification seems to be in accordance with the functional sentence perspective of the Prague school.

To give a comparable example in English, we can take the possible positions of *abruptly* in the examples (21a) and (21b)

(21) a) Why did you abruptly back away?

b) Why did you back away abruptly? (Bolinger, 1952: 1120)

*Abruptly* in example (21a) is more ‘inclusive’ in the sense that it modifies all that follows, in a sense it “overshadows” or “colors” it (Bolinger, 1952: 1229). *Abruptly* is not used contrastively here and the meaning of the sentence is essentially *why did you carry out this action*. *Abruptly* in (21b) is used contrastively – *why did you carry out this action in this manner*. The focus is clearly on the adverb in (21b), whereas in (21a), the whole VP is in focus, without any special status of *abruptly*. Bolinger (1952: 1122) calls the effect, that *abruptly* achieves in (21b) ‘selective contrast’ – the modifier ‘splits the head’ and selects one thing out of several (i.e.: one mode of *backing away*) and thus the modifier specifies the meaning of the head. On the other hand if the modifier is in pre-position, it is not selective but ‘inclusive’ in that the modifier envelops the head. However, not all modifiers can achieve this by simply changing positions. Many adjectives will not allow simple postposition and so selective contrast must be achieved using contrastive stress (ibid.: 1122).

There are two more main effects of alternating pre- and post-positions. The first one is ‘self-contrast’ – the modifier in post-position is not contrasting the head against other things but against other variants of the same thing, in: *A man unhappy is seldom in charge of his emotions*, *man* is not compared to other men who are not unhappy but against the same man in a different mood (ibid.: 1134). The second effect, also visible in this same example, is that the modifier in post-position often expresses a temporal state (ibid.: 1134). This is because it is not characterizing him, not comparing him to other men, but showing only a momentary disposition. The modifier is detachable, as opposed to being a permanent characterization. This is again apparent in *the few stars visible* which could be paraphrased as *the few stars [that happen to be] visible* (ibid.: 1134).

The same effects can be noted in *the only responsible man* – *man* is characterized with a permanent quality of being responsible, he is a *responsible* type of *man* (ibid.: 1135). We can also say that the sense of the adjective is broader – the *man* is generally reliable. Whereas *the only man responsible* refers to a *man* who is temporarily bearing responsibility for a specific action so *responsible* is tied to a single incident. The sense of the adjective is narrower – the *man* is to blame. The ‘broader’ versus ‘narrower’ sense can also be illustrated with *traveling salesman* and *salesman traveling* where in the first example, the sense ‘actually travelling’ has been broadened to mean ‘potentially traveling’ (ibid.: 1138).

This becomes complicated with nouns that have more narrow semantic content. With such nouns, the same adjective may become acceptable in pre-position, yet with the meaning it previously had in post-position as in *the responsible party will be prosecuted* where *responsible* has the same meaning as in *the man responsible*. This is because a *party* (in the context of law) can be characterized as *responsible for an act* whereas a *man* cannot be characterized as *responsible for an act* and so the adjective has to be placed after the noun (ibid.: 1136).

Similarly, in *an under-the-counter sale*, *sale* is being characterized as such and this can be expanded to suggest that the salesman is conducting this type of sale regularly. In comparison to that, *a sale under the counter* is describing a one-off incident, not a type of sale, and may be completely uncharacteristic of the salesman (ibid.: 1136).

Bolinger (1952: 1140, note 45) notes that with past participles, selective contrast may be achieved even in pre-position by using the definite article. By comparing (22a) and (22b), we can see that in both sentences, *jewels* are compared to other *jewels* (which had not been stolen). The difference between the two is that with the participle in post-position, *jewels* are also self-contrasting (her most prized jewels in the present condition versus the same jewels in the previous condition).

- (22) a) the jewels stolen were the ones she prized most of her whole collection  
b) the stolen jewels were the ones she prized most of her whole collection

(Bolinger, 1952: 1140, note 45)

Post-position makes the participle more narrow and more literal, in this sense, it is closer to a verb. As once again illustrated in (23a), the meaning of the participle in post-position is non-characterizing (therefore less adjectival), momentary (therefore more actional and verbal). In (23b), the “pre-position assimilates [the participle] to ordinary adjectives” (Bolinger, 1952:

1140, note 47). The meaning of the participle is broader, more inclusive, less literal, indicating that the person is easy-going and friendly, thus characterizing the person, just like an ordinary attributive adjective.

(23) a) He is a person easily satisfied

b) He is an easily-satisfied person (Bolinger, 1952: 1140)

Bolinger (1952: 1140) writes that “since ‘detachability’ inheres in their nature, the array of past participles following nouns is unlimited”, ‘detachability’ meaning that they are non-characterizing. This would suggest a potential imbalance in the distribution of participles in pre- versus post-position in that pre-position should be restricted to those participles that are capable of characterizing the head.

Bolinger (1952: 1140) also notes that participles mark the object with the action captured in the participle, thus marking it against other things (or against different states of the same thing), leading to examples like *the countries discovered*, *the names called* etc. This provides a glimpse into the restriction of participles in pre-position. Those that can be used attributively are also those leaving a mark on their object (*\*scratched head* but *scratched glass*; *\*sent boxes* but *labelled boxes*) (Bolinger, 1967: 9). When leaving a mark, the participle characterizes the object, and so can be used attributively. This creates pairs of antonyms in which one can be used in both positions but the other only in post-position: *\*withdrawn money* is not allowed because there is no need to characterize money as *withdrawn*, the act leaves no mark and so the state is only temporal, thus fit for post-position but not for attribution (ibid.: 9). In addition, the established adjective *cash* with essentially the same meaning blocks out *withdrawn* in this position. We could then say that *withdrawn* has not become formalized in attributive position. *Deposited money* is similar in that it also does not leave any noticeable mark on the object but it does change its state and so can be used to characterize it. In this way, *deposited* also provides contrast against *money* in other states, such as *invested money* or *cash money* (ibid.: 9). This applies to other antonym pairs, where usually the negative member of the pair can be used attributively. Bolinger (1967: 9, note 7) argues that this is because the negative status is striking or exceptional and therefore fit for characterizing the object: *hated man* (?*liked man*), *lost jewels* (*\*found jewels*), *departed guests* (*arrived guests*).

Given that participles in post-position have contrasting, non-characterizing function, possessives partly block them. If the possessive marks the noun as unique, postposition becomes impossible (Bolinger, 1952: 1140, note 50). Post-position of participles after

possessives is possible only as long as thing-to-thing contrast remains possible. Hence the impossibility of *\*He heard his dear Mary Ann doted-on say*, yet acceptability of *Our two articles accepted were both on natural science* (ibid.: 1140, note 50).

### **Capturing**

Pre-position and post-position lead in some cases to yet another effect called ‘capturing’. This refers to the situation when the same word has a different, specialized meaning or specific connotations in one of the positions, usually pre-position: *Almighty God* and *God Almighty* where the second is used only in oaths, similarly *light house* and *house light*, *traveling salesman* and *salesman traveling* (Bolinger, 1952: 1139).

### **Short summary**

Participles in pre-position colour everything that follows, are inclusive and therefore may have broader meaning, are assimilated to adjectives, are characterizing and therefore more permanent. Post-position makes participles more verbal and non-characteristic, but rather detached and momentary. Its meaning is more literal and narrower. It is possible for a modifier to be captured in one position – to have a special meaning in that position (usually pre-position). Pre-position usually marks potential (*working man*) and post-position expresses actual reality (*man working*).

## **2.4. Restrictivity**

### **Truth-conditional**

Functional discourse grammar recognizes modifiers of two levels: higher, interpersonal level and lower, representational level modifiers (Keizer, 2019: 365-366). Modifiers of the representational level, unlike those of the interpersonal level, are propositional and truth-conditional. Yet some modifiers seem to belong to the representational level and not be propositional. Keizer (2019: 366) gives examples of subject-oriented adverbs like *cleverly* and non-restrictive attributive modifiers (adjectives and past participles). Proposition can be evaluated in terms of true/false in relation to the reality it describes. Non-restrictive prenominal modifiers simply add an additional property to the noun – the relation between head and modifier is not intersective. Restrictive modifiers are intersective in that the referent in question is at the intersection of the two qualities (*expensive watch* is an entity that is both a *watch* and *expensive* where removing either element changes the proposition) and in this sense both the

head and modifier are restrictors (Keizer, 2019: 383). Non-restrictive modifiers are non-intersective as seen in (24):

- (24) a) Our friendly staff is here to make sure that you have an outstanding experience.
- b) There were seven of us, my three kids, wife, my father-in-law, my old mother and me. (Keizer, 2019:366)

Neither modifier is specifying the referent. In (24a) there is likely no subgroup of *staff* that are not friendly and in (24b) the speaker likely does not have another mother of a different age. These modifiers are then non-truth-conditional and “should not be analysed as restrictors, i.e., not as modifiers (Keizer, 2019: 383). The same applies to nonrestrictive prenominal past participles:

- (25) a) Across the road the cemetery hill shimmered under the last rays of the hidden sun.
- b) Air admitted from the balcony under the folds of the drawn curtain grazes his face. (Keizer, 2019: 384)

Once again, “there is only one identifiable sun” in (25a) and in (25b) only one curtain.

If both pre- and postnominal positions are possible, non-restrictive past participles (and adjectives) tend to precede the noun. This applies also in Romance languages where postnominal position is much more frequent. English is “far less flexible when it comes to the placement of (unmodified) adjectives within the NP, the postnominal position is highly restricted ... to certain groups of past participles” (ibid.: 385). As seen in (26), if “an adjective or past participle can occur in both positions, the postnominal position cannot trigger a non-restrictive interpretation” (ibid.: 385):

- (26) a) Every unsuitable word was deleted.
- Restrictive: ‘Every word that was unsuitable was deleted’.
- Non-restrictive: ‘Every word was deleted; they were unsuitable’.
- b) Every word unsuitable was deleted.
- Restrictive: ‘Every word that was unsuitable was deleted’.
- #Non-restrictive: ‘Every word was deleted; they were unsuitable’. (ibid.: 385)



Past participles in English “occur more freely in both positions” than adjectives (ibid.: 385) and so illustrate the difference in restrictivity very well. This is clear in (27) – in (27a) the prenominal past participle could be either restrictive or non-restrictive but the context “favours a non-restrictive reading (there is only one relevant and inferable set of men, namely those listed in the preceding sentence). (ibid.: 385) In (27b) the postnominal past participle is restrictive and identifies “the set of men in question” (ibid.: 385).

- (27) a) Look what happened here in Brooklyn when police moved in on this chop shop. They made arrests, sent the arrested men to the police station and before they could finish their paperwork, one of the arrested men was back.
- b) The families are very skeptical about all this. The mother of one of the men arrested said if my son were a terrorist, the Earth would open up and swallow me. The men will appear in court here today. (ibid.: 385-386)

## 2.5. Types of modification: (Non)restrictive and (non)customary

### Types of modification:

Bolinger (1967: 13) recognizes two dichotomies when it comes to types of modification: (non)restrictive and (non)customary (the latter called temporary and permanent by Quirk, 1985: 1242). These do not formally show in *be* predications. Restrictive modification identifies a subgroup within the larger group denoted by the noun – in (28b), only a subgroup within all dinosaurs ate fish. Non-restrictive characterizes the whole group: (28a), all dinosaurs ate fish.

(28) *fish-eating dinosaurs*

- a) The animals known as dinosaurs were eaters of fish
- b) The particular dinosaurs were eaters of fish (Bolinger, 1967: 13)

Customary modification describes a repeating or permanent quality or action. This allows customary modification to appear in pre-position, as it is characterizing. “Items placed in premodification position are typically given the status of permanent or, at any rate, characteristic features” (Quirk et al., 1985: 1242). Non-customary modification is momentary and so cannot appear in pre-position: *the man broke a leg* > \*the leg-breaking man). At the same time, “this does not mean that postmodification position is committed to either temporariness or permanence” (Quirk et al., 1985: 1242).

### Reference and referent modification:

This dichotomy illustrates the difference in acceptability of the following sequences:

I saw a man. The man was hungry. > I saw a hungry man.

The boy is a student. The student is eager. > The boy is an eager student.

(Bolinger, 1967: 14-15)

The first sequence is completely acceptable but the second one seems odd. The issue with the second one is that *The student is eager* is essentially saying *the boy is eager* and the resulting transformation *the boy is an eager student* becomes illogical. The issue lies in how the modifications are related to each other: *the boy is an eager student* tells us what he does and how he does it, the sequence of the modification is *eager>student>boy*, so the modifications *eager* and *student* are related to each other. In *the student is eager*, there are two separate sequences: *student>boy* and *eager>boy* where *eager* and *student* are not related to each other (Bolinger, 1967: 14-15).

Referent modification can be transformed into a predication where the adjective and noun are conjugated: *Henry is a drowsy policeman* > *Henry is a policeman and drowsy* (Bolinger, 1967: 21). Reference modification requires the adjective to be within the reference system of the noun (*criminal/civil lawyer, distant/second cousin, crooked/beat cop*). When it is not in the reference system, the product sounds odd: *?He is a cooked cousin* but can be amended by a predetermined referent: *He is a crooked cousin of mine*. The modification then becomes attached to the specified referent (Bolinger, 1967: 22).

An ambiguous situation, called blending (of reference and referent modification), may also occur. Since nouns name classes (appropriate for reference modification) but also designate individuals (appropriate for referent modification), situations where the modification can be either type are common: *a friendly policeman, a happy agent*. Both adjectives can either modify the referent: the person is happy/friendly and a policeman/agent or the individuals are happy to be an agent or policing in a friendly manner (Bolinger, 1967: 23).

Discourse can affect the meaning of an adjective in that it can alter the reference system of the noun by adding new dimensions: *a short book* would be normally understood as short in terms of the number of pages and so something like: *This short book is about right for that low shelf* would be unlikely (Bolinger, 1967 :23). But in context such as: *This book is short – it's about*

*right for that low shelf*, the reference system of *book* is altered to now include the physical dimensions and so we could later say *Hand me that short book*. Prior predication in discourse allows for attribution later, while the modification type is still referent modification without causing confusion or ambiguity due this position being normally taken by reference modification (Bolinger, 1967: 24).

Discourse can affect the reference system of a noun in the opposite way as well. Attribution is primarily interpreted as reference modification if such interpretation makes sense. As we have seen, if the adjective is not within the reference system of the noun in an example like: *Do you see that drowsy policeman?* is unambiguously transformed as *policeman and drowsy* (Bolinger, 1967: 25). If we wanted an adjective to form an attributive referent modification with a noun that does include that adjective in its reference system, it would require prior predication: if *criminal* in *criminal lawyer* is supposed to mean evildoing (as opposed to simply classifying the type of lawyer), we would need to preface this with a predication that would as if remove *criminal* from the reference system of *lawyer* (*X is a criminal. X is a lawyer. X is a criminal lawyer.*) (Bolinger, 1967: 25).

Such an anomaly – referent modifier in the attributive position typical for reference modifiers – can also be reversed (reference modifier in predication). In many cases however, the result is ungrammatical: *a subterranean explorer* > *\*the explorer is subterranean*, because the person labelled as explorer cannot possibly be labelled as *subterranean* (Bolinger, 1967: 28). For this to be acceptable, the adjective must be allowed as either type: *a stingy donor* > *the donor is stingy*. *Stingy* can be applied to the person denoted by *donor* but it is also within the reference system of *donor* and so works in either attribution or predication and can be interpreted as reference modifier and referent modifier respectively without causing ambiguity or ungrammatical constructions (Bolinger, 1967: 28).

