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ON POSITION AND FUNCTION OF ENGLISH LOCAL AND TEMPORAL ADVERBIALS

Eva Horová

I

The present paper is a modest contribution to the word-order studies pursued at the English Department of the Brno Faculty of Philosophy. In principle, it adopts the approach developed by Czechoslovak Anglicists, in particular by Vilém Mathesius and Jan Firbas.¹ Its aim is to analyse sentences containing (at least) one adverbial² of place plus (at least) one adverbial of time and to examine the relations of these elements to each other as well as to other sentence elements; the analysis is undertaken in regard to the interplay of the word-order principles determining the positions of the adverbials of place and time; constant attention is paid to the functions performed by these elements in the very act of communication.

As Vilém Mathesius has shown,³ a highly operative method of research into w-o systems is that of analytical comparison of two different languages. In the present paper, two variants of comparison have been applied: (a) comparing original E and Cz sentences,⁴ (b) comparing original sentences with their Cz/E translations. The number of sentences analysed totals 2242 (677 E original sentences, 444 E translations, 444 Cz original sentences, 677 Cz translations). All the material has been drawn from prose.⁵

In the first stage of the analysis, sentences have been classified according to w-o positions occupied by P and T (see Table I). Sentences containing other

¹ See References.

² The term "adverbial" is used here to denote any type of adverbial element (word, phrase, or clause).

³ Quoted by Firbas (1964. 123).

⁴ For a list of abbreviations see p. 121.

⁵ Galsworthy, John (1948). *The Forsyte Saga* (London).

Galsworthy, John (1967). *Sága rodu Forsytů*. Přeložil Zdeněk Urbánek (Praha).

Mansfield, Katherine (1948). *Collected Stories* (London).

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Čapek, Karel (1968). *Krakatit* (Praha).

Čapek, Karel (1948). *An Atomic Phantasy*. *Krakatit*. Translated by Lawrence Hyde (London).

Otčenášek, Jan (1967). *Romeo, Julie a tma* (Praha).

Otčenášek, Jan (1968). *Romeo and Juliet and the Darkness*. English translation by Iris Urwin (Prague).

Abbreviations: JG, ZU, KM, AS, KČ, LH, JO, IU.

TABLE I
WORD-ORDER TYPES IN E/CZ SENTENCES

Type	Word-order	English			Czech			Type	English examples
		orig.	tr.	all	orig.	tr.	all		
I	Time—SV(O)—Place	189	150	339	155	206	361	I	After tea Kezia wandered back to their own house. (KM 14.5)
II	Place—SV(O)—Time	14	2	16	4	10	14	II	At the station he had to wait an hour and a half. (LH 29.28)
III	SV(O)—Place—Time	284	66	350	17	41	58	III	he nearly broke the bank at Monte Carlo afterwards. (JG 56.1)
IV	SV(O)—Time—Place	68	22	90	60	89	149	IV	I'm going tomorrow to the Piedmont Hotel (JG 539.9)
V	Time—Place—SV(O)	16	5	21	52	30	82	V	and late at night in the dining room (...) he composed the following: (JG 173.24)
VI	Place—Time—SV(O)	3	2	5	15	19	34	VI	Round about him now were fields of gold and silver flowers (JG 370.4)
A	Time—V—Place—S	—	4	4	38	18	56	A	But at this point there appeared on the road a squadron of cavalry with drawn sabres. (LH 126.2)
B	Place—V—Time—S	4	2	6	3	6	9	B	but down that cooler air came always the warm odour of the limes (JG 213.6)
C	Time—(S)V—Place—O	5	8	13	14	13	27	C	Still (...) they tasted on their smiling lips the sweet shock of their greeting. (KM 111.15)
D	Place—(S)V—Time—O	1	1	2	—	2	2	D	Under a tree opposite Knightsbridge Barracks (...) he took out once more the morocco case (JG 540.32)
E	Time—S(V ₁)—Place—V ₍₂₎ (O)	—	2	2	10	6	16	E	meanwhile Mr. Thomas, somewhere in Grottup, is trying to complete the preparation of Krakatit. (LH 269.24)
F	Place—S(V ₁)—Time—V ₍₂₎ (O)	5	1	6	2	6	8	F	And in the street he instantly forgot them. (JG 420.21)
G	S(V ₁)—Time—V ₍₂₎ (O)—Place	58	15	73	25	45	70	G	we always stay in the kitchen, (KM 42.35)
H	S(V ₁)—Place—V ₍₂₎ (O)—Time	—	—	—	1	8	9	H	(No English example has been found.)
More Ps/Ts	(various w—o)	29	25	54	21	29	50	More Ps/Ts	And now, close to the swing, no-longer-young Jolyon often painted there. (JG 527.26)
Extra	(various w—o)	1	4	5	27	44	71	Extra	— too few, even now, of those about him! (JG 357.29)
non-PT	(various w—o, P/T omitted)	—	185	195	—	105	105	non-PT	(P/T omitted)
Total		677	444	1 121	444	677	1 121		

adverbials (OA) in addition to P and T are recorded as special groups within the basic w-o types and will be treated separately elsewhere. For the purpose of the suggested classification every sentence is divided simply into the following parts: subject (S), verb (V), object (O), adverbial of place (P), adverbial of time (T), other adverbial if any (OA). Each of these elements, no matter whether simple or complex, is regarded as a whole. As Table I shows, the corpus has been divided into 16 w-o types. In the six basic w-o types listed under I—VI, the S, V and O remain contiguous, not being interrupted by any other (i.e. adverbial) element. Sentence types in which an adverbial occurs within the SVO group, separating its elements from each other, are denoted by A—H. The remaining sentences either contain more than 1 P + 1 T (labelled “MORE Ps/Ts” in the tables) or display a special, so to speak, “irregular” w-o (labelled “EXTRA”). Needless to say, the above division is only one of the possible ways of classifying the examined corpus; it has developed during the inquiry almost automatically and has proved to be most convenient.

As Table I shows, P and T may adopt one of the following relations to each other:

- (1) they occur in contiguous positions (types III, IV, V, VI; 466 E sentences)
 - (a) more frequently in the sequence PT (355 E sentences),
 - (b) less frequently in the sequence TP (111 E sentences);
- (2) they are separated by one or more other sentence elements (all the remaining types; 655 E sentences).

It may be safely assumed that the different positions of the adverbials in the E sentence result from a complex interplay of w-o principles, especially the grammatical principle and that of functional sentence perspective (FSP). Word order is of course only one means of FSP, which is signalled also by other means. Speaking of the FSP w-o principle I have in mind the signalling of degrees of communicative dynamism (CD) by means of word order. All the listed w-o types have been examined from this point of view.

The verb will be the starting point of the investigation since it plays a decisive role in determining both the dispensability or indispensability and the type of the adverbial. As can be seen from Table II, the verbs occurring in the examined sentences have been classified as follows:

- (1) intransitive (objectless) verbs:
 - (a) verbs of motion (Mo),
 - (b) verbs of existence or “appearance on the scene” (E/A),
 - (c) other intransitive verbs (OI);
- (2) transitive (object) verbs (Tv).⁶

⁶ In Halliday's systemic description the traditional labels “transitive/intransitive” are replaced by informal semantic terms “directed/non-directed action”; Halliday's system, however, “is merely an extension of the basic principle of syntactic classification involved in the familiar concepts of ‘transitive and intransitive verbs’.” (1967.52). Two remarks to Table II: (a) As a semantic criterion we do not apply the mere explicit meaning of an isolated verb but the particular semantic role the verb plays in the context. Thus, e.g., some intransitive verbs denoting various types of activities may in fact introduce persons/things on the scene or above all inform us of their presence; some other verbs may carry an implicit meaning of motion (e.g. to look—somewhere). (b) The group of transitive verbs includes fixed constructions requiring local specifications such as “to put s. th. somewhere”; in Table IV, their totals are put in brackets.

