

## ON ADVERBIALS OF AGENCY IN ENGLISH AND CZECH

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The present article deals with two basic problems: the frequency of the adverbial of agency in English in comparison with Czech, and the function of the adverbial of agency in functional sentence perspective.

First of all let me give a definition of the adverbial of agency (= A<sub>ag</sub>). It expresses the agent of an action and is connected with the finite verb in the passive voice (or with the past participle only); if the voice of the verb is changed, the A<sub>ag</sub> is replaced by the subject.<sup>1</sup>

1. He will not be influenced by family considerations.<sup>2</sup> Family considerations will not influence him.

The A<sub>ag</sub> can be expressed by a substantive (or a substantivized part of speech), a pronoun, or a subordinate clause, and in English also by a gerund.

As this research has been partly suggested by two articles on adverbials by Ludmila Uhlířová<sup>3</sup>, I have decided to use formal limitations similar to those employed by her (though her research concerned all the types of the adverbial). I have investigated only such sentences where the A<sub>ag</sub> is (a) dependent on the finite verbal passive (not on the past participle only) and (b) formally expressed by a substantive (or a substantivized adjective or numeral) with the preposition *by* or *with* in English.<sup>4</sup>

The corpus on which the inquiry is based has been drawn from English written texts and their translations into Czech. So as not to confine the

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<sup>1</sup> The definition is based on Šmilauer (1966:333).

<sup>2</sup> Agatha Christie, *Death Comes as the End*, page 43, line 1. I shall use abbreviations for the books quoted (for a list of abbreviations, see note<sup>6</sup>) and in each case add numbers indicating the page and line where the example begins (e. g., CD 43,01). In SQ the second part of the number indicates the tone unit, not the line.

<sup>3</sup> Uhlířová 1974 and Uhlířová 1978.

<sup>4</sup> With the exception of one case, where the preposition *od* with the genitive occurs, all the Czech adverbials of agency (= A<sub>sk</sub>) in my corpus are expressed by the prepositionless instrumental.

research to one functional style only, 100 sentences with *As<sub>1</sub>g* have been excerpted from scientific writing, 100 sentences from narrative prose (mostly novels) and 100 sentences from dramatic prose, always with their Czech equivalents (with a proviso to be stated below). Besides dramatic prose (mostly plays by English and American authors and their Czech translations<sup>5</sup>) the third category includes a collection of non-scripted, spontaneous dialogues as presented by Jan Svartvik and Randolph Quirk in *A Corpus of English Conversation*. The entire third category will therefore be referred to as 'dialogues'. A welcome compensation for the non-existence of an equivalent Czech translation of the spontaneous dialogues is their prosodic transcription provided by the editors of the *Corpus*.

The excerpted sentences have been supplemented with sentences with the *A<sub>1</sub>g* drawn from an original Czech text and its English translation.

The 100 sentences of the first category (scientific writing) have been taken from 5 articles and a part of a book, the 100 sentences of the second category (narrative prose) from 5 books, and the 100 sentences of the third category (dialogues) from 13 plays and a quite sizeable volume of 893 pages.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Czech translations of English and American plays were not always easily obtainable for my research. It is hoped, however, that the collection of excerpts is sufficiently representative.

<sup>6</sup> The excerpts have been taken from the following publications:

- RD-Jane J. Robinson, Dependency structures and transformational rules, *Language* 46.259-85 (Baltimore 1970); J. J. Robinsonová, Závislostní struktury a transformační pravidla, *Studie z transformační gramatiky I.* (= SZTG I), ed. by Eva Hajičová, 195-221 (SPN, Prague 1975);
- LG-George Lakoff, Global rules, *Language* 46.627-39 (Baltimore 1970); George Lakoff, Globální pravidla, *SZTG I*, ed. by Eva Hajičová, 90-103 (SPN, Prague 1975);
- FT-Charles J. Fillmore, Types of lexical information, *Studies in Syntax and Semantics*, ed. by Ferenc Kiefer, 109-37 (D. Reidel Publishing Company, Dordrecht, Holland 1969); Charles J. Fillmore, Typy lexikální informace, *SZTG I*, ed. by Eva Hajičová, 49-74 (SPN, Prague 1975);
- CHD-Noam Chomsky, Deep structure, surface structure, and semantic interpretation, *Semantics*, ed. by Danny D. Steinberg and Leon A. Jakobovits, 183-216 (Cambridge University Press 1971); Noam Chomsky, Hloubková struktura, povrchová struktura a sémantická interpretace, *SZTG I*, ed. by Eva Hajičová, 9-48 (SPN, Prague 1975);
- BO-Manfred Bierwisch, On classifying semantic features, *Semantics*, ed. by Danny D. Steinberg and Leon A. Jakobovits, 410-35 (Cambridge University Press 1971); Manfred Bierwisch, Třídění sémantických rysů, *SZTG I*, ed. by Eva Hajičová, 105-33 (SPN, Prague 1975);
- CW-E. H. Carr, *What is History?* (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, England, the year of publication not stated); excerpted from pp. 7-48; E. H. Carr, *Co je historie?*, transl. by Jaroslav Strnad (Svoboda, Prague 1967); excerpted from pp. 9-50;
- CD-Agatha Christie, *Death Comes as the End* (Fontana Books, Glasgow 1976); Agatha Christie, *Nakonec přijde smrt...*, transl. by Eva Hrubá (Vyšehrad, Prague 1975);
- GC-Graham Greene, *The Confidential Agent* (Bantam Books, New York 1968); Graham Greene, *Tajný kurýr*, transl. by Jan Zábřana (Odeon, Prague 1973);
- JT-Jerome K. Jerome, *Three Men in a Boat* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow 1955); Jerome Klapka Jerome, *Tři muži ve člunu*, *Tři muži ve člunu a na toulkách*, 5-169, transl. by J. Z. Novák (Odeon, Prague 1972);

This brings us to the first basic problem of the present article, which is the frequency of the  $A_{ag}$ .

The different lengths of English text excerpted from, which in regard to three stylistic categories yield the same number of sentences with an  $A_{ag}$ , suggest that in drama and in dialogues generally, the frequency of the  $A_{ag}$  will be much lower than in narrative prose or scientific writing. To ensure greater accuracy of comparison, the number of actual pages of each text has been converted into a number of 'ideal' pages, the 'ideal' page representing a fixed number of words. I proceeded in the following way. The number of pages of a text was counted and the average number of words on a page established. (Needless to say, tables, examples and mathematical formulae in scientific writing, and stage directions in plays, were excluded from the count.) Then the approximate total number