Interestingly, reference modification seems to be related to noun + noun compounds in that both predication and comparative is impossible (*military base* > *\*the base is military* > *\*more military base*; *civil lawyer* > *\*the lawyer is civil* > *\*more civil lawyer*) (Bolinger, 1967: 31).

### 3. *-ed* forms as participles and as adjectives

#### Adjectival passives / Participles as adjectives vs verbs

Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 1436) notes that there is a “large-scale overlap between adjectives and the past participle forms of verbs”. In examples like (29) we can see three possibilities where the *-ed* word can be understood differently in each case:

- (29) a) The kitchen window was broken by the thieves.  
b) They were very worried.  
c) They were married. (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 1436)

(29a) is a regular verbal *be*-passive, *worried* in (29b) is an adjective and (29c) is ambiguous. (29c) can be interpreted as a verb and read dynamically or as an adjective and statically as a result of the event. *Very worried* in (29b) and *married* in (29c) are called adjectival passives, which refers only to the predicative complement – the AdjP (ibid, 2002: 1436).

Huddleston & Pullum provide some tests for adjectival/verbal status:

#### 1) Modification by *very* and *too*

This test can only be applied to gradable adjectives but it is a sufficient condition – if the word can be modified by *very* or *too* it must be an adjective: *It was very enjoyable* but *\*We very enjoyed it* (ibid, 2002: 1436).

#### 2) Occurrence with other verbs taking predicative complements

Adjectival predicative complements can occur with copular verbs such as *seem*, *look*, and *remain*. Thus the acceptability of *They seemed very worried* but ungrammaticality of *\*The kitchen window seemed broken by the thieves*. This test also reveals that adjectival passives may contain a *by*-phrase: *He remained too embarrassed by their behaviour to acknowledge that he was their son* (ibid, 2002: 1437).

#### 3) The negative prefix *un-*

“Many adjectives for opposites by prefixation of *un-*, but verbs to not take *un-* with the same sense” (ibid.: 1436): *The letter was still unanswered*.

Another clue might be the interpretation of the word as either stative or dynamic:

(30) a) They were injured when the platform they were standing on collapsed.

b) She is injured and will have to miss the next two matches. (ibid.: 1437)

(30a) is unambiguously dynamic and so *injured* must be a verb, (30b) is stative and so *injured* here is an adjective. However, “adjectival and verbal passives cannot be distinguished simply by asking whether the interpretation is stative or dynamic” (ibid.: 1438). This is because verbal passives may have a stative meaning as in *She is loved by everyone* (ibid.: 1438).

Complementation is another differentiator between verbs and adjectives: verbs can take predicative complements (*Kim was considered a liability*) (ibid.: 1439). *By*-phrases also typically only occur with verbs, they are “permitted in adjectival passives when the meaning of the corresponding verb is stative” (*worried by the prospect of redundancy*) (ibid.: 1439).

However, there are other views on the matter. One that seems particularly interesting is proposed by Černá (2016) who treats the term participle as a term referring to the form, not the part-of-speech categorization. Unmodified adjectival passive participles can be divided into two categories based on position relative to the head noun and into three further categories based on their adjectival or verbal interpretation. Since they function as modifiers, they are called verbal adjectives or adjectival participles. Prenominal passive participles “single out particular instances, they characterize the instances” and “despite the fact that they are derived from a verb, they are more adjectival than verbal” (ibid.: 122). Postnominal passive participles on the other hand “do not single out individual instances, rather they express accidentality of the action” and “syntactically, these verbal adjectives are closer to the verb than to the adjective” (ibid.: 122).

The two positions “correspond to two different interpretations” (ibid.: 125) and passive participles “may behave like either adjectives or verbs” (Wasow in Černá, 2016: 126). Wasow (1977, 338-341, in Černá, 2016: 125) demonstrates the adjectival nature of passive/past participles by the “possibility of the participle (i) to occur prenominal, (ii) as a complement to certain verbs and (iii) to accept the prefix *un-*” (Černá, 2016: 125).

Levin and Rappaport (1986, in Černá, 2016: 127) state that “the passive participles are considered adjectival when they occur prenominal ... only adjectives and not verbs may occur as prenominal modifiers. Any passive participle found in prenominal position is therefore also adjectival, not verbal”. If we wish to classify the individual forms as either verbs or adjectives, it can be said that attributive participles in the prenominal position are adjectives

and in the postnominal position they are verbs. This is further supported by the fact that “some passive participles cannot be used as prenominal attributes because they are incompatible with a “lasting state”, i.e., with adjectival interpretation” (Černá, 2016: 128).

Prenominal participles are then further divided by Černá into lexicalized passive verbal adjectives and syntactic passive verbal adjectives. Lexicalized passive verbal adjectives “behave like primary simple attributive adjectives” (ibid.: 129). Syntactic passive verbal adjectives seem to be different only in that unlike “lexicalized passive adjectives they are productive” (ibid.: 131).

Examples of syntactic passive verbal adjectives given by Černá include (1-4), lexicalized passive verbal adjectives can be seen in (5-6)

1. The **broken** window got fixed almost immediately.
2. The recently **published** stories did not please the children as much.
3. The **repainted** doors had to be replaced.
4. Julia divided the **cut** slice in two.
5. When Susan saw the present she had an **un/surprised** look on her face.
6. There was a **tired** man sitting on the bench.

Postnominal participles are classified as the participial verb phrase which has “only a verbal interpretation” (ibid.: 132).

### III. EMPIRICAL PART

## 4. Material, method & quantitative description

### 4.1. Introduction

The practical part has two sections. The shorter quantitative section (Section 4.4.), is based on Sample 1<sup>1</sup> of bare postnominal participles. Sample 1 was collected to retrieve some general information about the postnominal position and mainly to form a pool of postnominal participles that could be used to select ten participles for a detailed qualitative description, which is the focus of the second section (Section 5.).

The main, qualitative section (Section 5.) uses the ten randomly selected participles (Sample 2) to test the null hypothesis: the semantics and availability of pre- and postnominal participles is the same; and to answer the following research questions: is there a correlation between the position of the modifier and the presence of a) NP quantifiers b) determiners & their reference c) semantics of the participle d) other patterns or conspicuous features.

The choice of the research questions is largely based on the secondary literature (e.g.: Bolinger 1952 & 1967, Šaldová 2005, Furuta 2012, Sleeman 2017).

In order to obtain a manageable sample for the qualitative analysis, a decision was made to retrieve 140 examples in total – 70 instances per position, seven instances per participle in each position. Several participles did not yield the required seven examples in the prenominal position when searching the entire corpus, and so the missing number of examples was retrieved for the other participles until 70 bare participles in total were collected for each position.

Each of the 140 examples can be found in the Appendix 2 and Appendix 3 with the label *participle-position-number* and their larger context can be accessed using the BNC corpus within ČNK's KonText interface<sup>2</sup>. The participles were then grouped based on position (*seen* and *served* were not attested in the prenominal position) and semantics (different/same meaning in each position). The approach was to assess the presence/absence of quantifiers and determiners in the NP quantitatively across Sample 2 and to then look in detail at each of the

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<sup>1</sup> Available as Appendix 1

<sup>2</sup> [www.kontext.korpus.cz/first\\_form](http://www.kontext.korpus.cz/first_form)

140 examples for any further or unexpected patterns or features (one such feature found could be described as “implicit quantification” where the noun + participle is understood being quantified without any formal expression of quantification, e.g. *funding to agencies depends on clients served* [Ser-post-1]).

## 4.2. The British National Corpus

The British National Corpus (BNC) contains over 111 million words from written and spoken sources of the late twentieth century. The BNC was created by the Oxford University Press in late 1980s / early 1990s. It forms a representative sample using a variety of genres and sources. The written part takes up some 90 % of the corpus (~ 100 mil. words) and includes both regional and national newspapers, research journals and periodicals, fiction and non-fiction books as well as unpublished texts of various types. There are also “context-governed” samples of transcribed speeches. The BNC was accessed via the concordance tool KonText of the ČNK. The version used was version 2 (BNC World) from 2001. The automatic tagging of the BNC uses the CLAWS4 automatic tagger by Roger Garside. Due to the size of the corpus, post-editing was not undertaken and so about 1.7 % of all words are tagged erroneously and further 4.7 % are tagged as ambiguous. The CLAWS documentation specifically mentions the ambiguity between VVD and VVN tags (for past tense forms and past participle forms respectively) which was a major problem repeatedly encountered during the data retrieval process. (<http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/docs/gramtag.html>)

## 4.3. Retrieval of the sample

The written component of the BNC within the KonText interface was used to obtain both samples. The construction under investigation is primarily found in scientific registers (e.g., Furuta, 2012: 515). In addition, spoken language tends to be too fragmentary to allow for the description of context-dependent features, such as reference, so it was decided to leave out the spoken component.

The query Noun + Participle + Verb/Punctuation was used to limit the number of irrelevant hits while retaining as many relevant cases as possible and the same time limiting the number of the overall hits to an amount suitable for manual sorting. This query returned 21,437 hits, many of which were irrelevant. The main issue was frequent incorrect tagging of past tense forms tagged as past participle, which was a general issue throughout data collection here and in other stages, making the quantitative analysis highly demanding. Similarly, past participles



were sometimes incorrectly tagged as past tense forms and thus were not included in the present analysis.

It was decided not to use broad negative filtering out of certain constructions as even these sometimes produced relevant results. For example, it is impossible to separate *with* often introducing an absolute construction as in (1a) from its other relatively frequent uses as in (1b):

- (1) a) With Coleman **gone**, the practitioners lost no time taking the initiative [...]
- b) [...] which by complementing or contrasting with the main subjects **studied** will help to provide a balanced education [...]

The sample was then manually filtered to remove irrelevant results which included (2a) incorrect tagging, (2b) participles functioning as complements after causative verbs, (2c) participles in absolute constructions, (2d) complemented participles, (2e) cases of ellipsis and (2f) fused head modifiers, to name a few:

- (2) a) These mistakes **mattered** - whereas in the arts it doesn't matter.
- b) [...] you're far too young to have music published.
- c) Eyebrows raised, they nodded to each other.
- d) [...] and take part in a short presentation **entitled**, 'What is Torah?'.
- e) Where sediment is abundant and wave and current action **limited** [...]
- f) In addition, the advanced economies are becoming more service-sector oriented [...]

Unclear or borderline cases were retained for further evaluation; one of the most problematic includes *there is / there are* constructions. Post nominal past participles can either function as modifiers or as participial extensions in these constructions:

- (3) a) There were [several people] killed.
- b) There were [some letters written by her grandmother] in the safe.

(Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 1394/5)

The sample was in this way reduced to 14,529 hits (by ~33%). This sample was then randomized by the shuffle function in KonText and the first 400 lines were downloaded for further filtering. This sample was then reduced to 247 lines (Sample 1) by removing further

noise. It can thus be estimated that roughly 50% of the original sample (21,437 lines) contained irrelevant results.

#### 4.4. Results of Sample 1

Sample 1 of 247 lines contained 118 unique verbs with, *required*, *used*, *produced* and *provided* accounting for more than one fifth of the sample (22.27%). It was decided to remove *involved* with 51 hits from the sample as it does not meet the criteria to be considered a participle: it cannot be complemented by a *by*-phrase which suggests that it is not a participle functioning as a modifier created from a transitive verb. In addition, despite being tagged as a past participle in the BNC, it is listed as an adjective in the OED and treated as such by major grammars (e.g., Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 560).

There are several patterns noticeable in both the larger basis for Sample 1 and from Sample 1 itself. The most prominent one is the presence of some explicit quantification of the head noun, which produced relevant results very reliably. Examples include *all the*, *the first*, *the final*, *each*, *some* or *many*. *Of the* preceding the head noun accounted for roughly 1200 hits (roughly >10% of the 21,437 lines) with *the kind of*, *the level of*, *the number of* and *the type of* being the most salient. Several verbs were often present in the left context followed by *the+N+VVN* such as *consider*, *concerning*, *depending on*, *follow*, *provide* and *determine* (e.g., *consider the arguments used*). Another significant construction frequently preceding N+VVN was the superlative, for example *the most common* or *the earliest*.

The distribution of the individual verbs followed the zipfian distribution as could be expected, with the most frequent verb (*required*, 25) being roughly twice as frequent as the second one (*used*, 12) etc. as seen in the Table 1:

Table 1: List of participles and frequencies out of 247 concordance lines

No.	Verb	Freq	No.	Verb	Freq	No.	Verb	Freq
1	required	25	41	transferred	2	81	encountered	1
2	used	12	42	served	1	82	combined	1
3	produced	9	43	sold	1	83	levied	1
4	provided	9	44	reserved	1	84	expected	1
5	chosen	7	45	stocked	1	85	bred	1
6	obtained	6	46	implemented	1	86	borrowed	1
7	raised	6	47	commended	1	87	owned	1
8	made	6	48	outlined	1	88	increased	1
9	affected	6	49	invited	1	89	placed	1
10	given	5	50	advertised	1	90	stolen	1
11	studied	5	51	changed	1	91	applied	1
12	incurred	5	52	named	1	92	questioned	1
13	taken	4	53	oppressed	1	93	mapped	1
14	collected	4	54	considered	1	94	demanded	1
15	left	3	55	interviewed	1	95	bailed	1
16	employed	3	56	solved	1	96	registered	1
17	adopted	3	57	undertaken	1	97	spent	1
18	worked	3	58	scored	1	98	approached	1
19	attached	3	59	constructed	1	99	pictured	1
20	paid	3	60	sustained	1	100	absorbed	1
21	held	3	61	represented	1	101	published	1
22	achieved	2	62	wounded	1	102	detected	1
23	identified	2	63	surveyed	1	103	committed	1
24	quoted	2	64	appointed	1	104	salvaged	1
25	found	2	65	displayed	1	105	crossed	1
26	requested	2	66	disturbed	1	106	killed	1
27	shown	2	67	depicted	1	107	advanced	1
28	resold	2	68	issued	1	108	assessed	1
29	sought	2	69	included	1	109	purchased	1
30	seen	2	70	modelled	1	110	possessed	1
31	offered	2	71	mentioned	1	111	generated	1
32	covered	2	72	injured	1	112	ironed	1
33	specified	2	73	deposited	1	113	developed	1
34	released	2	74	known	1	114	drunk	1
35	needed	2	75	described	1	115	attempted	1
36	introduced	2	76	laid	1	116	preserved	1
37	created	2	77	traded	1	117	notified	1
38	awarded	2	78	submitted	1	118	gained	1
39	suffered	2	79	illustrated	1		total	247
40	agreed	2	80	recommended	1			

As mentioned earlier, in order to get a manageable sample size, the search query allowed for either punctuation or a verb to follow the participle (N.\* + VVN + PU.\*|V.\*). Verbs were the more productive of the two, following the participle in 139 out of the 247 cases (56.3%). The construction then shows no significant bias for syntactic position with roughly half of them being clause final and half clause central/initial. The total number of different verb forms was 40 and the most frequent ones were *is* (28), *are* (24) and *will* (17). Punctuation accounted for 108 cases (43.7%) with 11 different realizations. Full stop (44), comma (28) and left bracket (10) were the most frequent ones. The full list is presented in Table 2 and individual lists for verb forms and punctuation is presented in Table 3 and 4 below.