The majority of the Type I sentences contain Mo verbs, the second most numerous group containing E/A verbs (see Table II). These two categories of verb are alike in requiring an amplification: an adverbial expressing the goal/direction of the motion, or one expressing the place of existence/appearance. If such an amplifying P conveys new, unknown information, it contributes most towards the development of the discourse; it functions as rheme proper (Rhp). This is the chief characteristic of the a-variant of Type I:

Ia: P = Rhp (or: T SV(O)P)

S is thematic, contextually dependent; V functions as transition (Tr); the initial T may be characterized as follows:

(1) T may be contextually dependent. If so, the amount of its CD is sometimes so slight that T merely serves to arrange the presented facts in a temporal sequence within the discourse:

1 ¹² ¹¹ ²⁰ ³⁰ ¹² ¹¹ ²⁰ ³⁰ ¹²
First she went to the grocer's (...) and then she went to the butcher's (...) and then
¹¹ ²⁰ ³⁰ KM 166.8-11
she went to the fruit shop

(2) T may be contextually independent, conveying new information, but contributing comparatively little to the further development of the discourse; it may be regarded as a "temporal setting" of the action:

2 ¹² ¹¹ ²⁰ ³⁰ KM 163.33
One evening he was sitting at the side window

(3) T may be contextually independent and communicatively important, giving the definite (exact) time, such as the date, hour, duration, definite frequency,⁷ of the action:

3 ¹² ¹¹ ²⁰ ³⁰ JG 490.21
Three times he went to his picture gallery

4 ¹² ¹¹ ²⁰ ³⁰ JG 236.19
At three o'clock she was in Lowndes Square

It may be assumed that the semantic content of such Ts, the expression of quantity, predetermines their function as essential temporal specifications. For this reason, they are moved to the beginning of the sentence; with T_{3/4} at the end, the sentences might allow of double contextual applicability:

- He went to his picture gallery **three times**.
- She was in Lowndes Square **at three o'clock**.

The said shift of a semantically important "quantifying" T away from end-position suggests some influence of the tendency towards basic distribution of communicative dynamism (BDCD) or demonstrates a certain degree of susceptibility to it.

For sentences containing other intransitive verbs, the numerical indices

¹² ¹¹ ²⁰ ³⁰
T S V P have to be slightly modified. OI verbs are both grammatically

⁷ Such adverbials (e.g., *once, twice, three times, etc.*) have to be distinguished from the so-called "frequency adverbs" giving indefinite information (e.g., *seldom, often, sometimes, etc.*).

TABLE II
CLASSIFICATION OF VERBS IN ORIGINAL SENTENCES

TYPE	TOTAL			INTRANSITIVE									TRANSITIVE			TYPE
				MOTION			EXIST./APP.			OTHER						
	E	CZ	all	E	CZ	all	E	CZ	all	E	CZ	all	E	CZ	all	
I	189	155	344	104	85	189	41	28	60	7	13	20	37	29(3)	66	I
II	14	4	18	1	—	1	8	2	10	—	2	2	5	—	5	II
III	284	17	301	119	11	130	107	5	112	10	1	11	48	—	48	III
IV	68	60	128	21	26	47	30	24	54	6	4	10	11	6(1)	17	IV
V	16	52	68	3	16	19	3	22	25	1	9	10	9	5	14	V
VI	3	15	18	1	2	3	2	7	9	—	3	3	—	3	3	VI
A	—	38	38	—	14	14	—	11	11	—	11	11	—	2	2	A
B	4	3	7	2	—	2	2	3	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	B
C	5	14	19	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	4	14	18	C
D	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	D
E	—	10	10	—	2	2	—	3	3	—	4	4	—	1	1	E
F	5	2	7	—	—	—	1	—	1	1	1	2	3	1	4	F
G	58	25	83	24	12	36	17	5	22	2	3	5	15	5	20	G
H	—	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	H
MORE Ps/Ts	29	21	50	11	10	21	10	7	17	2	2	4	6	2	8	MORE Ps/Ts
Extra	1	27	28	—	1	1	1	7	8	—	9	9	—	10(1)	10	EXTRA
TOTAL	677	444	1121	286	180	466	223	124	347	29	62	91	139	78	217	TOTAL

and semantically complete and can stand without an adverbial; if contextually independent, they may be regarded as Rh elements. The final P, however, expressing an essential local specification (ELSp), may still function as the communicatively most dynamic element (see 5).

5 ¹² ¹¹ ³¹ ³²
Two years later he died in Africa LH 187.2

In sentences containing Tv verbs, the kind of FSP depends, to a great extent, on the role played by O in the FSP. A contextually independent O is likely to convey a higher amount of CD than P does and to function as Rhp; this case does not come under the heading of the a-variant and will be discussed later on. As 6 demonstrates, on the other hand, O may be thematized by the context. Under the circumstances, P = Rhp (provided it conveys new information and expresses an ELSp); the CD of P may be increased, in addition, by the inherent semantic weakness of the verb, which cannot convey any definite message unless accompanied by some nominal element(s) (here: "to put s.th./s.o. somewhere").

6 ¹³ ¹¹ ²⁰ ¹² ³⁰
After the ice-cream I shall put you into a cab KM 187.2

But even if O is contextually independent, the SVO group, although grammatically complete, may be found semantically incomplete; thus in 7 the phrase "R. had spent a weekend" apparently requires a local specification (or one denoting manner) answering the question "where?" (or "how?"). Under the circumstances, P = Rhp, provided P conveys new information:

7 ¹² ¹¹ ²¹ ²² ³⁰
A few months ago Reginald had spent a weekend in a very aristocratic family KM 146.29

In 8 (given below), the SVO group is complete both grammatically and semantically; for all that, the amount of CD conveyed by O is surpassed by that conveyed by P: the action (the playing of games) is situated in a place set in contrast with another place in the context.

8 ¹² ¹¹ ²⁰ ³¹ ³²
After that they played clean, tidy games up at the table,
(while Nurse stood at the door...) KM 157.3

N.B. The basic semantic characteristics displayed by the verbs occurring in Ia sentences may also be found in other w-o types; for this reason, we shall not return to a detailed characterization of verbs in connection with each type.

Ib: T = Rhp (or: TSV(O) P; TV_{aux}SV(O) P)

The number of Ib sentences found in the corpus is small (E 9 : 3 orig. + 6 transl.); they are sentences displaying deviations from the grammatical w-o and from the ordinary instance levels.⁸ The deviation from SVOMPT evidently causes an emotive colouring of these sentences. Inversion occurs in most of them (see 9); only two of them display the direct w-o (see 10).

9 ³⁰ ²¹ ¹¹ ²² ¹²
Never again would he sleep in his dining room JG 425.13

10 ³⁰ ¹¹ ²¹ ²² ¹²
God knows how often he had finished off the Wehrmacht on that very table. IU 71.13

⁸ See Firbas (1959b.51-4).

The Ic-variant

In general, for all the w-o types, the heading "c-variant" is used to denote the kind of FSP in which Rhp is expressed by one of the SVO elements. Thus Ic stands for c-variant of Type I, IIc stands for c-variant of Type II, etc. Three subvariants are distinguished:

c_1 (S = Rhp), c_2 (V = Rhp), c_3 (O = Rhp).

Ic₁: S = Rhp (or: TSV(O) P; TV_{aux}SV(O) P)

The "novelty" of S is usually signalled by the non-generic indefinite article (or its plural zero variant) or by an indefinite pronoun. Sentences containing E/A verbs may display inversion; as a rule they have the formal subject "there". P is communicatively less dynamic, either owing to its semantic content (P = local setting) or to its dependence on the context. The same may be said about T (which, in this sense, does not differ from the T of the Ia-variant).

11 ¹² ¹¹ ²⁰ ³⁰ ¹³ KM 579.24
That night there was a hue and cry over the house.

12 ¹¹ ³⁰ ²⁰
*At those last words something strange and almost terrifying darted into Bertha's
mind.* ¹² KM 103.23

It must be remembered, however, that the definite article cannot prevent S from becoming Rhp, although it indicates some degree of familiarity.⁹ The same holds good for proper names and names of family members. Thus two formally identical structures (see 13, 14) can display two different kinds of contextual dependence and, consequently, two different kinds of FSP (which can easily be checked against the Cz translations):¹⁰

13 ¹² ³⁰ ²⁰ ¹¹ KM580.10
Then father came into the room
A tu přišel do pokoje tatínek AS 210.21
[And then he-came into room father]

14 ¹² ¹¹ ²⁰ ³⁰ KM 579.26
Finally mother came into the nursery.
Nakonec přišla maminka do dětského pokoje. AS 210.2
[Finally she-came mother into children's room]

Ic₂: V = Rhp (or: T SV(O) P)

The verb tends to be a transitional element; its communicative value represents an inherent precondition for nominal elements to become Rhp. Under special circumstances only (e.g., the absence of an essential amplificative element, the thematization of such an element, the presence of special rhematizing means,¹¹ etc.) the verb expresses Rhp. In 15, given below, the Es&P element (P) is thematized by its dependence on the context:

⁹ See Firbas (1966.246) about the "narrow scene".

