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Brno studies in English. 1979, vol. 13, iss. 1, pp. 61-104

Stable URL (handle): <https://hdl.handle.net/11222.digilib/118086>

Access Date: 09. 12. 2024

Version: 20220831

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ENGLISH AND GERMAN EQUIVALENTS OF THE CZECH ADVERB OF MANNER EXAMINED FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF FUNCTIONAL SENTENCE PERSPECTIVE

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INTRODUCTION

The present study sets out to examine the Czech adverb of manner and its English and German opposite numbers from the point of view of functional sentence perspective (FSP), at the same time paying due regard to the semantic and grammatical structures.¹ In this way it seeks to contribute to the research into the mutual relations between the semantic structure and/or grammatical structure on the one hand and the organization of utterance on the other. Based on the FSP theory, first developed by V. Mathesius² and further elaborated by J. Firbas,³ the present paper is just one of a number of studies devoted to various semantic and/or grammatical categories and their roles in FSP. For definitions and explanations of terms used in this paper see Firbas (present volume, 29—60, esp. 30—4).

Before specifying our task, let us insert a short survey of the results yielded by inquiries into problems related to ours. While Mathesius concentrated in his research on the relations between word order and FSP (see esp. Mathesius

¹ This threefold approach is based on Daneš 1964.225-8.

² See Mathesius 1941, 1942 and 1961; cf. also an evaluation of Mathesius 1942 in Firbas 1964.

³ All the papers by Firbas listed in the References are devoted to the FSP theory; cf. also Firbas—Golková 1976.

1941, 1942), a large part of recent research into FSP is concerned with the operation of semantic structure in the act of communication — in other words, with the role played on the level of FSP by various types of semantic content and the semantic relations into which they can enter. Let us adduce here at least those observations that are the most relevant to the problem we propose to deal with in the present study.

Svoboda (1968) has found that a context independent quality (expressed by an attribute) carries a higher degree of communicative dynamism (CD) than the phenomenon expressed by the head element of the attributive construction. Kopečný calls attention to the resemblance between the relation of the one-word adverb of manner to the verb and the relation of the attributive adjective to the noun, referring to the adverb of manner as the 'verbal attribute' (1962. §§4, 50). Although there are certain parallels between the two types of relation, some differences in syntactic dependence must be borne in mind. One is especially striking in Czech and in German. In these two languages the syntactic dependence of the attributive adjective is expressed by congruence while the form of the adverb is neither in concord with, nor governed by, the verb. In regard to the adverb, Hausenblas (1958. 47) speaks of weak dependence. And there is another important point in which the two types of relation differ. While the adverb of manner is dependent directly on the verb as the centre of the sentence viewed as a field of syntactic relations, the attribute is directly dependent on the noun it qualifies and it is only the entire construction (attribute plus head word) that is dependent on the verb. In German grammars the difference under discussion is expressed terminologically in that the adverb performing the syntactic function of an adverbial element and the attribute are respectively denoted as 'Satzglied' (clause constituent) and 'Gliedteil' (part of a constituent). This is connected also with the following difference. While an adverbial can change its position in the clause, the attribute may, as a rule, change it only together with its head word.⁴ It should prove interesting to put Kopečný's view to the test in order to ascertain how far the parallel he has drawn between the two types of relation under discussion can be extended to the level of FSP.

Daneš (1957. 66) points out the difference between the behaviour of the inherent adverbial (expressed by an adverb of manner) and that of a relation adverbial (expressed, e. g., by a noun or a noun phrase). In this respect he refers to Kopečný (1962.229—30). Examining the position of the inherent adverbial in connection with the prosodic features of the Czech sentence, he finds that its usual position is in front of the verb. If placed after the verb, it is emphasized, and if no other element follows comes to bear the intonation centre. Daneš also notes the effect of communicative importance on the position of adverbials.⁵

The role of the adverbial of manner in FSP in regard to its semantic content has been included in an analysis undertaken by Uhlířová (1974). Examining all types of adverbials, she has found a close relationship between the semantic content conveyed by the adverbial and its function as thematic or rhematic element. As regards the adverbial of manner, she submitted to analysis only

⁴ Cf., e. g., Helbig—Buscha 1972.518.

⁵ Speaking of communicative importance Daneš uses the term 'míra kontextové aktuálnosti'.

such adverbials as are expressed by noun phrases; her investigation did not cover the one-word adverb of manner. Her material has yielded 76 rhematic and 24 thematic adverbials of manner out of a total of 100 instances. In another paper Uhlířová (1972) has inquired into the relation between the syntactic functions of clause elements, their positions in the clause and their communicative functions. Her conclusions (based on Modern Czech data) in regard to the adverb of manner (referred to as inherent adverbial) may be summed up as follows. If the clause is longer than two elements, the inherent adverbial usually stands in the middle. The frequency of the mid-positioned inherent adverbial increases with increasing clause length, which is in accordance with its communicative function. With increasing clause length it more often comes to function as a transitional rather than a rhematic element (118–9).

A detailed examination of the different positions the adverb of manner may occupy in relation to the verb and other clause constituents from the point of view of FSP remains to be undertaken. In the present study we have set ourselves the task of at least partly filling this gap and, by comparing the situation in Czech with those in English and German, of throwing some light on the principles determining the different sentence positions of the adverb of manner in each of the three languages under investigation.

Before taking up our discussion, a short chapter should be inserted containing some necessary notes concerning the material on which our observations are based.

Chapter One

CHARACTER AND SCOPE OF CONCRETE LANGUAGE MATERIAL

The investigation is confined to the written language and to sentence structures operating within first instance.⁶ Seeking a solution to the problems suggested in the introductory chapter, we analyzed 400 Czech, 400 English and 400 German instances drawn from books of fiction written in the respective languages, as well as their opposite numbers in the other two languages taken from the translations of the excerpted originals.⁷

⁶ On the system of instance levels see Firbas 1959.51-3 and present volume, 45–6. For the purposes of the present study let us merely state that within second instance the operation of linearity and semantic structure is maximally limited by context. A sentence operating within second instance contains one heavily contrasted word, but apart from the prosodic features imitates the structure of the sentence with which it is being contrasted (no matter whether this sentence has really been uttered or merely exists in the writer's/speaker's and reader's/listener's minds). Viewed from the angle of FSP, the heavily contrasted word constitutes the rheme proper, all the other elements forming an extensive theme proper. Sentences not fulfilling the above contextual conditions belong to first instance.

⁷ The following books have been excerpted:

O — Jan Otčenášek, *Romeo, Julie a tma* (Československý spisovatel, Praha 1961);
Jan Otčenášek, *Romeo and Juliet and the Darkness*, translated by Iris Urwin (Artia, Prague 1960);

Roughly speaking, the one-word adverb of manner has been examined only in its function as manner adjunct (MA) or, to use the traditional term, adverbial of manner. It follows that, syntactically, there have been excluded from our corpus adverbs functioning as (i) modifiers of adjectives and adverbs, or (ii) disjuncts, or (iii) conjuncts, and, semantically, adverbs in which other feature(s) than that of manner prevail. Both in the syntactic and the semantic differentiation we have followed the classification of adverbs in Quirk et al. (1972. 268–71 and 421–71).⁸ MAs modified by another adverb (e. g., *quite comfortably*) as well as MAs functioning as heads of adverb phrases (e. g., *as well as he could*) have also been included in the analyzed corpus.

The above classification, developed originally for English, may be, with some minor modifications, applied also to Czech and German. As for Czech, it is comparable, for instance, to Šmilauer's classification of adverbials (1969. 277–308). Šmilauer conceives of the adverbial of manner in a broad sense as including manner proper, intensity, i. e. quantity of the action, instrument and viewpoint. Our interest will be confined to the adverb of manner proper in its function as adverbial modifier of the verb. Like the English MA, its Czech counterpart may of course be modified by another adverb or form the head of an adverb phrase. As in the English part of the corpus, the Czech sentence adverbs (or modal particles) employed not to modify the verb but to refer to the whole sentence or clause (corresponding roughly to disjuncts in English), as well as adverbs with a connective function (corresponding to conjuncts in English), have been left out of consideration.

In German, it is the 'Modaladverb', treated in Helbig-Buscha (1972. 311–2) that roughly corresponds to the MA in English, and it has been included in the corpus also if modified or if functioning as head of an adverb phrase. Sentence adverbs (corresponding to disjuncts in English), as well as adverbs with

Jan Otčenášek, *Romeo, Julia und die Finsternis*, translated by Bruno Liehm (Verlag der Nation, the year of publication not stated);

F — Norbert Frýd, *Krabice živých* (Státní nakladatelství krásné literatury, hudby a umění, Praha 1956);

Norbert Frýd, *A Box of Lives*, translated by Iris Urwin (Artia, Prague 1962);

Norbert Frýd, *Kartei der Lebenden*, translated by Irene Glasberg (Verlag Volk und Welt, Berlin 1961);

G — Graham Greene, *The Quiet American* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow 1959);

Graham Greene, *Tichý Američan*, translated by Jiří Valja (Mladá fronta, Praha 1957);

Graham Greene, *Der stille Amerikaner*, translated by Walther Puchwein (Verlag Volk und Welt, Berlin 1969);

B — John Braine, *Room at the Top* (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England, 1960);

John Braine, *Místo nahore*, translated by František Vrba (Mladá fronta, Praha 1960);

John Braine, *Der Weg nach oben*, translated by Herbert Schlüter (Verlag Volk und Welt, Berlin 1963);

S — Anna Seghers, *Das siebte Kreuz* (Aufbau-Verlag Berlin 1962);

Anna Seghersová, *Sedmý kříž*, translated by Rudolf Vápeník (Naše vojsko SPB, Praha 1959);

Anna Seghers, *The Seventh Cross*, translated by James A. Galston (Little, Brown and Company, Boston 1942).

Each instance quoted from the excerpted material in the present paper is followed by an abbreviated indication of the respective book, and by an indication of the page and line on which it begins.

⁸ For more details concerning the classification of adverbs see also Greenbaum 1969.

a connective function (corresponding to conjuncts in English), have not been taken into consideration. A difficulty arises, however, in connection with an important difference between Czech and English on the one hand, and German on the other: in the former two — in most cases at least — the adverb has a form morphologically different from that of the corresponding adjective, whereas in the latter many adjectives (if used predicatively, i. e. without an ending) do not differ morphologically from adverbs. Thus the German *gut* may correspond to either *dobrý* or *dobře* in Czech and to either *good* or *well* in English. Normally, the sentence position of the German adjective/adverb and/or its co-occurrence with certain verbs serves as a sufficient indicator of its function as an adverb (adverbial) or a predicative adjective (complement). In some cases, however, it is difficult to decide whether an adjective/adverb functions as an adverbial or as a predicative attribute. The transformations suggested by Helbig-Buscha (495) and adduced below are designed to make obvious the relation of the adjective/adverb to the verb (in the case of an adverbial) or its relation to the subject or object (in the case of a predicative attribute). Though they prove helpful in many cases, there are still some admitting of both transformations and consequently of either interpretation. Let us give the two transformations revealing the difference between the two functions of the German adjective/adverb: that of a predicative attribute (a) and that of an adverbial (b).

(a) Man trug ihn verletzt vom Sportplatz. → Man trug ihn vom Sportplatz. Er war verletzt.

(b) Man trug ihn eilig vom Sportplatz. → Man trug ihn vom Sportplatz. Das Tragen war (geschah) eilig.

The different reproductions of the German adjectives/adverbs in the following Czech and English translations may serve as an illustration of their ambiguous function.

1. Aber zugleich erhob sich in seinem Innern, *leise, rein und klar*, eine unverletzbar, unüber-tönbar Stimme, . . . S 48.29.

2. Ale současně se zdvihl v jeho nitru *tiše, čistě a jasně nezranitelný, nezrušitelný hlas*, . . . S 38.3.

[And simultaneously (refl. pron.) rose in his heart softly, purely and clearly invulnerable, inextinguishable voice, . . .]⁹

3. At the same time, though, an invulnerable, unquenchable inner voice arose, *soft, pure and clear*, . . . S 39.28

In some cases, although the original German version rather seems to suggest the interpretation of the adjective/adverb as a predicative attribute, an adverbial is used as its equivalent in the translation; cf. the following example.

