Firbas, Jan

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SBORNÍK PRACÍ FILOZOFICKÉ FAKULTY BRNĚNSKÉ UNIVERZITY
STUDIA MINORA FACULTATIS PHILOSOPHICAE UNIVERSITATIS BRUNENSIS
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DEGREES OF COMMUNICATIVE DYNAMISM AND DEGREES OF PROSODIC PROMINENCE (WEIGHT)

Jan Firbas

The present paper is a contribution to the discussion concerning the relationship between the degrees of communicative dynamism (CD) and degrees of prosodic prominence (weight). The problem of this relationship has been discussed in a number of papers of mine (most recently in Firbas 1985 and 1987a), but I am taking it up again to demonstrate the conclusions reached so far by analysing a longer piece of prose sentence by sentence. The analysis I propose to offer forms a counterpart to the analysis of a dialogue presented in Firbas 1987a.

The text to be analysed has been chosen at random. It is a tonetically transcribed text taken from J. D. O'Connor's *Advanced Phonetic Reader,* published by Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1971. The text itself is an extract from Muriel Spark's *Memento Mori.* It is to be found in O'Connor's *Reader* on pp. 2–4. The tonetic transcription used in the present paper, however, is not exactly the same as that employed in the *Reader.* It follows the practice adopted by O'Connor and Arnold in their book on intonation in colloquial English (O'Connor and Arnold 1973; see also Arnold and Tooley 1972).

The analysis is carried out within the framework of the theory of functional sentence perspective (FSP). The reader not acquainted with it is referred to Firbas 1986a, where an outline of it is given and its basic concepts are explained and illustrated by analyses of texts.

Examining the relationship between the degrees of CD and the degrees of prosodic prominence, I have found the folowing observations very useful: Gimson's on the four degrees of accentuation (Gimson 1962.244) and above all O'Connor and Arnold's on the relation between the components of the tune and communicative importance (O'Connor and Arnold 1973.4–7). Limitations of space make it impossible to discuss other approaches to the role of intonation in the development of the communication. It is hoped that it will be possible to offer such a discussion on some other occasion.

My analysis proceeds in the following way. Its introductory part recalls the relevant observations made by O'Connor and Arnold, some basic facts concern-

ing the degrees of CD and the degrees of prosodic prominence, as well as the essentials of the tonetic notation to be used in the analysis of the text chosen. This text, provided with tonetic marks is to be found on pp. 27–9. (It has been inserted between pp. 26 and 30.).

The analysis is primarily concerned with the development of the communication as it takes place within the sentences of the text. At every stage of the analysis, it is at the level of the written language that this development is examined first (after all, the text under examination is originally a piece of written prose) and the degrees of CD reflecting it established. Only then is attention paid to the distribution of the degrees of prosodic prominence and the relationship between the two distributions inquired into.

The opening stage of the analysis concentrates on the distributions of the degrees of CD and those of prosodic prominence over the core-constituting elements (i. e. the non-thematic section) of the sentence. The next stage deals with the foundation-laying elements (i. e. the thematic section) of the sentence. Then the distributions of the degrees of CD and those of prosodic prominence over the entire sentence are studied. Analyses of all the sentences are to be found in separate sheets forming an appendix to the present paper. Finally, these analyses are presented in a tabular survey and their results summarized.

I

Discussing the roles of intonation, O'Connor and Arnold (1973) also mention the part information plays in signalling the relative communicative importance of the elements of a word group viewed as a bearer of a tune (ib. 4–7). (They define the tune as 'the complete pitch treatment of a word group'; see ib. 7.) The constitutive feature of the tune is the nucleus, which can on the one hand be preceded by a head and a pre-head, and on the other hand be followed by a tail. Whereas the nucleus must always be present, the other features are optional. O'Connor and Arnold link the nucleus with the highest degree of communicative importance, and the absence of stress with the lowest. Non-nuclear stress ranks between the two. O'Connor and Arnold distinguish between non-nuclear stress occurring within the head and non-nuclear stress occurring outside it (i. e. in the prehead and/or in the tail). They regard the former as linked with greater informativity than the latter. Whereas the former is linked with accent, the latter is not. In this way O'Connor and Arnold point out four degrees of prosodic (intonational) prominence that are linked with four degrees of communicative importance: absence of stress, unaccented stress, accented stress and nuclear stress.