¹⁰ For the benefit of the readers who may not be familiar with Czech, I am adding "literal" English translations.

¹¹ See Firbas (1959b).

[*On Tuesdays he journeyed up to town by train; ...*]¹² *On Thursdays he drove to town*^{13 11 30 12}
 JG 396.2

Ic₃: O = Rhp (or: T SV(O) P)

O becomes Rhp provided it gives new information; this may be signalled by the indefinite article (or its plural zero variant) or by an indefinite pronoun. The degree of CD conveyed by each of the adverbials is low, either because P/T expresses a mere local/temporal setting, or through the operation of the context.

- 16 *And after supper*¹² (...) *I shall put some wood*²⁰ *on the fire*³⁰ ¹³ KM 626.25
- 17 *Then she heard voices in the passage.*^{12 11 20 30 13} KM 191.3

The grammatical construction, putting P at the end of the sentence, may render the interplay of FSP means less distinct; then the writer may use punctuation marks and suggest the prosodic means operating in spoken language, viz. intonation, stress and pauses. In 18 (given below), the dash evidently indicates a pause before the communicatively most dynamic element, the comma assisting in underlining its prosodic prominence:

- 18 *And then I met — Mr. Farr, at a dance.*^{12 11 20 32 31} KM 600.3

The above tentative interpretation understands O as Rhp₁ (being “known” from the context but “new” from the point of view of the “narrow scene”) and P as Rhp₂ (a local specification but communicatively somewhat less important). Without the aid of punctuation—

● And then I met Mr. Farr at a dance—the sentence would admit of two interpretations of its FSP. According to the second interpretation, O might be understood as a Th element, P as the only Rhp.

Type II: Place——SV(O)——Time

The front-position of P is a deviation from the SVOMPT rule; Type II sentences occur comparatively rarely in the corpus (see Table III).

Iia: P = Rhp (or: P SV(O) T)

This variant displays emotive colouring. The interplay of FSP means operates counter to the BDCD:

- 19 [*I want to get a tram to the Hauptbahnhof, ...*]
There — there's one now^{30 20 11 12} KM 188.33

Iib: T = Rhp (or: P SV(O) I)

The FSP means operate in the same direction as the tendency towards the BDCD. The final T expresses an essential temporal specification (e.g., “how long?”, “how often?”):

- 20 *There I had been for all eternity.*^{12 11 20 30} KM 64.14

The c-variant was characterized in connection with Type I; it may be sufficient, therefore, to adduce examples (see below).

¹² The sentence within the square brackets represents the preceding context.

TABLE III

FREQUENCY OF WORD-ORDER TYPES IN ENGLISH SENTENCES

Type	E Original			E Translated			Total	Order of Frequency		
	JG	KM	all	LH	IU	all		orig.	tr.	all
I	81	108	189	113	37	150	339	2nd	1st	2nd
II	8	6	14	2	—	2	16	7th	9th	7th
III	142	142	284	30	36	66	350	1st	2nd	1st
IV	60	8	68	16	6	22	90	3rd	4th	3rd
V	9	7	16	5	—	5	21	6th	7th	6th
VI	3	—	3	2	—	2	5	10th	9th	10th
A	—	—	—	4	—	4	4	12th	8th	11th
B	3	1	4	2	—	2	6	9th	9th	9th
C	4	1	5	6	2	8	13	8th	6th	8th
D	1	—	1	1	—	1	2	11th	10th	12th
E	—	—	—	2	—	2	2	12th	9th	12th
F	5	—	5	1	—	1	6	8th	10th	9th
G	43	15	58	12	3	15	73	4th	5th	4th
H	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12th	12th	13th
More	22	7	29	19	6	25	54	5th	3rd	5th
Ps/Ts	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Extra	1	—	1	4	—	4	5	11th	8th	10th
non-PT	xx	xx	xx	81	54	135	135	xx	(1st _a)	(2nd _a)
Total	382	295	677	300	144	444	1,121	xx	xx	xx

IIc₁: S = Rhp (or: P SV T)

N. B. In this case, the sign "O" has been omitted because the IIc₁ sentences found in the corpus only contain intransitive (objectless) verbs.

21 ¹¹ *In the sky some tiny stars floated for a moment.* ³⁰ ²⁰ ¹² KM 24.5

IIc₂: V = Rhp (or: P SV(O) T)

22 ¹² ¹¹ ²⁰ ¹³ ³⁰
In this laudable mood and the Place de la Concorde he was nearly run down three times. JG 638.30

IIc₃: O = Rhp (or: P SVO T)

23 ¹²
Down here — away from the exigencies of affairs — his grandchildren and the flowers, trees, (...), said "Open sesame" to him day and night. ¹³ ²⁰ ³⁰ ¹¹ ¹⁴ JG 357.1

Type III: SV(O) — Place — Time

This w-o type is the most frequent in the E part of the corpus (350 of the 1121 E sentences); it is most closely related to the basic w-o rule (SVOMPT) imposed on the English sentence by the grammatical w-o principle. We employ the same symbols as before to denote the kinds of FSP.

IIIa: P = Rhp (or: SV(O) PT)

The most frequent FSP of the a-variant of Type III may be described as follows: The curve of CD rises from the thematic S to the transitional V (a Mo verb or an E/A verb) and up to the rhematic P; then it falls abruptly before the end of the sentence occupied by T. There is a striking difference between the communicative value of P and that of T: P is an essential local specification of V, contextually independent, whereas T is a mere temporal setting, often dedynamized even through the operation of the context.

24 ¹¹ ²⁰ ³⁰ ¹²
You would drift into the café one evening KM 161.4

In sentences containing Tv verbs, the CD curve either sinks with a pronominal O (see 25) or slightly rises with a non-pronominal O (see 26); but the characteristic fall from Rhp to Th at the end of the sentence remains the same.

25 ¹¹ ²⁰ ¹² ³⁰ ¹³
so I have put them in here for the time being. KM 30.7

26 ¹¹ ²¹ ²² ³⁰ ¹²
I'm going to say my prayers in bed to-night. KM 22.1

On the other hand, we can give examples in which not only P but also T conveys new and communicatively important information. Even then, however, such a T is communicatively less dynamic within the entire sentence than the (contextually independent) P accompanying a Mo verb or an E/A verb:

27 ¹¹ ²⁰ ³⁰ ¹²
We go into camp on Monday. JG 598.22

28 ¹¹ ²⁰ ³⁰ ¹²
that the girls are at school all day. KM 550.30

It would seem that it is the "degree of exactness" that plays an important role in the distribution of CD between the two contiguous adverbials (provided both of them are contextually independent). If we modified the two Ts in 27 and 28 by adding more exact information

- We go into camp on Monday, 20th October
- that the girls are at school from 8 a.m. till 4 p.m.

the sentences would most probably leave the sphere of the a-variant (P = Rhp). We shall return to this problem in connection with the b-variant.

IIIb: T = Rhp (or: SV(O) PT)

First of all we shall examine sentences containing a contextually dependent P. In comparison with the IIIa-variant, the CD line turns in the opposite direction at the end of the sentence: instead of the sudden fall from Rhp to Th there is a sudden rise from Th to Rhp, provided T gives a new piece of information indicating some definite (specified) time (date, hour, etc.), duration, or frequency of the action:

29 ¹¹ ²¹ ¹² ²² ¹³ ³⁰
We've all been waiting here for more than an hour. KM 124.18

30 ¹¹ ²⁰ ¹² ³⁰
He was at the station far too early. KM 612.3

IIIa: 11—20—

30	—	12
----	---	----

 S V P T

IIIb: 11—20—

12	—	30
----	---	----

The "exchange of functions" between P and T is quite unambiguous if the amount of CD conveyed by one of the adverbials is slight so that its highly dynamic neighbour, so to speak, "gets the upper hand". There are sentences, however, in which both P and T give new, semantically important, specifying information. Generally speaking, a contextually independent P is not easily equalled or even surpassed in communicative dynamism by T. In the sentences discussed here, T is equivalent to P in regard to the semantic feature of "high degree of exactness" (a certain quantity being expressed as a rule). Moreover, T intensifies or specifies the information conveyed by the two foregoing elements (V, P). Thus the entire adverbial section may be interpreted as rhematic (see 31).¹³

31 ²⁰ ¹⁰ ³¹ ³²
Parted from 17 in Louvre Gallery at 3.30 JG 616.1

The communicative equivalence of the two contiguous adverbials sometimes makes it difficult to indicate which of them is more important. This fact seems to be borne out by w-o differences occurring in the Cz translations. In some

of the translated Cz sentences the order

31	32
P	T

 is employed in the same way

as in the E original; in others, however, the sequence is reverse:

31	32
T	P

 (see 32, 33).