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- AL-Kingsley Amis, *Lucky Jim* (Penguin Books, New York 1976); Kingsley Amis, *Štastný Jim*, transl. by Jiří Mucha (SNKLU, Prague 1959);  
 WD-Evelyn Waugh, *Decline and Fall* (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, England 1976); Evelyn Waugh, *Sestup a pád*, transl. by Josef Schwarz (Mladá fronta, Prague 1971);  
 LH-Peter Luke, *Hadrian VII* (Andre Deutsch, London 1968); Peter Luke, *Hadrián sedmý*, transl. by Ivo T. Havlů (Dilia, Prague 1971);  
 LO-Frederick Lonsdale, *On Approval* (Samuel French, London 1928); Frederick Lonsdale, *Manželství na zkoušku*, transl. by J. Z. Novák (Dilia, Prague 1965);  
 MA-Arthur Miller, *After the Fall* (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, England 1968); Arthur Miller, *Po pádu*, transl. by Luba Pellarová and Rudolf Pellar (Orbis, Prague 1965);  
 MAI-Arthur Miller, *All My Sons*, *Collected Plays*, 58—127 (Cresset Press, London 1961); Arthur Miller, *Všichni moji synové. 5 her*, 19-100, transl. by Ota Ornest (SNKLU, Prague 1962);  
 MC-Arthur Miller, *The Crucible*, *Collected Plays*, 223—330 (Cresset Press, London 1961); Arthur Miller, *Zkouška ohněm, 5 her*, 215-328, transl. by Aloys Skoumal (SNKLU, Prague 1962);  
 MD-Arthur Miller, *Death of a Salesman*, *Collected Plays*, 129-222 (Cresset Press, London 1961); Arthur Miller, *Smrt obchodního cestujícího, 5 her*, 101-214, transl. by Ljuba Pellarová and Rudolf Pellar (SNKLU, Prague 1962);  
 OL-John Osborne, *Look Back in Anger* (Faber and Faber, London 1962); John Osborne, *Ohlédni se v hněvu*, transl. by Alois Bejblík a Jaromír Pleskot (Dilia, Prague 1981);  
 PC-Harold Pinter, *The Caretaker* (Methuen, London 1962); Harold Pinter, *Správce*, transl. by Milan Lukeš (Orbis, Prague 1965);  
 PE-J. B. Priestley, *Ever Since Paradise*, *The Plays of J. B. Priestley II*, 443-516 (William Heinemann, London 1949); John B. Priestley, *Začalo to v ráji*, transl. by Marie Horská (Dilia, Prague 1968);  
 SM-Bernard Shaw, *Major Barbara*, a screen version (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, England 1945); Bernard Shaw, *Majorka Barbora*, transl. by Aloys Skoumal (Orbis, Prague 1960);  
 SY-Bernard Shaw, *You Never Can Tell*, *The Four Pleasant Plays*, 251-382 (Tauchnitz, Leipzig, the year of publication not stated); Bernard Shaw, *Člověk nikdy neví*, transl. by Milan Lukeš (Orbis, Prague 1963);  
 SP-John M. Synge, *The Playboy of the Western World* (Maunsell, Dublin 1911); John Millington Synge, *Hrdina západu*, transl. by Vladislav Čejchan (Orbis, Prague 1961);  
 WR-Arnold Wesker, *Roots*, *The Wesker Trilogy*, 79-150 (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, England 1969); Arnold Wesker, *Kořeny*, transl. by Jiří Mucha (Orbis, Prague 1961);  
 SQ-A *Corpus of English Conversation*, ed. by Jan Svartvik and Randolph Quirk (C. W. K. Gleerup, Lund 1980).



of words in a text was converted into a number of 'ideal' pages, an 'ideal' page representing 358 words. (Roughly speaking, this is the average number of words occurring on an ordinary full page of a Penguin book). The numbers of such pages as reflected by the texts excerpted from are given in Table 1.

It follows from the table that in my corpus the frequency of the  $A_{ag}$  in narrative prose is 4.8 times lower than that in scientific writing, and in dialogues 6.9 times lower.

Some differences in the frequency of the  $A_{ag}$  can be seen even inside the three stylistic categories. They may be partly accounted for by the author's individual style or, esp. in scientific writing, by the subject of the text (Uhlřová [1974.100—1] mentions a high frequency of the  $A_{ag}$  in historical texts). In dialogues, on the other hand, the most important factor is the social rank of the speaker and the communicative purpose of his utterance. In the plays about ordinary people (by Synge, Wesker and Pinter in my collection) the frequency of the  $A_{ag}$  is very low, while the characters in more intellectual environments use the passive with an  $A_{ag}$  more frequently (this holds good for the characters in Luke's play set in the Vatican and, to a slighter degree, for those in Shaw's *Major Barbara* or Miller's *The Crucible*).

Similarly, it is not surprising to find a comparatively high frequency of the  $A_{ag}$  in the spontaneous dialogues collected by Svartvik and Quirk, for a vast majority of the speakers in these dialogues are university graduates and many of the dialogues concern university life and work.

Even the text with the highest frequency of the  $A_{ag}$  in the third category (i. e. the play by Peter Luke) does not reach the average frequency of the  $A_{ag}$  in scientific writing. This leads to the conclusion that, stylistically speaking, the  $A_{ag}$  belongs more to the language of science than to everyday conversation.