Inquiring into the development of communication in the written language, I have been examining the degrees of communicative dynamism (CD) carried by linguistic elements. By a degree of CD carried by a linguistic element I understand the relative extent to which the element contributes towards the further development of the communication. The closer the contribution of the element

comes to the completion of the communication, the greater the communicative importance of the element. Seen in this light, communicative importance is a notion explicatory of that of CD (see, e. g., Firbas 1987b.42). I have dealt with the operation of CD in the development of the communication in quite a number of papers. The most recent summarizing accounts are to be found in Firbas 1986a, 1987b and 1987c. In a number of papers I have also dealt with the relationship between degrees of CD and degrees of prosodic prominence. The most recent summarizing account of this research is to found in Firbas 1985 and Firbas 1987a.

As I have explained elsewhere (e. g., Firbas 1987d), I regard the sentence as a field of semantic and syntactic relations which at the level of the written language simultaneously serves as a distributional field of degrees of CD, and at the level of the spoken language as a distributional field both of the degrees of CD and of the degrees of prosodic prominence. This raises the questions of how many degrees of CD and how many degrees of prosodic prominence a distributional field can display. These two questions are implied in one of even more general significance: in what manner are the degrees of CD and those of prosodic prominence actually related?

The first question has been dealt with in greater detail in Firbas 1984. Let me just recall that as long as a lingustic element of any rank conveys some meaning and in consequence a piece of information, it participates in the development of the communication and is a carrier of a degree of CD. The distributional field provided by the semantic and syntactic sentence structure is made up of syntactic constituents such as subject, object, predicative verb, etc. Following Svoboda (1968), I regard them as carriers of CD serving as communicative units within the distributional field. As has been shown and will be demonstrated here again, the notional component of the finite verb and its categorial exponents operate as two communicative units. The conjunction and the negativing adverbial *not* are other communicative units sui generis. A communicative unit implementable as a subordinate clause, a semi-clause (i. e., in other words, an infinitive, gerundive or participle clause) or a nominal phrase provides a distributional subfield with communicative units of its own. (For a discussion of the nominal phrase serving as a distributional subfield of degrees of CD, see Svoboda 1987.) The present analysis will cover subfields provided by subordinate clauses and semi-clauses, but not such as provided by nominal phrases.

As for the degrees of prosodic prominence, it may be objected that at the level of the spoken language a distributional field may be implemented by more than one tune and that in consequence the four degrees of prominence linked with the tune will not match all the degrees of CD carried by the communicative units of various rank occurring within the distributional field. But as has already been shown in my previous papers and will be demonstrated here again, the following point must be taken into account.

The phenomenon of linear modification, operating as one of the factors determining the distribution of degrees of CD at the level of the written language (see, e. g., Firbas 1986a. 43–4 and 46–7), also asserts itself at the level of the spoken

language. Out of two prosodic features of the same rank (unstressed, bearing unaccented stress, accented stress or nuclear stress), the one occurring later in the distributional field acquires a higher degree of prosodic prominence.

In accordance with this observation, it can also be expected that of two nuclei the one occurring later within the distributional field will bear a higher degree of prosodic prominence. As has been demonstrated in my previous papers, this is actually so in an overwhelming majority of cases. Only one important modification must be mentioned in this connection. It has been found that a low rise coming after a fall within one distributional field creates the impression of lesser prominence and is indeed linked with a piece of information of minor importance; cf. Firbas, e. g., 1985.19, but also Halliday 1970.38, and O'Connor and Arnold 1973.28. (It is worth mentioning in this connection that situations arise when within one distributional field it is not possible unequivocally to determine whether a low rise after a fall constitutes a nucleus of a separate tune, or whether, together with the preceding fall, it forms part of a compound tune; cf. O'Connor and Arnold 1973.28). In the hierarchy of prosodic prominence, a low rise after a fall occurring within one distributional field ranks lower than the fall preceding it. In this way, it assumes a position between the feature of accented stress and that of nuclear stress implemented as a fall. (Further, but minor modifications concerning the observation on two successive nuclei can be thought of; cf. Firbas 1980.130–1; 1985.20. They are, however, not necessitated by the text under examination.)