32 *Meet me outside the gallery doors at three* KM 615.29
 Počkej na mne ve tři u vchodu na galerii AS 240.19
 [Wait for me at three near entrance to gallery]

33 *The "good old" Queen (...) had emerged from her seclusion for the last time*
 JG 689.18
 "*Dobrá stará*" *královna (...) vynořila se naposled ze své odloučenosti* ZU 538.18
 ["*Good old*" *Queen (...) emerged herself for-the-last-time from her seclusion*]

Apparently, the E writer prefers the sequence

31/32	32/31
P	T

, the Cz translator, more often than not, employs the reverse order, i.e. TP. This also holds good vice versa: to translate a Cz sentence containing two contiguous essential specifications in the order of TP, the English translator as a rule employs the w-o more common in English, viz. PT (see 34).

34 *Za pětadvacet minut na Brogel a zpátky.* KČ 201.4
 [In thirty-five minutes to Brogel and back.]
 To Brogel and back in thirty-five minutes. LH 241.22

¹³ A sentence with an ellipted subject. In full, it would read: 14 [standing for young Jolyon—E. H.] parted from 17 [standing for Irene] in Louvre Gallery at 3.30.

IIIc: S / (V) / O = Rhp

The c-variant of Type III occurs in circumstances similar to those under which the c-variant appears in sentences of other basic w-o types (see the comment on the Ic-variant). P and T are contextually dependent and/or semantically weak ("settings"). P is communicatively somewhat more dynamic than T.

IIIc₁: S = Rhp (or: SV(O) P T); in inversion S₁VS₂ P T)

35 ¹¹ ²⁰ ³⁰ ¹³ ¹² JG 405.13
There 's a man in the moon to-night

IIIc₂: V = Rhp (or: SV(O) P T)

36 ¹¹ ³⁰ ¹³ ¹² KM 201.10
if I don't escape from you for a minute

IIIc₃: O = Rhp (or: SVOP T)

37 ¹¹ ²⁰ ³⁰ ¹³ ¹² JG 396.6
that he had business in London on those two days.

Type IV: SV(O)——Time——Place

The Type IV order of the two adverbials is a deviation from the usual fixed PT sequence. To answer the question as to why such a deviation occurs, we must consider the entire English system of w-o principles including (in addition to the principle of FSP and the grammatical principle) also the emotive and the rhythmical principles.

The high frequency of what we have termed the IVa-variant (P = Rhp, occurring in 76 of the 90 English Type IV sentences) may even in this type be accounted for by the high frequency of Mo verbs and E/A verbs; the shift of PT→TP is, of course, no necessary condition of the discussed FSP and has to be accounted for by other relations. Let us examine all the variants of FSP.

IVa: P = Rhp (or: SV(O) T P)

T is thematic, being contextually dependent and/or expressing a mere temporal setting of the action. Under the circumstances, a contextually independent P giving important specifying information easily "gets the upper hand"; its Rh function would not change, even if its w-o position were to change. It follows that the TP sequence may be co-determined by other principles that do not interfere with that of FSP.

(1) The shift of P from one of its unmarked positions to the end of the sentence may be due to the operation of the emotive and/or the rhythmical principles. In 38 (given below), the semantically weak and rhythmically light T isolates, as it were, the final rhematic P; the emphasis laid on P is thus intensified:

38 ²⁰ ¹⁰ ³⁰ JG 36,12
[June's not here, . . .]: went off to-day on a visit.

A stylistic effect may also be achieved if both the initial and the final elements are emphasized. Thus in 39 the P "to good, solid wives" was shifted from the unmarked last-but-one position to the very end after the "temporal setting"

in order to form an emphatic counterpart to the initial S of the principal clause ("good, solid men"); the irony of the characterization is thus intensified:

39 [good, solid men, who came to the City every day]

and went back in the evening to good, solid wives JG 165.27

Even in sentences without a special stylistic intention, a rhythmically light, short T is often shifted from end-position, which is taken up by P (see 40).

40 Jolly was then at Harrow; JG 457.1

(2) The shift of PT → TP (in postverbal positions) often occurs:

(a) if P is represented by a subordinate clause (see 41),

(b) if P is very long, amplified by an attribute, a subordinate adverbial, or by a clause (see 42).

In both cases, the PT order might interrupt the sentence context and distort the meaning.

41 I should like to take you down with me tomorrow to where he lives. JG 438.14

42 He had stared for a little

JG 442.12

at the outside — painted a good cream colour, with two peacock-blue tubs containing little bay-trees in a recessed doorway — and at the words "Restaurant Bretagne" above them in gold letters

In such sentences, T can neither stand at the end, nor be inserted between P proper and its amplificative elements because it would destroy their coherence and form an undesirable sequence. A suitable position for T (at least for some types of T) might be at the very beginning. If, however, the beginning is not "free", having been taken up by another sentence element, the only possible position for T is immediately before P:

43 ... they went after dinner to the public terrace overlooking the river. JG 212.15

Cf. * they went to the public terrace overlooking the river after dinner.

* they went to the public terrace after dinner overlooking the river.

44 Thus had passed Montague Dartie in the forty-fifth year of his age

from the house which he had called his own. JG 426.30

Cf. * Thus had passed M. D. from the house which he had called his own in the forty-fifth year of his age.

(3) In sentences discussed under (1) and (2), the functional superiority of P is not impaired by T, no matter what position T may occupy. If, however, T conveys a considerably high amount of CD, perhaps even one equivalent to that conveyed by P (e.g. specifying a point of time, or the duration or frequency of an action), the two adverbials stand in their reverse, "non-SVOMPT" position just to prevent T from being understood as Rhp. Sentences of the examined structure display similar relations as some Type III sentences (see the IIIb-variant): the two contiguous adverbials are contextually independent, expressing essential (local/temporal) specifications; in written language (not employing prosodic FSP means) it is the w-o position that may indicate

which adverbial is to be interpreted as communicatively the most dynamic (see 45).

45 ¹¹ ²⁰ ¹² ³¹ ³²
He left her two hours later at the Richmond Hill Gate. JG 655.1

Cf. ● ¹¹ ²⁰ ¹² ³¹ ³²
He left her at the Richmond Hill Gate two hours later.

IVb: T = Rhp (or: SV(O) T P)

True enough, it is quite usual to find Rhp standing last but one within an English sentence; it is, however, less usual to find a T functioning as Rhp in this position (see Table IV). In addition to the emotive principle, which may be connected with the shift of PT→TP, it is the semantic content that appears to raise the CD of T; in the sentences examined, T is tinged with the additional meaning of degree, evaluation, or manner (see 46, 47). The remaining non-verbal elements are contextually dependent.

46 ¹¹ ²⁰ ¹² ¹³ ³⁰ ¹⁴
I can make her one every day here. KM 34.4

47 ¹¹ ²⁰ ³⁰ ¹²
they were coming far more frequently to the Bower JG 184.2

IVc: S/V/O = Rhp

Under the same circumstances as those described in connection with Types I, II, III, a small group of c-variant sentences also comes under the heading of Type IV. Both P and T show a decrease in CD owing to their semantic weakness and/or through the operation of the context.

IVc₁: S = Rhp (or: SV(O) T P)

48 [*And Jolyon would wonder what the house would look like...*]
³⁰ ²¹ ²² ¹⁰
Wistaria was already about its walls JG 455.22

IVc₂: V = Rhp (or: SV(O) T P)

49 ³¹ ²⁰ ¹¹ ³² ¹² ¹⁴ ¹³
What did she do with herself evening after evening in that little hole? JG 540.21

IVc₃: O = Rhp (or: SVO T P)

50 ¹⁴ ²⁰ ³⁰ ¹¹ ¹³
A gentleman (...) has been paying marked attention to 17 during the last month in Paris. JG 615.4

Even if the two adverbials are thematic (see 49, 50), T is communicatively more dynamic than P¹⁴; apparently, the shift PT→TP is due to the tendency to make T equivalent to P by putting it in last-but-one position, which is very often reserved for Rhp in English sentences. Another condition for the shift may be found in the rhythmic value of P and T: if T is rhythmically heavier than P, the two adverbials change their positions.