4. Sonderbar genug, daß er sich also doch, *wild und besinnungslos, eisern an seinen Plan gehalten hatte!* S 24.9.

5. Dost zvláštní, že se tedy přece jen držel *zuřivě, slepě a skálopevně* svého plánu! S 21.20. [Rather strange that (refl. pron.) then all-the-same he-kept fiercely, blindly and adamantly to his plan!]

The difficulties mentioned above led us to abstain from drawing a strict dividing line between adverbials and predicative attributes in the case of those

⁹ 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.

German adjectives/adverbs that admit of either interpretation. In the surveys presented in the following chapters they will all be included among adverbs.

The investigation is confined to sentence structures containing both an MA and a finite verb. For this reason, those cases in the translations in which such a combination does not occur are left out of consideration.

Before beginning to analyze concrete language material from the point of view of FSP, we present a simplified survey of the various sentence positions the MA may occupy in the three languages under investigation. A more detailed description of the positions as well as some illustrative examples will be given separately for each language in the introductory parts of the following chapters. We suppose, however, that a simplified survey as presented on the next page may assist the reader in following the text.

SURVEY OF SENTENCE POSITIONS OF THE MA

CZECH

- I1 (conj) - MA - e - V - (e)
 I2 e - MA - e - V - (e)
 M (e) - MA - (pron) - V - (e)
 E1 (e) - V - MA
 E2 (e) - V - MA - e
 E3 (e) - V - e - MA
 E4 (e) - V - e - MA - e

ENGLISH

- I MA - S - (e) - V - (e)
 M1 (e) - aux - MA - aux - V - (e)
 M2 (e) - MA - V - (e)
 E1, E2, E3, E4 - the same as in Czech

GERMAN

- I_{a,b} MA - V or aux - e
 I_c *wie* - MA - e - V - (e)
 E1_a, E2_a, E3_a, E4_a - the same as E1, E2, E3, E4 in Czech
 E1_b e - V or aux - MA ↔ e_{c1}
 E2_b e - V or aux - MA - e ↔ e_{c1}
 E3_b e - V or aux - e - MA ↔ e_{c1}
 E4_b e - V or aux - e - MA - e ↔ e_{c1}
 E1_c (conj) - S - MA - V
 E2_c (conj) - S - MA - e ↔ V
 E3_c (conj) - S - e - MA ↔ V
 E4_c (conj) - S - e - MA - e ↔ V

EXPLANATIONS OF SYMBOLS

aux = auxiliary verb

conj = word with a conjunctive function

e = sentence element(s) other than the MA or the verb

e_{c1} = element closing the frame

pron = unstressed personal or reflexive pronoun in Czech

S = subject

V = notional part of the verbal form

() = optional element(s)

↔ = the positions of the preceding and the following elements may be reversed

subscripts: a = German clause without a frame

b = German clause with a frame (finite verb in first or second position)

c = German clause with a frame (finite verb in final position)

Chapter Two

SENTENCE POSITIONS OF THE CZECH ADVERB OF MANNER

In the present and the two following chapters we shall analyze the different sentence positions occupied by the MA in relation to the verb¹⁰ and its modifiers. After presenting a separate statistical survey of the various positions in each of the three investigated languages, and interpreting the results from the point of view of FSP, we shall try to point out the similarities and differences displayed by the three languages in this respect.¹¹

For the purposes of our study we distinguish the following sentence positions of the Czech MA (not taking into account unstressed personal and reflexive pronouns, which for reasons of rhythm can only be placed between the MA and the verb).¹²

I1 – The MA is placed initially in the clause and is separated from the verb by at least one element other than an unstressed personal or reflexive pronoun. It may only be preceded by a conjunction or some word with a conjunctive function (e. g., a relative or interrogative pronoun). The following two examples illustrate the described position.

6. *Opatrně se na tuto bláhouv možnost informoval.* O 59.20

[Cautiously (refl. pron.) on this silly possibility he-inquired.]

7. ... *naslouchal jsem, jak vážně Pyle přetřásá otázku dětí.* G 36.25

[... I-listened how seriously Pyle is-discussing question of-children.]

I2 – The MA precedes the verb, being separated from it by at least one element other than an unstressed personal or reflexive pronoun, but is not placed initially in the clause, e. g.,

¹⁰ Unless otherwise stated, the term 'verb' will be used to refer to the notional, non-auxiliary component of the finite verb form.

¹¹ As we presume that the MA may change its position within the sentence more easily in Czech than in the other two languages under investigation, we have chosen Czech as the starting point of the comparison, trusting that against the background of the different positions occupied by the Czech MA the situation in the other two languages will stand out more distinctly.

¹² Our differentiation of positions is based on that used by Quirk et al. (1973.426) for English adjuncts. We have, however, adapted it to the requirements of the other two languages under investigation and, for English, taken more details into consideration, especially with regard to the relation between the MA and other clause constituents following the verb.

8. Jak se teď tak tupě na tyto vršky díval ... S 30.30
[As (refl. pron.) now so dully at these hills he-looked ...]

M — The MA precedes the verb, and is either placed immediately before it or separated from it by one or more unstressed personal or reflexive pronouns, e. g.,

9. A současně rozhodně vstal. O 21.13
[And simultaneously resolutely he-rose.]

10. Přesně mi ho popsal: F 13.14
[Precisely to-me him he-described:]

E1 — The MA is placed at the end of the clause, following the verb, e. g.,

11. Smluvili se na šifrách, aby mohli psát trochu otevřeně. O 24.31
[They-agreed (refl. pron.) on codes in-order-that they-could write a-little openly.]

E2 — The MA follows the verb and is, in its turn, followed by another element, e. g.,

12. Několik vězňů se dalo ochotně do smíchu ... F 26.6
[Several prisoners themselves gave willingly into laugh.]

E3 — The MA stands at the end of the clause, following the verb and separated from it by another element, e. g.,

13. Přikývla hlavou skoro vzpurně. O 22.7
[She-nodded with-head almost defiantly.]

E4 — The MA follows the verb, being separated from it by at least one element and is, in its turn, followed by another element, e. g.,

14. ... po ztrátě všeho masa ve tvářích, vyrážela spodní čelist přímo groteskně daleko dopředu. F 31.18
[... after loss of-all flesh in cheeks, out-stuck lower jaw directly grotesquely far ahead.]

As can be inferred from Table 1, out of 400 instances of the verb-MA combination found in the original Czech texts, the MA precedes the verb in 199 instances and follows it in 201 instances. The corresponding ratio in the Czech translations is 248 to 366. The situation changes a little if we consider separately one-word MAs on the one hand and modified MAs, co-ordinations of two or more MAs, and MAs functioning as heads of adverb phrases on the other. (The latter group will be referred to hereafter as more-word MAs).

The figures of Table 2 seem to justify the conclusion that more-word MAs tend to be placed after the verb.

The MA also favours *E* positions in clauses introducing direct speech¹³ as may be inferred from Table 3 presented below.

Excluding MAs found in clauses introducing direct speech from the statistical survey we obtain a different picture of the frequencies of the various sentence positions occupied by MAs. Let us again present the relevant data in tabular form (cf. Table 4).

The interpretations of the figures offered by Table 4 may be summed up as follows. In clauses other than those introducing direct speech the one-word

¹³ The term 'direct speech' is used in a broad sense, including direct speech that is not formally marked as such, e. g., *Zřejmě poblázněná holka, pomyslel si nahněvaně.* O 21.4.

Table 1
Sentence Positions of the Czech MA

Position	Originals					Translations				
	one-word MA	modified MA	co-ordination of two or more MAs	adverb phrase	total	one-word MA	modified MA	co-ordination of two or more MAs	adverb phrase	total
<i>I1</i>	2	—	—	—	2	2	—	1	—	3
<i>I2</i>	2	—	—	—	2	5	1	—	—	6
<i>M</i>	184	—	8	3	195	199	17	20	3	239
<i>E1</i>	43	8	6	3	60	79	17	14	10	120
<i>E2</i>	71	4	2	1	78	101	13	16	1	131
<i>E3</i>	20	7	6	2	35	33	22	9	19	83
<i>E4</i>	18	8	2	—	28	18	3	9	2	32
Total	340	27	24	9	400	437	73	69	35	614

Table 2
Difference in Position between One-Word MAs and More-Word MAs

Position	Originals		Translations	
	one-word MAs	more-word MAs	one-word MAs	more-word MAs
preceding the verb	188	11	206	42
following the verb	152	49	231	135

Table 3
Clauses Introducing Direct Speech

Position	Originals				Translations			
	one-word MA	modified MA	co-ordination of two or more MAs	total	one-word MA	modified MA	co-ordination of two or more MAs	Total
<i>I2</i>	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
<i>M</i>	2	—	—	2	3	—	—	3
<i>E1</i>	22	2	1	25	40	2	1	43
<i>E2</i>	19	2	—	21	30	3	2	35
<i>E3</i>	15	3	—	18	14	4	1	19
<i>E4</i>	3	2	—	5	4	—	4	8
total	61	9	1	71	92	9	8	109

Table 4
Sentence Positions of MAs
(Excluding Clauses Introducing Direct Speech)

Position	Originals		Translations	
	one-word MAs	more-word MAs	one-word MAs	more-word MAs
preceding the verb	186	11	202	42
following the verb	93	39	143	118

MA is more frequently placed before the verb than after it, while the more-word MA is more frequently placed after the verb than before it.

Let us now inquire into the different positions occupied by the MA from the FSP point of view. We propose to start with the most usual position, i. e. *M*, adducing first a few examples. In all of them both the verb and the MA are context independent.

15. Teprve teď *prudce* vzhlédla. O 20.4
[Only now sharply she-up-looked.]

16. ... a *zimomřivě* se zachvěl. F 33.4
[... and with-cold (adverb) he-shivered.]

As the adduced examples illustrate, the MA specifies the action denoted by the verb, thus adding new information to that conveyed by the verb and taking the communication a step further than the verb itself. So if *prudce* in ex. 15 is added to *vzhlédla*, the reader gets a more precise idea of the action, and this holds good irrespective of the fact that the MA is placed before the verb. In terms of FSP, a context independent MA carries a higher degree of CD than the verb it qualifies: the quality of the action, if context independent, is communicatively more dynamic than the action itself. In clauses with the MA preceding the verb, semantic structure asserts itself counter to the influence of word order. It is the semantic contents of the action and the quality of the action that are capable of signalling the degrees of CD regardless of sentence position.

The MA always qualifies the meaning of the verb, but in some cases it may even be regarded as an indispensable amplification of the verb (to be referred to as indispensable MA). Without such amplification the meaning of the verb in the given context would be incomplete (cf. Šmilauer 1969. 257). The following examples from the material investigated illustrate this phenomenon.

17. „Abych hovořil *upřímně*,” řekl Vigot, „není mi to tak moc líto.“ G 15.38
[“In-order-that I-speak frankly,” said Vigot, “not-is to-me it so much sorry (an idiom translating E. I am not so much sorry for it — H. Ch).”]

18. Pracujete *rychle*. G 16.32
[You-work quickly.]

19. Mluvím *hloupě*, vidí? O 45.23
[I-speak foolishly, you-see (translating E. aren't I — H. Ch.)?]

20. Tváří se *nevšimavě* a *dolženě*. O 61.28
[She-looks (refl. pron.) indifferently and hurt-ly.]

21. Chovala se *dostí obratně*. S 138.37
[She-behaved (refl. pron.) rather skilfully.]

In these cases the verb cannot be used in the given context without any amplification, although it might be modified by some modifier other than an MA, e. g. by an object or another adverbial. It is worth noting that indispensable MAs tend to be placed after the verb. Out of 33 instances with indispensable MAs found in the material examined, 27 follow the verb and 6 precede it. This tendency is due to the fact that the difference in CD between the verb and the indispensable MA is greater than in most of those cases where the verb could dispense with the MA. The indispensability of the MA, however, does not seem to be the only factor affecting its position, as is borne out by

the six cases with an indispensable MA preceding the verb.¹⁴ Let us quote at least one of them.

22. ... na konci vět nedovíral ústa, hlasitě dýchal a špulil přitom rty jako kapřík. F 21.32
[... at end of-sentences not-he-closed mouth, loudly he-breathed and he-pursed simultaneously lips like little-carp.]