Table 2: List R1 punctuation marks and verbs and their frequency out of 247 concordance lines

No.	R context	Freq	No.	R context	Freq
1	.	44	27	include	1
2	is	28	28	flowing	1
3	,	28	29	said	1
4	are	24	30	belonged	1
5	will	17	31	increases	1
6	(	10	32	analyzed	1
7	would	8	33	roll	1
8	--	6	34	shall	1
9	)	6	35	included	1
10	may	5	36	shows	1
11	was	5	37	accommodates	1
12	;	5	38	had	1
13	can	4	39	!	1
14	has	4	40	exceeds	1
15	must	4	41	appear	1
16	have	3	42	should	1
17	could	3	43	show	1
18	varies	2	44	cooks	1
19	?	2	45	increased	1
20	represent	2	46	includes	1
21	:	2	47	did	1
22	vary	2	48	comes	1
23	were	2	49	goes	1
24	[	2	50	expires	1
25	'	2	51	enhance	1
26	depends	2		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>247</b>

Table 3: List of RI verbs and their frequency out of 247 concordance lines

No.	R context	Freq	No.	R context	Freq
1	is	28	21	increases	1
2	are	24	22	analyzed	1
3	will	17	23	roll	1
4	would	8	24	shall	1
5	may	5	25	included	1
6	was	5	26	shows	1
7	can	4	27	accommodates	1
8	has	4	28	had	1
9	must	4	29	exceeds	1
10	have	3	30	appear	1
11	could	3	31	should	1
12	varies	2	32	show	1
13	represent	2	33	cooks	1
14	vary	2	34	increased	1
15	were	2	35	includes	1
16	depends	2	36	did	1
17	include	1	37	comes	1
18	flowing	1	38	goes	1
19	said	1	39	expires	1
20	belonged	1	40	enhance	1
				total	139

Table 4: List of RI punctuation marks and their frequency out of 247 concordance lines

No.	R context	Freq
1	.	44
2	,	28
3	(	10
4	--	6
5	)	6
6	;	5
7	?	2
8	:	2
9	[	2
10	'	2
11	!	1
	Total	108

In Sample 1 of 247 lines, there were 209 different head nouns modified by past participles. Plural forms were counted as separate items. Broadly it is possible to categorize the nouns

according to register. As expected, postnominal participles are typically found in specialized contexts – research papers, scientific publications etc. – which is reflected in the sample with head nouns such as *amount*, *information*, *examples*, *data*, *evidence* or *measures*. Most nouns (178) only appeared once but 30 of the head nouns had a frequency of >2 and are presented in Table 5 below.

Table 5: List of head nouns and their frequency out of 247 concordance lines

No.	Noun	Freq	No.	Noun	Freq	No.	Noun	Freq
1	person	5	<b>12</b>	examples	2	<b>23</b>	points	2
2	amount	4	<b>13</b>	facilities	2	<b>24</b>	price	2
3	information	4	<b>14</b>	hours	2	<b>25</b>	service	2
4	money	3	<b>15</b>	issues	2	<b>26</b>	services	2
5	advice	2	<b>16</b>	items	2	<b>27</b>	studies	2
6	area	2	<b>17</b>	material	2	<b>28</b>	subjects	2
7	changes	2	<b>18</b>	measures	2	<b>29</b>	user	2
8	copies	2	<b>19</b>	number	2	<b>30</b>	work	2
9	damage	2	<b>20</b>	others	2	<b>31-209</b>	...	179
10	data	2	<b>21</b>	people	2		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>247</b>
11	evidence	2	<b>22</b>	plans	2			

In the next step, it was necessary to construct the optimal search query for retrieving prenominal participles. The number of prenominal participles was expected to be low and so it was desirable for the query to be as inclusive as possible. The simple query VVN+N.\* returned 93039 lines with too much noise from past tense tagged as VVN. The two alternative options were to either search for specific collocations (*the examples given – the given examples*) or to restrict the query in such a way as to include as much of the relevant data as possible. One possible limitation would be to require a determiner to precede the participle. This would however dismiss NPs without determiners, which are shown to also house prenominal participles functioning as modifiers (e.g., *a number of named students* [Na-pre-4]). A manageable compromise was to search for the given participle, excluding those tagged as the past tense form, followed by a noun, and to then filter the results manually. For the query and number of hits per participle, see Table 6 below.

## 5. Qualitative description

The list of participles from the previous section was used as the pool for selecting participles for qualitative analysis. To randomize the selection, the function RANDARRAY in MS Excel was used. This function produces a random number between 0 and 1. Each participle was then assigned a random number and ordered according to this number from smallest to largest and the first ten participles were selected and are presented in Table 6.

Table 6: The ten participles selected using randomized numbers and their frequency within the NP in the written portion of the BNC

	Participle	Random number	Number of hits [word="participle" & tag!="VVD"] [tag="N.*"]	Number of hits [tag="N.*"] [word="participle"] [tag="PU.* V.*"]
1	scored	0.0069728	104	45
2	sold	0.0261084	467	152
3	transferred	0.0320542	113	30
4	named	0.0507161	1547	96
5	seen	0.0508299	1695	95
6	owned	0.0553821	439	44
7	possessed	0.0586626	69	52
8	committed	0.058894	695	32
9	served	0.0655498	242	69
10	published	0.0715796	1279	129

Each participle was then searched for in the written portion of the BNC via KonText. The query [tag="N.\*"] [word="participle"] [tag="PU.\*|V.\*"] was used to retrieve the participle in the postnominal position. For the prenominal position, the query [word="participle" & tag!="VVD"] [tag="N.\*"] was used. In each case, the results were shuffled using the shuffle function in KonText and downloaded as an xlsx file.

The participles retrieved more hits in the prenominal position because of the less strict search query which allowed for the inclusion of the past perfect (e.g.: *In the last three years we have sold players worth more than...*), of modified participles (...*from a beautifully served cross by*

*Sid Burrows.*), and in addition there were frequent tagging errors (...*closed the Matthew Brown brewery in April and transferred brewing to Home in Nottingham.*).

In each case, the first seven relevant hits were selected for a more detailed analysis with the goal to end up with 70 examples for each position (140 examples in total). Each participle was found in at least seven relevant constructions in the postnominal position. In the prenominal position however, two participles, *seen* and *served*, returned 1,695 and 242 hits respectively, each with 0 relevant instances. *Owned* returned 439 hits with only 3 relevant instances, *scored* returned 37 hits with 6 relevant examples. *Sold* yielded 181 hits with 6 relevant instances. This meant that there were 20 examples missing. To make up for the missing examples, further examples were retrieved for *named*, *published*, *transferred* and *committed*. These participles were chosen because they had a higher ratio of relevant instances in the BNC:

Table 7: Number of hits per participle in each position

Participle	Number of examples for prenominal pos.	Number of examples for postnominal pos.
scored	6	7
sold	6	7
transferred	13	7
named	13	7
seen	0	7
owned	2	7
possessed	7	7
committed	13	7
served	0	7
published	10	7
total	70	70

## 5.1. Reference

As mentioned in Section 1.2.1., the definite article may, as an external dependent of the nominal, express cataphoric reference via the bare post-head participle (which is in turn an internal dependent of the nominal); the post-head participle can be seen as anaphoric (Šaldová, 2005: 239). This is because the use of the post-head participle presupposes knowledge of the



referent (as noticed by for example James, 1979: 690; or Šaldová, 2005: 231, also in Section 2.2.1. above). Šaldová (2005: 235) adds that some participial forms “are anaphoric in that they do not introduce a new entity into the noun phrase” but rely on identification of some arguments or modifiers of the verb used as a postmodifier, which “corresponds with the meaning of the passive being the result of some preceding action” (ibid.: 236, note ix).

Instances where the meaning of the pre-head participle differs from that of the post-head participle were discounted, as they represent lexicalized instances of *-ed* adjectives and as such are irrelevant for comparison with the post-head participles. This includes all of pre-head *committed* (13 instances) (e.g., *a committed carer x the offence committed*); three instances of *sold* (*the sold note; a sold note; the sold notes x each video sold*)<sup>3</sup>; four instances of *scored* (*a scored steak; the scored benches; the scored wood; the scored circle x the most points scored*)<sup>4</sup>; three instances of *transferred* (*transferred votes x the property transferred*)<sup>5</sup> as well as all of *possessed* (*possessed students; a man possessed*).<sup>6</sup>

Further complications in determining the reference arise when both the head noun and the participle/verb appear in the preceding context. In such cases, it could be said that the definite article expresses anaphoric reference rather than cataphoric reference as in example (1) where both *information* and *publish* (and *publication*) are mentioned.

(1) For example in *Mustad v Allcock and Dosen* [1963] 3 All ER 416 it was held that because the appellants had published the information which they alleged was confidential in a patent specification they were not entitled to an injunction restraining the respondents from disclosing that information. This case was followed by Cross J in *Franchi v Franchi* [1967] RPC 149 where he held that publication of the information in a Belgian patent application was sufficient to cause the plaintiff's claim to fail. Of course for the obligation of confidence to lapse the information published must be the same as the confidential information. [Pu-post-5]

This is not, however a case of coreference as there are two separate pieces of *information* referenced and then *the information published* which is used generally and is not identical in

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<sup>3</sup> [So-pre-1]; [So-pre-4]; [So-pre-6]

<sup>4</sup> [Sc-pre-1]; [Sc-pre-2]; [Sc-pre-4]; [Sc-pre-6]

<sup>5</sup> [Tr-pre-2]; [Tr-pre-7]; [Tr-pre-13]

<sup>6</sup> This was done to make the comparison useful as *scored* in *scored steak* has a different meaning than in *scored techniques* or *goals scored* and so the different properties could be attributed to the different meaning, not different position.

reference with the previous mentions. Such generic sentences often appear in, for example, legal documents such as this or in academic writing.

Unlike example (1), example (2) does seem to refer to the same *goods sold* at two different points (*invoice issued* and *invoice* [for the same *goods*] *paid*) and the whole NP is repeated twice. The context is again hypothetical/generic but the two hypothetical *goods* may be identical. It could then be argued that in the first NP, the article is cataphoric, referring to the participle, and in the second NP the article is anaphoric, referring to the first NP:

(2) In the case of revenue recognition, there are basically two steps at which a bookkeeping entry might be generated: when the goods sold have been delivered and an invoice has been issued; and when the goods sold have been delivered and an invoice has been paid [So-post-3]

There are also instances like (3) where the participle appears in the preceding context first as a noun and then within an NP with an indefinite article (indefinite nonspecific reference) (as there are multiple possible referents – *persons* from the previously mentioned *list*). Example (3) illustrates the ‘anaphoric’ property of the post-head participle in that *named* first contains its adjunct *in that list*, which in the subsequent mention is left out and is only implied:

(3) Where a company incorporated outside Great Britain establishes a place of business in Great Britain it must deliver to the Registrar of Companies a list of names and addresses of one or more persons resident in Great Britain and authorised to accept on the company's behalf service of process and any notices required to be served on it. Service is sufficient if the document is addressed to a person named in that list and left at or sent by post to his listed address. If no list has been registered, or the persons named have died, or ceased to reside in Great Britain, or refuse to accept service on the company's behalf or for any reason cannot be served [...] [Na-post-2]

Similarly in (4), the text discusses the circumstances of ownership of a company where *assets and resources* are understood to be an integral part of a company but are not explicitly mentioned in the preceding context. *Owned* is also not explicitly mentioned in preceding context but there is lexical connection to the two instances of *ownership* found in the preceding sentences. *Owned* also implies a potential, nonspecific owner. The reference is restrictive but the referent is nonspecific as in example (2).

(4) A neutral presentation would expose the difference and show that the delegation of authority does not imply the forfeiture of ultimate control. It is not good enough to use language which blurs the sharp reality, as for example: ‘the ultimate control of the Company is seen in law as residing with the owners or shareholder’ as if to suggest that there is some other and valid way of seeing it, a way which may put the ultimate control, at least in part, elsewhere. It is not as though the law adopts, or still less, creates for its own peculiar purposes and processes a special view of ownership, one which is worth as much or as little as any other view. Rather, it is an expression of the rights and liabilities generally held to attach to ownership: more exactly, the right subject to the general law to determine whether and how the assets and resources owned will be used, and the liability in certain circumstances to answer for the consequences of that use.

[Ow-post-7]

Restrictivity in the pre-head position can be to some extent a matter of interpretation (*industrious in the industrious Chinese* (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 554; Cinque, 2010) can either be restrictive and denote a subset of all Chinese or non-restrictive and mean that all Chinese are industrious). The post-head participles are generally taken to be restrictive, as non-restrictive use would be marked by commas (see Section 2.2.1., example (19)) and such instances are not present in the sample as the search query was structured in such a way that would not include post-head participles separated from the head by a comma. One possible test of restrictivity is to omit the modifier and see whether the original version has a different propositional value, i.e., whether they denote a different set of referents.

In this regard it seems that the respective participles display different behaviour – for example *published*, *transferred*, *scored* and *sold* seem to be restrictive in all pre-head instances. This fact is related to their meaning, in example (5), all instances seem to create a subset of *published* (*works*, *criteria* etc.) that contrasts with some usually implicit (not expressed in context) non-published set:

- (5) a) He read several papers before the society and his **published works** include observations on the laws of electricity, the height to which rockets can be fired  
[...][Pu-pre-2]
- b) Knowing of Lewis's philosophical training and Christian sympathy, and admiring his two **published prose works** [...][Pu-pre-9]

c) As your daughter met none of the **published criteria** the panel felt unable to override the stipulation of the Act. [Pu-pre-3]

Similarly for *transferred*, the head noun is usually restricted in meaning by the meaning pre-head participle singling out individual instances or subsets as in (6):

(6) In both cases the inspector issues a reasoned report, but only in **transferred cases** will he give the decision; in non-transferred cases, he gives a recommendation which the Secretary is free to accept or turn down. [Tr-pre-10]

*Owned*, on the other hand, seems semantically open to both restrictive (7a) and non-restrictive (7b) contexts, which could be the due to *owned* not being dynamic like *published* (i.e., not indicating the result of an action). In (7a) *owned dwellings* are put in contrast with for example rented dwellings. *Owned dwellings* are also related lexically to *owner-occupation* in the preceding context. In comparison, *owned* in (7b) does not denote any subset of the *area* (there are subsets of the area rather indicated by the *runway* and *race circuit*):

(7) a) In this respect they are going against the trend of owner-occupation accounting for a larger and larger proportion of the housing stock – in 1986 about 63 per cent in Great Britain, up from 26 per cent in 1947 (Social Trends 18, 1988, Table 7; Donnison 1967, Table 10). [Estimates based on the proportion of **owned dwellings** give a figure about 3 percentage points higher than estimates based on the number of owner households from sources such as the General Household Survey.] [Ow-pre-1]

b) The ‘real’ runway, which from the air doesn't even look like a runway, is to the side and northern edge of the race circuit, between the circuit proper and the boundary of the **owned area**. [Ow-pre-2]

Similarly *named* sometimes restricts the set of possible referents to those that have been “marked” by being previously named and thus designated as in (8a) where the generic and possibly infinite list of *individuals* is restricted to a limited subset. In (8b) *named* does not change the propositional value and can be left out – the fact that the *students* are mentioned in the article by name is implied in the title *the conspiracy has names*:

(8) a) Whereas a patient living inside a hospital has one named doctor – the consultant – in charge of his or her treatment and one named person – the ward sister – responsible for the nursing care he or she receives [...] What is needed is one

**named individual** who is responsible for assessing that person 's total needs, deciding who should do what [...] [Na-pre-1]

b) An official newspaper, El Español, produced by the Ministry of Information and Tourism, kept feelings running high by publishing on 24 February, an article entitled "The conspiracy has names", in which a number of **named students** were attacked as "communist intriguers" [...] [Na-pre-4]

Table 8: Restrictive and non-restrictive for instances of identical meaning of the participle in both positions

	Prenominal			Postnominal			Total
	Restrictive	Non-restrictive	Total	Restrictive	Non-restrictive	Total	
scored	2	0	2	7	0	7	9
sold	3	0	3	7	0	7	10
transferred	10	0	10	7	0	7	17
named	7	6	13	7	0	7	20
seen	N/A	N/A	0	7	0	7	7
owned	1	1	2	7	0	7	9
served	N/A	N/A	0	7	0	7	7
published	10	0	10	7	0	7	17
Total	33 <sup>82.5%</sup>	7 <sup>17.5%</sup>	40	56 <sup>100%</sup>	0	56	96

## 5.2. Determiners

Table 9: Type of determiner of the NP for all 140 instances

	Prenominal position				Postnominal position				Total
	Def.	Indef.	Bare	Total	Def.	Indef.	Bare	Total	
scored	4	2	0	6	1	0	6	7	13
sold	4	2	0	6	3	0	4	7	13
transferred	4	0	9	13	3	2	2	7	20
named	3	4	6	13	7	0	0	7	20
seen	N/A	N/A	N/A	0	2	0	5	7	7
owned	1	0	1	2	4	0	3	7	9
possessed	4	0	3	7	1	5	1	7	14
committed	2	3	8	13	5	0	2	7	20
served	N/A	N/A	N/A	0	3	0	4	7	7
published	6	1	3	10	3	0	4	7	17
Total	28 40%	12 17.14%	30 48.86%	70 <sup>100%</sup>	32 45.71%	7 <sup>10%</sup>	31 44.29%	70 <sup>100%</sup>	140

Indefinite reference includes mainly the indefinite article *a* as well as one instance of the cardinal numeral *one*. The definite article *the* (9), demonstrative determinatives (*those*) (10) and subject (possessive) determiners (*their*, *his*) (11) are counted as definite reference, although it has been observed in (1-4) above that the presence of the definite article may not necessarily be an indication of the unequivocal identifiability of the referent but may refer to potential referents.