¹⁴ It is technically impossible to quote a wider context with each example. In 47, "Paris" is known as the place where "17" (i.e. Irene) was staying; "a gentleman" appears on the scene for the first time.

TABLE IV
RHEME PROPER IN ENGLISH SENTENCES

TOTAL			TYPE	a-variant			b-variant			c ₁ -variant			c ₂ -variant			c ₃ -variant			OA = Rhp			TYPE
orig.	tr.	all		orig.	tr.	all	orig.	tr.	all	orig.	tr.	all	orig.	tr.	all	orig.	tr.	all	orig.	tr.	all	
189	150	339	I	136	97	233	3	6	9	11	26	37	10(1)	5	15	10	6	16	19	10	29	I
14	2	16	II	2	—	2	5	2	7	4	—	4	2	—	2	1	—	1	—	—	—	II
284	66	350	III	129	25	154	95	21	116	13	3	16	27(3)	12	39	7	1	8	14	4	18	III
68	22	90	IV	56	20	76	6	1	7	3	1	4	2	—	2	1	—	1	—	—	—	IV
16	5	21	V	2	—	2	—	—	—	4	3	7	—	2	2	9	—	9	1	—	1	V
3	2	5	VI	—	1	1	—	—	—	1	1	2	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	1	VI
—	4	4	A	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	A
4	2	6	B	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	2	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	B
5	8	13	C	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	7	12	—	—	—	C
1	1	2	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	2	—	—	—	D
—	2	2	E	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	E
5	1	6	F	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	3	—	3	2	—	2	—	—	—	F
68	15	73	G	20	11	31	16	1	17	4	—	4	9	—	9	4	2	6	5	1	6	G
—	—	—	H	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	H
29	25	54	MORE Ps/Ts	16	12	28	8	7	15	—	2	2	2(1)	2	4	—	1	1	3	—	3	MORE Ps/Ts
1	4	5	EXT.	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	2	2	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	—	EXTRA
xx	135	135	non-PT	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	non-PT (135)
677	444	1121	TOTAL	361	167	528	134	39	173	44	44	88	56	23	79	40	20	60	43	15	58	TOTAL (+ 135)

Type V: Time——Place——SV(O)

It is evident that this type deviates from the unmarked grammatical w-o to a greater extent than any of the types so far discussed. In contrast to all of them, it employs fewer Mo verbs and E/A verbs; Tv verbs outnumber the others (see Table II). It follows that the majority of Type V sentences come under the heading of the Vc₃-variant. As may be expected, there appears no change in the ratio of verbal categories in the Czech sentences.

Va: P = Rhp (or: T P SV(O))

Both in English and in Czech, the Va-variant sentences occur very seldom and their interpretation is not without problems. They are emotively coloured, placing strong emphasis on P. In 51 (given below), the relations within the context are not expressed quite distinctly and directly, but the following fragments seem to bear out the suggested interpretation:

- 51 [...she couldnot discover where exactly they were or what exactly was happening.
 (...) Again, they were conscious of the boundless, questioning dark.]
³¹ Again, ³² there ¹⁰ they ²⁰ were — KM 115.11

Apparently, the discussed kind of FSP must await further inquiry.

Vb: T = Rhp (not found in English sentences).

Vc: S/V/O = Rhp

Whether giving new information or information derivable from the context, T and P open the sentence and provide local and temporal settings for the action to be conveyed. As settings, P and T remain in the thematic sphere. Under the circumstances, one of the SVO elements is communicatively the most dynamic, irrespective of w-o position; in fact, the end-position merely emphasizes the Rh function of such an element.

Vc₁: S = Rhp (with inversion only: TPV_S or TPS₁VS₂)

- 52 ¹¹ Finally ¹² here ²⁰ was ³⁰ their objective, a little chapel... LH 62.13
 53 ¹² Suddenly ¹³ from the corridor ¹¹ there ²⁰ came ³⁰ a stamping of feet KM 177.32

Vc₂: V = Rhp (not found in English sentences).

Vc₃: O = Rhp (or: T P SV(O))

- 54 ¹² and late at night ¹³ in the dining room (...) ¹¹ he ²⁰ composed ³⁰ the following: JG 173.24

If occurring in connection with P, T tends to be communicatively less dynamic than P; in Type V, this tendency may be noticed even at the beginning of the sentence (see 52, 53, 54). If so, the TP order is in accordance with the English tendency to form a communicatively weak beginning of the sentence.

In connection with Type V, it may be of interest to confront English with Czech. Type V, contrary to Types I—IV, occurs far more frequently in Czech than it does in English (ratio 82:21). This is quite natural: in Czech, the discussed w-o is felt as normal, unmarked, in accordance with the leading w-o principle, implementing the tendency towards the BDCD; in English, on the other hand, the same w-o signals a deviation from the leading grammatical, SVOMPT

principle and becomes emphatic, emotive. For this reason, non-emotive Type V Czech sentences are seldom (three times only) translated into English with the same w-o. To interpret the given FSP, the translator either employs one of the more frequent, unmarked English w-o patterns, or omits some rhythmically light and semantically weak Czech adverbs (e.g. “*ted*” now, “*sem*” here, “*tu*” here, “*uz*” already, etc.) or, sometimes, chooses quite a different way of expression. A similar procedure is often employed in translating Czech sentences of other “non-SVOMPT” types, e.g. Type A.¹⁵ Those translated sentences which do not contain the two adverbials (P and T) are not examined in this paper, but their existence is taken into account because it points to tendencies different in English than in Czech. (In the tables, such sentences are listed as “non-PT”.)

Type VI: Place——Time——SV(0)

Type VI is another marked step away from SVOMPT (to “PTSV”); it only occurs exceptionally in E. The E examples found in the corpus show features similar to those mentioned in connection with Type V, namely a considerable influence of the emotive and rhythmical principles. As both P and T are contextually dependent and/or semantically weak, the Type VI sentences can only display what we have termed the c-variant of FSP; 55 and 56 demonstrate the subvariants c_1 (with inversion) and c_2 , respectively.

55 ¹² ¹¹ ²⁰ ³⁰
Round about him now were fields of gold and silver flowers JG 370.4

56
 [Out of my unowned loneliness you all came,]
¹³ ¹² ¹¹ ²⁰ ³¹ ³²
into it some day you will all return. JG 719.18

II

In the following section we shall analyse w-o patterns in which P or T stands within the SVO group. With one exception (Type G), all these patterns occur very seldom in the E part of the corpus (if they occur at all) because they represent considerable deviations from the leading grammatical w-o principle. They are frequently found in Czech, of course, as most of them are capable of fulfilling the requirements of the BDCD principle, which primarily determines Cz w-o.

Type A: Time——(S₁) V——Place——S₍₂₎

The final position, together with the Rh function, of S is a feature shared with Vc₁ sentences (see 53). Type A, relatively frequent in Czech, does not occur among original English sentences, but may be instanced by four E translations. In all of them, the shifting of S after P may be accounted for by the fact that S is considerably expanded (see 57).

¹⁵ Examples: *Teď tu budete bydlet* JO 27.30—You’re going to live here IU 31.8; *Občas tu drnkala kytara* JO 11.27—A guitar strummed IU 10.30; *Jednoho dne skončily v oktávě B maturitní písemky* JO 15.5—One day VIII B finished their written papers for Matric IU 15.26. For other remarks on the translations, see Conclusions, under (b).

Except for two Czech sentences containing Tv verbs, all the other Type A sentences (both Czech and English) contain Mo verbs or E/A verbs. It follows that P represents an ELSp in each of these sentences; it is, however, dedynamized through the operation of the context. T is either also contextually dependent, or else expresses a mere temporal setting. The only kind of FSP possible under these circumstances is the Ac₁-variant (S = Rhp).

57 *But at this point there appeared on the road a squadron of cavalry with drawn sabres.* LH 126.2

Type B: Place — (S₁) V — Time — S₍₂₎

Some of the basic characteristics of Type B are similar to those of Type A, i.e. inversion (with or without the formal S "there"), emphasis placed on the final S, absence of other than Mo and E/A verbs, and relatively slight amounts of CD conveyed by P and T. The only kind of FSP is the Bc₁-variant (S = Rhp).