With the proviso just indicated, the nucleus that comes last within a distributional field constitutes the most prominent prosodic feature within that field: it is regarded as its intonation centre (IC).

Another important phenomenon must be recalled in this connection: that of the representative feature. If a communicative unit bears more prosodic features than one, it is the most prominent of them that determines the degree of prosodic prominence of the entire communicative unit. It is this feature that represents the unit in regard to the other units occurring in the same field.

As to the third of the three questions posed above, i. e. the one concerning the relationship between the distribution of degrees of CD and the distribution of degrees of prosodic prominence, I have attempted to answer it in my previous papers on FSP and intonation. The conclusions I have come to are illustrated and summarized in Firbas 1985 and 1987a. I trust that the analysis to be presented here will corroborate them. I shall return to this point in the closing section of the present paper.

A note should be inserted here on the tonetic notation employed in the text to be analysed. The marks used in the notation are briefly explained below. The brevity of the explanations is due to the assumption that the reader is familiar with O'Connor and Arnold's notation. The explanations are based on O'Connor 1971 and O'Connor and Arnold 1973, to which publications the reader is referred for a detailed account of the notation. It should be noted that in O'Connor 1971 heads and nuclear tones are not always combined in the same way as in O'Connor and Arnold 1973 (cf. O'Connor 1971.xxii). A modification of my

own is a simplification of the indication of the boundaries of the tune borne by the word group.

These boundaries are indicated by slashes (inside sentences) and full stops (at the ends of sentences). (The end of a sentence always coincides with the end of a tone unit.) The other marks used in the tonetic transcription of the text analysed are the following.

1. ¯m, 2. °m, 3. ˏm, 4. ˋm, 5. ˆm, 6. ˎm, 7. ˊm,

8. ˇm, 9. ˃m, 10. ˈm, 11. ˌm, 12. ˎm, 13. ˘m, 14. ˙m.

With the exception of 1 and 2, all marks (3–14) always specify accented stress on the following syllable.

1 indicates a high unstressed initial syllable. All the other unstressed syllables are left unmarked. (Their pitch and the pitch of syllables bearing unaccented or accented stress will be taken up below.)

2 specifies stressed syllables which bear accented stress if occurring within a head, or unaccented stress if occurring within a pre-head or tail. Let me recall that the head opens with the first syllable before the nucleus to bear accented stress.

Nuclei are indicated by 3–9 (see below). Heads are indicated by 10, 11, 12, and 13 provided it specifies the first syllable before the nucleus to bear accented stress.

With a qualification concerning 10 (see below), a mark that always indicates accented stress (3–13) also specifies the pitch of all syllables up to the next such mark or up to the boundary.

As has been mentioned above, 3–9 specify nuclear tones, 3 indicating a low fall, 4 a high fall, 5 a rise-fall, 6 a low rise, 7 a high rise, 8 a fall rise and 9 a mid-level tone.

10 indicates high level pitch on a syllable bearing accented stress and opening a head within which other syllables equally bearing accented stress (but marked with 2) always occur slightly lower, while unstressed syllables keep the same pitch as the preceding accented stress bearer.

11 indicates low level pitch on a syllable bearing accented stress and opening a head within which all syllables retain the low level pitch.

12 indicates low level pitch on a syllable which bears accented stress and is followed by an unaccented syllable, or unaccented syllables, rising in the direction of the start of a high fall. If immediately preceding the high fall, the accented syllable may itself be expected to rise slightly.

13 indicates high level pitch on a syllable which bears accented stress and together with following unstressed syllables forms a gradually descending stretch; if repeated, it introduces another stretch of descending syllables beginning slightly lower than the preceding stretch; its first occurrence indicates the beginning of a head. If the stretch is monosyllabic, the marked syllable may itself fall slightly.

14 indicates a syllable that bears accented stress and occurs after either 10 or 11 without deviating from its pitch.

As for the syllables occurring before the first bearer of accented stress, the following applies. With the exception of unstressed syllables pitched high and marked with 1 and the (unmarked) unstressed syllables following them, they are pitched low and are either unstressed and left unmarked, or bear unaccented stress and are marked with 2.