The same holds good for the verbal passive itself (i. e. without the  $A_{ag}$ ) as has been shown by Libuše Dušková.<sup>7</sup>

Table 2

	Scientific writing	Narrative prose	Dialogues
number of passive forms with the $A_{ag}$ in the English originals	100	100	(100)39 <sup>8</sup>
number of passive forms with the $A_{ag}$ in their Czech equivalents	66 (= 66 %)	21 (= 21 %)	6 (= 15.38 %)
number of active forms without the $A_{ag}$ in their Czech equivalents	34 (= 34 %)	79 (= 79 %)	33 (= 84.62 %)

<sup>7</sup> Dušková (1971.138) states that in her corpus of 2,500 finite verb-forms, passive forms account for 20.68 per cent in scientific writing, but only 3.24 per cent in conversation.

<sup>8</sup> The 61 cases from SQ have no Czech equivalents.

The Czech equivalents of the English sentences with the  $A_{ag}$  bear out the different frequencies of the  $A_{ag}$  in different stylistic categories (see Table 2).

As can be seen from the table, only 15.38 per cent of English passive forms with the  $A_{ag}$  occurring in dialogues have been translated into Czech by means of a corresponding passive form. All the remaining 84.62 per cent have been translated by means of an active verb with the agent of the action expressed by the subject. Two examples will illustrate.

2. Man, who cannot be lulled by *the rhythms of the fat earth*... PE 483,06  
Muž, kterého nemůže ukolébat žádný rytmus této plodné země... 47,14  
/Man, whom it-cannot lull no rhythm of-this fat land/<sup>9</sup>
3. ... it may well be that Mary Warren has been conquered by *Satan*... MC 299,13  
... Marii Warrenovou třeba opanoval Satan... 294,20  
[... Mary Warren (*object*) maybe he-conquered Satan...]

In narrative prose, the cases where the Czech translation uses a corresponding passive form with an  $A_{ag}$  are not numerous either, accounting for 21 per cent; in scientific writing, on the other hand, they account for 66 per cent. Like English, Czech shows the highest frequency of  $A_{sag}$  in scientific prose.

Let us now compare the frequencies of the  $A_{sag}$  in English and Czech from a general point of view, i. e. irrespective of stylistic category. In the total of 239 Czech translations of the English passive sentences with an  $A_{ag}$ , only 93 (i. e. 38.91 per cent) have a corresponding passive form with an  $A_{ag}$ . The Czech  $A_{ag}$  proves to be less frequent than its English counterpart.<sup>10</sup>

To supplement my research, I have collected excerpts from one Czech original, Čapek's *Povídky z jedné kapsy* [Tales from One Pocket], and its English translation.<sup>11</sup>

The original provides only 2 sentences with the verbal passive and the  $A_{ag}$ ; the translation yields 18 sentences with this construction. In other words, the English translation uses the passive with the  $A_{ag}$  in 16 sentences where the original Czech form is the verbal active without an  $A_{ag}$ . Though not very extensive, this supplementary research bears out the conclusion that there is a higher frequency of the  $A_{ag}$  in English than in Czech. As far as the passive forms without an  $A_{ag}$  are concerned, their total number in the Czech original is 23 (including the reflexive passive forms), whereas in the English translation they occur 89 times, i. e. nearly 4 times more often. Example 4 is illustrative of the verbal active without

<sup>9</sup> For the benefit of the reader who may not have a ready command of Czech, each Czech example is followed by a literal English translation.

<sup>10</sup> The lower frequency is undoubtedly connected with the fact that the passive itself is rarer in Czech than in English (see Dušková 1972.115). Dealing with the  $A_{ag}$ , Dušková (1972.109) reaches conclusions that seemingly differ from mine. Her Czech samples show a somewhat higher percentage of passive forms with an expressed agent than her English corpus. The difference is due to the different criteria used: unlike me, she has taken as her starting point not only English passive sentences with or without the  $A_{ag}$  but also original Czech passive sentences.

<sup>11</sup> Karel Čapek, *Povídky z jedné kapsy* (SNKLU, Prague 1964); Karel Čapek, *Tales from One Pocket, Tales from Two Pockets*, transl. by Paul Selver, 5-126 (George Allen and Unwin, London 1943).

an  $A_{ag}$  in the Czech original and the passive with an  $A_{ag}$  in the English translation.