58 *but down that cooler air came always the warm odour of the limes.* JG 213.6

Type C: Time — SV — Place — O

The only kind of FSP in Type C sentences is the Cc₃-variant (O = Rhp). The main reason for the w-o deviation from SVOMPT is, as a rule, the length of O (cf. similar reasons for the end-position of S in the A and B Types); almost each of the objects is either represented by an object clause (see 59) or accompanied by an attributive phrase or clause (see 60). The rule of proximity prevents P from being shifted very far from V.

59 *Recently he had heard somewhere that young Nicholas' eldest, very young Nicholas, had become a Volunteer.* JG 505.13

60 *At that moment Prokop was removing from a chair a little box containing some explosives.* LH 201.8

On the other hand, end-position may be necessary to corroborate the Rh function of a relatively short O placed after a very extensive P. In 61, the long P may be interpreted as a local setting and thus as a Th element, although it gives new (even very detailed) information. It appears, however, that this P could not function as a mere local setting if it were to take up its regular position after O (cf. the effect of regrouping in the adduced variant ●).

61 *at last she saw amongst the reliable Cause list of the Times newspaper, under the heading of Court XIII., Mr. Justice Bentham,* JG 326.7

the case Forsyte v. Bosinney.

amongst the reliable Cause list of the Times newspaper, under the heading of Court XIII., Mr. Justice Bentham.

The example adduced (see 61) appears to display a stylistic effect: the intentional "delaying" of the Rhp renders the aim of the action (O) more prominent.

Type D: Place—SV—Time—O

In spite of its low frequency in English (two sentences), this w-o type proves to be possible and capable of existence. The shift of O to the end may be accounted for in a way similar to that in connection with Type C: it puts O into prominence (see 62) or it is inevitable because of the extension of O (see 63).

62 Under a tree opposite Knightsbridge Barracks (. . .) he took out once more the morocco case JG 540.32

63 and about fifty paces behind them they could hear all the time LH 203.9

the sound of someone following them over the fallen leaves

Type E: Time—S(V₁)—Place—V₍₂₎/O

This w-o type is also very rare in English; almost all the Czech Type E sentences are translated into English by means of more usual, unmarked w-o patterns (see Table V). The Type E sentences display two variants of FSP: Ec₂ (V = Rhp, found in Czech only), Ec₃ (O = Rhp). The English translation shown in 64 observes the w-o of the Czech original; in fact, however, it presents P as a parenthetical element:

64 Zatím se pan Tomeš někde v Grottup pachtí dodělat Krakatit. KČ 223.23
 Meanwhile Mr. Thomas, somewhere in Grottup, is trying to complete the preparation of Krakatit. LH 269.24

Type F: Place—S(V₁)—Time—V₍₂₎/O

As with Type E, Type F also has a c₂-variant of FSP (V = Rhp, in sentences without O or with a contextually dependent O) and a c₃-variant (O = Rhp, provided O conveys new information). T is as a rule tinged with the additional meaning of degree, manner or frequency; such a modification of the semantic content raises the CD of the adverbial. The Ts occurring in Type F sentences are for the most part "adverbs of indefinite time" or "frequency adverbs". As the Type F sentences are too few to permit reliable general conclusions, we shall pay due attention to the said group of adverbs in connection with Type G.

Fc₂ : V=Rhp

65 And in the street he instantly forgot them. JG 420.21

TABLE V
W-O TYPES IN TRANSLATED ENGLISH SENTENCES

CZ Sentences			CZ Type	I			II			III			IV			V			VI		
KČ	JO	all		LH	IU	all	LH	IU	all	LH	IU	all	LH	IU	all	LH	IU	all	LH	IU	all
115	40	155	I	75	18	93	—	—	—	7	7	3	1	4	1	—	1	—	—	—	
3	1	4	II	—	—	—	2	—	2	1	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
9	8	17	III	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	4	10	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
33	27	60	IV	6	4	10	—	—	—	8	9	17	9	2	11	—	—	—	—	—	
36	16	52	V	10	6	16	—	—	—	1	4	5	—	1	1	3	—	3	2	2	
9	6	15	VI	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	1	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	
28	10	38	A	15	6	21	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
3	—	3	B	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
9	5	14	C	3	1	4	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
—	—	—	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
8	2	10	E	2	1	3	—	—	—	1	1	2	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	
1	1	2	F	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
14	11	25	G	—	1	1	—	—	—	5	4	9	2	1	3	—	—	—	—	—	
—	1	1	H	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
15	6	21	More Ps/Ts	2	—	2	—	—	—	3	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
17	10	27	Extra	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	4	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
300	144	444	Total	113	37	150	2	—	2	30	36	66	16	6	22	5	—	5	2	—	2

(continued on p. 113)

W-O types in Translated English Sentences

CZ Sentences			CZ Type	A			B			C			D			E			F		
KČ	JO	all		LH	IU	all	LH	IU	all	LH	IU	all	LH	IU	all	LH	IU	all	LH	IU	all
115	40	155	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3	1	4	II	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
9	8	17	III	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
33	27	60	IV	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
36	16	52	V	2	—	2	—	—	—	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
9	6	15	VI	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
28	10	38	A	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3	—	3	B	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
9	5	14	C	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	1	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
8	2	10	E	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—
1	1	2	F	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—
14	11	25	G	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	1	1	H	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
15	6	21	More Ps/TS	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
17	10	27	Extra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—
300	144	444	Total	4	—	4	2	—	2	6	2	8	1	—	1	2	—	2	1	—	1

(continued on p. 114)

W-O Types in Translated English Sentences

CZ Sentences			CZ Type	G			More Ps/Ts			Extra			non-PT			Total		
KČ	JO	all		LH	IU	all	LH	IU	all	LH	IU	all	LH	IU	all	LH	IU	all
115	40	155	I	5	—	5	8	1	9	—	—	—	23	12	35	115	40	155
3	1	4	II	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	1	4
9	8	17	III	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	4	6	9	8	17
33	27	60	IV	2	2	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	10	18	33	27	60
36	16	52	V	1	—	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	14	5	19	36	16	52
9	6	15	VI	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	4	10	9	6	15
28	10	38	A	—	—	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	9	4	13	28	10	38
3	—	3	B	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2	3	—	3
9	5	14	C	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	4	9	5	14
—	—	—	D	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
8	2	10	E	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	2	—	2	8	2	10
1	1	2	F	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	1	2
14	11	25	G	2	1	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	4	9	14	11	25
—	1	1	H	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	1	1
15	6	21	More Ps/Ts	—	—	—	7	5	12	—	—	—	2	1	3	15	6	21
17	10	27	Extra	1	—	1	1	—	1	3	—	3	6	6	12	17	10	27
300	144	444	Total	12	3	15	19	6	25	4	—	4	81	54	135	300	144	444

But in his study he still had ^{12 11 31 20} "Dutch Fishing Boats at Sunset". ³⁰ JG 364.30

Type G: S(V₁)——Time——V₍₂₎(O)——Place

Type G occupies a special position among the "split-SVO" types denoted A—H, in which P or T stands between the SVO elements. In contrast to the others, Type G occurs very frequently in English (73 E sentences). This relatively high number is due to the fact that the position of T expressing indefinite time or frequency is as a rule fixed (between S and the notional V; after the first auxiliary if there is any) and may be regarded as unmarked in relation to the grammatical w-o principle. True enough, Type G also covers English sentences containing other Ts, for which the "not-position" is neither fixed nor unmarked; such sentences, however, produce an emotive impression (see later 69). In Czech, of course, any T may be put between S(V₁) and V₍₂₎ in a non-emotive sentence, which is not possible in English. For this reason most of the Czech Type G sentences are translated by means of other w-o patterns (see Table V). Type G sentences display all the discussed FSP variants.

Ga: P = Rhp (or: S(V₁) T V₍₂₎ (O) P)

P is an ELSp of a Mo verb or of an E/A verb and, being contextually independent, functions as Rhp. Generally speaking, a "not-position" temporal adverb (e.g. *always, never, seldom, often, just, already* etc.) can hardly be regarded as contextually dependent or expressing a mere temporal setting. It appears to be closely related to the temporal exponent of the verb. If the temporal (and the modal) exponents of the verb tend to function as transition proper,¹⁶ the n-pT apparently displays the same tendency. For these reasons we interpret such adverbs either as the communicatively most dynamic parts of Tr (in the Ga-variant, see 67, 68) or, under certain conditions, as Rhp (in the Gb-variant, see later).