(9) At the **named** destination, all the baskets would be unloaded and [...] [Na-pre-3]

(10) [...] a cynical interpretation of the motivation of those **committed** professionals who are carrying forward the first wave [...] [Co-pre-10]

(11) [...] the deadline by which buyers of their **possessed** homes can apply for a 6.99 percent mortgage rate [...] [Po-pre-6]

Nominals without any overt determiners are counted as bare (e.g., *the proportion of owned dwellings* [Ow-pre-1] or *enhancements of the Licensed Software or other software owned* [Ow-post-1]). The determiners counted are those directly preceding the Noun + participle / participle + Noun nominal.

As can be seen in Table 9, the ratios of indefinite, definite and bare instances are very similar for both positions. The results, however, change quite significantly when we discount those instances in which the meaning of the pre-head participle differs from that of the post-head participle.<sup>7</sup> *Possessed* is also discounted as a whole as it appears in set phrases (see section Semantic gradience 5.4.). In total, 37 instances (30 in the pre-head and 7 in post-head position) are discounted in Table 10.

Table 10: Type of determiner of the NP for instances of identical meaning of the participle in both positions

	Prenominal position				Postnominal position				Total
	Def.	Indef.	Bare	Total	Def.	Indef.	Bare	Total	
scored	1	1	0	2	1	0	6	7	9
sold	2	1	0	3	3	0	4	7	10
transferred	4	0	6	10	3	2	2	7	17
named	3	4	6	13	7	0	0	7	20
seen	N/A	N/A	N/A	0	2	0	5	7	7
owned	1	0	1	2	4	0	3	7	9
committed	N/A	N/A	N/A	0	5	0	2	7	7
served	N/A	N/A	N/A	0	3	0	4	7	7
published	6	1	3	10	3	0	4	7	17
Total	17 42.5%	7 17.5%	16 40%	40 100%	31 49.21%	2 3.17%	30 47.62%	63 100%	103

After discounting the instances mentioned, it becomes clear how infrequent the indefinite article is in the postnominal position, making up only 3.17% of Sample 2. The relatively high proportion of the bare nominals with *-ed* postmodifiers is a bit unexpected, as these postmodifiers are generally assumed to be restrictive. At the same time, it may, to some extent,

<sup>7</sup> This includes all of pre-head *committed* (13 instances); three instances of *sold*; four instances of *scored*; three instances of *transferred*

be correlated with the presence of partitive/quantifying expressions (*the type of / the number of*).

### 5.3. Quantification

Quantifiers are noticed as a salient feature accompanying bare post-head participles by Furuta (2012: 516) highlighting the presence of *all*, *many*, and *the number of* among others in L5:L1 in her data. The question that is not answered in her paper is whether there is any difference between the two positions as to the presence of these items.

As seen in Table 11, exactly half of the NPs with a post-head participle involve some quantification or an *of-phrase* as opposed to only one third of the NPs with a pre-head participle. *Of*-phrases are much more prevalent in combination with pre-head participles (54.17%). Quantifiers, on the other hand, appear with post-head participles with more than twice the frequency than with pre-head participles (26<sup>37.14%</sup> as opposed to 11<sup>15.75%</sup> out of 70).

Table 11: Quantifiers and *of*-phrases for both positions

	Prenominal position				Postnominal position					Total
	<i>Of</i> -phrase	Quantifier + <i>of</i> -phrase	Quantifier	Total	<i>Of</i> -phrase	Quantifier + <i>of</i> -phrase	Quantifier	Implied	Total	
scored	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	2	7	7/13
sold	1	1	1	3	0	2	3	0	5	8/13
transferred	4	1	0	5	1	0	1	1	3	8/20
named	1	1	1	3	0	0	2	0	2	5/20
seen	N/A	N/A	N/A	0	2	2	2	0	6	6/7
owned	1	1	0	2	2	0	1	0	3	5/9
possessed	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2/14
committed	4	0	1	5	0	1	0	0	1	6/20
served	N/A	N/A	N/A	0	0	2	1	1	4	4/7
published	0	2	2	4	0	1	3	0	4	8/17
<b>Total</b>	<b>13</b> 54,17%	<b>6</b> 25%	<b>5</b> 20,83%	<b>24</b> 100%	<b>5</b> 14,29%	<b>10</b> 28,57%	<b>16</b> 45,71%	<b>4</b> 11,43%	<b>35</b> 100%	<b>59</b>
Out of 70		<b>11</b> 15,71%		<b>24</b> 34%		<b>26</b> 37,14%			<b>35</b> 50%	



Table 11 for quantifiers also includes a formally similar structure where the noun & participle NP is embedded in an *of*-PP (e.g.: *a menu of named functions* [Na-pre-6]). Quantifier + *of*-phrase includes instances such as *volume of titles published* [Pu-post-2]; and the quantifier column includes quantifiers not complemented by a *of*-PP (e.g.: *all existing adult claimants seen* [See-post-6]). Table 12 below lists individual groups of quantifiers present in Sample 2.

An original finding of this paper is what we call implied quantification which refers to instances where there is no overtly expressed quantifier, but quantification is involved, nonetheless. In (12) there is a quantifier in the preceding sentence (*number of*) so this could be a case of ellipsis. A similar situation can be seen in (13) with the quantifier *volume*. In (14) and (15) there are no quantifiers in the preceding context that could be form the basis for ellipsis. (14) is like (13) in that it is fairly unambiguous that the implied quantifier is related to the *number of points scored*. (15) is different in that the *funding* mentioned could either depend on the *number of clients served* or on *the kind of clients served* – it could either be quantitative or qualitative (or a combination of both) and there is no indication as to which reading is correct.

(12) [...] and the maximum allowable number of eggs or embryos to be transferred in one cycle. The Geneva report lists the problems associated with age, cycles attempted, and eggs or embryos transferred, but makes no recommendations for standards of practice. [Tr-post-5]

(13) [...] or reach a certain volume (in terms of numbers hurt, for example, or goals scored). [Sc-post-1]

(14) The contest, organised by North Staffordshire Hospital Radio, took the top 16 players – picked on points scored – into four semi-final eliminators. [Sc-post-7]

(15) Some definitions may be administrative, others functional and some may encompass a wider group than others. After school, individuals can move into and out of departmental definitions. There are also attempts by agencies to establish an ownership of clients. This is particularly evident where funding to agencies depends on clients served. [Ser-post-1]

Table 12: Types of quantifiers for participles in both positions

	Prenominal position	Postnominal position	Total
Indefinite pronoun	3 17.65%	14 82.35%	17 45.94%
Lexical + <i>of</i>	4 36.36%	7 63.64%	11 29.73%
Numeral	4 66.67%	2 33.33%	6 16.22%
Other <sup>8</sup>	0	3 100%	3 8.11%
Total	11 29.73%	26 70.27%	37 100%

#### 5.4. Semantic gradience

The ten participles can be divided into three broad categories based on their semantics in relation to the position.

##### **Participles appearing in the postnominal position only**

The first category contains *seen* and *served*, which are attested only in the postnominal position when searching the entire written component of the BNC.

(16) The negative correlations between risk measures and the speed at junctions seem initially counterintuitive, however, speed is strongly negatively correlated with the number of vehicle **seen**,  $r(1064)=-0.564$ . [See-post-7]

(17) The most powerful function **served** is the release of tension. [Ser-post-6]

There are four different meanings of *served* present in the seven cases:

- *to provide food or drinks*
- *to deal with a customer*
- *to help achieve something or to be useful as something*
- *to spend a period of time doing something* (Cambridge Dictionary).

This is reflected in the head nouns: *meals* (3), *clients*, *function*, *sentences* respectively. This is the most polysemous participle of Sample 2, yet *served* does not appear in the prenominal position with any of the meanings. This could be explained by Sleeman's (2017: 16) notion of "cultural relevance" (her example of *\*scratched heads*) or "(in)sufficient informative value"

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<sup>8</sup> Only, per, total

(her example of *\*a changed design* but *an altered design* – the more specific/informative *altered* is acceptable in the pre-head position).

### **Participles with different meaning in each position<sup>9</sup>**

The second category consists of participles that appear with different meanings in both positions (one meaning is restricted to one, usually prenominal, position). It includes *scored*, *committed*, *transferred*, *sold* and *possessed*. *Committed* has a different meaning in each position. In the postnominal position, six of the seven instances are related to misbehaviour, *committed* has the meaning *to carry out* (e.g., 19), in the prenominal position it instead has the meaning *devoted* (as in 18):

(18) As Nina Fishman (1980) has pointed out, despite the undoubted idealism and enthusiasm of **committed** trade unionists in these industries there was considerable reluctance among NUM members to go over to the National Coal Board, to run ‘their’ industry. [Co-pre-1]

(19) Fairness also appears to have a more substantive role manifesting itself in the prohibition of discrimination, in the case law on estoppel, in the proportionality of the punishment to the offence **committed**, in cases where delay has been held prejudicial to important rights, and in the development of the idea of legitimate expectations. [Co-post-1]

*Scored* appears with two different meanings in the prenominal position, one of which is identical to the postnominal position. In the postnominal position (example 21), all of the head nouns are related to sports (*goals*, *runs*, *hits*, *points*) and the participle always has the meaning of *to get a point*,<sup>10</sup> which can be seen as more temporary and verbal. In the prenominal position (example 20), the meaning of *to make long parallel cuts upon (meat, etc.)*<sup>11</sup> is more frequent (4 out of 6):

(20) I tried going through the undergrowth and looping round – my sense of direction had far improved from peacetime – but the saw-toothed grasses left me bleeding like a **scored** steak. [Sc-pre-1]

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<sup>9</sup> Given the size of the sample, it cannot be concluded that for example *committed* cannot appear in the postnominal position with the meaning that is in this sample restricted to the prenominal position.

<sup>10</sup> Cambridge Dictionary

<sup>11</sup> OED

(21) It will show how a knowledge of the rules can be used to help your tournament training by outlining the following: • the kind of fitness requirements you need • the most often **scored** techniques, explaining why they scored • why techniques failed to score when you felt they should have • how injuries are dealt with [...] [Sc-pre-3]

(22) [...] or reach a certain volume (in terms of numbers hurt, for example, or goals **scored**). [Sc-post-1]

*Transferred* and *sold* are found in compounds *transferred votes*<sup>12</sup> (23) and *sold note*<sup>13</sup> (26). They also appear in both positions with same meaning – (24) and (25) for transferred: and (27) and (28) for sold:

(23) It may benefit abnormally from **transferred** votes, as Labour has done in Ireland from 1973 onwards. [Tr-pre-13]

(24) The aim of such covenants is to protect the goodwill of the **transferred** business and to stop the vendor from using its privileged position to compete with the purchaser in a way likely to damage the value of the business transferred. [Tr-pre-6]

(25) The value of the land may be evidenced by a statement from the solicitors lodging the application, which should specify the value of the property **transferred**. [Tr-post-7]

(26) Plainly the clause was not on this occasion incorporated by virtue of the **sold** note, which had been handed over only after the bargain was struck. [So-pre-1]

(27) And as Polgar left town he rang the dinner bell and the **sold** pig climbed out of the farmer's pen and returned to him. [So-pre-3]

(28) WWF will receive a financial contribution for each video **sold**. [So-post-1]

*Possessed* is unlike the other participles in that it appears in set, adjectival, phrases even in the postnominal position (*like a man possessed*) where this meaning and phrase structure (comparing someone to *man possessed*) is the prevalent one, as in (30). The same meaning can be observed in the pre-head position (29):

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<sup>12</sup> Legal term defined for example here: <https://www.lawinsider.com/dictionary/transferred-votes>

<sup>13</sup> Listed in The Cambridge Dictionary as “a document given to someone selling shares that shows the price and number of shares, the amount of commission, etc.”

(29) ‘Doppelganger’ and ‘Fait Accompli’ pummel and pound, Toni’s scarlet voice twinkling and cutting above the sex dream noise terror, Dean and twin guitarists Debbie and Alex scuttling about the stage like **possessed** arsonists fanning a terrible flame.

[Po-pre-1]

(30) He danced with his stick, planting it firmly on the ground and shuffling round and round it, hunching his shoulders and swaying in the gaslight like a man **possessed**.

[Po-post-2]

The only exception is example (31) where the text discusses the ownership of items with lexical reference to preceding context:

(31) If we try to analyse the conception of possession, we find two elements. In the first place, it involves some actual power over the thing possessed.

[Po-post-1]

### **Same meaning in both positions**

Participles in the third group appear to convey the same meaning in both positions: *named* (32, 33), *owned* (34, 35)<sup>14</sup>, *published* (36, 37).

(32) What is needed is one **named** individual who is responsible for assessing that person 's total needs, deciding who should do what, coordinating the efforts of the various health professionals and for ensuring that, from the ‘consumer 's’ point of view, the various services are integrated and one hand knows what the other hand is doing.

[Na-pre-1]

(33) If no list has been registered, or the persons **named** have died, or ceased to reside in Great Britain, or refuse to accept service on the company's behalf or for any reason cannot be served, a document may be served on the company by leaving it at, or sending it by post to, any place of business established by the company in Great Britain.

[Na-post-1]

(34) [Estimates based on the proportion of **owned** dwellings give a figure about 3 percentage points higher than estimates based on the number of owner households from sources such as the General Household Survey.]

[Ow-pre-1]

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<sup>14</sup> The post-head position in example (31) could be motivated by the end-weight principle, here realized by the coordination of multiple modifiers

(35) 15.1 has imparted and may from time to time impart to certain confidential information relating to the Licensed Software, or up-dates or enhancements of the Licensed Software or other software **owned**, marketed or supported by (including specifications therefore). [Ow-post-1]

(36) You must also study what you said, so long ago, in the **published** report. [Pu-pre-1]

(37) In the 1830s, for example, every newspaper publisher was required to pay a duty on each newspaper **published**, a duty on each advertisement, as well as a small paper duty. [Pu-post-1]

## 5.5. Summary/Overview

The purpose of the following two sections is to provide a general overview of the features most salient in Sample 2. Not every feature is necessarily present in every single instance, but they are frequent across the sample and most of them are also described as frequent in the secondary literature.