Since *M* is the most usual, and in fact seems to be the neutral, position, the factors affecting the placing of the MA may be best brought to light through an analysis of the other, less usual positions. Let us first try to ascertain the factors inducing the MA to occupy position *E1*.

An *E* positioned MA appears to be more prominent, since in this case its communicative importance is signalled not only by its semantic content but also by its position in the sentence. Now let us try to answer the question of why an MA should occasionally receive a more prominent position than the one it usually occupies. Are there, at least in some cases, any special reasons for underlining the communicative importance of the MA? Are the semantic content and word order the only means that co-operate to bring the MA into prominence or may they be supported in this function by some other means?

Using Firbas' term, we can say that the MA appears in a kind of relief in regard to the verb (cf. Firbas 1961.79). This relief will be the more conspicuous, the greater the difference between the amounts of CD conveyed by the verb and the MA. If placed after the verb, the MA exceeds it in CD to a greater extent than in an *M* position instance. The relief in which the MA appears in relation to the verb becomes quite distinct. In some cases the verb itself may contribute to the distinctness of the relief by being dynamically weaker than the verb in *M* position instances. Let us adduce and comment upon a few illustrative examples.

23. Jdou temnými stržemi těsně podle domovních vrat, on ji pravičkou drží kolem ramenou, v levé pohupuje kuffíkem a ona se nebrání, jde *poslušně*. O 27.13

[They-are-going through-dark abysses closely along house gates, he her with-right-hand is-holding round shoulders, in left he-is-swinging case and she herself not-defends, she-is-going obediently.]

24. „A kdy se máte dostavit?“ zeptal se *bezvýrazně*. O 25.9

[“And when (refl. pron.) are you to-turn-up?” he-asked (refl. pron.) expressionlessly.]

25. „Tančí *velmi špatně*.“ G 35.12

[“He-dances very badly.”]

In 23 the verb is derivable from the preceding verbal context. In all clauses introducing direct speech the situation is similar (cf. 24). The verb is lexically very weak, and if it follows direct speech, it denotes something the reader already knows, i. e. the fact that somebody said what the reader has just read. If the verb precedes direct speech, it refers to something the reader would know even if it were not explicitly denoted by the verb. In 25 the verb is not derivable from the preceding verbal context but from the situational context. The wider context shows that two people are watching a man on the dance floor and talking about him. In one way or another, all the preceding examples

¹⁴ It is interesting, however, that all the six instances with an indispensable MA preceding the verb contain an MA in combination with the verb *dýchat*. An inquiry into a larger number of instances would be necessary in order to establish the contextual conditions under which the MA is indispensable and to account for the behaviour of the verb *dýchat*.

contain verbs that, in a broad sense, may be termed context dependent. It follows that the context dependence of the verb is one of those factors that effect position *E1* of the MA.

We may now turn our attention to the MA in *E1* position instances with a view to ascertaining further factors effecting this position. Let us again first adduce a few examples in illustration.

26. Je to válka v džungli, v horách a v bahnitých rýžových polích, kde se člověk brodí až po ramena a nepřátelé prostě zmizí, zakopou zbraně, navléknou si rolnické šaty ... Ale ve víhku Hanoje se dá zahrávat *docela pohodlně*. G 19.42

[Is it war in jungle, in mountains and in muddy rice fields, where (refl. pron.) man wades up to shoulders and enemies simply disappear, bury arms, put-on (refl. pron.) peasant clothes ... But in damp of-Hanoi (refl. pron.) one-can rot quite comfortably.]

27. Co bude dál? Stále stejná otázka. Všudypřítomná ... Když odzněla *nahlas*, nevěděl, co rozumnějšího udělat než ... O 17.4

[What will-be further? All-the-time same question. Omnipresent ... When it-had-sounded aloud, not-he-knew what more-sensible do than ...]

28. ... zástrčka by byla povolila *mnohem rychleji*. S 143.17
[... bolt would have given-way much more-quickly.]

29. ... a pak se nám, jeho bývalým vězňům, nepovede *špatně*. F 31.24

[... and then (refl. pron.) to us, to his former prisoners not-it-will-go badly.]

30. ... a Pyle na mne pohlédl *vyčítavě*. G 38.26
[... and Pyle at me looked reproachfully.]

The MA of 26 implies a kind of contrast to the character of the war outside Hanoi as described in the preceding sentence, and is therefore felt to be communicatively more important than an MA that merely qualifies the action without any implication of contrast. The communicative importance of the MA is formally marked by its position and, in addition, by the modifying adverb *docela*. Ex. 27 may be interpreted analogically. The context shows that so far the question had been in the air all the time, but not uttered. So *nahlas* [*aloud*] also implies contrast. If the adverbs in 26 and 27 were placed before the verb, the implication of contrast would be lost. It follows that position *E1* has to be employed whenever the MA is to convey contrast.

Ex. 28 contains an MA in the comparative. It is worth noting that all comparatives and superlatives in the material examined (22 instances in all) are *E* positioned. They bear a certain resemblance to the contrastive use of the MA described above in that they do not merely qualify the action denoted by the verb but imply some other aspect, namely comparison, which often comes quite close to contrast; for instance, *mnohem rychleji* [*much more quickly*] in 28 may be viewed in contrast to *less quickly*.

In negative instances (exemplified by 29) the MA is also placed after the verb. The negative particle, though formally part of the verb, is related to the focus of negation, i. e. rheme proper, if viewed from the angle of FSP (cf. Firbas 1976.49). In our case rheme proper is constituted by the MA. It follows that the MA accompanied by the negative particle stands in contrast to its own positive counterpart.

Instances exemplified by 30 are comparatively rare. Out of the total of 180 *E1* position instances found in the material examined, only 9 belong to the type illustrated by 30. Though it does not imply evident contrast or comparison, the *E1* positioned MA is obviously more dynamic than the *M* positioned MA; in other words, it stands out in distinct relief in relation to

the verb it qualifies. So *vyčítavě* in 30 is more dynamic than the same word in *Pyle na mne vyčítavě pohlédl*.

As the statistical results presented in Tables 2 and 4 have shown, *E* positions are favoured by more-word MAs. Their frequent occurrence in position *E1* is not surprising when we realize that modifying words and phrases and co-ordinations of two or more adverbs may serve as additional means of underlining the communicative importance of the MA. If *E* positioned, they co-operate in this function with word order. Exx. 26 and 28, adduced on p. 000, and 31 and 32, adduced below, instance the described phenomenon.

31. Zdeněk se rozhlížel *bezradně a bázně*. F 15.23

[Zdeněk (refl. pron.) round-looked helplessly and fearfully.]

32. Teď bylo dobře, že jeho hlásek zněl *jasně a slabě* jako svišticí řemen. S 17.31

[Now it-was well that his voice sounded clearly and softly like whistling belt.]

The amount of CD conveyed by the MA may also be increased if the connection between the MA and the verb is somewhat loosened. In such a case it is usually separated by commas. The two examples adduced below will illustrate the discussed type of connection. In 33 the MA *totiž hrdinně a klidně* functions as apposition, while *volně* in 134 might also be regarded as part of an elliptical concessive clause.

33. ... a on si byl vědom, že je kdykoli připraven zemřít tak, jak sice vždy nežil, ale jak si vždy přál žít, *totiž hrdinně a klidně*. S 38.5

[... and he (refl. pron.) was aware that he-is at-any-time ready die so as it-is-true always not-he-lived but as (refl. pron.) always he-wished live, namely bravely and quietly.]

34. Jeho myšlenky se zase spřádaly, i když jen *volně*, ... S 17.13

[His thoughts (refl. pron.) again together-spun, even if only loosely, ...]

In some cases there is an accumulation of means co-operating to bring the MA into prominence. Besides the semantic content of the MA and word order, such factors as the modification of the MA, its co-ordination with another MA (or other MAs), its loose connection with the verb and, last but not least, a dynamically weak verb may all serve as indicators of the communicative importance of the MA. We shall adduce one instance illustrating the accumulation of at least three means effecting an increase in the CD of the MA, trusting that no further comment is needed.

35. A pastýř stojí tu *tak pyšně, tak naprosto lhostejně*, jako by vše věděl a stál tu jen tak ... S 12.42

[And shepherd is-standing here so proudly, so completely indifferently, as if all he-knew and he-was-standing here only so ...]

The MA may also be placed in position *E* because of its syntactic coherence with a following modifier such as an adverbial clause of manner. The following example will illustrate this.

36. Vypadal, jako by na psacím stole hledal slova, kterými by vyjádřil svůj názor *tak přesně*, jak jsem to učinil já. G 13.15

[He-looked as if on writing desk he-were-looking-for words with-which he-would express his opinion as precisely as it did I.]

Position *E* is, however, not obligatory in these cases, as is borne out by the following example.

37. *Napjatě* mě sledoval jako vzorný žák ... G 19.34

[Intently me he-watched like prize pupil.]

To sum up. Owing to its semantic content, a context independent MA always conveys a larger amount of CD than the verb it qualifies, irrespective of sentence position. Position *M* may be regarded as neutral. If the MA is, for some reason, to appear in distinct relief in regard to the verb, then word order — sometimes together with other means, such as modification, the co-ordination of two or more MAs and a loosened connection of the MA with the verb — is called upon to assist in bringing the MA into prominence. The MA is then placed after the verb. The context dependence of the verb and the implication of contrast and/or comparison have been ascertained as special reasons for the employment of position *E1* in some cases. We close our discussion of position *E1* by tabulating the frequencies of the various factors relevant to the employment of the discussed position.

Table 5
Position E1

Factors	Originals		Translations	
	alone	with other factors	alone	with other factors
context dependent verb	5	3	15	12
clause introducing direct speech	22	3	54	6
contrast	7	3	7	10
comparative, superlative	—	2	—	10
modification	1	8	4	19
syntactic coherence	—	3	4	10
co-ordination of two or more MAs	5	1	6	7
loosened connection with the verb	—	—	4	1

Let us now turn our attention to the remaining *E* positions in order to ascertain the conditions under which they are employed. The other *E* positions differ from *E1* in that the MA is not the only element following the verb. If one additional element other than, or besides, the MA follows the verb, the MA may be placed in three different positions, namely *M*, *E2*, or *E3*. A statistical inquiry into the frequencies of the three positions has yielded

the results presented in Table 6 below. Only instances in which the MA co-occurs with a non-thematic element placed after the verb have been tabulated.

Table 6
Frequencies of Positions *M*, *E2* and *E3*

Author	<i>M</i>	<i>E2</i>	<i>E3</i>
Otčenášek	63	26	5
Frýd	38	42	4
Seghers	48	68	6
Greene	64	15	2
Braine	22	20	5
Total	235	171	22

The table shows no significant differences between the frequencies of the first two positions (*M* and *E2*), but reveals great difference between the various authors and translators in this respect. In order to examine the two types of position from the point of view of FSP, let us compare three pairs of instances in each of which only the positions of the MA differ. The other conditions, in terms of FSP, are the same within each pair.

38. Otec se významně zahleděl na budík na kredenci ... O 30.11
[Father (refl. pron.) significantly (perf. pref.) -looked at alarm clock on dresser ...]
39. Hledí vyjeveně na záplavu světla, mračno kouře a půlkruh zvědavých tváří. F 4.25
[He-looks agape at blaze of-light, cloud of-smoke and half-circle of-curious of-faces.]
40. Zdeněk podrážděně zvedl obočí, ... F 23.9
[Zdeněk irritated-ly raised eyebrows, ...]
41. ... chrčí žabák a zvedne výhrušně hlavu. F 14.32
[... wheezes toad and raises threatening-ly head.]
42. Pak rychle vzhledl do tvrdého neonového třpytu. G 13.37
[Then quickly he-up-looked into dark neon glitter.]
43. ... a zírali zmateně do krásné podzimní noci plné hvězd. F 8.18
[... and they-gazed confusedly into lovely autumn night full of-stars.]