4. ... a tak Mince a Pepovi nezbylo, než aby si sedli ke stolu, kde už seděl nějaký pán s tlustým a smutným knírem. 115,03  
 /... and so to-Minnie and to-Joe it-not-remained *compound conj.* (nothing but) *refl. pron.* sit-down (*cond.*) to table, where already he-sat some gentleman with bushy and sad moustache./  
 ... and the consequence was that Minnie and Joe had to sit down at a table which was already occupied by a gentleman with a bushy, drooping moustache. 73,03

Before continuing the discussion, I should like to point out that I have not excluded from my corpus the type of  $A_{ag}$  described by Svartvik (1966.104—5) as 'janus-agent'. It allows two interpretations, agential or instrumental, and can consequently operate in the sentence as an  $A_{ag}$  or an adverbial of instrument. Example 5 will illustrate.

5. Which one it was soon settled by the *upsurge of a deep, untrained voice into song.* AL 63,31

What is the sentence position of the English  $A_{ag}$ ? The  $A_{ag}$  is most frequently situated at the very end of the sentence, or, less frequently, in the penultimate position before another sentence element (which is sometimes a subordinate clause); not a single  $A_{ag}$  occupies the initial sentence position in my corpus. Table 3 provides exact data.

Table 3

Sentence position of the $A_{ag}$			
	penultimate	final	Total
scientific writing	16	84	100
narrative prose	17	83	100
dialogues	12	88	100
Total	45	255	300

The table shows that the sentence position of the  $A_{ag}$  does not differ with different functional styles: in all of them the final sentence position of the  $A_{ag}$  is by far the most frequent.

Let us now turn our attention to the second of the two main problems to be treated in the present article, namely the function of the  $A_{ag}$  in

functional sentence perspective (= FSP). In doing so, I shall follow Jan Firbas in using such concepts as context-dependence and context-independence, communicative dynamism (= CD), theme and rheme (the latest and fullest explanation of these concepts can be found in Firbas 1981)<sup>12</sup>.

Together with the communicative functions of other Czech adverbials, that of the A<sub>ag</sub> has been discussed by Ludmila Uhlířová (1974, 1978). In her corpus, 88 out of 100 Czech A<sub>ag</sub> were rhematic and only 12 thematic. Three questions can be asked in this connection.

1. Will English display a similar ratio between rhematic and thematic A<sub>ag</sub> ?

2. Are there any differences between different functional styles as far as the amount of CD carried by the English A<sub>ag</sub> is concerned?

3. What is the position of the A<sub>ag</sub> in the system of FSP?

Before answering these questions, let us compare three sentences containing thematic A<sub>ag</sub> (6.—8.) with three sentences in which the A<sub>ag</sub> can be interpreted as rhematic (9.—11.).

6. Every human being at every stage of history or prehistory is born into a society and from his earliest years is moulded *by that society*. CW 31,18

7. Philbrick stopped speaking and was evidently deeply moved *by his recital*. WD 58,10

8. he was **EMBARRASSED** *by the SITUATION* /and that was the way he **HAVED**<sup>13</sup> SQ 505,656

9. A particularly interesting example involving syntax and phonology has been brought to my attention *by King 1970*. LG 631,18

10. He was haunted for a moment *by the vision of an endless distrust*. GC 3,02

11. but it is continually being **DISRUPTED** *by these SMALL things* SQ 836,507

In 6 and 7 the A<sub>ag</sub> are derivable from the immediately relevant preceding verbal context<sup>14</sup> (in 6 the word *society* is repeated, in 7 the semantic content of *recital* is practically identical with that of *speaking*), and in 8 the A<sub>ag</sub> *by the situation* refers to the very situation under discussion, and is to be regarded as derivable; in other words, all the three A<sub>ag</sub> are context-dependent and consequently thematic.

The A<sub>ag</sub> in 11 and the above-mentioned A<sub>ag</sub> may seem similar in referring to something that is known from the context. But only the determiner *these* and the headword *things* are context-dependent; this is

<sup>12</sup> Cf. the annotated bibliography of Czechoslovak studies in FSP (Firbas and Golková 1975) and the bibliography of Jan Firbas's publications (Golková 1981).