### 5.5.1. Prenominal position – overview

In this section I will attempt to provide a rough outline of the central characteristics of participles functioning as modifiers in the prenominal position. The first four characteristics are related to the semantics of the participle. Firstly, the participles in the prenominal position have a characterizing meaning<sup>15</sup> in relation to the head noun:

(38) The decision was made purely in terms of the Act of 1980 and in the light of what has been stated above, the school's admission criteria. As your daughter met none of the **published criteria** the panel felt unable to override the stipulation of the Act. [Pu-pre-3]

(39) Here, exactly as amongst the Somali, possessed wives – or at least their spirits – regularly demand gifts from their domineering husbands, including, sometimes, costly gold teeth. [...] These are two examples of women in traditionally male-dominated societies using an indirect form of mystical attack. The **possessed woman**, like her

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<sup>15</sup> On the notion of characterizing interpretation, see example (23) Section 2.3. above from Bolinger (1952: 1140).

bewitched counterpart, becomes the immediate centre of attention and care [...]

[Po-pre-5]

Secondly, some cases illustrate the opposition captured by Bolinger's (1952: 1138) examples of *travelling salesman* and *salesman travelling*, i.e., the hypothetical/actual nature of the action expressed by the participle (*travelling salesman* is hypothetically travelling, *salesman travelling* is actually travelling) (also in Section 2.3). Examples of this involve (40) and (41):

(40) Selling off public sector land and buildings can be a highly lucrative activity (in the short term). In receipts and payments accounts, the realized amounts will be shown as receipts and the accounts for the year will appear much healthier. But of course what has happened is that the capital base has been eroded, and the future value of the **sold asset** will not accrue to the organization.

[So-pre-2]

(41) [...] in the longer term, should aim to be an almost complete transfer of government jobs from areas of full employment into areas with the highest levels of unemployment. [...] The expectation is that many of these Civil Servants would move with their jobs. The primary aim is to underpin the local economy so that it becomes more attractive to an expansion of the private sector. Each of the transferred jobs will result in an additional salary being spent in the local economy.

[Tr-pre-12]

Thirdly, some prenominal participles + head nouns form more or less lexicalized units, such as in (42) and (43):

(42) The assessment of proportionality Assessment of the accuracy of that relationship under the STV immediately raises the question which votes are to be counted: just first-preference votes, or **transferred votes** also?

[Tr-pre-2]

(43) Plainly the clause was not on this occasion incorporated by virtue of the **sold note**, which had been handed over only after the bargain was struck.

[So-pre-1]

*Transferred vote* of (42) is related to the term *transferable vote* (Cambridge Dictionary). *Sold note* of (43) which is listed in The Cambridge Dictionary as "a document given to someone selling shares that shows the price and number of shares, the amount of commission, etc."

The fourth semantic characteristic is the different meaning of the same participle in the two positions:

(44) I tried going through the undergrowth and looping round – my sense of direction had far improved from peacetime – but the saw-toothed grasses left me bleeding like a **scored steak**. [Sc-pre-1]

(45) For the worry that they themselves might go down the same road meant that they could see that teachers who were now ‘like that’ had once been enthusiastic, **committed students** like themselves. [Co-pre-8]

The meaning of *scored* (“to make a mark or cut on the surface of something hard with a pointed tool, or to draw a line through writing”, The Cambridge Dictionary) in *scored steak* does not appear in the postnominal position and the same applies to *committed* in *committed students*.

The pre-head participle occurs with an indefinite article more frequently than the post-head participle. This allows it to appear in NPs that are mentioned for the first time as in (46), which is not possible for the post-head participle since one of its characteristics is that it presupposes shared knowledge of the referent between the sender and addressee and so a post-head *published* would require some mention in the preceding context:

(46) It may often be difficult for the parties to assess whether the transaction they are contemplating is a concentration or cooperative in nature. The Commission has given some guidance on how to distinguish between cooperative and concentrative operations in a **published notice**. This notice sets out a positive and negative condition that must be satisfied [...]. [Pu-pre-5]

### 5.5.2. Postnominal position – overview

The characteristics of the postnominal position tend to be contrastive to the prenominal position.

Firstly, the participle in the postnominal position has a temporal, verbal (as opposed to a stative, characterizing, adjectival) reading:

(47) The contest, organised by North Staffordshire Hospital Radio, took the top 16 players – picked on **points scored** – into four semi-final eliminators. [Sc-post-7]

(48) If we try to analyse the conception of possession, we find two elements. In the first place, it involves some actual power over the **thing possessed**. [Po-post-1]

The hypothetical versus actual reading of the participle seen in the prenominal position (*travelling salesman*) is not as clear-cut in the postnominal position. There are some examples



contrasting with those seen in (40) (*sold asset*), e.g. (49) where we could insert *actually* – 25p *from each item actually sold will be donated* [...]. But there are also cases of postnominal participles in hypothetical contexts, as in (50):

(49) Switch now to our offer now at just £26.99. 25p from each **item sold** will be donated to Victim Support, GH Charity of the Year 1992... [So-post-5]

(50) He promises to pay on a definite date. If he keeps his promise, his land is to be returned to him; if not, it is to belong to the creditor for ever. Suppose by mistake or accident he fails to repay on the **day named**, is it fair that he should be held to the terms of the deed? [Na-post-6]

There are no lexicalized units (in the sense of being codified in a dictionary) in the postnominal position. There are, at best, nouns + participles that seem to have a “preference” for forming pairs:

(51) In doing so they established a new serie B record with their eight consecutive win, beating Lazio’s previous record. And their tally of 22 **goals scored** bettered a record set by Genoa in season 1962/63. [Sc-post-5]

(52) When he ran out of verses, the old man got up to dance. He danced with his stick, planting it firmly on the ground and shuffling round and round it, hunching his shoulders and swaying in the gaslight like a **man possessed**. [Po-post-2]

The meaning of the participles expressed in (44) (*scored steak*) and (45) (*committed students*) contrasts with that in (53) and (54). Here, the participles have a verbal meaning that places emphasis on the verbal action as opposed to the more permanent, characterizing meaning of the prenominal pair.

(53) If neither contestant has scored three full ippons at the end of the match, the victory is awarded to the fighter with the most **points scored**. [Sc-post-6]

(54) Generally speaking, the Middle Ages accepted war with fatalism. It was part of the divine plan, linked with famine, flood, and plague as a manifestation of God’s punishment for **sins committed**. [Co-post-5]

The two most salient and frequent features expressed by the participles in the postnominal position are anaphoric reference (55) and (56) and selective contrast (57) and (58):

(55) A confidential report has cleared Goldman Sachs of breaching Stock Exchange rules in dealing in Maxwell Communication Corporation shares and options between August 1990 and February 1991. [...] The Stock Exchange's exoneration does not affect the Serious Fraud Office's investigation into Maxwell share-support schemes and the report does not cover transactions outside the **period named**. Administrators to Bishopsgate Investment Trust and other companies controlled by the Maxwell family are still interested in payments made to Goldman between April and September last year.

[Na-post-7]

(56) Clearly the labour mobility programmes have transferred fewer workers than the number of jobs created by regional policies. The cost of the two programmes, however, indicates clearly that labour mobility policy is far cheaper than regional policy both in absolute terms and, more important, per job created or **worker transferred**.

[Tr-post-2]

(57) As well as providing a fascinating insight into the world of nature, the six titles in Pendulum's Discovery Video Wildlife Collection drive home the message that action is desperately needed if our environment and its wildlife are to be saved from eventual destruction. WWF will receive a financial contribution for **each video sold**.

[So-post-1]

(58) 15.1 has imparted and may from time to time impart to certain confidential information relating to the Licensed Software, or any up-dates or enhancements of the Licensed Software or **other software owned, marketed, or supported** by (including specifications therefore).

[Ow-post-1]

There are also instances of coordinated constructions where both head nouns are postmodified by a bare participle as in (56) above or in (57) and (58). It is possible that the stylistic preference for parallel constructions affects the position, although in (59) and (60) the participles would likely be postnominal even without the first element:

(59) Darkness aids deception, of course, although the tricks played and misdeeds committed seem to lose little of their quality of daring for being performed under the cover of night.

[Co-post-6]

(60) The Raiders are last in both rushing yards allowed (653) and penalty yards committed (307).

[Co-post-4]

## IV. CONCLUSION

It is necessary to first stress the fact that the size of Sample 2 makes any generalizing conclusions doubtful. The overall sample size is 140 concordance lines but, for many of the investigated features, the sample is reduced further to 96 instances. In addition, some participles could not be extracted in the prenominal position to the desired extent – for example *seen* and *served* were not attested at all in the pre-head position in the entire corpus. This makes the sample less balanced in terms of individual pre-/post-head pairs as in the example of *published* we are dealing with 13 instances in the pre-head and 7 in the post-head position. Hopefully, some conclusions may be drawn despite these inadequacies.

The null hypothesis that the semantics of the pre-head participle and post-head participle is the same has proven to be invalid. Five of the ten participles were found in the pre-head position in less than 7 instances in the BNC. This may indicate that the pre-head position is secondary to the post-head position. Such a conclusion needs a qualification: the participles were selected based on the post-head position – if there is a participle that appears in the pre-head position only, it could not appear in the sample. Still, the fact that two of the participles, *seen* and *served*, appear 1,695 and 242 times respectively preceding a noun and yet there is not a single instance of premodification seems to indicate that modifying participles are prone primarily to appear in the post-head position. There are participles that were found to have the same meaning in both positions such as *published*, *named* and *owned*. But the remaining seven participles either have a different meaning in each position or only appear in the postnominal position. A further complication is the use of some participles in compounds (e.g., *transferred votes*, *sold note*) in legal contexts.

Again, to the extent that it is possible to generalize from the sample, there are correlations between the position of the modifying participle and the presence of NP quantifiers and determiners. Participles in the post-head position appear with definite articles in 49.21% of all instances or bare in 47.62% of all instances (the nominal is not directly preceded by a determiner). The indefinite article is found in only 3.17% of cases. Nominals with participles in the pre-head position on the other hand are preceded by an indefinite article in 17.5% of all instances. The results are in line with the view that the use of the post-head participle entails presupposition and is thus anaphoric in nature, an indefinite article then only appears to indicate one possible referent out of several.

Quantifiers, which overlap with determiners, combine with post-head participles in 37.14% of all cases but in the pre-head position it is only 15.71%. The pre-/post-head ratio does not change much even if we include the structurally similar *of*-phrases which do not involve quantifiers (e.g., *type of*) – 34% for pre-head to 50% for post-head position. Additionally, the post-head participle occurs with “implied” quantification in four instances, which reading is not observed in the pre-head position.

Other observations are mainly listed in the Summary (5.5.) and are described in relevant literature (mainly Bolinger, 1952 and 1967). These include for example the semantic contrast between the characterizing/permanent pre-head participles and temporal/verbal post-head participles or the hypothetical nature of the pre-head participle and ‘actual’ reading of the post-head participle. Pre-head participles are also found in compounds or lexicalized units (*sold note*) which is not true for the post-head participles. Lastly, post-head participles contrast the referent of the head noun, hence the restrictive modification.

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## VI. RESUMÉ

Práce se zabývá holými minulými participii ve funkci modifikátorů v pozici před a za řídicím substantivem. Cílem práce je srovnat participia v obou z hlediska korelace mezi pozicí a významem, určeností, referencí, přítomností kvantifikátorů a dalšími vlastnostmi. Pro toto srovnání jsou použita data z Britského národního korpusu (*The British National Corpus*).

Práce se dělí na dvě hlavní části – teoretická část (*Theoretical background*) shrnuje hlavní relevantní poznatky dostupné z velkých gramatik (především Quirk a kol.; Huddleston & Pullum) i z jednotlivých studií, které se zaměřují na participia ve funkci modifikátorů, na adjektiva v téže funkci nebo na obecnější popis pre- a postpozice modifikátorů. Druhou z hlavních částí tvoří empirická analýza dat (*Empirical part*), ve které je popsána použitá metoda a následně výzkum kvantitativní, popisující nejčetnější participia ve funkci postmodifikační ve vzorku o 247 konkordančních řádcích, nejčetnější řídicí substantiva a kontext. Větší část empirické analýzy tvoří kvalitativní popis deseti náhodně vybraných participií, pro které bylo cílem najít 7 příkladů pro každou pozici (140 příkladů celkem). Tyto příklady jsou popisovány z hlediska zmíněných vlastností s cílem srovnat participia v obou pozicích.

Modifikující participia se objevují v rámci jmenné fráze, první kapitola teoretické části se proto věnuje jmenné frázi (1.), její části *nominal* (1.1.) a determinační funkci včetně reference (1.2. a 1.2.1.). Následuje sekce popisující kvantifikaci (1.3.), dále vztahům prvků v rámci jmenné fráze, které jsou závislé na substantivu (1.4.) – modifikaci (1.4.1.), komplementaci (1.4.2.) a jejich srovnání (1.4.3.). Postmodifikující participia se typicky analyzují jako redukované vztahné věty a patří mezi nefinitní slovesné tvary, druhá část teoretické části shrnuje relevantní vlastnosti právě slovesné fráze a nefinitních klauzí (2.). Následují kapitoly a participiích ve funkci modifikátorů (2.1.) a o vlivu pozice včetně srovnání obou pozic (2.2., 2.2.1. a 2.3.). Zde práce čerpá především z popisů D. L. Bolingera, jehož teorie lineární modifikace popisuje rozdíly především ve významu mezi pozicí před a za řídicím substantivem. Jeho práce se zaměřuje primárně na adjektiva, participia jsou zmiňována spíše okrajově, však popsání vlastností adjektiv se zřejmě vztahují i na participia.

V další kapitole (2.4.) je popsána restriktivita, kterou E. Keizerová popisuje z pohledu funkční diskurzivní gramatiky, jakožto (ne)schopnost modifikátorů měnit pravdivostní hodnotu výpovědi. Práce se v čísti 2.5. vrací k práci D. L. Bolingera, který popisuje několik protikladů mezi participii i adjektivy v obou pozicích. Poslední část teoretické části se věnuje *-ed* formám a jejich příslušnost ke kategoriím adjektiv a participií (sloves).

Praktická část nejdříve představuje hlavní cíle kvantitativního popisu (poskytnout hrubý přehled o holých (nedoplněných) participiích ve funkci postmodifikátoru) a kvalitativního popisu: srovnat participia v obou pozicích z hlediska určenosti, reference a restriktivity, významu a přítomnosti kvantifikátorů ve jmenné frázi. Pro empirický popis byl použit Britský národní korpus, který ve své psané části obsahuje zhruba 100 milionů slov z autentických textů z konce 20. století. Práci s korpusem umožnil nástroj KonText, který je dostupný ze stránek Českého národního korpusu. Mluvená část korpusu byla vyřazena ze dvou důvodů: postnominální participia se primárně vyskytují v odborné psané literatuře a mluvený jazyk bývá implicitní, fragmentární a vázané na danou situaci, což jsou vlastnosti, které by znemožnily popis jevů, které jsou závislé na (úplnosti) kontextu.

Pro získání participií v pozici za substantivem byl použit dotaz N+VFN+V.\*/PU.\*, který vyhledá substantiva následovaná minulým příčestím následované slovesem nebo interpunkcí. Vzhledem k velikosti korpusu je tagování slov prováděno automaticky, a především u tagů VFN (minulé příčestí) a VFD (préteritum) je přiznaná vysoká chybovost. Dotaz vrátil 21437 konkordančních řádků, které bylo nutné protřídit, neboť velkou část výsledků (až 50 %) tvořily nerelevantní příklady. Mezi ně patřily například právě chybné tagy (*these mistakes mattered*), participia ve funkci doplnění kauzativních sloves (*too young to have music published*), participia v absolutních konstrukcích (*eyebrows raised, they nodded*) nebo participia s doplněním (*presentation entitled, 'What is Torah?'*). Po vyřazení těchto případů vzorek čítal 14529 konkordančních řádků. Z něj byl pomocí funkcí nástroje KonText staženo náhodných 400 řádků pro kvantitativní popis. Vzhledem k velikosti původního korpusu nezachytilo prvotní ruční třídění ani zdaleka všechny nerelevantní příklady, a tak byl tento vzorek opět profiltrován na konečných 247 řádků. Ty obsahovaly 118 různých participií, přičemž čtyři z nich (*required, used, produced a provided*) tvořili jednu pětinu celého vzorku (22,27 %, Tabulka 1). Nejčastější *involved* s 51 příklady bylo vyřazeno, protože je gramatikami vnímáno jako adjektivum (např. Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 560).