The syllables constituting the tail of a low or high fall are all pitched low. The syllables constituting the tail of a low or high rise continue the rise. The syllables constituting the tail of a mid-level tone retain the mid-level pitch. The syllables constituting the tail of a rise-fall first continue the rise, but complete the tune on a low pitch, whereas the syllables constituting the tail of a fall-rise just rise or are first pitched low and only later complete the tune with a low rise.

II

Let me open the analysis of the text by a discussion of the place taken up in the dynamics of the narration by the verb, or rather its notional component. (The relationship between the notional component of the verb form and its categorial exponents will be taken up below on pp. 34–35, 43–46 and 57.) Analyses of written texts have shown that the information conveyed by the verb, or rather by its notional component, is oriented (perspectived) either towards the information conveyed by the semantic content of the subject or away from this information (see, e. g., Firbas 1981.55-66 and 1986a.58-62). In the former case, the development of the communication within the sentence (clause or semi-clause) aims at presenting a phenomenon, animate or inanimate, concrete or abstract; in the latter case, at ascribing a quality to a phenomenon already presentend and/or specifying this quality.[1] An important prerequisite holding good in either case is that the information towards which the sentence (clause or semi-clause) is oriented (perspectived) must be context-independent, i. e. irretrievable from the immediately relevant context.

The text under analysis corroborates the existence of the two types of orientation (perspective). The type orienting (perspectiving) the development of the communication towards the information conveyed by the subject is exemplified

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[1] Quality is to be understood here in a wide sense: see, e. g., Fisrbas 1981.41.

[2] In Firbas 1986a and other publications of mine, this dynamic semantic function is referred to as that of expressing the appearance/existence of a phenomenon on the scene of narration, the abbreviation standing for this function being App/Ex. At the same time, the distinction between this dynamic function and the statically viewed semantic content of 'appearance/existence', which according to contextual conditions can perform either the dynamic App/Ex function or the dynamic Q function (see below), is consistently observed. The expression 'presentation' used here has the advantage of being used only in reference to the dynamic semantic function. (It has already been used in this sense in Svoboda 1987.)

[3] For a discussion of the dynamic semantic functions, see, e. g., Firbas 1981.41–5 and 1986a.47–51.

1 ˈCharmian ˚made her ˚way to the ˋlibrary / 2 and ˈcautiously ˚built ˚up the ˎfire / which had ˈburnt ˎlow. 3 The ˈeffort of ˚stooping ˋtired her / 4 and she ˋsat for a ˏmoment / in the ˈbig ˎchair. 5 ˈAfter a ˏwhile / it was ˋtea-time. 6 She ˋthought, / for a ˏspace, / aˋbout ₒtea. 7 ˈThen she ˚made her ˚way to the ˋkitchen / where the ˈtray had been ˚set by ˙Mrs ˋAnthony / in ˈreadiness for ˚Mrs ˋPettigrew to ₒmake the ₒtea. 8 But ˌMrs ˇPettigrew / had ˈgone ˋout. 9 ₒCharmian felt ˈoverˋwhelmed ˏsuddenly / with ˈtrepi˚dation and ˎpleasure. 10 ˈCould she ˚make ˚tea herˏself? 11 ˎYes, / ¯she would ˎtry. 12 The ˈkettle was ˋheavy / as she ˌheld it ₒunder the ˏtap. 13 It was ˈheavier ^still / when it was ˇhalf-ˇfilled with ˇwater. 14 It ˈrocked in her ˎhand 15 and her ˊskinny / ˈlarge-˚freckled ˏwrist / ˈached and ˚wobbled with the ˎstrain. 16 ¯At ˏlast / she had ˇlifted the ₒkettle / ˈsafely ˚on to the ˎgas ₒring. 17 She had ˇseen Mrs ˇAnthony / ₒuse the ˈauto˚matic ˋlighter. 18 ˋShe ₒtried it 19 but could ˈnot ˙make it ˎwork. 20 ˎMatches. 21 She ˈlooked ˋeverywhere for ˏmatches 22 but could ˈnot ˎfind ₒany. 23 She ˈwent ˚back to the ˏlibrary 24 and ˈtook from a ˏjar / ˈone of ˃Godfrey's / ˈhome-˚made ˋtapers. 25 She ˈstooped ˎdangerously 26 and ˇlit the ₒtaper / at the ˋfire. 27 ˊThen, / ˇcautiously, / she ˈbore the ˚little ˚quivering ˏflame / to the ˋkitchen, / ˇholding it in ˇone ₒshaking ₒhand, / and ˇholding ˇthat ₒhand / with her ˋother ₒhand / to ˈkeep it as ˋsteady as ₒpossible. 28 At ˊlast / the ˈgas was ˎlit under the ₒkettle. 29 ˈCharmian ˚put the ˚tea-pot on the ˎstove / to ˎwarm. 30 She ˈthen ˚sat ˚down in ˙Mrs ˚Anthony's ˎchair / to ˈwait for the ˚kettle to ˎboil. 31 She ˌfelt ˎstrong / and ˎfearless.