<sup>13</sup> Of Svartvik and Quirk's tonetic marks, I retain only the arrow (for typographic reasons replaced here by bold type) indicating the peak of greatest prominence in a tone unit, the 'nucleus'. (The syllables **BAR** and **HAVED** of 8 and **RUPT** and **SMALL** of 11 bear a fall, the syllable **ATION** of 8 a rise.) Following Daneš 1957, Firbas (1980.126) refers to the last nucleus within the sentence (serving as a distributional field of CD) as the intonation centre (= IC), with one proviso: a low rise occurring after a fall is not regarded as an IC. (The possible existence of further, minor provisos is not excluded.) It can be assumed that, in terms of FSP, the IC is borne by the element carrying the highest degree of CD, i. e. rheme proper, within the sentence. Accordingly, the IC of 8 is borne by the participle **EMBARRASSED**, the A<sub>ag</sub> *by the SITUATION* occurring in the post-IC prosodic shade: the A<sub>ag</sub> belongs to the thematic section of the distributional field.

<sup>14</sup> The term is fully explained in Firbas 1981.39-40.



not true of the attribute *small*. It is this underivable attribute that renders the  $A_{ag}$  rhematic. This interpretation is also borne out by intonation, the  $A_{ag}$  bearing the intonation centre (see note<sup>13</sup> here).

In 9 the  $A_{ag}$  is underivable from the context and in communicative importance (in the amount of CD) it exceeds all the other elements of the sentence, thus assuming the function of its rheme proper.

By way of experiment let us replace the  $A_{ag}$  of 9 by another type of adverbial:

9.1 A particularly interesting example involving syntax and phonology has been brought to my attention *today*.

The  $A_{ag}$  *by King 1970* has been replaced by *today*, an adverbial of time (=  $A_t$ ). Like the  $A_{ag}$ , the  $A_t$  is underivable from the context and occupies the final sentence position. And yet the FSP of 9.1 is completely different from that of 9: the  $A_t$  *today* (together with *to my attention*) belongs to the thematic section of the sentence; *has been brought* is, strictly speaking, transitional; and *A particularly interesting example involving syntax and phonology*, serving to express a phenomenon appearing on the scene, carries the highest amount of CD and is rhematic. The interplay of means of FSP in the second version of 9 has changed only on account of the replacement of the  $A_{ag}$  by the  $A_t$ .

On account of the semantic character and certain semantic relations into which it can enter, the  $A_t$  frequently expresses mere background information, operating as a setting<sup>15</sup> and hence becoming thematic. On the other hand, the semantic content of agency of action, provided it is expressed by the  $A_{ag}$ , tends to be rhematic (cf. Uhlířová 1974, 1978).

In 10 the two types of adverbial, the  $A_t$  and the  $A_{ag}$ , happen to occur next to each other and demonstrate the difference in their functions: the  $A_t$  *for a moment* serves as mere setting and belongs to the theme of the sentence, while the  $A_{ag}$  *by the vision of an endless distrust* is a specification and assumes the function of rheme proper.

In my corpus rhematic  $As_{ag}$  are conspicuously more frequent than thematic  $As_{ag}$ . Detailed information on their frequency is presented by Table 4.

The last line of the table shows that out of the total number of 300  $As_{ag}$  in my corpus, 32 are thematic and 268 rhematic; in other words, thematic  $As_{ag}$  account for only 10.67 per cent, whereas rhematic  $As_{ag}$  cover all the remaining 89.33 per cent.

Compared with the results obtained by Uhlířová from her Czech corpus, these statistics concerning English  $As_{ag}$  enable us to answer the first of the three questions asked at the beginning of the second part of the present article (p. 44); in comparison with Czech, English does indeed display a very similar ratio of rhematic to thematic  $As_{ag}$  (the ratios being 89.33 : 10.67 for English and 88 : 12 for Czech). This similarity can be accounted for by the fact that the English and the Czech  $A_{ag}$  express the same semantic content.

<sup>15</sup> See Fírbas 1981.41.