Nejvýraznější vzorec ve vzorku představuje kvantifikace (např. *all (the), each, some a many*) případně předložková fráze s *of*, která může a nemusí být součástí kvantifikace (*the type of* oproti *the number of*). Pravostranný kontext je dotazem omezen na slovesa a interpunkci. Sloveso následovalo po příčestí nepatrně častěji (56,3 %) v podobě 40 různých slovesných forem (nejčastější *is, are a will*) (Tabulka 3). Nejčastější modifikovaná substantiva představuje *person* (5), *amount* (4), *information* (4) a *money* (3) (Tabulka 5).



Kvalitativní popis vychází ze seznamu participií získaných v kvantitativní části. Přiřazením náhodných čísel v MS Excel bylo vybráno 10 participií (Tabulka 6). Tyto participia byla vyhledána v BNC. Pro postpozici byl použit stejný dotaz jako dříve – substantivum následované daným participiem následované slovesem nebo interpunkcí. Pro prepozici byl použit dotaz hledající dané participium, které není opatřeno tagem pro préteritum následované substantivem. Výsledné konkordance byly promíchány příslušnou funkcí v KonTextu a staženy. Cílem bylo získat 7 příkladů pro každé participium v obou pozicích (140 příkladů celkem). Pro každé participium v postpozici bylo nalezeno 7 relevantních příkladů. Otevřenější dotaz pro prenominální pozici v důsledku zvýšil pravděpodobnost nalezení hledaných participií, i přes to však u pěti z nich nebylo možné získat 7 příkladů v pozici před substantivem bez doplnění (pro *seen* a *served* se nenašel ani jeden příklad). Aby bylo v obou pozicích stejně příkladů (70), bylo nutné chybějící příklady doplnit z ostatních participií (Tabulka 7).

Následně byly sledovány primárně 4 vlastnosti: reference, determinátory, kvantifikátory a význam. Každé vlastnosti se věnuje jedna sekce (5.1.-5.4.). Pro analýzu byly vyřazeny příklady, kdy se význam participií v pozici před substantivem lišil, a to z toho důvodu, že by výsledky mohly být skresleny, jak je vidět v případě determinace. V případě přičestí stojících za substantivem je reference determinátoru ve jmenné frázi vnímána jako kataforická, odkazující na postmodifikující participium, přičemž samotné participium odkazuje anaforicky na nějakou část předcházejícího kontextu (Šaldová, 2005: 239). Tato analýza však nemusí platit například v případech, kdy se řídící substantivum i participium v předcházejícím kontextu objevují, v takových případech by bylo možné je označit za celek, přičemž právě určitý člen anaforicky odkazuje na předchozí výskyt tohoto celku.

Restriktivita u prenominálních participií může být do jisté míry věci subjektivní interpretace (příklad *the industrious Chinese*, kde se *industrious* může vztahovat k podskupině, nebo ke všem *Chinese*). V případě postnominálních participií je restriktivita formálně vyznačena čárkami, které modifikaci oddělují. Dotaz je však formulovaný tak, že interpunkci mezi řídícím substantivem a participiem neumožňuje, všechny příklady postmodifikujících participií jsou tedy restriktivní. U participií v prepozici výrazně převládá restriktivní modifikace (Tabulka 8), to lze částečně vysvětlit významem, kdy například *published* vymezuje řídící substantivum jakožto podskupinu všech textů/básní/dokumentů, z nichž ne všechny jsou publikované.

Určenost je rozdělena na *indefinite*, *definite* a *bare*, přičemž *bare* zahrnuje všechny případy, kdy determinátor nepředchází přímo před *nominal* (např. *the proportion of owned dwellings*).

*Definite* zahrnuje vedle určitého členu také ukazovací zájmeno *those* nebo přivlastňovací *their* a *his*. V sekci určenost se projevuje význam vyřazení některých příkladů (Tabulka 9 oproti Tabulka 10), kdy při zahrnutí všech příkladů není rozdíl v určenosti nijak velký: prepozice: *indefinite*: 17,14 %; *definite*: 40 %; *bare*: 48,86 %; postpozice: *indefinite*: 10 %; *definite*: 45,71 %; *bare*: 44,29 %. Oproti tomu při vyřazení zmíněných příkladů se poměr změní: prepozice: *indefinite*: 17,5 %; *indefinite*: 42,5 %; *bare*: 40 %; postpozice: *indefinite*: 3,17 %; *definite*: 49,21 %; *bare*: 47,62 %.

Tabulka s kvantifikátory (Tabulka 11) zahrnuje rovněž předložkové fráze *s of* (např. *the type of*) kvůli jejich formální podobnosti s kvantifikátory, po kterých někdy také následuje *of* (např. *the number of*). Tyto předložkové fráze bez kvantifikátoru se vyskytují s participiem v prepozici ve 13 případech (18,57 % ze všech 70 příkladů), v postpozici je oproti tomu výrazně častější kvantifikátor (ať už s předložkovou frází nebo bez ní), objevuje se v 26 případech (37,14 % ze všech 70 příkladů). Nejčastější realizací kvantifikátoru bylo neurčité zájmeno (*each, all, every*) – 45,94 %, poté fráze *s of* – 29,73 %, číslovka – 16,22 %. Vedle toho je ve vzorku patrná implicitní kvantifikace, kterou označujeme případy typu (*funding to agencies depends on clients served*), kde není žádný kvantifikátor formálně vyjádřen, ale implicitně je přítomen (*funding depends on [the number of] of clients served*).

Konečně ze sémantického hlediska lze vzorek rozdělit do tří skupin podle významu v obou pozicích. První skupinu tvoří participia, která se v pozici před substantivem neobjevila ani jednou (*seen a served*). Tento fakt může být ovlivněn způsobem výběru, kdy participia byla zvolena ze vzorku postnominálních participií, nebylo tedy možné aby se dané participium neobjevovalo v postpozici a je tedy teoreticky možné, ač tak nepředpokládáme, že by mohlo existovat participium, které se naopak objevuje pouze v prepozici. Druhou skupinu tvoří participia, která mají v každé pozici jiný význam, respektive se v našem vzorku objevují s daným významem pouze v jedné pozici. Tato skupina je nejpočetnější a obsahuje *scored, committed, transferred, sold a possessed*. Konečně zbylá participia se objevují v obou pozicích se stejným významem (*named, owned, published*).

Poslední sekce *Overview* (5.5.) nabízí stručný přehled včetně dalších vlastností, které se ve vzorku objevují, jako například temporální význam postnominálního participia oproti charakterizujícímu (a tak více permanentnímu) významu prenominálního participia.

## VII. APPENDICES

### Appendix 1: Sample 1

1	a series of experiments have shown that the	pattern obtained is	very similar to those given for sequential disk
2	For short words , the number of candidate	strings produced can	number in the hundreds , usually number in
3	weekend at the end of the month .	Money raised will	go toward the MacMillan Nurses cancer charity .
4	lead to the better preservation of any other	outputs achieved .	The clients get satisfaction from participation ( or
5	or state capitals and in each six experimental	schools identified .	Prototype materials were tried out in these schools
6	and Fisheries Department . The total amount of	infill required would	be 1,340,000 cubic metres . The precise source
7	re-read more often than the others . The	advice given is	, and I quote , ` I would
8	not exist and need only approximate to the	range required ,	as LIFESPAN will start and finish the listing
9	varies greatly with temperature and the table of	timings provided is	calculated for analysis at the standardized temperature of
10	. ' It should be realised that the	amount stocked would	only have been expected to last a relatively
11	book , contact , . Note : The	price quoted is	based on an exchange rate of 2,250 IL
12	If the client is happy to pay any	contribution required ,	the solicitor is authorized to provide up to two
13	among the main objectives of PROFIT . The	studies implemented include	more accurate mapping of discontinuities and faults .
14	very few cases of over-reaction and always the	state produced has	calmed within a day . Case 1 A
15	from each subject . Clinical data of the	patients studied are	given in Table I. ASSESSMENT OF CARDIOVASCULAR AUTONOMIC
16	) ; our drivers carry a Record of	Hours Worked (	to cope with changing Operators ) ; we
17	( non-practice budget ) GPs with the actual	expenditure incurred flowing	in the opposite direction . In the case
18	concluded that the net effect of all the	plans outlined would	be to affect employment by not more than 10%
19	is gained from observing how the number o f	transitions found varies	with increasing corpus size . The variation of
20	sea level of the first interglacial , any	mud left would	be at too great depths to be disturbed
21	in pots in a greenhouse dramatically reduces the	time taken .	Hardwood cuttings Hardwood cuttings are taken after leaves
22	assumed , unless otherwise stated , that the	persons invited will	arrive mid-morning for a day 's meeting ;
23	this company ? What attracted me to the	job/career advertised ?	What sort of things can I do or
24	high standard is looked for , the large	number required may	bring about a variation in levels of performance
25	and logarithmic and size of the plotted data	points changed .	Colour scheme can be modified to taste .
26	include the Bicester with Whaddon Chase Hunt .	Others named are	the Ludlow Hunt ; The Royal Agricultural College
27	interaction of local and national processes . The	examples given have	also indicated that local government is much more

2 8	, 1980 ) as meaning primarily that the	people served must	be offered choices to do valued activities .
2 9	specific information . The processes outlined and the	examples used are	based on work done in the MISLIP project
3 0	of an alien culture . The romanized phonetic	system employed is	that suggested by Dr Rohan Harbottle , one
3 1	fireplaces should be blocked off , but the	material used must	have a number of good sized holes in
3 2	children should be taught about -the histories of	consciences oppressed ,	property plundered , families divided and flourishing states
3 3	be cloned -- that is , large numbers of	copies made --	and then its nucleotide sequence determined . From
3 4	in role and another remains out of role the	roles adopted can	be pushed farther ; it is easier to
3 5	question can be exchanged . The most common	commodity considered is	money , so for practical purposes the term
3 6	a woman without her consent ; the fault	element required is	that the man intends to have sexual intercourse
3 7	the working capital and cashflow implications of large	orders obtained .	This may lead to the investigation by a
3 8	Marwick . Two-thirds of a total of 324	companies interviewed said	that the environment was not a trading issue
3 9	to look out for , and readers '	problems solved .	Also , look out for the December issue
4 0	Goble was . Under these circumstances the substantial	question reserved (	irrespective of the form of the plea ) was
4 1	of staff ratio on client experience . The	data collected represent	' composite days ' in the lives of
4 2	per cent zeolite content ) , or that the	clinoptilolite used is	potassium rich . Early development studies in SIXEP
4 3	service . The first ground is that the	service requested is	intended to confer on the tribunal making the
4 4	went to a newcomer in train-building . The	design chosen was	the most innovative of those submitted -- a
4 5	cost , ex-land , of £2,800 . The	site chosen belonged	to the Radcliffe Trustees and lay between the
4 6	Richard 1977 ) . As the number of	species studied increases	the simple classification into adaptive grades begins to
4 7	and appointment procedures ; general duties and specific	activities undertaken ;	opinions about the usefulness of these activities to
4 8	Babycham than write ' British ' in the	box provided .	And does n't this also go for the
4 9	it feels like the sea is the only	wilderness left .	Once you lose sight of land , you
5 0	together well . ' Any of the four	teams left are	capable of winning the cup . ' Ards
5 1	The new deal says that the number of	hours worked ,	as opposed to those on duty , should be reduced
5 2	purpose of this text . Here the actual	taxes employed are	briefly reviewed and their efficiency and equity aspects
5 3	now well underway with planning the scope of	work required .	In June Thistle Engineering Services , specialists in
5 4	of capital allowances is equal to the real	depreciation incurred .	This is the case if the firm treats
5 5	and the four NTPs were added and the	transcripts produced analyzed	by primer extension . Figure 3 shows that
5 6	shown on the chart below . For each	hit scored roll	a separate dice and then resolve damage against
5 7	and elsewhere , with a total of 13,500	dwellings constructed .	Manchester had modest arrangements with Macclesfield and Winsford
5 8	empirically open ( depending upon the definition of	socialism adopted )	, with some Marxists arguing the impossibility of

5 9	either could not or would not show the	forbearance required ,	in the national interest , of a great
6 0	inches . 3 Change these measurements into the	units shown :	&formula; One of the important advantages of the
6 1	according to the nature and the extent of the	damage sustained shall	cease to be payable until the Premises or
6 2	charge of 10p may be made for each	ticket resold .	PARTY BOOKINGS There are concessions on party bookings
6 3	politician invited to the all-day session . Other	cities represented included	Dublin , Marseilles and Athens . Vital Cllr
6 4	on a separate line £2.999m purchased goodwill in respect of	businesses sold .	The Urgent Issues Task Force issued a statement
6 5	inmates killed and 35 inmates and 22 police	officers wounded )	. The authorities denied such charges but on
6 6	or some other country , and that the	evidence sought is	to be obtained for the purposes of civil
6 7	and 6 , above , demonstrate , each	period surveyed shows	a broadly similar pattern of usage , with
6 8	image-analysis system and an Archimedes computer . The	paths shown are	those of the 7 rats in group fixed
6 9	an ongoing process for feminist artists as the	work produced accommodates	and contributes to the changing debates and theories
7 0	is unlikely to be of value if the	information collected is	spurious in the first place . Here the
7 1	of the time available to the other language	tutors appointed had	to be spent of the vital tasks of
7 2	messages you wish to view from the mail	titles displayed (	ordered by oldest message first ) by entering
7 3	alphabetic order , it should approximate to the	user required .	The Start user may be up to 28 alphanumeric
7 4	organises its economic activities and the type of	technology used is	important for selling overseas . It stands to
7 5	there is an organisation of representatives from the	industries affected ,	the Quality Assurance Group ( QAG ) (
7 6	out to join him like bees from a	hive disturbed .	He had only to call and they would
7 7	the biotransformation products of both cholate and chenodeoxycholic	acid seen ,	and is in accordance with two previous studies . Our
7 8	as a system of mind-control , and the	postures adopted are	to facilitate certain types of breathing to help
7 9	which by complementing or contrasting with the main	subjects studied will	help to provide a balanced education ' .
8 0	have received complaints because NONE of the 8,000	fans depicted are	black or female . PAY HOMAGE does n't
8 1	clerk had written a personal note with the	invoice attached .	There was a saucy additional note from British
8 2	leaf shape , and it is probable that	others found have	not been reported . Stoneware tools recorded include
8 3	based on farms and horticultural holdings . The	training provided could	be grouped under three headings : a )
8 4	South African territory , thus indirectly providing the	information required !	Even this was not sufficient however , and
8 5	local reimbursement . Since the value of credit	vouchers issued exceeds	the sale of gift vouchers approximately six to
8 6	you use an express transfer . Charges and	services offered vary	among the main high street banks , though
8 7	men , and most of the authors and	critics studied are	also men . Another is that a degree
8 8	forms a well-differentiated subfamily group many of the	genera included appear	ill-defined . Ophiomitrella , Ophioripa , " Ophiophthalmus
8 9	ecus ( \$12 ) a year for each	person covered .	The commission promises that its proposals under the