32 ˈWhen the ºkettle had ˌboiled / she ˈspooned ˇtea into the ₒpot 33 and ˈknew that the ˋdifficult ₒpart had ₒcome. 34 She ˇlifted the ₒkettle a ₒlittle 35 and ˈtilted its ˃spout / ˈover the ˋtea-pot. 36 She ₒstood as ˈfar ºback as she ˋcould. 37 ˈIn went the ºhot ˎwater 38 and ˃though it ˃splashed ˃quite a ˃bit on the ˇstove, / she did ˈnot get ºany ºover her ˋdress / or her ˋfeet. 39 She ˈbore the ºtea-pot to the ˎtray. 40 It ˃wafted ˃to and ˇfro, 41 but she ˈmanaged to ºplace it ºdown ºgently ºafter ˋall.

42 She ˈlooked at the ºhot-ˎwater ₒjug. 43 ˈShould she ˌbother with ºhot ºwater? 44 She had ₒdone ˃so ˃well up to ˇnow, 45 it would be a ˋpity to ₒmake ₒany misˌtake / and ˌhave an ˌaccident. 46 But she ˌfelt ˎstrong / and ˎfearless. 47 A ˃pot of ˇtea / wi˃thout the hot-ˇwater ₒjug beₒside it / was ^nonsense. 48 She ˋfilled the ˌjug, / ˇthis ₒtime / ˈsplashing her ˋfoot a ₒlittle, but ˋnot eₒnough to ˌburn.

49 When ˈall was ºset on the ˌtray / she was ˈtempted to ºhave her ºtea in the ˋkitchen / ˈthere in ˙Mrs ºAnthony's ˋchair.

50 But she ˈthought of her ºbright ºfire in the ˎlibrary. 51 She ˈlooked at the ˎtray. 52 ˃Plainly she could ˃never ˇcarry it. 53 She would ˈtake ºin the ˌtea-things / ˈone by ˎone, / ˈeven if it ˙took ºhalf an ˋhour. 54 She ˋdid ˌthis, / ₒresting ˈonly ˎonce / beˈtween her ˎjourneys. 55 ˈFirst the ˌtea-pot, / which she ˈplaced on the ºlibrary ˌhearth. 56 ˈThen the hot-ˎwater ₒjug. 57 ˈThese were the ˎdangerous ₒobjects. 58 ˈCup and ˌsaucer; 59 aˇnother ₒcup and ₒsaucer / in ˌcase ˋGodfrey / or ˌMrs ˋPettigrew should ₒreturn / and ₒwant ₒtea; 60 the ˈbuttered ˌscons; 61 ˌjam; 62 ˈtwo ˌplates, / ˈtwo ˌknives, / and ˌtwo