67 ^{11 22 21 30}
we always stay in the kitchen, KM 42.35

68 ^{11 21 23 22 30}
The mistress has just gone up. JG 448.11

It has already been pointed out that sentences placing other temporal adverbials in the "not-position" display, in fact, deviation from the unmarked w-o and thus produce an emotive impression (T is emphasized):

69 ^{12 21 31 22 11 32}
that one (...) should at his last gasp have to see it in all the newspapers. JG 673.13

Gb: T = Rhp (or: S(V₁) T V₍₂₎(O) P)

In all the Gb sentences examined, P is contextually dependent and thus excluded from the Rh section of the sentence, although it expresses an ELSp of the verb. Moreover, V may also be derivable from the context (see 70, 71) so that it is T that contributes most to the development of the discourse.

¹⁶ See Firbas (1965).

70 [Auntie June took me to church one Sunday. (...) I wanted her to take me again but she wouldn't.]

You and Daddy ¹² never ³⁰ go ¹² to church, ¹¹ do you? JG 739.28

71 [Let's sit down, (...) There's a fountain near this bench.]

I often ¹¹ come ³⁰ here. ¹³ KM 598.18

Gc_{1,2,3}: S/V/O = Rhp

S/V/O may function as Rhp under circumstances similar to those discussed in connection with other w-o types: S/V/O conveys new information, P is contextually dependent and/or expresses a local setting. The n-pT preserves its characteristic close relation to the verb (see the comment on the Ga-variant) and may be interpreted as a Tr element.

Gc₁: S = Rhp

72

[The Green Hotel, (...) was modest, highly respectable, (...)]

so that a carriage and pair ³⁰ was ²¹ almost ²³ always ²² standing ¹⁰ before the door. JG 653.33

Gc₂: V = Rhp

73

that tree ¹¹ might ²⁰ still ³¹ be ³² standing ¹² there, JG 455.17

Gc₃: O = Rhp

74

[the dog Balthasar,] ¹¹ who ²¹ sometimes ²² found ³⁰ a mole ¹² there. JG 360.3

Type H: S(V₁) — Place — V₍₂₎(O) — Time

No English example has been found.

Two groups of sentences remain outside the outlined system of the 14 basic w-o types: (1) Sentences displaying miscellaneous w-o variations (labelled "EXTRA" in the tables). They occur almost exclusively in Czech as a result of the extreme elasticity of Czech w-o, primarily governed by the BDCD principle. (2) Sentences with more than one P and one T (labelled "More Ps/Ts" in the tables). As a rule they combine various basic w-o types and display similar kinds of FSP to the basic types (the a, b, c_{1,2,3} variants). Mo verbs and E/A verbs are the most numerous verbal categories even in this group and thus it is the a-variant (P = Rhp) that occurs most frequently:

(T T P SV P_{a,b})

75

long ¹² ago, ¹³ one ¹⁴ night ¹¹ in Hyde Park he had ²⁰ slid and ³¹ sneaked from tree to tree, from ³² seat to seat JG 640.3

III

To complete the analysis, we shall at least touch upon sentences containing other adverbials in addition to Ps/Ts. Hypothetically, we may distinguish the following positions of OAs:

before SVO = $\alpha_1, \alpha_2, \alpha_3$

between SVO = β

after SVO = $\gamma_1, \gamma_2, \gamma_3$

Indicating these positions of OAs within the formulae of the basic w-o types (I—VI and G, in which OAs only occur in English sentences), we arrive at the hypothetical w-o patterns given in the table below. Note: “M”, standing for “manner”, is used to represent all the OAs; positions that have not been found in the examined sentences are indicated by (M).

I	α_1 M --- Time --- α_2 M --- SVO --- γ_1 M --- Place --- γ_2 M
II	M --- Place --- M --- SVO --- M --- Time --- M
III	α_1 M --- SVO --- γ_1 M --- Place --- γ_2 M --- Time --- γ_3 M
IV	M --- SVO --- M --- Time --- M --- Place --- M
V	α_1 (M) --- Time --- (M) --- Place --- α_3 M --- SVO --- γ_2 M
VI	(M) --- Place --- (M) --- Time --- (M) --- SVO --- M
G	α_1 M --- S(V ₁) --- β Time --- V ₍₂₎ (O) --- γ_1 M --- Place --- γ_2 M . . . M

(A note on Type G: the “not-position” may be occupied by a modal adverb instead of a temporal one. The resultant sentence is, however, not of Type G, but of Type III or Type IV, with the additional OA inserted between S—V in what we have termed β -position.)

A minority of OAs take up the α -positions; as a rule they are sentence adverbials and may be interpreted as thematic, no matter whether conveying new information or not:

76 III α_1

quite ¹² *by accident,* ¹¹ *you happen to have come on to the stage at exactly the moment you*
were expected. KM 48.2

77 I α_2

sometimes — ¹¹ *for no reason at all* — ¹² *the blind swung out and back* ¹⁴ ²⁰ ³⁰ KM 48.2

A comparatively more numerous group is formed by OAs taking up the β , γ_1 and γ_2 positions, close to V or only separated from V by a short, rhythmically light P/T; contrary to sentence adverbials, relating to the entire sentence, these OAs relate to the verb only and, if conveying new information, may be interpreted as parts of Tr:

78 V β

Meanwhile, on the edge of the platform, a man wearing spectacles was slowly and quietly demonstrating to the empty benches that... LH 260.5

That evening (...) he went very slowly upstairs JG 404.32

The majority of OAs found in the corpus take up the final, γ_2 position. If expressing new information, all these OAs function as Rhp, representing essential manner/causal specifications of the entire action:

80 V γ_2

That night in bed (...) she lay with her prayer book opened flat JG 704.22d

81 I γ_2

At night the stars shine in the tree like tiny candles. KM 620.15

It appears that the amount of CD carried by OA is influenced by the w-o position of OA within the sentence more intensively than that carried by P/T. In other words, it appears that the adverbials of manner/cause are more susceptible to the BDCD principle than those of place/time. In order to prove this hypothesis, however, it would be necessary to analyse a greater number of sentences and to go into the special problems of the manner/causal adverbials.

IV

Conclusions

It is hoped that the network of w-o patterns outlined for the purposes of the present inquiry can throw some light on the relations obtaining between the Ps and the Ts in the English and Czech w-o systems. It cannot possibly cover all the borderline cases, but it enables the inquirer to draw some general conclusions concerning (a) the mutual relation between P and T from the point of view of FSP, (b) the preferences for certain w-o types as displayed by English and Czech.

(a) P/T may express either a setting or a specification of an action.¹⁷ A local/temporal setting is a non-essential element in the sentence. Even if conveying new information, it carries a relatively slight amount of CD and may be interpreted as thematic. A local/temporal specification, on the other hand, is an essential element in the sentence. If contextually independent, it carries a considerable amount of CD and, if the interplay of FSP means permits it, may even function as Rhp.

As Table V shows, P operates as a specification far more often than T does;

¹⁷ It was J. Firbas who advised the author to study the important difference between a setting and a specification, and the way it may influence the kind of FSP.

P accompanies, above all, Mo verbs and E/A verbs as their essential amplification, respectively expressing the goal of the motion and the scene of existence/appearance. The two above-mentioned categories of verb are the most frequent in the entire corpus (see Table II). Even if we take into account the number of local specifications thematized through the context (and therefore not recorded in the table of FSP variants, i.e. in Table IV), there remain as many as 528 Ps expressing Rhp in the English sentences. No other element functions as Rhp so frequently as P does (see Table IV).

T, on the other hand, functions as Rhp in 173 English sentences. Although this is the second highest number in the table, it is strikingly lower than that representing P_{Rh}. Even if we consider the operation of the context (Table IV only covers the Rh function of the adverbials, not stating how often their presence is essential) it appears that T is less likely inclined than P to specify the verb essentially. This general conclusion does not hold good for all types of T, however. A special group of temporal adverbials appears to be semantically more suitable, even pre-determined, for the specifying function. They are "adverbials of definite time", giving an exact temporal indication, e.g. the exact hour, date, or frequency of an action. Such "exactness" is displayed by (1) adverbials expressed by numbers (e.g. "*at half-past six*", "*at noon on the 24th*", "*three times*", etc.), (2) adverbials amplified by attribute(s) or attributive clause(s), e.g. "*on the afternoon that Soames crossed to France.*"

This specifying tendency may be supported or, on the other hand, suppressed, by w-o position. The "definite" T placed at the end of the sentence is very likely to function as Rhp. If this kind of FSP is not in line with the communicative purpose of the sentence, the "definite" T may be "removed" from the end and shifted towards the beginning of the sentence. In front-position (in a non-emotive declarative sentence), the "definite" T apparently ceases to play its specifying role and operates as a mere temporal setting; its CD is diminished, and Rhp may be expressed by another contextually independent and semantically important element, e.g. by an ELSp. If the two adverbials (P, T) take up adjacent postverbal positions, the sentence displays double contextual applicability. This is out of the question if P and T are separated, i.e. if the "definite" T is shifted to front-position and P remains at the end (see 82, 83).