90	contained within a suitable package , that the	user specified (	at the beginning of the run ) is
91	mainly the result of a large rise in	revenues collected (	and disbursed ) by pension funds , which
92	of the model represents the workings of the	world modelled ;	or rather , this is the claim made
93	clauses issued by Childebert and Chlothar . The	additions mentioned can	be nothing more than the Pactus pro tenore
94	presence of a contract , so if the	person injured is	someone other than the buyer , that person can
95	step-by-step account of our own build-it experiences .	Points made are	not meant as criticism of the Computakit ,
96	same pattern of misclassification was present for each	year studied .	In 50% of the misclassified cases the error
97	advisory committee 's calculation of the number of	trainees required .	The trend will probably further delay the creating
98	can help to determine the extent of the	area affected .	Damp patches elsewhere , especially if they occur
99	the playground could be bought , but the	price requested --	£37 10s for 1,500 square yards -- was
100	of the SWA . 3 . All company	data obtained were	screened to make sure they were Scotch Whisky
101	or with the reversion can arise . The	sum deposited is	to be paid on or before the execution
102	. That is , he must show that the	loss incurred was	caused by the insider 's actions . As
103	and 79,065 items , the mean number of	routes used is	1/26 , and just less than 1/26 respectively
104	the buyer should be alerted and his other	instructions taken .	When a road is taken over by the
105	tailless Manx cat is one of the oldest	breeds known ,	having appeared on the Isle of Man at least
106	been made to pursue possible solutions to the	requirements described .	THE OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY AND SUPPLEMENT Summary of
107	the liquid effluent streams . Most of the	radionuclides released are	of local or regional concern , because their
108	the moulding specified will accommodate the depth of	material required :	ie 2mm glass , plus double mount of
109	proxy ) data ; 3 . The data	volumes collected are	often voluminous even by the standards of contemporary
110	6p it is not worth considering . The	method used must	relate to the type of decision to be
111	balance of the amounts of carbohydrate in relation to the	medication required .	I still feel that the situation brought about
112	that amongst the evidence already accumulated , the	statements taken ,	the people interviewed , the personal relationships observed
113	gigantic ; but so is the number of	eggs laid .	A female toad may lay 20,000 eggs each

1 1 4	Mellor On the contrary , the level of	benefits paid has	never been higher . It has risen sharply
1 1 5	after the launch , but the volume of	contracts traded has	fallen steeply since 1988 although there has been
1 1 6	issue of a press notice until after the	person affected has	had an opportunity to apply for the notice
1 1 7	English ) ( 5 ) that the spending	plans submitted should	fall within the guidelines described earlier in that the
1 1 8	suggest how George and Marie can finance the	changes needed ,	which will take time to become effective .
1 1 9	are still clearly to be seen . The	area covered is	270,000 square feet of which the immense central
1 2 0	growth by dry weight . There are many	measures used [	PGC ] , however , some of which
1 2 1	of little help to the reader if the	pictures illustrated are	used as mere decoration , and not the
1 2 2	probability , deterioration in the quality of specialised	advice provided .	' In 1989-90 the financial assistance from central
1 2 3	July with silage and hay making . The	figures given represent	an average over the year . Orkney ,
1 2 4	sexual intercourse , whereas for consensual buggery the	maximum recommended is	five years . Where the girl is under
1 2 5	unfair dismissal , regardless of the number of	weeks worked .	Bottomley orders inquiry into 999 computer failures AN
1 2 6	the Pit-1 sequence are indicated by dots .	Gaps introduced are	represented by dashes . Residues unique to a
1 2 7	for the patient , not to mention the	expense incurred .	And clinical freedom being slowly stifled . '
1 2 8	have to be appropriate to the type of	resistance encountered .	for descriptions of the strategies on offer see
1 2 9	a specific category ( for example , the new	entries created are	a matter of particular interest ) may be
1 3 0	his employers decided to reduce the number of	staff employed .	Mr Cowen was not willing to accept demotion
1 3 1	with the working hypothesis , and whether the	methods used (	particularly in interrogation ) did not distort the
1 3 2	to lead you easily and quickly to the	option required ,	without needing to know , or remember ,
1 3 3	and daunt . The school came with a	family attached ;	the family lived in a house . Everything

1 3 4	causes , and measles . The three measles	studies combined show	a 70% reduction in deaths from respiratory causes
1 3 5	depend not upon subjects studied or grades of	qualification achieved ,	but simply upon the length of time spent
1 3 6	treated the same ( in terms of the rate of	tax levied )	as home-produced goods . The Commission would ,
1 3 7	a clear sense of the relation between the	content chosen (	from whatever subject areas ) and the way
1 3 8	approved plans to build another boat . The	£750,000 required is	being sought from special council budgets , so that
1 3 9	being tested . Secondly , many of the	symptoms produced are	highly subjective -- headache , confusion or nausea
1 4 0	to make them work . The amount of	heat produced will	depend upon the muscles involved and the number
1 4 1	well-being , and for the amount of nursing	care required ,	were not statistically significantly different . Survival Survival
1 4 2	was designated as training officer also indicated that	title held is	not necessarily indicative of time devoted to training
1 4 3	make some investment in work , even though the	ends sought may	be quite diverse by different workers , and
1 4 4	for Lugard himself , were ruthlessly overawed and	changes introduced --	such as the creation of native treasuries -- by
1 4 5	that the particular classroom layouts and patterns of	organization commended would	promote children 's learning more effectively than any
1 4 6	in America after a public appeal raised the	£350,000 needed ,	was being taken to visit her grandparents nearby
1 4 7	&formula; , i.e. the product of the pivotal	elements chosen ,	multiplied by the determinant of &formula; , which
1 4 8	Nazarene who were claiming that Jesus was the	Messiah expected .	Paul , although a Roman citizen was a
1 4 9	of a disparity in house prices . Any	assistance given was	based on a survey of house prices carried
1 5 0	. It differs from boiling in that the	steam produced cooks	the food resulting in a smaller loss of
1 5 1	through the following stages : 1 The last	film produced must	yield consumers 10 worth of extra utility .
1 5 2	rather than of value for money or quality of	service provided .	PROPOSALS FOR INCREASING RESOURCES DEVOTED TO THE NHS
1 5 3	determined by ` the conventional meaning of the	words used '	( 1975 : 44 ) . In the



1 5 4	this now forgotten trade . Much of the	cider produced was	for local consumption , with farmers bringing in
1 5 5	of the animal 's lifespan . The time	dimension used varies	widely : some studies use measures of instantaneous
1 5 6	study of aspects of modern Europe . The	languages offered are	French ( post ` A ' level )
1 5 7	royalty on subsequent oil output for the additional	risk incurred ,	although the latter might be reduced by obtaining
1 5 8	of the country . Around 85pc of the	dogs bred are	cross Labrador-retrievers . However , we also use
1 5 9	lower speeds , always use power . The	amount required would	be 200 rpm or 2 ins MP .
1 6 0	, and in public libraries about half the	books borrowed are	located in this way . Surveys of in-house
1 6 1	sending signals via satellite to cable companies .	Dish owned will	receive the programmes free , unless the companies
1 6 2	including a rehousing grant . The number of	grants awarded increased	rapidly so that by 1977 the number stood at
1 6 3	and the laundry . As the fear of	raids increased ,	I became an ambulance driver , on duty
1 6 4	submitted for publication , pages published , and	advertisements placed ;	data from readers on which papers they read
1 6 5	with all their wedding presents . Among the	items stolen was	a locket given to Andrea by her mother
1 6 6	generally directed against sexual explicitness . However the	tests applied are	sufficiently broad to catch material which encourages the
1 6 7	issues raised earlier in this paper . One	issue raised is	that of ` intentionality ' . The other
1 6 8	journalism students in Darlington only half of the	people questioned could	name the town 's MP . The public
1 6 9	across the white silk . Gripping the leather	straps provided ,	she settled herself against the supporting pole .
1 7 0	some cases rupturing of the implant and the	injuries suffered vary	but include auto-immune system disorders such as athritus .
1 7 1	where shame or distress are caused to the	person affected .	Exhibitionism Most people derive satisfaction from exhibiting their
1 7 2	Highland and Lowland areas . Some of the	areas mapped ,	however , did not feature in the published
1 7 3	actual amount borrowed ( eg not including any	deposit paid )	; -- if regular repayments are being made

1 7 4	value as the shares the subject of the	options released ,	the new options being generally exercisable on the
1 7 5	individual ) ; the reasonable man ; the	individual affected ;	or ex post facto by the reviewing court . It
1 7 6	very best quality but that the level of	quality demanded depends	upon the circumstances of the ease , including
1 7 7	chore , and nobody really believes that the	numbers agreed will	actually be achieved . In Hanson , the
1 7 8	the situation where a constable believes that a	person bailed is	unlikely to surrender to custody , or alternatively
1 7 9	children registered for free school meals . Each	child registered may	well bring the school an additional £500 --
1 8 0	budgeted for the special needs grant but the	amount spent will	depend on the take-up . Students back fight
1 8 1	and bank account details . Examples of other	codes held are	contract type , company car details , loans
1 8 2	be bundling it with every system . The	population approached will	include DOC , IBM and DEC bases .
1 8 3	in the direction shown . Some of the	connections pictured have	already been discussed or mentioned . ( For example
1 8 4	who will carry the burden of implementing the	decisions made --	the teachers themselves . The importance of this
1 8 5	taking up unsubscribed shares ' from the `	fees paid '	. The loss from taking up the unsubscribed
1 8 6	for each field . If this is the	value required ,	the user can move to the next field
1 8 7	. ( a ) If the kind of	damage suffered is	reasonably foreseeable , it does not matter that
1 8 8	direct line management of the candidate . The	evidence required includes	testimony from various managers , a portfolio of
1 8 9	password protected . You should either supply the	password(s) required (	if known ) or request access to the
1 9 0	considered , in an attempt to highlight the	issues raised .	A study of the contested bids by Hanson
1 9 1	absorption to normal ( >10% of the oral	dose absorbed )	. Barium follow through examination showed a normal
1 9 2	make up any shortfall . If a pension	fund transferred is	over-funded , the seller will often seek extra
1 9 3	hamper full of doggie goodies , and every	letter published will	win a special Golden Bone Award . The

1 9 4	drawback that the nature and origins of the	adducts detected is	unknown . Thus the adducts detected in this
1 9 5	below , bucket size may also affect the	algorithm chosen .	Randomizing algorithm In choosing an algorithm , the
1 9 6	of the relative value of the goods and	services provided .	How well a company performs is judged by
1 9 7	obstinate traditionalism prevented it from doing what political	economy required ,	it had to be made to . There
1 9 8	for data capture and storage , since the	hardware required would	be fundamentally different . An informal group consisting
1 9 9	among these studies in measurement and in the	subjects chosen ,	so direct evaluation is difficult . Studies involving
2 0 0	enquiries to the database . The types of	information required will	tend to be unpredictable and unstructured so that database
2 0 1	source identified . Strands of copper wire ,	source identified .	And a mess of twisted brass bonded with
2 0 2	cancellation charges set out below . Any new	arrangements made will	be treated as an entirely new booking .
2 0 3	is delivered to the site with all the	fittings attached ,	ready to be positioned into a prepared excavation
2 0 4	individual raising the most money overall . The	funds raised will	help provide disabled children with lightweight manual or
2 0 5	stressed a major attraction was the number of	jobs created .	` In a town where unemployment is running
2 0 6	the basic problem of the volume of car	crime committed ,	particularly by significant numbers of young offenders who
2 0 7	what they had been given . Among the	objects salvaged were	gold dishes , weighing a pound each ,
2 0 8	of Africa ( large , but few time	zones crossed )	or New Zealand ( smaller cultural changes but
2 0 9	that were the present definition broadened , the	number affected would	be between 10 000 and 100 000 ,
2 1 0	or the political party and the amount of	money given .	This is not required in the accounts of
2 1 1	will pay the Tanzanian government \$600 for every	hippo killed .	As well as the teeth being sold for ivory ,
2 1 2	parents and hear what they said , the	views advanced did	not always fit the latest fashion or an
2 1 3	Relations Committee and give comments on any legal	issues raised .	` The day 's events are made all

2 1 4	the beginning of the century , but the	passage quoted comes	from the enlarged edition of 1923 . In
2 1 5	of this nature . The number of case	notes assessed may	underestimate the actual number of patients with liver
2 1 6	data and regulating the industry . The new	measures agreed are	as follows : , Fishing boats in the
2 1 7	and is likely to influence the number of	copies purchased (	probably for the short loans collection ) .
2 1 8	of the phrases processed . The kind of	representation used is	very important , since different representations will make
2 1 9	is necessary to protect the value of the	business transferred ?	Second , is the geographic area over which
2 2 0	useful complement to the other types . The	information obtained could	be used for the modification of the course
2 2 1	This lack of discrimination suggests that the general	knowledge required is	not highly related to attainment in mathematics .
2 2 2	mm high . Problems arise where the sight	lines required can	not be achieved within the curtilage of land
2 2 3	of styles and letter shapes , depending on the	language used (	Latin , Anglo-Saxon , Norman French ) and
2 2 4	. These may in turn be sub-divided ;	goods possessed may	comprise either the results of private purchase or
2 2 5	rotor ship 's dynamic stability . Since the	lift generated depends	on the ratio of two flow patterns (
2 2 6	and as such the replacement cost of the	asset held will	be difficult to establish even if it was still
2 2 7	to ensure that the appropriate version of the	module specified is	included in the package . The keyword SELECTED-ISSUE
2 2 8	one under certain conditions , for example when the	items ironed are	less intrinsically boring ( baby 's clothes are
2 2 9	eleven . He chooses the number and the	girl chosen goes	outside the room to give him a kiss
2 3 0	judiciary increases , we feel certain that the	definition developed will	be in the best interests of the victim
2 3 1	passed was easily beaten by the number of	coffees drunk .	Yet another master meal was prepared by le
2 3 2	60,000 miles and MOT certificates showing the false	mileages obtained .	Colin , 32 , and Geoffrey Newton ,
2 3 3	This has the advantage that the number of	strategies attempted will	be multiplied . Risks are thus distributed through

2 3 4	justify for the benefit of the court the	figure awarded .	In default of explanation Mr. Cunningham 's award
2 3 5	of light losses , but great numbers of	prisoners taken .	Now the truth was emerging ; the British
2 3 6	, he proposed : " Morals reformed ,	health preserved ,	industry invigorated , instruction diffused , public burthens
2 3 7	benign disease of the gastrointestinal tract . The	rates obtained ,	however , are higher than those measured in
2 3 8	inaccessible will be mapped from the air the	shelter required [	for fishing boats ] is provided by Cape
2 3 9	, and free ironing for a week .	Money raised will	go toward the hall 's refurbishment fund .
2 4 0	account number to be debited . If the	amount notified is	wrong , a simple call to the bank
2 4 1	for the areas concerned , in terms of both the	facilities provided --	not to mention the creation of jobs .
2 4 2	and been satisfied with , the public address	facilities provided --	A & R Martin & Co. , 26
2 4 3	to resell a ticket so deposited . Any	tickets resold will	be subject to a 20% handling fee deducted from
2 4 4	upward movement in the FT-SE Index . Any	gains made are	locked in at the end of the quarter
2 4 5	subs . ( 3 ) . Any	order made expires	when the certificate of registration of the club
2 4 6	of the body . The health benefits and	disciplines gained enhance	the balance between our mind and body and
2 4 7	is strongly negatively correlated with the number of	vehicle seen ,	r(1064)=-0.564 . It is likely that the important