Table 4

	Thematic A <sub>sag</sub>			Rhematic A <sub>sag</sub>			Total
	sentence position		total	sentence position		total	
	non-final	final		non-final	final		
scientific writing	2	6	8	14	78	92	100
narrative prose	5	9	14	12	74	86	100
dialogues	1	9	10	11	79	90	100
Total	8	24	32	37	231	268	300

The last but one column of Table 4 shows the respective numbers of rhematic A<sub>sag</sub> in the three functional styles I have investigated (the total number of A<sub>sag</sub> in each of the styles being 100). As can be seen, there are no conspicuous differences in different functional styles as far as the amount of CD of the English A<sub>sag</sub> is concerned. In each of the three styles the majority of A<sub>sag</sub> are rhematic.

Having answered the second of the questions on p. 44, we still have to answer the third question.

At this point let me adduce three examples of the A<sub>sag</sub> occupying a non-final sentence position.

12. ...it was suggested a number of years ago by *Kuroda (1965)* that the position of such elements... CHD 207,19
13. ...and /I/ had been summoned by *the man next door but one* for having a ferocious dog at large... JT 22,35
14. Now draw yourself up like men and help me as you are bound by *Heaven* to do. MC 318,11

In 14 the semantic content of the infinitive *to do* is context-dependent, because derivable from the notion expressed by *help*, and consequently belonging to the thematic section of the sentence. As derivable, it cannot exceed the underivable A<sub>sag</sub> in CD; the A<sub>sag</sub> *by Heaven* is rheme proper of the sentence.

In 12 and 13 the A<sub>sag</sub> are exceeded in CD by the following sentence elements (a subject clause in 12, an adverbial of cause in 13); these elements function as rheme proper, but the A<sub>sag</sub> remain within the rhematic sections of their sentences.

We are now in a position to answer the third question, concerning the position of the A<sub>sag</sub> in the system of FSP. The analysis of the corpus leads to the following conclusions.

Both in English and in Czech the  $A_{ag}$  becomes thematic if context-dependent. The number of context-dependent  $A_{ag}$ , however, is comparatively very small. As for the context-independent  $A_{ag}$ , they are all rhematic, the overwhelming majority of them even serving as rheme proper. It is worth noticing that not a single  $A_{ag}$  occurs initially in the corpus. This bears out both the English and the Czech tendency to express the thematic agent by the grammatical subject placed initially, as well as the tendency to express the non-thematic agent by an element — the  $A_{ag}$  in English and the subject in Czech — shifted towards the end of the sentence. The possibility in Czech of placing the rhematic subject in the end position lowers the frequency of the Czech  $A_{ag}$ .

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## O PŘÍSLOVEČNÝCH URČENÍCH PŮVODCE DĚJE V ANGLIČTINĚ A ČEŠTINĚ

Článek zkoumá příslovečná určení původce děje (= PUPD) vyskytující se s finitním pasivním slovesem a vyjádřená substantivem (v angličtině s předložkou *by* nebo *with*).

První část se zabývá frekvencí anglického PUPD ve třech funkčních stylech: ve vědecké literatuře, ve vypravěčské próze a v dialogích. Nejvyšší frekvence PUPD byla zjištěna u věd. literatury, téměř 5× nižší u vyprav. prózy a asi 7× nižší u dialogů. Nejčastější výskyt PUPD ve věd. literatuře prokázaly i české překlady anglických vět s pasivem a PUPD: překlady z věd. lit. užily stejné konstrukce v 66 %, z vyprav. prózy v 21 % a z dialogů jen v 15,38 %.

Ve druhé části článku se pojednává o PUPD v systému FPV. V angličtině i češtině se PUPD stává tematickým, jestliže je kontextově zapojené; kontextově nezapojená PUPD jsou rematická a ve zkoumaném materiálu tvoří naprostou většinu. Rematickými zůstávají i tehdy, když se z poslední (nejčastější) větné pozice přesunou do pozice předposlední; počáteční pozici nezaujímá žádné PUPD. Rematickosti a koncové postavení jsou nejvlastnější charakteristiky angl. i českého PUPD ve všech funkčních stylech. Frekvenci českého PUPD oproti anglickému snižuje možnost češtiny vyjádřit rematického původce děje podmětem umístěným na konci věty.