82 *He'd have to start for the station at half-past six.* MK 626.13
 Cf. ● At half-past six he'd have to start for the station.

83 *At three o'clock she was in Lowndes Square.* JG 236.19
 Cf. ● She was in Lowndes Square at three o'clock.

The above-mentioned equivalence of P and T is one of the four possible kinds of mutual relation between these adverbials in one sentence:

- (1) P and T = local/temporal specifications,
- (2) P and T = local/temporal settings,
- (3) P = specification, T = setting,
- (4) P = setting, T = specification.

The most frequent P—T relation occurring in the corpus is that under 3. In other words, P plays as a rule a more important and more essential role in the sentence than T does. The relatively less important role of T, its tendency

to express a temporal setting rather than a specification, manifests itself even more explicitly in the Czech part of the corpus: by far the greater number of Czech sentences put T in the basically thematic front-position (see Table I).

(b) Within the network outlined for the purposes of the inquiry, the w-o types display different degrees of frequency. At one end of the gamut we can find the most preferred w-o types, while the opposite end is occupied by exceptional or even practically non-existent patterns. Although the types of preference are for the most part different in English and in Czech, there also occur some common trends in the two languages.¹⁸ The majority of English sentences (745 out of 927) put T either at the beginning (379) or at the end (366). It is not without interest that original English sentences prefer the end-position of T to its front-position (in the ratio of 298: 210, see Table III), whereas in English sentences translated from Czech, the ratio is reverse (end 88, beginning 169). This phenomenon may be due to some influence of Czech w-o. In the Czech part of the corpus the majority of initial T is striking (in 542 out of 1121 Cz sentences); final Ts, on the other hand, occur relatively seldom (in 81 Cz sentences). It appears that front-position of T is in line with both the English and the Czech w-o systems and may be regarded as a common trend in the two languages. P, on the contrary, tends to postverbal positions. Initial Ps occur relatively seldom (E 35, Cz 67); final Ps are the most frequent (E 502, Cz 580); the frequency of P placed in the "classical" SVOMPT last-but-one position is somewhat lower in English (350) and, as may be expected, very low in Czech (58). With the exception of the so-called "not-position" of T (in 73 E sentences), various medial positions of P/T are as a rule marked in English, especially those "splitting" the SVO group, and occur relatively seldom (for figures of occurrence, see Tables I and III). Such w-o patterns represent different degrees of deviation from the leading grammatical w-o principle; while the given FSP remains unchanged, strong emphasis is placed on the shifted Rh element(s) and the sentence obtains a more or less intensive shade of emotive colouring. In Czech, on the other hand, identical w-o patterns may fully accord with the leading Czech w-o principle (BDCD); if so, the sentences do not display any emotive colouring. It is not without interest to confront such unmarked Czech sentences (especially those containing "split" SVO groups and/or the VS sequence) with their English translations based on identical w-o and thus deviating from the leading English w-o principle (SVOMPT). It may be assumed that such translations (occurring only exceptionally, at any rate), are in a sense less adequate than those employing different w-o than the Czech original, viz. some of the unmarked English w-o types (see 84, 85).

84 Cz orig. = Type A (unmarked) — E transl. = Type A (marked)
Tu však vyrazila na silnici škadrona jízdy s tasenými šavlemi KČ 104.40
But at this point there appeared on the road a squadron of cavalry with drawn sabres
 LH 126.2

85 Cz orig. = Type A (unmarked) — E transl. = Type I (unmarked)
Tu vyrazila nad Grottrupem obrovská černá masa KČ 233.18
Then an enormous black mass was thrown into the air over Grottrup LH 281.34

The frequency of w-o types employed in English translations is shown in

¹⁸ In this connection, we only consider the 14 basic w-o types (I—VI, A—H).

detail in Table V. It appears that the choice of w-o depends, to some extent, on the translator's personal approach. LH follows the Czech w-o somewhat more faithfully than IU does: he prefers Type I (T-SVO-P), by far the most frequent Czech w-o type, and employs, though exceptionally, the "split SVO" patterns and the VS sequence. IU, on the other hand, seems to be more independent in selecting suitable w-o; in her translation the "classical" SVOM-PT word order (= Type III) is almost as frequent as Type I; exceptional, marked w-o patterns imitating the Czech original are practically non-existent; the "non-PT" translations, omitting Czech local or temporal adverbs of minor importance¹⁵ occur relatively more often in IU's translation (see Table V). In addition to the personal approach, it may also be the twenty years' interval that has influenced the entire character of the two translations, including the choice of w-o types (LH 1948, IU 1968).

We have not exhausted the entire sphere of w-o problems linked up with the adverbials. Some interesting questions have only been touched upon (e.g. the position and function of other adverbials than those of place/time) and must await further inquiry. It is hoped, however, that the present paper has thrown some light on the selected narrow field of word order phenomena.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BDCD	basic distribution of communicative dynamism
CD	communicative dynamism
Cz	Czech
E	English
E/A	(verb of) existence or appearance
ELSp	essential local specification
EsAmp	essential amplificative (element)
ETSp	essential temporal specification
FSP	functional sentence perspective
M	(adverbial of) manner
Mo	(verb of) motion
n-pT	"not-position" temporal adverbial
O	object
OA	other (= non-local/temporal) adverbial
OI	other intransitive (verb)
P	(adverbial of) place
Rh	rheme, rhematic
Rhp	rheme proper
S	subject
T	(adverbial of) time
Th	theme, thematic
Tr	transition, transitional
Tv	transitive (verb)
V	verb
w-o	word order
SYMBOLS:	● hypothetical
	→ changed, shifted
	* unacceptable

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RESUMÉ

O postavení a funkci příslovečného určení místa a času v angličtině a v češtině

Zkoumaný materiál (1121 anglických a českých vět původních + 1121 přeložených) je roztříděn do 16 slovosledných typů podle postavení přísl. urč. místa (P) a času (T). Jednotlivé typy jsou podrobeny rozboru z hlediska funkční perspektivy větné (FSP) a zařazeny do tří funkčních variant: a (P = jádro), b (T = jádro), c (podmět/sloveso/předmět = jádro); uvedené pořadí odpovídá četnosti výskytu.

Rozbor se zaměřil na dva hlavní okruhy problémů:

1. vzájemný vztah mezi P a T z hlediska funkční perspektivy větné,
2. převaha určitých slovosledných typů v angličtině a v češtině,
a dospěl k těmto závěrům:

1. Příslopečné určení místa (P) projevuje větší schopnost vyjadřovat podstatnou specifikaci, kdežto příslovečné určení času (T) má spíše sklon vytvářet pouhou časovou kulisu. Výjimku tvoří skupina T mimořádně vhodná pro specifikaci (a tudíž mající předpoklad fungovat za příznivé souhry prostředků FSP jako jádro výpovědi): jde o určení „přesného času“ vyjádřeného buď číselně nebo pomocí přívlastku (přívlastkové věty). Tato specifikující tendence může být zesílena nebo zeslabena slovosledným postavením T. Celkově však platí, že důležitější složkou sdělení je P. Projevuje se to nejvýrazněji v českém souboru vět, z něhož daleko nejpočetnější skupina klade T do základového postavení na začátek věty.

2. Ačkoli každý z obou srovnávaných jazyků dává přednost jiným druhům slovního pořádku, objevují se i tendence společné, např. časté kladení T na začátek věty a naopak převaha postavení P za slovesem. Různé střední polohy P/T (s výjimkou tzv. not-position) jsou v angličtině příznakovými odchylkami od základního slovosledného principu gramatického, kdežto v českých (neemotivních) větách jsou bezpříznakové; proto adekvátní anglický překlad takových vět dává většinou přednost slovnímu pořádku odlišnému od toho, který se vyskytuje v originálu.