## Appendix 2: Sample 2: Prenominal position

Na-pre-1	, and so on . What is needed is one <b>named individual</b> who is responsible for assessing that person 's
Na-pre-2	by the sale and purchase agreement to a <b>named firm</b> of chartered accountants to determine as experts .
Na-pre-3	as far south as Southampton . At the <b>named destination</b> , all the baskets would be unloaded and

Na-pre-4	names " , in which a number of <b>named students</b> were attacked as " communist intriguers " ,
Na-pre-5	key personnel ( e.g. its recommendations for ` <b>named person</b> ) . Initiatives in under-fives and special
Na-pre-6	row of icons onscreen instead of a menu of <b>named functions</b> . POINTERS : the arrow which appears on
Na-pre-7	made no express reference to proceedings between a <b>named representative</b> of a class and a member of that
Na-pre-8	out of proportion to price with the wines from <b>named sites</b> . The Riesling Clos Häuserer 1988 ( £7.25
Na-pre-9	in the UK or Ireland linking with a <b>named community</b> , village , town , project area or
Na-pre-10	be treated as beginning at midnight between the <b>named date</b> and the day following it ( Meggeson v
Na-pre-11	's area files , only information about the <b>named subject</b> of the inquiry and their spouse , and
Na-pre-12	restricted the term ` Champagne ' to certain <b>named communes</b> in the Marne and Aisne départements only .
Na-pre-13	) the practice of referring disputes to a <b>named individual</b> , firm or company ( 9.3 ) ;
Ow-pre-1	. [ Estimates based on the proportion of <b>owned dwellings</b> give a figure about 3 percentage points higher
Ow-pre-2	the circuit proper and the boundary of the <b>owned area</b> . The obstructions , though I was never
Pu-pre-1	said , so long ago , in the <b>published report</b> . With a court action pending , you
Pu-pre-2	read several papers before the society and his <b>published works</b> include observations on the laws of electricity ,
Pu-pre-3	. As your daughter met none of the <b>published criteria</b> the panel felt unable to override the stipulation
Pu-pre-4	. His proposed implementation of VAT on the <b>published word</b> is much more than a tax on learning
Pu-pre-5	distinguish between cooperative and concentrative operations in a <b>published notice</b> . This notice sets out a positive and
Pu-pre-6	subsequent experience . Although there is no extensive <b>published experience</b> in elderly patients , oesophageal transection using a
Pu-pre-7	Wilbye [ q.v. ] dedicated one set of <b>published madrigals</b> to Arabella Stuart [ q.v. ] and the
Pu-pre-8	made to the profit before tax reported in <b>published accounts</b> . These would include adjustment for items which

Pu-pre-9	and Christian sympathy , and admiring his two <b>published prose works</b> , he asked if Lewis would be
Pu-pre-10	opposed by Save Britain 's Heritage . The <b>published policy</b> of the Secretary of State was that he
Sc-pre-1	the saw-toothed grasses left me bleeding like a <b>scored steak</b> . Then I spotted them -- superb orange
Sc-pre-2	it , but the squashed chairs and the <b>scored benches</b> tell the story . The shop 's youngest
Sc-pre-3	fitness requirements you need &bull; the most often <b>scored techniques</b> , explaining why they scored &bull; why techniques
Sc-pre-4	' A silver coin rang tunefully on the <b>scored wood</b> of the little table . ` Right away
Sc-pre-5	may either be misrepresented or excluded from a <b>scored sample</b> . If samples are scored for aneuploidy ,
Sc-pre-6	1981 , no. 26 ) , and the <b>scored circle</b> of the fragmentary mosaic above the Charioteer pavement
Tr-pre-1	for LIFESPAN users who wish to access the <b>transferred data</b> . Appendix A provides a list of referenced
Tr-pre-2	be counted : just first-preference votes , or <b>transferred votes</b> also ? There being no obvious and convincing
Tr-pre-3	be a very or fairly serious problem for <b>transferred staff</b> . Other problems listed in the study were
Tr-pre-4	needle adjacent to a selected needle to accept the <b>transferred stitch</b> . You might imagine that returning the lace
Tr-pre-5	by LIFESPAN users to perform complex queries on <b>transferred LIFESPAN information</b> and produce customised reports . The information
Tr-pre-6	covenants is to protect the goodwill of the <b>transferred business</b> and to stop the vendor from using its
Tr-pre-7	not have been elected without the contribution of <b>transferred votes</b> originally given to candidates of other parties .
Tr-pre-8	on the system to initiate the chain of <b>transferred electrons</b> . Japan is poor in natural resources ,
Tr-pre-9	on eligibility for Income Support of residents of <b>transferred homes</b> . Under objectives stated in the White Paper
Tr-pre-10	issues a reasoned report , but only in <b>transferred cases</b> will he give the decision ; in non-transferred
Tr-pre-11	Rdb/VMS . Regular operation of LIFESPAN RDBI allows <b>transferred information</b> to be kept up to date with changes occurring in
Tr-pre-12	of the private sector . Each of the <b>transferred jobs</b> will result in an additional salary being spent

Tr-pre-13	certain constituencies . It may benefit abnormally from <b>transferred votes</b> , as Labour has done in Ireland from
So-pre-1	on this occasion incorporated by virtue of the <b>sold note</b> , which had been handed over only after
So-pre-2	eroded , and the future value of the <b>sold asset</b> will not accrue to the organization . This
So-pre-3	town he rang the dinner bell and the <b>sold pig</b> climbed out of the farmer 's pen and returned
So-pre-4	the seller giving to the buyers a ` <b>sold note</b> which had on the back an exclusion
So-pre-5	weak , over-estimated sale posted a dismal 53% <b>sold rate</b> and brought only \$35.6 million ( £23.7 million
So-pre-6	were unaware of the precise terms on the <b>sold notes</b> . Lord Pearce said , ` The only
Po-pre-1	Debbie and Alex scuttling about the stage like <b>possessed arsonists</b> fanning a terrible flame . Dressed down in
Po-pre-2	all at mid-price ) , Flor underplays the <b>possessed trenchancy</b> of the music at too low a temperature
Po-pre-3	with computer outputs over which they pore like <b>possessed students</b> of a cabbalistic text . They work until
Po-pre-4	, hoping to catch a glimpse of the <b>possessed dh&amp;amacr;mi</b> . Inside , the god is reciting his
Po-pre-5	an indirect form of mystical attack . The <b>possessed woman</b> , like her bewitched counterpart , becomes the
Po-pre-6	30th the deadline by which buyers of their <b>possessed homes</b> can apply for a 6.99 percent mortgage rate
Po-pre-7	tongue-tied and festering , sick bastard sons of <b>possessed virgins</b> . If you can make out the lyrics
Co-pre-1	, despite the undoubted idealism and enthusiasm of <b>committed trade unionists</b> in these industries there was considerable reluctance
Co-pre-2	crucial question was whether Britain would become a <b>committed member</b> of any European organisation . The Nordic states
Co-pre-3	property and the Church , or as the <b>committed Bolshevik</b> , reached its climax in late 1925 and
Co-pre-4	after reading it -- she is such a <b>committed carer</b> and sounds the alarm bell for the rest
Co-pre-5	Vienna , the impetus for development came from <b>committed Czechs</b> like Count Sternberg and the architect of the
Co-pre-6	eventually , is that a smaller base of <b>committed players</b> will have to shoulder the burdens and ,



Co-pre-7	tap a powerful new source of experience and <b>committed expertise</b> which will help your business blossom ; the
Co-pre-8	like that ' had once been enthusiastic , <b>committed students</b> like themselves . Whether it is true or
Co-pre-9	in them . All musicians have to be <b>committed members</b> of the Army , and their dedication and
Co-pre-10	a cynical interpretation of the motivation of those <b>committed professionals</b> who are carrying forward the first wave of
Co-pre-11	developed a consciousness as trade unionists and became <b>committed activists</b> . A few became aware of specific disadvantages
Co-pre-12	, the Newmanites ( then numbering perhaps 30 <b>committed members</b> ) moved in and out of coalitions and vicious
Co-pre-13	North-South direction . And even though I am a <b>committed European</b> , I can easily see why many of

### Appendix 3: Sample 2: Postnominal position

Na-post-1	no list has been registered , or the <b>persons named</b> have died , or ceased to reside in Great
Na-post-2	Carte Michelin No. 75 , can see the <b>places named</b> , related just as Pound says : Chalais ,
Na-post-3	not there ? ' ' Not all the <b>ones named</b> are buried here , and some are here who
Na-post-4	to his household survive , but all the <b>men named</b> were former servants of Edward IV . Among those
Na-post-5	Wednesday and expressed the opinion that provided the <b>sum named</b> was forthcoming , together with a membership of 300
Na-post-6	or accident he fails to repay on the <b>day named</b> , is it fair that he should be held
Na-post-7	the report does not cover transactions outside the <b>period named</b> . Administrators to Bishopsgate Investment Trust and other companies
Ow-post-1	or enhancements of the Licensed Software or other <b>software owned</b> , marketed or supported by ( including specifications therefore
Ow-post-2	but in North Wales and Wester Ross the <b>land owned</b> amounted to only 16% and 6% respectively . Despite
Ow-post-3	owners , their occupation and the type of <b>property owned</b> . Compiled annually , it is a voluminous source
Ow-post-4	sending signals via satellite to cable companies . <b>Dish owned</b> will receive the programmes free , unless the companies

Ow-post-5	interest of ownership in the performance of the <b>business owned</b> can assert itself . If , however , the
Ow-post-6	Intellectual Property Rights are all the <b>Intellectual Property Rights owned</b> , used or required by the Vendor in connection with the
Ow-post-7	to determine whether and how the <b>assets and resources owned</b> will be used , and the liability in certain
Pu-post-1	was required to pay a duty on each <b>newspaper published</b> , a duty on each advertisement , as well as a
Pu-post-2	stands out in terms of both quality and volume of <b>titles published</b> , with Little , Brown 's Orbit imprint and
Pu-post-3	from you . We pay £5 for every <b>letter published</b> . Write to : . QUICK-MARCH We bought an
Pu-post-4	possibly extinct breed of Bank Manager ! The <b>information published</b> was assembled from Gloucester Warwickshire Railway release incorporating `
Pu-post-5	for the obligation of confidence to lapse the <b>information published</b> must be the same as the confidential information .
Pu-post-6	DAYSACK Each month the writer of the best <b>letter published</b> wins the super Lowe Alpine Walkabout 25 daysack HELP
Pu-post-7	. We 'll pay £5 for every original <b>letter published</b> . STAR LETTER I 've used a wheelchair for
Sc-post-1	( in terms of numbers hurt , for example , or <b>goals scored</b> ) . In competing for readers , papers supplied
Sc-post-2	over gone , two wickets down and no <b>runs scored</b> . From the pavilion in fading light came Ringer
Sc-post-3	of Sigmar rolls to hit normally . Any <b>hits scored</b> will automatically wound , there is no need to
Sc-post-4	ie , more than 12" ) the number of <b>hits scored</b> is half the number rolled ( eg , a
Sc-post-5	previous record . And their tally of 22 <b>goals scored</b> bettered a record start set by Genoa in season
Sc-post-6	is awarded to the fighter with the most <b>points scored</b> . Recently safety regulations have made it obligatory for
Sc-post-7	took the top 16 players -- picked on <b>points scored</b> -- into four semi-final eliminators . Margin Tim ,
Tr-post-1	make up any shortfall . If a <b>pension fund transferred</b> is over-funded , the seller will often seek extra
Tr-post-2	, more important , per job created or <b>worker transferred</b> . Moreover , there is no reason to believe
Tr-post-3	in possession vested in the company , the <b>property transferred</b> was not shares but the vested interest in possession

Tr-post-4	issue is likely to be whether a <b>pension fund transferred</b> is fully funded or the amount that is transferred
Tr-post-5	age , cycles attempted , and <b>eggs or embryos transferred</b> , but makes no recommendations for standards of practice
Tr-post-6	out of the property remaining in settlement , the <b>value transferred</b> will have to be grossed up to include it
Tr-post-7	, which should specify the value of the <b>property transferred</b> . In practice this is either a letter or
So-post-1	WWF will receive a financial contribution for each <b>video sold</b> . All priced at £9.99 and available from high
So-post-2	sparkling , is now the most popular British <b>water sold</b> . Buxton Springs were discovered by the Romans in
So-post-3	invoice has been issued ; and when the <b>goods sold</b> have been delivered and an invoice has been paid
So-post-4	company could make a clear £300 on each <b>machine sold</b> : he put the total size of the UK
So-post-5	now at just £26.99 . 25p from each <b>item sold</b> will be donated to Victim Support , GH Charity
So-post-6	certain to fall well below the number of <b>tickets sold</b> . Big business interests have been quietly buying up
So-post-7	to give credit for the value of the <b>goods sold</b> ( £309 ) , although it was proposing to
Po-post-1	involves some actual power of control over the <b>thing possessed</b> . In the second place , it involves some
Po-post-2	shoulders and swaying in the gaslight like a <b>man possessed</b> . The only other dancer was Salah , who
Po-post-3	through the white flakes , casting as a <b>man possessed</b> . Fishing should be fun , I thought ,
Po-post-4	and computing . ` Perhaps we read like <b>men possessed</b> , say the authors in their final paragraph
Po-post-5	-- he ran towards Vetch Street like a <b>man possessed</b> , head bare , careless of curious glances and
Po-post-6	: ` He came at me like a <b>man possessed</b> . He 's ruined an expensive coat and I
Po-post-7	and screaming , she thrashed about like a <b>woman possessed</b> . Getting on her knees , she explained her
Co-post-1	in the proportionality of the punishment to the <b>offence committed</b> , in cases where delay has been held prejudicial
Co-post-2	of offences which reflect the fact that the <b>crime committed</b> was one of sexual violence . It is not

Co-post-3	and then he will be punishable though the <b>crime committed</b> may differ in some degree from that which he
Co-post-4	rushing yards allowed ( 653 ) and penalty <b>yards committed</b> ( 307 ) . The team have also been
Co-post-5	as a manifestation of God 's punishment for <b>sins committed</b> . A nation which experienced years of defeat and
Co-post-6	, of course , although the tricks played and <b>misdeeds committed</b> seem to lose little of their quality of daring
Co-post-7	must have been used in many of the <b>burglaries committed</b> . A wardrobe was stolen from a house in
See-post-1	headings only represent about a third of the <b>divers seen</b> . To give a more accurate picture of the
See-post-2	could not account for the reduction in EGF <b>binding seen</b> . During the period from five to 30 hours
See-post-3	now slumped to nearly zero and the only <b>locos seen</b> are on civil engineers ' trains . The end
See-post-4	is the fractional root mean square amplitude of <b>variability seen</b> ; ( 2 ) a long observation with low
See-post-5	also quite possible that the differences in bend <b>angles seen</b> reflect differences in shape of the proteins analysed due to
See-post-6	. More than 50 per cent of all existing adult <b>claimants seen</b> were receiving less than they were entitled to ,
See-post-7	is strongly negatively correlated with the number of <b>vehicle seen</b> , $r(1064)=-0.564$ . It is likely that the important
Ser-post-1	particularly evident where funding to agencies depends on <b>clients served</b> . This may involve developing life plans with the
Ser-post-2	War , with extensive housing development in the <b>areas served</b> . Of the 84 cars in stock in 1919
Ser-post-3	for offences triable on indictment meant that the <b>sentences served</b> were longer than before , with a consequent increase
Ser-post-4	million ) increased in line with the additional number of <b>meals served</b> . Coming Events April 4-5 The International Pizza &
Ser-post-5	a larger and larger share of total main <b>meals served</b> . Mk2 first-class open vehicles , like that shown
Ser-post-6	be important and valuable . The most powerful <b>function served</b> is the release of tension . The tension comes
Ser-post-7	a 12 per cent growth in the number of <b>meals served</b> . Even so , contract caterers are now providing nearly