\spoons. 63 A^nother _journey / for the 'plate of °Gari·baldi's \biscuits / which 'Charmian °loved to °dip in her \tea. 64 She could 'well re/member, / as she ^looked at them, / the \fuss a_bout _Gari/baldi / in her \childhood, / and her _father's 'eloquent °letters to the \Times / which were 'read a>loud / after 'morning \prayers. 65 ^Three of the _Gari_baldi _biscuits / 'slid off the \plate 66 and 'broke on the °floor in the \hall. 67 She pro\ceeded with the /plate, 68 'laid it on a /table, 69 and 'then re\turned / to 'pick up the °broken \biscuits, / 'even the \crumbs. 70 It would be a \pity if _anyone _said she had been /careless. 71 \Still, / she ,felt \fearless _that after/noon. 72 'Last of /all / she 'went to °fetch the °tray it\self, / with its 'pretty \cloth. 73 She 'stopped to °mop up the °water she had ·spilt by the \stove. 74 'When she had °brought °everything °into the /room / she 'closed the /door, 75 'placed the °tray on a °low °table by her /chair 76 and ar'ranged her °tea-things °neatly u\pon it. 77 The per/formance / had _taken 'twenty \minutes. 78 She 'dozed with \gratitude / in her \chair / for ,five /more °minutes, 79 then 'carefully °poured °out her \tea, / ,splashing \very _little into the /saucer. 80 'Even that ^little / she e,ventually _poured _back into the /cup. 81 'All was as \usual, / _save that she was 'blissfully a\lone, 82 and the ^tea / was 'not alto°gether \hot. 83 She 'started to en\joy her _tea.

by the *that*-clause of 33 (. . . *that the difficult part had come*), and the type orienting (perspecting) the development of the communication away from the information conveyed by the subject by sentences 23, 24 and 57 (*She went back to the library and took from a jar one of Godfrey's home-made tapers, These were the dangerous objects*).

In the former case, the notional component of the finite verb performs the dynamic semantic function of presentation (Pr),[2, 3] introducing onto the scene of narration the phenomenon expressed by the subject. Under these circumstances, the subject performs the dynamic semantic function of expressing a phenomenton to be presented (Ph). [For footnotes[2, 3] see p. 26.]

In the latter case, the notional component of the finite verb performs either the dynamic semantic function of ascribing a quality (A[scription of] Q[uality]); see *were* in 57), the quality being expressed by a non-verbal element; or the dynamic semantic function of expressing a quality (Q, see *went* of 23 and *took* of 24). Under the circumstances the non-verbal elements perform the dynamic semantic functions of expressing specifications (Sp) and further specifications (FSp). As for the subjects, they no longer perform the Ph-function, but that of expressing a quality bearer (B). It follows that in 23, 24 and 57, the development of the communication is not completed by the notional component of the verb, but carried on and completed by non-verbal elements.

In the example sentences, the dynamic semantic functions can be indicated as follows (see the first set of sheets in the appendix): 33 *she* (B) . . . *knew* (Q) *[that the difficult part* (Ph) *had* (*) *come* (Pr)] (Sp), 23 *She* (B) *went* (Q) *back* (Sp) *to the library* (FSp) 24 *and took* (Q) *from a jar* (Sp) *one of Godfrey's home-made tapers* (FSp), 57 *These* (B) *were* AQ) *the dangerous objects (Q)*. This is the way the dynamic semantic functions have actually been indicated in the text analysed. Let me add that the asterisk (*) indicates that the function of the element concerned will be accounted for at a later stage of the analysis. Square brackets, [. . .], enclose distributional subfields of CD, which simultaneously serve as distributional subfields of prosodic prominence. Double square brackets, [[. . .]], enclose subfields occurring within subfields.

The text under analysis contains 95 finite verbs, 74 occurring in principal clauses and 21 in subordinate clauses. In addition it contains 21 non-finite verb forms (16 infinitives and 5 participles), which provide distributional subfields. The total number of verb forms occurring in the text is 116.

With the exception of five (*make* of 10, *tried* of 18, *burn* of 48, *want* of 59 and *make* of 7) all the verb forms, finite and non-finite, occuring in the text have been interpreted at the present stage of the analysis. The five forms will be interpreted at a later stage (see pp. 36, 57, 58 and 59) and have therefore not been included in the statistics adduced below. This does not, however, affect the validity of the conclusions to be drawn from the statistics offered.

The most frequent dynamic semantic function performed by the notional components of the verb forms under analysis is the Q-function. This applies to 73 finite verbs (58 occurring in principal clauses and 15 in subordinate clauses) and to 18 non-finite verb forms (13 infinitives and 5 participles), i. e. to 91 verb

forms in all. The AQ-function is performed by the notional components of 16 finite verbs (13 occurring in principal clauses and 3 in subordinate clauses). This means that the Q-cases and the AQ-cases taken together (107 in all) heavily outnumber the Pr-cases. It is only the notional components of 3 finite verb forms that perform the Pr-function.