Let us first offer some comments on exx. 38 and 39. In the two instances both the verb and the MA are context independent. In both instances the verb functions as transition and the object, which conveys an essential amplification of the meaning of the verb, as rheme proper. The MA is dynamically stronger than the verb, since it also amplifies its meaning, but less dynamic than the object, since the amplification conveyed by the MA is less essential to the meaning of the verb than that conveyed by the object. In terms of FSP,

the MA ranks between transition and rheme proper. Consequently, the MA in both instances will convey approximately the same amount of CD, irrespective of position; in other words, the amount of CD conveyed by the MA may change only within the relatively narrow range limited by the respective amounts of CD conveyed by the verb and by the object.

The other two pairs of instances may be interpreted analogously. In regard to CD each MA ranks between the verb (functioning as transition) and the object or adverbial of place (functioning as rheme proper). It follows that the two instances making up each pair do not differ substantially in the amounts of CD conveyed by the MAs, even though within the indicated limits the MA occurring nearer the end of the sentence may appear to be more dynamic.

The above observations (corroborated by the analysis of all the other instances belonging to the two types of position) seem to justify the conclusion that if there is another non-thematic sentence element following the verb, there is no significant difference in CD relations whether the MA precedes the verb or vice versa. In this we concur with Daneš (1957.66), who arrived at the same conclusion via the prosodic features of the Czech sentence.

Let us now analyze instances displaying position E3. As may be inferred from Tables 1 and 6, the MA only rarely occupies this position. The seven illustrative examples adduced below will provide a useful starting point for further discussion.

44. „Víte, koho jsem potkal? ... Chlapa, který zná mého tatíčka. ... a znal mého tatínka osobně.“ F 13.13

[“You-know whom I met? ... Fellow who knows my Dad. ... and he-knew my Dad personally.”]

45. „Věděl, samozřejmě,“ smál se pisaf *samolíbě*. F 34.28

[“I-knew, naturally,“ laughed (refl. pron.) clerk complacently.]

46. Většina mrznoucích nováčků už ležela na zemi, *odevzané a beznadějně*. F 12.1

[Majority of-freezing novices already was-lying on ground, resignedly and hopelessly.]

47. Přikývla hlavou *skoro vzpurně*. O 22.7

[She-nodded with-head almost defiantly.]

48. ... ač si vydělávají na obživu *mnohem tíže*. S 32.36

[... although (refl. pron.) they-earn for living much harder.]

49. ... uklidni se a popiš svou kazajku *co nejprěsněji*. S 34.18

[... calm yourself and describe your coat possibly most-precisely.]

50. Tyto ostré body pronikaly mlhou *snáze* než světlometry s širokým rozptylem. S 20.26

[These sharp points penetrated through-fog more-easily than searchlights with wide dispersion.]

The above examples illustrate the various factors that may effect position E3. In ex. 44 the element (object) co-occurring with the MA after the verb is context dependent. Ex. 45 represents clauses introducing direct speech containing a context dependent subject. In the remaining examples the communicative importance of the MA is underlined by its loosened connection with the verb (this is signalled by a comma — 46) or by modification (47, 48, 49). The use of the comparative (48) or superlative (49), implying comparison and contrast, also contributes to an increase in the communicative importance of the MA. In ex. 50 the combined effect of several factors has led to the use of position E3. The element preceding the MA (*mlhou*) is context dependent, the MA is used in the comparative and modified by the following noun phrase. The syntactic coherence of the MA with the following modifying phrase also affects its position.

All the factors mentioned in the above comments co-operate with word order in rendering the MA dynamically stronger than the preceding sentence

element, thus entrusting the former with the function of rheme proper. In closing our notes on position *E3*, we present a survey in tabular form of the frequencies of the various factors responsible or co-responsible for the employment of this position.

Table 7
Position *E3*

Factors	Originals		Translations	
	alone	with other factors	alone	with other factors
thematic element	17	4	33	24
loosened connection	8	2	—	4
modification and/or co-ordination with another adverb	8	4	16	26
comparative	—	1	—	8
superlative	1	—	—	2
syntactic coherence	—	—	1	10

The last *E* position to be discussed, namely *E4*, is the least frequent, as may be inferred from Tables 1 and 3. This is not surprising, because it occurs only in instances in which there are at least three sentence elements following the verb. Let us again adduce a few illustrative examples before offering our comments.

51. Měl ... kostnatou bradu ... ale teď, po ztrátě všeho masa ve tvářích, vyrazela spodní čelist přímo groteskně daleko dopředu. F 32.15
[He-had ... bony chin ... but now, after loss of-all-of-flesh in cheeks, out-stuck lower jaw directly grotesquely far ahead.]

52. Ale současně se zdvíhal v jeho nitru tiše, čistě a jasně nezranitelný, nezrušitelný hlas ... S 38.3
[And simultaneously (refl. pron.) rose in his heart softly, purely and clearly invulnerable, in-extinguishable voice, ...]

53. ... pacientu, který šel včera se zavázanou rukou klidně svou cestou ... S 111.11
[... to-patient, who went yesterday with-bandaged with-arm quietly along-his along-way ...]

54. Seděli proti sobě mlčky za kuchyňským stolem ... O 30.10
[They-were-sitting against each-other silently behind kitchen table ...]

55. Ale to všechno žil jiný člověk, takový mládeneček, který si čas od času vypůjčil od táty — tak trochu zbytečně — štětku a britvu. O 13.6
[But it all lived another man, such youth, who (refl. pron.) time from time borrowed from father — so a-little unnecessarily — shaving brush and razor ...]

As *spodní čelist* in ex. 51 refers to a notion known from the preceding verbal context, it is less dynamic than the context independent MA and is therefore placed before it, while *daleko dopředu*, expressing local specification and conveying a more essential amplification of the meaning of the verbal form than the MA, is dynamically stronger than the latter and is therefore placed after it.

In ex. 52 the function of rheme proper is performed by the subject, which accounts for its position at the end of the clause. The adverbial of place *v jeho nitru*, denoting scene, functions as theme, while the verb denoting appearance on the scene, functions as transition. The MA *tiše, čistě a jasně*, denoting the manner of the appearance,¹⁵ ranks between the verb and the subject. Its position between the other two sentence elements following the verb is in accordance with the basic distribution of CD.¹⁶ The MA follows a thematic element and precedes a dynamically stronger element, in this case the rheme proper. Ex. 53 may be interpreted in a similar way. The MA is placed between dynamically weaker elements (a temporal setting and an attendant circumstance, both communicatively less important than the action) and a dynamically stronger element (spatial specification), which also performs the function of rheme proper in this case.

In ex. 54 the element preceding the MA is rendered dynamically weaker than the MA merely by sentence position. With the given word order, however, the MA again has to be interpreted in regard to CD as ranking between the preceding and the following element.

In ex. 55 the MA is inserted in the sentence parenthetically, which considerably loosens its syntactic ties with the sentence. The parenthetical use of the MA would deserve special treatment, including an inquiry into the prosodic features of this type. Since instances of parenthesis are rare in our material, we shall have to leave the problem to further research.

To sum up. Position *E4* is employed if in regard to CD the MA ranks between the other two elements following the verb or if it is inserted in the sentence parenthetically. As the occurrence of this type of position is rather rare, we shall not present a survey of the frequencies of the various types analyzed above.

Positions *I1* and *I2* are even rarer. The material examined contains only six instances of *I1* and seven instances of *I2*. In all of them the MA is separated from the verb by a thematic element, which is dynamically weaker than the MA. The relation between the amounts of CD conveyed by the MA and by the other element is determined by their context dependence or independence, or their semantic contents rather than by their sentence position. In some cases, however, position *I1* seems to render the MA more dynamic than an *M* positioned MA (cf. ex. 57 below). This is in accordance with the known fact that a conspicuous deviation from the tendency to make the sentence elements display a gradual rise in CD renders the word order of a Czech sentence marked

¹⁵ Strictly speaking, in this particular instance the MA is also related to the subject, denoting its quality. Cf. 'doplňková adverbia' (Šmilauer 1969:342) or subject adjuncts (Quirk et al. 1972:465).

¹⁶ The position of the adverbial of place *v jeho nitru* is, of course, not in harmony with the basic distribution of CD. This is, however, irrelevant to our discussion.

(cf. Firbas, present volume, 48—9). Let us adduce two instances (56 and 57) in illustration of position *I1* and two instances (58 and 59) in illustration of position *I2*.

56. *Opatrně se na tuto bláhovou možnost informoval.* O 59.20
[Cautiously (refl. pron.) on this silly possibility he-inquired.]
57. ... *naslouchal jsem, jak vážně Pyle přetřásá otázku dětí.* G 36.25
[... I-listened how seriously Pyle is-discussing question of-children.]
58. *Jak se teď tak tupě na tyto vršky díval ...* S 30.30
[As (refl. pron.) now so dully at these hills he-looked ...]
59. *Zatím co se silní mohou klidně občas zmýlit, ...* S 118.23
[While (refl. pron.) strong-ones can quietly sometimes be-wrong, ...]

Our observations on the sentence positions of the Czech MA from the point of view of FSP lead to the following conclusions. Though the Czech MA may occupy several different sentence positions, only *I2*, *M* and *E2* are, as a rule, interchangeable, if the distribution of CD over the communicative field is to remain substantially the same. The interchangeability is restricted still further by the fact that *I2* and *E2* occur only in longer sentences with at least two elements preceding the verb (*I2*) or two elements following it (*E2*). The three positions may be regarded as neutral. Positions *E1* and *E3*, on the other hand, effect such an increase in the CD of the MA as to let it function as rheme proper. *I1*, though often strengthening the MA dynamically, does not allow it to attain the status of rheme proper if other non-thematic elements are present. In position *E4*, which is restricted to instances with at least three sentence elements following the verb, the amount of CD conveyed by the MA is co-determined by its position.

Chapter Three

SENTENCE POSITIONS OF THE ENGLISH ADVERB OF MANNER

We may now turn our attention to the various sentence positions occupied by the English MA. For the purposes of the present study we distinguish the following positions.

I — The MA is placed initially in the clause, i. e. before the subject. The following example will illustrate.

60. *Angrily* I tried to move from him ... G 124.28

M1 — The MA is placed between two auxiliaries, e. g.,

61. ... and the party ... at which, I felt in a sudden accession of pessimism, I would *very quickly* be shown that my place was in the world of the poor ... B 126.36

M2 — The MA is placed immediately before the verb, e. g.,

62. It was as though we had been *unconsciously* driving towards danger ... G 110.33

E1 — The MA is placed immediately after the verb and, being the only element following it, occurs at the end of the clause, e. g.,

63. ... and as for him, one knows now that he spoke *prematurely*. G 123.25

E2 – The MA is placed immediately after the verb and followed in its turn by one or more sentence elements, e. g.,

64. I came *slowly* up the stairs to the flat in the rue Catinat ... G 127.1

E3 – The MA is placed after the verb and another sentence element and stands at the end of the clause, e. g.,

65. Mr. Muoi's manager came here *personally*. G 141.24

E4 – The MA is placed after the verb between two other elements, e. g.,

66. ... while his other hand touched her *gently* on the shoulder ... O 29.25

The following tables give the frequencies of the various positions of the MA as they occurred in the material examined. The data are based on 400 instances drawn from original English texts and 379 instances drawn from English translations of Czech and German texts.

Table 8
Sentence Positions of the English MA

Position	Originals					Translations				
	one-word MA	modified MA	co-ordination of two or more MAs	adverb phrase	total	one-word MA	modified MA	co-ordination of two or more MAs	adverb phrase	Total
<i>I</i>	3	3	1	0	7	22	5	6	1	34
<i>M1</i>	—	1	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	1
<i>M2</i>	30	4	1	3	38	48	1	—	—	49
<i>E1</i>	108	13	1	5	127	70	12	7	3	92
<i>E2</i>	91	6	7	1	105	81	6	3	3	93
<i>E3</i>	48	15	6	13	82	53	17	6	8	84
<i>E4</i>	34	4	2	—	40	23	2	0	1	26
total	314	46	18	22	400	297	44	22	16	379

Like its Czech counterpart, the English MA favours *E* positions in clauses introducing direct speech, as may be inferred from the following table.

Table 9
Clauses Introducing Direct Speech

Position	Originals					Translations				
	one-word MA	modified MA	co-ordination of two or more MAs	adverb phrase	total	one-word MA	modified MA	co-ordination of two or more MAs	adverb phrase	Total
<i>I</i>	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	1	—	5
<i>M2</i>	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	2
<i>E1</i>	55	3	—	—	58	32	3	2	—	37
<i>E2</i>	31	—	—	—	31	13	—	2	—	15
<i>E3</i>	1	—	—	—	1	5	1	—	—	6
<i>E4</i>	2	—	—	—	2	4	—	—	1	5
total	89	3	—	—	92	60	4	5	1	70

Table 10 below gives a picture of the frequencies of the various sentence positions occupied by the English MA if clauses introducing direct speech are left out of consideration.

Table 10 clearly shows that the English MA is most frequently placed in *E* positions (except *E4*, which is relatively rare, as besides the MA it requires the occurrence of two other elements after the verb), which are followed in frequency by *M2*.

In order to ascertain if more-word MAs behave differently from one-word MAs as to position, let us present the relevant figures in Table 11.

This table does not show any significant difference between one-word MAs and more-word MAs with regard to positioning before the verb or after it.

We have now proceeded far enough to offer some observations on each of the sentence positions the English MA may occupy. We shall proceed from the more frequent (and, as a rule, unmarked) positions to those that are rarer or marked.

Table 10

Sentence Positions of the English MA
(Excluding Clauses Introducing Direct Speech)

Position	Originals					Translations				
	one-word MA	modified MA	co-ordination of two or more MAs	adverb phrase	total	one-word MA	modified MA	co-ordination of two or more MAs	adverb phrase	Total
<i>I</i>	3	3	1	—	7	18	5	5	1	29
<i>M1</i>	—	1	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	1
<i>M2</i>	30	4	1	3	38	46	1	—	—	47
<i>E1</i>	53	10	1	5	69	38	9	5	3	55
<i>E2</i>	60	6	7	1	74	68	6	1	3	78
<i>E3</i>	47	15	6	13	81	48	16	6	8	78
<i>E4</i>	32	4	2	—	38	19	2	—	—	21
total	225	43	18	22	308	237	40	17	15	309

Table 11

Sentence Positions of One-Word and More-Word MAs
(Excluding Clauses Introducing Direct Speech)

Position	Originals		Translations	
	one-word MAs	more-word MAs	one-word MAs	more-word MAs
preceding the verb	33	13	64	13
following the verb	192	70	173	59

A position that comes under the heading of the more frequent ones is *M2*. With the exception of passive voice sentences the MA is, as a rule, not placed in *M2* if there is no sentence element following the verb. The verb in *M2* position instances may be followed by a direct object expressed by a single word, phrase or, in four cases, a clause, by an indirect object usually followed in its turn by another element (in our material it is another object, occasionally expressed by a clause), by an adverbial of time or place, by another adverbial of manner, or by an adverbial of agency in passive voice sentences; cf. the following examples.

67. ... unworthy also of the man who *so strangely* loved his wife. G 31.12

68. Are you *seriously* telling us that platoons do not report their casualties ... G 77.18

69. It was as if we had been *unconsciously* driving towards danger ... G 110.33

70. I know that it is *easier* done over a telephone than over eight thousand miles. G 92.32

71. ... and you *honestly* thought I could not see you. O 11.17

72. I think that perhaps I was *unconsciously* making up to Mother through her for all the times I'd answered perfectly reasonable questions with boorish grunts or studied vagueness. B 90.17

Table 12
Types of Elements Following the Verb in *M2* Position Instances

Type of Element	Originals	Translations
direct object (word or phrase)	25	25
object clause	1	3
indirect object	2	1
prepositional object	1	1
adverbial of place	2	9
adverbial of time	1	—
adverbial of manner	1	1
complement	1	—
adverbial of agency (passive voice)	—	1

In the passive voice as well as in those combinations of the verb *to be* with a past participle that denote a state, the MA may also be placed in *M2* if no sentence element follows the verb. The material examined contains four

instances of this type, exemplified by ex. 73 below. It also contains, however, three instances in which the verb is in the passive and the MA placed in *E1*, and one instance in which the MA is placed in *E2*. It is worth noting that in one of the three *E1* instances the MA implies contrast (ex. 74 below) and in another it is modified (ex. 75).

73. After an engagement had been *tidily* finished ... G 35.17

74. Some were executed *publicly*, others were tortured to death in the concentration camps. S 140.23

75. Belloni's regular, almost handsome features were marred *only slightly*. S 178.21

Four other *M2* position instances in the material investigated have no sentence element placed after the verb. The small number of instances of this kind is in agreement with the fact that the English verb is seldom placed at the end of a clause. It is also in harmony with the low communicative value of the English finite verb (cf. Firbas 1961). Let us quote at least two instances of the described type.

76. Unconsciously his hand went to his pocket-book where the ticket was and *hastily* retreated. O 24.9

77. ... because the hypothetical car, which he had so *highmindedly* rejected, was all too real to me. B 97.27

Owing to its semantic content, a context independent MA surpasses the verb in CD irrespective of sentence position. In *M2* position instances semantic structure operates counter to the basic distribution of CD (cf. the argument for the Czech MA on p. 71). In exx. 73–77 quoted above the MA constitutes the only amplification of the verbal form and since the elements preceding the verb are thematic, the MA functions as rheme proper. It has the same function in instances with a context dependent (and hence thematic) element or a setting following the verb, as illustrated by exx. 78 and 79, respectively.

78. ... and Pyle pounced, pulling the sten to his side of the room ... The guards had *quietly* accepted the loss of the gun. G 111.23

79. The French would not *seriously* object now ... G 84.3

In all the other types of *M2* position instances the MA is surpassed in CD by the element following the verb, since the latter conveys a more essential amplification of the meaning of the verbal form.

As may be inferred from Table 12, the direct object is by far the most frequent element following the verb in *M2* position instances. Since, as a rule, it immediately follows the verb (cf., e. g., Hais 1975.293), the MA cannot be placed between the verb and the direct object. It may, however, be placed in *E3* but, as we shall see later (on p. 89 below), only if it is to exceed the object in CD. It follows that if a context independent object is to be rendered dynamically stronger than the MA, the latter is usually placed in *M2*. (Cf. also the discussion of position *E2* on p. 87 below, which shows that the MA is seldom placed in *E2* if a context independent direct object expressed by a word or phrase follows.)

An inquiry into the semantic relations of the MA to other sentence elements has shown that in most cases the *M2* positioned MA also characterizes the referent of the subject with respect to the action denoted by the verb, i. e. that it belongs to the class termed by Quirk et al. (1972. 465–7) subject adjuncts. It seems, however, impossible to draw a strict dividing line between

adjuncts that in some way define the process denoted by the verb (referred to as process adjuncts in Quirk et al., 459) and subject adjuncts. There seems to be a whole scale of types, differing in the intensity of their relation to the referent of the subject on the one hand and the action on the other. The establishment of such a scale lies, however, beyond the scope of the present study and must be left to further research. Here we shall limit ourselves to a few illustrative examples ranging from an instance in which the MA-subject relation prevails (80), through one in which the MA-subject relation and the MA-verb relation seem to be of approximately the same intensity (81), to an instance in which the MA is a typical process adjunct (82).

80. Perhaps he was *happily* making money out of girls in Cholon. G 28. 16

81. "That is not strong enough," he said, and took it and tasted it himself, *carefully* rinsed and refilled it from a second teapot. G 140.15

82. ... and I *distinctly* heard a woman behind me sniffing back her tears. B 36.9

For the reasons mentioned above, we shall refrain from making an exact statistical evaluation of subject adjuncts and process adjuncts. Though subject adjuncts obviously prevail in *M2* position instances, examples of typical process adjuncts turn up on rare occasions as well (cf., e. g., ex. 82 quoted above). On the other hand, subject adjuncts are also found in *E* (as instanced by ex. 83 below), though less frequently, and, as we shall see further on, in *I* position.

83. I went back *hopelessly* to my bed in the rue Catinat. G 33.25

Our material corroborates the statement of Quirk et al. (469) that the most frequent positions of subject adjuncts are *M* and *I*.

We may now proceed to the next sentence position, namely *E1*. Since the MA is the only element following the verb in *E1* position instances and since, in most cases, the elements preceding the entire verb form are thematic, the MA performs the function of rheme proper. Let us quote two examples instancing this type.

84. Pyle offered him a Vit-Health sandwich, which he refused *politely*. G 98.19

85. He had laughed *nervously* and said ... G 86.19

The type illustrated above is by far the most frequent within the discussed position, occurring in all but one *E1* position instances found in the material examined. Let us now quote the only instance in which an *E1* positioned MA is prevented from performing the function of rheme proper.

The adverbial of place *from the plain* denotes the scene, the verb *rose* appearance on the scene and the MA *unchangingly* manner of the appearance. All the elements are surpassed in CD by the subject, which denotes the thing that appears on the scene (cf. Firbas 1966. 243-9). Thus semantic-contextual means, operating counter to the basic distribution of CD, let an element preceding the verb, namely the subject, function as rheme proper.

86. From the plain the mortar bursts rose *unchangingly* ... G 58.27

E2 bears a certain resemblance to *M2* in that the verb is followed by at least one sentence element other than the MA. It differs from *M2*, however, in having the MA placed after the verb and followed in its turn by the other sentence element(s). The sentence element following the MA may be a pre-

positional object, a direct object (most frequently in the form of direct speech), an adverbial of place or time, an adverbial of manner, cause, purpose, condition or concession, all expressed either by a word or phrase or clause. The following examples will illustrate.

87. "... Or rather, I'd be delighted —" he winked *heavily* at Eva — "we'll leave the others behind ..." B 41.12
88. ... it combined *oddly* with her magnificent bust. B 59.19
89. ... but when he spoke *so lightly* about going away I felt lonely and lost; ... B 112.34
90. I drank *slowly* the green bitter tea ... G 138.28
91. I added *unwillingly*, "I'll give you a lift ..." G 100.29
92. He said *solemnly*, as though this part he had learned by heart, that he had a great love and respect for *Phuong*. G 87.37
93. Something shifted *slowly* in the dark below us ... G 119.14
94. I came *slowly* up the stairs to the flat in the rue Catinat ... G 127.1
95. "Don't be cross with me," she spoke *more gently* now. O 24.30
96. A dusty jacksaw was hopping about *awkwardly* with clipped wings ... O 41.8

A tabular arrangement of the frequencies of the various elements following the verb and the MA in *E2* position instances and its comparison with analogous data presented in Table 12 on p. 84 may provide a suitable basis for an inquiry into the decisive factors in placing the MA before the verb or after it in instances where one or more sentence elements (besides the MA in *E2*) follow the verb.

When Table 12 and Table 13 are compared, one difference immediately becomes obvious between *M2* instances on the one hand and *E2* instances on the other. While the most frequent element following the verb in *M2* was the direct object, in *E2* it is the adverbial of place, direct speech and the prepositional object. It follows that with a direct object expressed by a word or phrase following the verb the MA tends to be placed in *M2*, while with a prepositional object following the verb it tends to be placed in *E2*.

A comparison of Tables 12 and 13 further leads to the conclusion that the MA tends to be placed in *E2* also if an adverbial of place follows the verb.

The factors determining the employment of both *M2* and *E2* that have been ascertained so far belong to the level of formal grammar. It is not improbable that the difference between such pairs as exx. 97 and 98, adduced below, should be sought on the semantic level, namely in the relations of the MA to the referent of the subject and to the action denoted by the verb.

97. The guards had *quietly* accepted the loss of the gun. G 111.23

98. "Will you come back?" she asked *quietly*. O 32.33

A definite solution to the suggested problem must, however, be left to further research as it presupposes the establishment of exact criteria of subject and process adjuncts, including all the transitional types.

Let us now approach the problem from the angle of FSP. For the purpose of comparison let us consider two examples. In the first the MA is in *M2* position and in the second in *E2* position; the other conditions are, as far as possible, similar in both instances.