There is nothing out of the ordinary about the Q/AQ-cases outnumbering the Pr-cases. However, the number of Pr-cases is not always so strikingly low as in the text under analysis (cf., e. g., the analysis of Text 1 in Firbas 1986a.58-62). The preponderance of Q/AQ-cases is not difficult to account for. It is understandable that sentences whose ultimate communicative purpose is to state what phenomena (animate or inanimate, concrete or abstract) do, what state they are in, or what happens to them, outnumber sentences whose ultimate communicative purpose is the mere introduction of a phenomenon into the flow of the communication.

As for the relationship between the degrees of CD displayed by the notional components of the verb forms at the level of the written language and the degrees of prosodic prominence displayed by them at the level of the spoken language, the following discussion will outline what can be said about it at the present stage of analysis. The discussion will in turn deal with the Pr-function, the AQ-function and the Q-function as performed by the notional component of the verb form.

When the notional component of the verb form performs the Pr-function, it does not complete the development of the communication and in consequence does not carry the highest degree of CD. In fact, the Pr-function can only be implemented in connection with the Ph-function. It is the performer of the Ph-function that completes the development of the communication within the distributional field provided by the sentence or clause.

As for the degrees of prosodic prominence, the text under analysis shows that they are in agreement with the degrees of CD as determined by the preceding analysis. The performer of the Pr-function does not bear the most prominent prosodic feature, the IC, which is borne by the performer of the Ph-function (see the unstressed *went* of 37, the unaccented stressed *come* of 33 and the unaccented stressed *return* of 59, which combine with the nucleus and IC bearers *the hot water; the difficult part;* and *Godfrey* and *Mrs Pettigrew,* respectively).

When performing the AQ-function, the notional component of the verb form does not complete the communication within the distributional field either. Nor does it, in consequence, carry the highest degree of CD. In fact, the AQ-function can only be implemented in connection with the Q-function, which in this case is taken over by a non-verbal element. It is the non-verbal performer of the Q-function that completes the development of the communication or at least takes it a step further. In either case, the notional component of the verb form is exceeded in CD by another element.

As for the degrees of prosodic prominence, they are in agreement with the degrees of CD as determined by the preceding analysis. The performer of the AQ-function does not bear the most prominent prosodic feature, the IC, which is

borne either by a non-verbal performer of the Q-function (see, e. g., the unstressed *was* of 5 and the unstressed *was* of 12, which combine with the nucleus and IC bearers *tea-time* and *heavy,* respectively) or by a performer of a Sp-function (see, e. g., the unstressed *felt* of 9, which combines with the nucleus and IC bearer *with trepidation and pleasure*).

Analyses of written communication have shown that when performing the Q-function the notional component of the verb can complete the development of the communication only in the absence of an element performing the Sp-function. If completing the development of the communication, it carries the highest degree of CD. Out of the 92 verb forms interpreted as performing the Q-function, 14 (8 in principal clauses, 3 in subordinate clauses and 3 in infinitival semi-clauses) operate in this way.

As for the degrees of prosodic prominence, it is significant that the highest degrees of CD carried by the 14 verb forms tally with the ICs simultaneously borne by them. (See, for instance, the ICs on *bother* of 43, *boiled* of 32 and *boil* of 30.)

Let us now turn to cases in which the notional component of the verb form does not complete the development of the communication because of the presence of an element performing the Sp-function or elements performing the Sp and FSp functions. I shall first deal with cases in which only one such element, i. e. an Sp-element, is present. Then I shall turn my attention to cases that in addition to an Sp-element contain one or more FSp-elements.

The total number of fields in which the Q-Sp combination operates is 47 (30 are provided by principal clauses, 8 by subordinate clauses, 7 by infinitival semi-clauses and 2 by participial semi-clauses). It all cases, the Q-element is followed by an Sp-element.

Taking the development of the communication a step further, the Sp-element carries a higher degree of CD than the Q-element. It can be expected that in the absence of an FSp-element, it completes the development of the communication within the field concerned and carries the highest degree of CD within it. At the present stage of analysis, this is applicable to all but one of the Sp-elements in the Q-Sp combinations occurring in the text. (The Sp-element concerned operates in the basic distributional field of 41 the interpretation of which must remain pending in this respect; see p. 58.)