99. I knew a man who had *suddenly and inexplicably* lost his cook ... G 28.9

100. ... and Pyle ran *easily and naturally* out of my mind. G 38.32

Both instances contain a thematic subject, a co-ordination of two MAs, a verb that requires amplification and an element conveying this amplification. In regard to CD both instances have an MA that ranks between the verb and

Table 13

Types of Elements Following the Verb and MA in *E2* Position Instances

Type of Element	Originals	Translations
prepositional object	15	15
direct object (word or phrase)	3	—
object clause	2	2
direct speech	30	17
adverbial of place	34	37
adverbial of time	11	8
adverbial of manner	9	13
adverbial of cause	—	1
adverbial of purpose	—	2
adverbial of condition	1	—
adverbial of concession	—	1

the element which conveys a more essential amplification of the meaning of the verbal form than the MA does. All this holds good irrespective of whether the MA is placed before the verb or after it. The amount of CD conveyed by the MA is then somewhere between the limits set by the respective amounts of CD carried by the verb and the element conveying a more essential amplification of the meaning of the verbal form. It is only within this narrow range that an *E2* positioned MA may surpass an *M2* positioned MA in CD.

The fact that, within the limits defined in the preceding paragraph, the *E2* positioned MA often appears to be dynamically stronger than its *M2* positioned counterpart may be due to its sentence position and/or to the difference between the semantic contents conveyed by the two types of MA. Let us assume that further research will corroborate what our material suggests as to the distribution of subject adjuncts and process adjuncts in the various sentence positions, namely that the former prevail in *M*, while the latter

prevail in all types of *E*. If we realize that at least a certain part of the semantic content conveyed by the subject adjunct (namely the part characterizing the referent of the subject) denotes concomitant circumstance rather than specification of the action expressed by the verb, it follows that, intrinsically, the semantic content conveyed by the subject adjunct is communicatively less important than that conveyed by the process adjunct. In many cases this may account for the differing amounts of CD conveyed by the MA when placed in *M2* and in *E*.

Our inquiry into the conditions under which an *E2* positioned MA may function as rheme proper leads to the following conclusion. Provided that the clause does not contain a non-thematic subject, the MA will perform the function of rheme proper if the other element following the verb is either context dependent (ex. 101 below) or if it is a setting (exx. 93 and 95 quoted on p. 87).

101. ... and I leant *more heavily* against him ... G 124.30

The wider context of ex. 101 shows that the narrator of the story had been leaning against his companion for some time before he tried to move away from him.

E3 resembles *M2* and *E2* in that the verb is followed by another element besides the MA. This time, however, the MA does not precede the other element but follows it. The interpretations of the following examples of the different types of elements preceding the MA as well as a tabular arrangement of their frequencies in our material will enable us to ascertain the factors leading to the use of this position (see Table 14).

102. She drank it *obediently*. B 102.22

103. She had cool, dry hands and returned my clasp *firmly*. B 8.20

104. Mr. Muoi's manager came here *personally*. G 141.24

105. "Will you stay tonight?" I asked Phung over the croissants as *casually* as I could. G 39.6

106. Somebody knocked again *impatiently*. G 27.20

107. "Why ask me — I'm an Aryan butcher from Vienna," growled the Toad *churlishly*. F 11.21

108. No one can touch him if he does his work *properly*. B 142. 34

109. Karlchen cleared his throat loudly, but put his stick away in a corner as *unobtrusively* as he could. F 9.38

110. She shook her head twice, *quite seriously*. S 155.25

The most frequent element preceding the MA in *E3* position instances is the object. If it is a pronominal or a context dependent substantival object (exx. 102 and 103), the MA being context independent, naturally exceeds it in CD. The same holds good if the element preceding the MA expresses a local or temporal setting (exx. 104, 105, 106) or a context dependent subject in a clause introducing direct speech (ex. 107). Even if the MA is preceded by a context independent element other than a setting (e. g., an object or a spatial or temporal specification, cf. exx. 108, 109, 110), it exceeds the latter in CD. In other words, *E3* position always renders the MA dynamically stronger than the preceding element(s). The CD of the MA is often further increased by other means, such as modification by, or co-ordination with, another adverb, or a loosened connection with the verb (marked by commas); cf. exx. 109 and 110.

The next position to be discussed is *E4*. It is much less frequent than the positions discussed so far. In *E4* the MA is placed after the verb and between

Table 14

Types of Elements Preceding the MA in E3 Position Instances

Type of Element	Originals	Translations
pronominal object	47	31
substantival object context dependent	16	21
substantival direct object context independent	13	17
adverbial of place context dependent	1	—
adverbial of place (setting)	1	3
adverbial of place (specification)	12	3
adverbial of time (setting)	3	3
adverbial of time (specification)	—	1
subject (in introductory clauses)	—	5
complement	—	2

two other elements. As may be inferred from the following examples and tables, most of the elements preceding the MA belong to the types occurring before the MA in E3, while most of the elements following the MA in E4 belong to the types occurring after the MA in E2 (cf. Tables 15 and 16).

111. He turned to Phuong and interrogated her *sharply* in French. G 29.4

112. ... Miss Hei said, and she clamped her hand *heavily* down on Phuong's knee. G 55.14

113. He wants to talk to you *privately* — about business. G 83.3

114. She ran her hand *delicately* over my chest. B 98.29

115. She held me *tightly* as we kissed and ... B 135.4

In regard to CD, an E4 positioned MA ranks between the preceding and the following element, unless the latter is a setting and as such dynamically weaker than the MA regardless of position.

I position instances comprise several types differing in the function of the MA on the level of FSP. We shall adduce and comment upon several examples of each type.

Table 15

Types of Elements Preceding the MA in E4 Position Instances

Type of Element	Originals	Translations
pronominal object	20	14
substantival direct object context dependent	3	2
substantival direct object context independent	13	5
place (setting)	1	—
place (specification)	—	1
subject in introductory clauses	3	4

116. You know how *quickly* rumour spreads. G 41.37

117. But I really was surprised how *decently* they treated the fellow. S 40.33

The modifier *how* has an intensifying function and renders the MA so strong dynamically as to make it surpass all the other elements in CD. In this function *how* is assisted by word order since the *I* position of the MA represents a deviation from the order required by the grammatical word-order principle, which places the MA either immediately before, or in the clause section after, the verb.

A similar phenomenon may be observed in the following sentence with the MA placed in *E2*.

118. One forgets *so quickly* one's own youth. G 30.20

The modifier *so* performs a similar function as *how* in the preceding examples. Though in this case the MA is not placed initially in the clause, the position it occupies is also rare (separating the verb from the direct object).

In the following example, *just* functions as a rhematizer (cf. Firbas 1959.53), rendering the pro-adverb *so* rhematic regardless of its semantic content and word order.

119. *Just so* she would have made love if I had asked her to. G 128.25

The remaining *I* position instances found in the material examined (i. e. those that do not belong to the types described so far) range from those in which the MA functions unequivocally as a subject adjunct, through those that allow of double interpretation to those in which the MA has to be interpreted as a process adjunct. The semantic content essentially affects the function of the MA on the level of FSP, as the following examples will show.

Table 16

Types of Sentence Elements Following the MA in E4 Position Instances

Type of Element	Originals	Translations
substantival prepositional object context independent	2	3
direct speech	5	1
place (specification)	12	5
time (setting)	3	3
time (specification)	1	—
adverbial of manner	5	5
adverbial of attending circumstance	6	4
other adverbials	3	6

120. *Patiently* the colonel wove his web of evasion. G 77.7

121. *Angrily* I tried to move from him ... G 124.23

122. *Scornfully* but *sadly* he murmured: S 32.35

123. *Carefully* Franz shifted his piece ... S 13.5

124. *Softly*, with an oblique look toward the guard and without moving his lips, Hans said: S 4.16

125. *Quickly* the level land came to meet them, with its factories and streets. S 10.5¹⁷

Let us recall the argument presented above on p. 000, according to which the semantic content conveyed by the subject adjunct is communicatively less important than that conveyed by the process adjunct. If we apply the argument to the *E* position instances quoted above, we arrive at the following conclusion. The MA is less dynamic if it unequivocally functions as a subject adjunct than if it functions as a process adjunct. The initial position of an MA subject adjunct is definitely less marked than the initial position of an MA process adjunct.

It follows that the functions on the level of FSP of an *I* positioned MA depend on its semantic content. The marked use may be underlined by intensifying modifiers, such as *how*, *so*, or by the rhematizer *just*.

¹⁷ In ex. 125 it is the subject *the level land with its factories and streets*, denoting a phenomenon introduced onto the scene, that performs the function of rheme proper. Though the MA does not surpass it in CD, its position remains marked, rendering the sentence emotive.

The material investigated contains only two instances with the MA placed in *M1*.

126. ... and the party ... at which, I felt in a sudden accession of pessimism, *I would very quickly* be shown that my place was in the world of the poor ... B 126.36

127. ... that the hills themselves might have thought that what was conquerable had *finally* been fenced and made arable. S 6.24

The MA *finally* in ex. 127, corresponding to the original *endgültig*, is not a pure adverb of manner but a semantic blend of manner, result and time. The low number of *M1* position instances seems to justify the conclusion that MAs are, as a rule, not placed in *M1*.

Reviewing the chapter devoted to the discussion of the various sentence positions occupied by the English MA, we may sum up the observations as follows.

The English MA may, as a rule, be placed in six different sentence positions, of which *E1*, *E2* and *E3* are the most frequent. To a certain extent, the choice of a particular position in English depends on the grammatical (syntactic and sometimes morphological) character of the element following the verb. The choice is also affected by the semantic content conveyed by the MA, i. e. by its relation to the referent of the subject on the one hand and the action denoted by the verb on the other. Subject adjuncts tend to be placed near the subject, while process adjuncts favour positions near the verb. As a deviation from the sequence required by the grammatical word-order principle, the initial MA process adjunct renders the order of words marked and emotive.

In regard to FSP, the following can be said. In relation to the positions of other elements — with the exception of thematic elements (including settings), the verb and a non-thematic subject —, the position of a context independent MA functioning as a process adjunct determines the degree of CD the MA conveys. If placed before such another element, the MA will carry a lower degree of CD than this kind of element; if placed after it, the MA will surpass it in CD. Irrespective of sentence position, the MA will carry a lower degree of CD than a non-thematic subject, but a higher degree of CD than the verb and the thematic elements (including settings).

Chapter Four

SENTENCE POSITIONS OF THE GERMAN ADVERB OF MANNER

In German we distinguish three sets of positions (denoted as *a*, *b*, and *c*) corresponding to three different types of clauses differentiated on the basis of the position of the verb and those of the other parts of the predicate.

(a) Clauses without a frame, i. e. with a simple (one-word) verbal form placed initially or in the second position.

(b) Clauses with a frame, i. e. an infinite verbal form, a separable prefix or the nominal part of a verbo-nominal phrase placed finally.

(c) Clauses with the finite verb placed finally.

Within these three types of clauses we distinguish the following positions.¹⁸
I_{a,b} — The MA is placed initially in the clause, i. e. before the subject. The following examples will illustrate.

128. *Vorsichtig und ruhig* ließ er sich an dem schrägen Dach ein paar Meter hinunter ... S 105.32

129. *Ganz rasch* wurden die Fensterfarben zwischen die Pfeiler geworfen ... S 81.6

I_c — The MA is placed initially in the clause, being preceded only by the connective *wie*, e. g.,

130. Wir wollten nicht daran erinnert werden, *wie wenig* wir bedeuteten, *wie rasch*, *wie einfach* und *wie namenlos* der Tod kam. G 68.35

E1_a — The MA is placed immediately after the verb (or after the subject if the latter follows the verb) and at the end of the clause, e. g.,

131. Georg suchte *hastig*, ... S 112.32

E2_a — The MA is placed after the verb (or the subject) and followed in its turn by another element, e. g.,

132. In jeder Hand eine Krone, unbemerkt von Georg, krönte er *unablässig* zwei Zwerge ... S 74.9

E3_a — The MA is placed after the verb (or the subject) and another element and stands at the end of the clause, e. g.,

133. Georg beobachtete ihn *scharf*. S 68.15

E4_a — The MA is placed after the verb (or the subject) between two other elements, e. g.,

134. ... gab jedem *geschwind* einen kleinen Schnitt und ... S 101.12

E1_b — The MA is placed immediately after the finite verb (or the subject) and stands immediately before the element closing the frame; the frame is not followed by any other element belonging to the same communicative field, e. g.,

135. Der Arzt wandte sich *langsam* ab ... S 99.10

E2_b — The MA is placed immediately after the finite verb (or the subject) and is followed in its turn by another element (or other elements) and separated by it (or them) from the element closing the frame (ex. 136); or followed first by the element closing the frame and then the other element(s) (ex. 137).

136. Er zog *unwillkürlich* seine Hände aus dem Mondlicht zurück ... S 71.34

137. Er setzte sich auf eine Bank und fing *gedankenlos* an, ein Stück Zwieback zu kauen. S 182.5

E3_b — The MA is placed after the finite verb (or the subject), separated from it by another element (or other elements) and immediately followed by the element closing the frame; the frame is not followed by any other element belonging to the same communicative field, e. g.,

138. Er sah sich alles *genau* an. S 115.9

¹⁸ The subscripts *a*, *b*, *c* refer to the types of clause.

E4_b — The MA is placed after the finite verb (or the subject) between two other elements other than the element closing the frame; the latter of the two elements may either precede (ex. 139) or follow the termination of the frame (ex. 140).

139. Der andere holte mit langen, etwas wippenden Schritten *leicht* Elli ein ... S 120.4

140. Vielleicht hatte Georg seinen Weg *ruhig* fortsetzen können bis Oppenheim und noch weiter — ... S 38.28

E1_c — The MA is the only element between the connective (or the subject) and the verb; the finite verb is not followed by any other element belonging to the same communicative field, e. g.,

141. ... sagte es, als er *sachte* fragte. S 113.2

E2_c — The MA is placed immediately after the connective (or the subject) and either separated from the finite verb by another element (or other elements) or followed first by the finite verb and then by the other element(s), e. g.,

142. Das Herbstlicht lag auf den Schirmen, die *pilzartig* über den Buden standen. S 100.23

143. ... daß Georg zu denen gehörte, die auch *barfuß* mitgegangen wären, von Anfang bis Ende. S 64.10

E3_c — The MA is separated from the connective (or the subject) by another element (or other elements) and immediately precedes the finite verb; the finite verb is not followed by any other element belonging to the same communicative field, e. g.,

144. Höchstens, wenn sich das gäbe, daß ich sie irgendwo *zufällig* treffe. S 102.32

E4_c — The MA is placed between two elements other than the connective, the subject and the finite verb; the latter of the two elements may either precede (ex. 145) or follow the finite verb (ex. 146).

145. ... wobei er den Filzhütigen *leicht* mit dem Ellenbogen anstieß. S 119.31

146. Er konnte froh sein, wenn er sie *kurz* wiedersah, ohne sie und sich selbst zu gefährden. S 194.5

The following table gives the frequencies of the various sentence positions occupied by the German MA as they occurred in the material examined. The data are based on 400 instances drawn from an original German text and 580 instances drawn from German translations of Czech and English texts. Instances in which the MA is placed outside the frame (10 in the original text and 2 in the translations) are not included in the table and will be dealt with separately on p. 98.

We shall first deal with the (a) set of positions, which, as far as the position of the verb is concerned, resemble Czech and English instances discussed in the preceding chapters.

If the MA is the only element (besides the subject in some cases) to follow the verb, it can only take up one position, **E1**, which is unmarked. Two examples in illustration will suffice.

147. Er klopfte *leise*. S 179.34

148. ... jetzt aber ging er *schneller* ... S 113.31

If there is another element besides the MA following the verb, the MA may be placed either in **E2_a** or in **E3_a**. **E2_a** is the more frequent of the two positions

Table 17
Sentence Positions of the German MA

Position	Original			Translations		
	one-word MA	more-word MA	total	one-word MA	more-word MA	Total
<i>I_{a,b}</i>	11	10	21	40	8	48
<i>I_c</i>	3	—	3	2	1	3
<i>E1_a</i>	24	14	38	116	17	133
<i>E2_a</i>	70	23	93	89	13	102
<i>E3_a</i>	12	13	25	15	7	22
<i>E4_a</i>	15	7	22	27	3	30
<i>E1_b</i>	27	5	32	42	5	47
<i>E2_b</i>	17	9	26	35	4	39
<i>E3_b</i>	34	4	38	45	12	57
<i>E4_b</i>	7	3	10	18	6	24
<i>E1_c</i>	20	8	28	11	2	13
<i>E2_c</i>	15	2	17	13	4	17
<i>E3_c</i>	15	11	26	21	6	27
<i>E4_c</i>	9	2	11	13	3	16
total	279	111	390	487	91	578

and is, as a rule, applied when the other element conveys a more essential amplification of the meaning of the verbal form than the MA does. It may be, e. g., an object (cf. exx. 149 and 150 below), a spatial specification (151) or a rhematic subject (152). In these cases the mutual position of the other element and the MA is in harmony with the basic distribution of CD. It is also in accord with the German word-order principle referred to by Helbig-Buscha (1972: 502) as 'syntactic closeness to the verb'. According to this principle, those elements that are the closest to the verb syntactically stand the farthest from it in the sentence. In some cases an $E2_a$ positioned MA may be followed by an element that further develops the idea conveyed by the MA. The other element may denote a specifying circumstance, as illustrated by ex. 153 below. The $E2_a$ positioned MA is, as a rule, surpassed in CD by the element placed after it. It is only if conveying a setting that such an element is dynamically weaker than the MA; cf. ex. 154.

149. Sie machten *gedankenlos* ihre drei Züge, mit denen sie gewöhnlich dieses Spiel einleiteten. S 61.25

150. Er sah *gespannt* auf die Straße ... S 119.25

151. Georg saß *rittlings* auf seinem Stuhl. S 65.20

152 Zwischen dem mit Scherben bespickten Mauersims und dem Himmel zog sich *bräunlich* der Ausläufer eines Weinberges ... S 37.15

153. Hans sagte *leise*, mit einem schiefen Blick auf den Posten, ohne den Mund zu bewegen: S 8.25

154. „Hast du eben gehört, Fritz,“ fragte das Mädchen *grußlos*, sobald der Junge ins Hofort trat. S 149.1

$E3_a$ is less frequent than $E2_a$ and is employed if the other element following the verb is dynamically weaker than the MA. The MA may be preceded, e. g., by an adverbial of time denoting a setting (155), by a context dependent object (156 and 157) or by an adverbial of manner the idea of which the MA itself further develops (158). The amount of CD conveyed by the MA is often further increased by modification (157) or co-ordination with another MA (155), by a loosened connection with the preceding part of the sentence (158, 159) and/or by an implication of contrast (e. g., in case of a comparative — 157). Only rarely is the MA preceded by an element which would normally surpass it in CD (e. g., a context independent object or spatial specification). In all these cases, however, the MA is either modified by a following subordinate clause, or set off from the preceding part of the sentence by a comma, so that it is rendered dynamically stronger than the preceding element. Cf. ex. 159 below, in which *und zwar* and the amassing of manner adverbials serve as further intensifying signals.

155. „Na, und?“ sagte er plötzlich *grob* und *patzig*. S 45.11

156. Georg beobachtete ihn *scharf*. S 68.15

157. ... und sie verdienen ihr Brot *viel saurer*. S 40.23

158. ... sprang es daher wie ein Bächlein, bald *traurig*, bald *fröhlich* ... S 61.21

159. Wenn man ihm ruhig alle Macht läßt und ihm vollkommen gehorcht, dann erreicht er meistens das Richtige, und zwar *rasch* und *wild* und ohne Umwege. S 124.35

$E4_a$ is comparatively rare since it may occur only in longer clauses with at least three elements following the verb (in some cases besides the subject). The first of these elements is, as a rule, dynamically weaker than the MA, while the other (placed after the MA) surpasses it in CD. In the material investigated the element preceding the MA is represented, for instance, by

an adverbial of time denoting a setting (ex. 160) or by a context dependent object (161), while the element following the MA may be represented by an adverbial denoting a temporal or spatial specification (160 and 161) or by a context independent object, occasionally in the form of a clause (162 and 163). In all these instances the element following the MA performs the function of rheme proper. In some cases, however, the element following the MA denotes a setting, and as such is dynamically weaker than the MA (cf. ex. 164). Then it is the MA that performs the function of rheme proper.

160. Jene Frau ... weinte gestern abend *offen* zum zweitenmal. S 85.8

161. ... da schoß es ihm *heiß* durchs Herz ... S 96.7

162. Er wartete eine Weile *gedankenlos* auf irgendeide äußere Hilfe, oder auf bloßes Aufwachen oder auf ein Wunder. S 114.19

163. ... und fragte Franz *schroff*, ob er vielleicht den Mann nicht von früher kenne. S 71.4

164. Sie umschlang mich *fest*, als wir uns küßten ... B 160.35

Our observations on sentence positions occupied by the German MA in clauses of type (a) may be summarized as follows. The sentence positions of the German MA discussed so far display a high degree of agreement with the basic distribution of CD. The requirement of the grammatical word-order principle in regard to the fixed initial or second position of the verb appears to be in harmony with the word-order principle arranging the sentence elements in accordance with the basic distribution of CD.

In clauses of type (b) the MA is, as a rule, placed within a frame formed by the finite verb at the beginning of the clause or in the second position and the infinite verbal form or a prefix or the nominal part of a verbo-nominal phrase at its end. If the MA is the only element to follow the subject and the finite verb, the only position it can occupy is $E1_b$. This positioning is unmarked. Let us adduce and comment upon two examples.

165. Georg ekelte sich, aber er mußte *genau* mit zusehen. S 101.14

166. Er atmete *leicht* auf. S 17.35

Owing to its semantic content, the MA conveys a higher amount of CD than the verb it qualifies. If the lexical verb is placed finally in the clause (ex. 165), the semantic content conveyed by the MA asserts itself counter to the basic distribution of CD. If the clause frame is closed by some lexical element other than a verb, then, as a rule, the verb and the closing element form one lexical unit and have to be regarded as one communicative unit on the level of FSP. Hence the MA is to be interpreted as communicatively more important than the closing element (ex. 166).

The material examined contains 12 instances (7 in clauses of type b, 5 in clauses of type c) in which the MA is placed outside the frame, following its closing element.

167. Es fing unterdess zu läuten an, *so nah und stark*, daß die Mauer dröhnte ... S 57.5

168. Wie sie ihm ins Gesicht sah, *rasch* einmal von der Näherer weg in seine Augen, wußte sie, daß er wirklich nichts hatte. S 138.26

The position of the MA outside the frame effects an increase in the amount of CD it conveys.¹⁹

¹⁹ Some aspects of the loosening of the rigid grammatical word order in German are treated in Firbas (1959.57-8) and in Benes (1958, 1962).

If there is another element besides the MA following the verb, the MA may be placed either in $E2_b$ or in $E3_b$. $E2_b$ occurs, as a rule, if the other element is communicatively more important than the MA: in the material examined this is either a context independent object (ex. 169), a spatial specification (170), a rhematic subject (171) or another adverbial of manner in a broad sense (172). It is usually the element following the MA that performs the function of rheme proper. The following examples will illustrate this.

169. Fahrenberg hatte zwar scheinbar *kaltblütig* alle Maßnahmen getroffen ... S 25.26

170. Dieser Fassadenkletterer, hieß es, sei schon mehrmals entwischt, jetzt sei er *frisch* ertappt worden in einem Hotelzimmer ... S 104.3

171. Der Tapezierer schwieg, in seinem Gesicht drückte sich *offen und unverwischt* die ganze Not seines Gewissens aus. S 177.4

172. Alice beobachtete den Wasserkessel und trat *ungeduldig* mit dem Fuß auf. B 120.17

Two instances in the material examined do not conform to the regularity described and illustrated above. They contain an $E2_b$ positioned MA followed by a context dependent element. Let us quote at least one of them.

173. Zdeněk greift mit unschlüssigen Händen in den Haufen alten Leders hinein, dann beginnt er *fiberhaft* darin zu wühlen. F 20.6

Contrary to $E2_b$, $E3_b$ tends to occur if the other element following the verb is thematic (and often context dependent). In the material investigated it is either a pronominal object (174), a context dependent substantival object (175), an adverbial of time (176), an adverbial of place (177), both functioning as settings, or an adverbial expressing attendant circumstances (178). An $E3_b$ positioned MA always exceeds the preceding element in CD. Let us now adduce the illustrative examples.

174. Er rollte ihn *ganz langsam* ab. S 98.18

175. „Hat sich die Zunge verbrannt,“ sagte jemand zu Franz, sein Nebenmann Felix, ein Freund Messers. Er sah Franz *scharf* an. S 20.6

176. ... und die ältere Schwester hätte sich bei jeder unserer Zusammenkünfte *still und taktvoll* zurückgezogen. G 53.7

177. ... aber nun sprang der Unterkiefer in dem abgemagerten Gesicht *geradezu grotesk* vor. F 39.34

178. ... und sie wandte sich ihm mit gerunzelter Stirn *heftig* zu. O 46.28

$E4_b$ is even rarer than $E4_a$. The MA in $E4_b$, like that in $E4_a$, is usually preceded by a dynamically weaker element and followed by an element that is dynamically stronger; cf. the following example.

179. Fritz begann mit niedergeschlagenen Augen zuerst *stockend*, dann *umständlich* zu erklären, warum das seine Jacke nicht sei. S 162.32

We may now turn our attention to unmarked positions of the MA in clauses of type (c). $E1_c$ is naturally the only position that may be used if there is no other element besides the MA following the connective (and the subject). Though the position of the MA disagrees with the basic distribution of CD (the MA is dynamically stronger than the following verb), the semantic content of action (conveyed by the verb) and that of the quality of action (conveyed by the MA) are capable of unequivocally signalling the respective amounts of CD. We trust that one example will suffice.

180. Franz streifte ein Mädchen, das *wütend* knurrte ... S 16.18

If there is another element besides the MA following the connective (and the subject) in clauses of type (c), the MA may be placed either in $E2_c$ or $E3_c$. $E2_c$ is the less frequent of the two positions. Out of the 34 instances found in our material, 29 contain a dynamically stronger element following the MA (e. g., a context independent object — ex. 181 or a spatial specification — ex. 182), while in 5 the MA is followed by a dynamically weaker element (e. g., a context dependent object — ex. 183 or a context dependent adverbial of place — ex. 184).

181. ... der *unwiderstehlich* zu dem einzigen Anblick hingezogen wird, der ihm verboten ist. S 49.8

182. Das Herbstlicht lag auf den Schirmen, die *pilzartig* über den Buden standen. S 100.23

183. Fischer, der ebenfalls *reglos* dem Verhör beiwohnt, wendet den Kopf ... S 185.6

184. ... wie er sie ... in der ersten Minute gesehen hatte, als er *frisch* hier eingetreten war. S 103.21

As to elements preceding the MA in $E3_c$, our material contains mostly context dependent pronominal or substantival objects (exx. 185 and 186), adverbials that are dynamically weaker than the MA (187 and 188) and, only rarely, context independent objects (189). Even if preceded by a context independent object, the MA is rendered dynamically stronger. In ex. 189, for instance, the context testifies to the MA carrying a higher degree of CD than the preceding element. The following modifying clause shows that the obvious communicative purpose of the speaker is to convey comparison.

185. ... ein Umstand, der ihn *stark* beunruhigte. S 62.2

186. ... hörte ich zu, wie er die Kinderfrage *ernsthaft* erörterte. G 56.11

187. ... über die Erdschwellen, über die er heute morgen *so lustig* gehuppelt war. S 59.19

188. ... daß ich sie irgendwo *zufällig* treffe. S 102.32

189. Plötzlich schien er auf seinem Schreibtisch nach Worten zu suchen, mit denen er seine Gedanken *genauso präzise* formulieren könnte, wie ich es getan hatte. G 20.1

The MA in $E4_c$, like those in $E4_a$ and $E4_b$, is usually preceded by a dynamically weaker element and followed by a dynamically stronger element, as in the following example.

190. ... der mit verbundener Hand gestern *ruhig* seines Wegs gegangen war, ... S 153.28

Let us now analyze those instances in which the MA is placed initially. Three different types may be distinguished within clauses of types (a) and (b).

(i) The MA may also be interpreted as a predicative attribute (cf. the discussion in Chapter One of the present study, pp. 65—6). Since there is no difference in morphological form between the two types, it is impossible to draw a strict dividing line between them. In the first of the two examples adduced below the interpretation of the adjective/adverb as a predicative attribute is the more probable, in the other either interpretation (i. e. as an MA or as a predicative attribute) seems to be equally possible. As the relation of the adjective/adverb to the verb is loosened, its relation to the subject becomes closer, making it rather convey a concomitant circumstance, which entails a decrease in the amount of CD it carries.

191. *Unschlüssig* schob er sein Rad ... S 120.28

192. *Vorsichtig und ruhig* ließ er sich an dem schrägen Dach ein paar Meter hinunter ... S 105.32

(ii) If an MA that is unequivocally a process adjunct appears in I_a, I_b , its position is highly marked, cf.

193. *Ganz langsam, ganz umständlich* begann er etwas zusammenzureimen, vom Spital, von entfernter Verwandtschaft. S 115.21

(iii) The initial position of the MA is determined grammatically; nevertheless it renders the MA rhematic.

194. Je *dichter* der Dunst auf dem Acker wurde, desto *stärker* blauten die Herbstzeitlosen. S 52.32

In clauses of type (c) the MA may occur initially after the conjunction *wie*, which, because implying the notion of degree, underlines the degree of quality conveyed by the MA and renders the sentence emotive.

195. Seine eigne dagegen — Bunsen spürte, wie *gut* sie ihm saß, seine Haut ... S 27.29

We may summarize the observations presented in this chapter as follows. Sentence positions occupied by the German MA display a high degree of conformity with the basic distribution of CD, except for the relation of the MA to the verb in clauses of type (c) and some clauses of type (b). Some requirements of the grammatical word-order principle, namely those of the fixed initial or the second position of the verb are in harmony with the basic distribution of CD, while others, namely those of the sentence frame and of the fixed final position of the finite verb in most subordinate clauses, deviate from it. In the latter cases, however, other means of FSP, mainly the semantic content conveyed by the MA and that conveyed by the verb, are as a rule capable of outweighing the effect of word order, and of unequivocally signalling the mutual relations between the MA and the other elements on the level of FSP. The only cause of multifunctionality in regard to the status of the MA on the level of FSP seems to be the identical morphological form of German adjectives and adverbs, which, in some cases, makes it difficult to differentiate between predicative attributes and MAs and consequently to unequivocally interpret the degrees of CD they convey.

CONCLUSIONS

In winding up our notes on the Czech MA and its English and German counterparts, we should like to summarize the similarities and differences displayed in this respect by the three languages under investigation.

In all three languages an MA (with the exception of pro-adverbs of the Czech *tak* / English *so* / German *so*-type) functioning as a process adjunct is always context independent and its semantic content is communicatively more important than that of the verb. In other words, a context independent MA functioning as a process adjunct conveys a higher degree of CD than the verb it qualifies, regardless of sentence position.

In regard to the verb, the semantic content conveyed by the MA often has to assert itself counter to the influence of sentence linearity. In Czech the position of the MA in relation to the verb is grammatically free; in English

it depends to a certain extent on the grammatical form of the elements following the verb; in German it is grammatically fixed. In consequence, Czech may take advantage of the various sentence positions and to a greater extent than English modify the dynamic strength of the MA in relation to the verb, while in German this procedure is confined either to the employment of the marked initial position or the positioning of the MA outside the sentence/clause frame.

The relation between the MA and the verb it accompanies, or semantically speaking, between the quality of the action and the action itself, as it manifests itself on the level of FSP, bears a certain resemblance to the relation between the object and the verb, or in semantic terms, between the affected or effected goal of action and the action itself, as well as to the relation between the noun and its attribute, or semantically speaking, between the quality and the bearer of the quality. In each of the three semantic combinations, it is the former item (quality or goal) that, provided it is context independent, intrinsically carries a higher degree of CD than the latter (action or bearer of a quality).

It follows from what has been said in the preceding paragraph that the parallel drawn by Kopečný between the attributive adjective and the noun on the one hand and the one-word adverb of manner and the verb on the other is valid on the level of FSP as well. Nevertheless, we should like to draw attention to one important difference between the two types of construction. The attributive junction as a whole functions as just one communicative unit in relation to the clause within which it occurs. This unit provides a communicative field of its own (a field of inferior rank) with the attribute and its head word functioning as two separate units.²⁰ The adverb of manner, however, functions as a separate communicative unit within its clause viewed as a communicative field. This difference, which pertains to the sphere of FSP, is analogous to that between the two constructions on the grammatical level, which was touched upon earlier in the present paper (cf. p. 62).

With regard to the relation of the MA to other sentence elements on the level of FSP, we may conclude that the MA surpasses in CD all context dependent and context independent thematic elements (including the settings). It will do so irrespective of sentence position. As for other context independent elements, the MA will — irrespective of sentence position — surpass in CD the verb, but be surpassed by a context independent subject expressing a phenomenon existing/appearing on the scene. In all other cases it will have its degree of CD determined by its position in the sentence/clause.²¹ This interplay holds good for all three languages under examination. In all of them the interplay is essentially the same; only the way in which it is implemented may vary. This is due to the different grammatical structures which set different limits for the interplay to take place within. An example will illustrate.

In all three languages, the initial position of the MA process adjunct is marked and renders the sentence emotive. And yet, in Czech, where FSP

²⁰ For the hierarchical system of communicative units and fields, see Svoboda 1968.

²¹ Introductory clauses following direct speech may seem at first sight to be an exception to the described regularity, because the direct speech, though placed before the introductory clause, surpasses the latter in CD. The speaker's obvious communicative purpose is namely to convey the direct speech. The whole structure is not homogeneous like the other structures we have been analyzing and the MA observes the regularities we have arrived at only within the introductory clause and not in regard to the preceding direct speech.

operates as the principal word-order factor, the marked position is due to the tendency to place sentence elements in accordance with the basic distribution of CD; in English, it is due to a deviation from the grammatical word-order principle, namely from the tendency to place adverbial modifiers in the latter part of the sentence. In German, FSP also asserts itself as a word-order factor, except for the position of the verb in many cases. In this respect German stands between Czech and English. In regard to the effect of the initial position of the MA it resembles Czech.

In conclusion, we feel we ought stress the fact that a study of this scope can claim neither to have covered the whole field nor to have solved all the problems that can be posed. Even within these limitations, however, we hope to have thrown at least some light on the mutual relations between the semantic and/or grammatical structure and the role of the adverb of manner in FSP. If it stimulates further inquiries into these problems, the present study will not have entirely failed of its purpose.

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ANGLICKÉ A NĚMECKÉ EKVIVALENTY ČESKÉHO PŘÍSLOVCE ZPŮSOBU Z HLEDISKA FUNKČNÍ PERSPEKTIVY VĚTNÉ

Autorka zkoumá jednoslovné příslovce způsobu rozvíjející sloveso v jeho vztahu ke slovesu a ostatním větným členům z hlediska funkční perspektivy větné (FPV). Srovnáním situace v české, anglické a německé větě se snaží objasnit principy, které určují větné postavení příslovce způsobu v těchto třech jazycích, a tím přispět k prozkoumání vztahu mezi sémantickou a gramatickou strukturou a rolí příslovce způsobu v FPV.

Příslovce způsobu — s výjimkou takového, které funguje jen zástupně (např. č. *tak*, angl. *so*, něm. *so*) — je zpravidla kontextově nezapojené a jeho sémantická náplň je výpovědně závažnější než sémantická náplň slovesa. Sémantická náplň příslovce způsobu se často musí prosadit proti působení větné linearity. Z hlediska gramatického je větné postavení příslovce způsobu vzhledem ke slovesu v češtině volné, v angličtině závisí do určité míry na gramatickém charakteru složky, stojící za slovesem, kdežto v němčině je pevné.

Pokud jde o vztah příslovce způsobu k jiným větným členům na rovině FPV, dochází autorka k těmto závěrům. Příslovce způsobu převyšuje co do výpovědní dynamičnosti (VD) všechny tematické složky. Z netematických složek převyší sloveso, ale nepřevyší netematický subjekt vyjadřující jev existující/objevující se na scéně. Vzhledem k ostatním netematickým složkám rozhoduje o stupni VD větné postavení. Tyto zákonitosti platí pro všechny tři jazyky. Tuto skutečnost zastírá především sloveso. V podstatě jde o stejnou souhru prostředků, která se jen různě projevuje, což je způsobeno odlišností gramatických struktur v jednotlivých jazycích.