In all the Q-Sp combinations, including that of 41, the Q-element is prosodically less prominent than the Sp-element. The Q-element bears unaccented stress (in 6 cases) or accented stress (in 35 cases) or non-IC nuclear stress (in 6 cases). It is noteworthy that in a majority of cases (41 cases) it does not bear nuclear stress. On the other hand, with one exception (that of 41) the Sp-element is a bearer of nuclear stress serving as the IC of the field concerned. (In the Q-Sp combination of 41, the Q-element, *managed,* remains prosodically less prominent than the Sp-element; the one accented stress borne by the Q-element is followed by three accented stresses borne by the Sp-element.)

The fact of the Q-element carrying a lower degree of CD than the Sp-element tallies with the distribution of degrees of prosodic prominence over the Q-Sp combination.

Let us now turn our attention to fields in which the Q-Sp combination is expanded by one or more FSp-elements.

If more specifications than one occur in a distributional field, I speak of a string of specifications. I have demonstrated (e. g. in Firbas 1986b) that each specification takes the development of the communication a step further. Accordingly, I speak of a Specification (Sp), a Further Specification (FSp) and Further Specifications (FSps): Sp, FSp1, FSp2, FSp3,. . . In regard to the interplay of the non-prosodic factors of FSP (see, e. g., Firbas 1986a. 42–57), the relation between a Q-element and an Sp/FSp-element differs from that between the members of the specification string in the following way.

On account of its semantic character as well as on account of the character of its semantic relationship to an Sp/FSp-element, a Q-element carries a lower degree of CD than an Sp/FSp-element no matter whether following or preceding it (see, e. g., Firbas 1986b.864). A Q-element is capable of working counter to linear modification. On the other hand, the semantic character of an Sp/FSp-element is such as to permit linear modification to assert itself. This means that the closer a member of the specification string is placed to the end of the string, the higher the degree of CD it carries, the specification occurring last expressing the piece of information towards which the development of the communication is oriented (perspectived) and which in consequence carries the highest degree of CD within the distributional field (Firbas, ibid.). The text under examination offers one exception (see field 80), accounted for below. As for the contextual factor, it has to be borne in mind that an element can perform an Sp/FSp-function only provided it conveys context-independent information. The appreciation of the Sp/FSp-function will be completed at the next stage of the analysis in a discussion of the relation between the Sp/FSp-elements and the Set-elements, i. e. such as perform the dynamic semantic function of expressing a setting (see pp. 40–1 and 48–51).

There are 31 specification strings in the text under examination. Out of this number 20 occur in basic distributional fields and 11 in distributional subfields (4 subfields being provided by subordinate clauses, 4 by infinitival semi-clauses and 3 by participial semi-clauses). The majority (21) of the strings consist of two members (Sp – FSp). As for the rest (10 in number), 7 strings consist of three (Sp – FSp1 – FSp2), 2 of four (Sp – FSp1 – FSp2 – FSp3) and 1 of five members (Sp – FSp1 – FSp2 – FSp3 – FSp4); with one exception all these 10 strings operate in basic distributional fields.

In relation to the Q-element as well as in regard to their individual members, the 31 strings show the following distribution of prosodic prominence. With four exceptions (see fields 2, 16, 64 and 79), the Q-element is always prosodically less prominent than the Sp-element. But in each case the Sp-element, in its turn, is less prosodically prominent than an FSp-element. As for the FSp1, FSp2, FSp3 and FSp4 elements, they invariably show a gradual increase in prosodic prominence. In each case, the final FSp-element bears a nucleus that serves as the IC of the field in question. With the four exceptions concerning the Q-Sp relationship, all the 31 strings show perfect correspondence between the distribution of de-

grees of prosodic prominence and the degrees of CD claimed by the Q, Sp and FSp functions.

This applies even to the specification string of field 80, which was interpreted as exceptional in regard to the position of its most dynamic FSp-element. This element does not end the string, but opens it. In spite of its opening position the Fsp-element carries the highest degree of CD, which is due to the presence of the rhematizer *even*, accompanying it. On account of the character of its semantic content, the rhematizer operates counter to linear modification. Seen in this light, i. e. in regard to the interplay of factors, field 80 cannot be regarded as an exception.

A discussion of the distribution of prosodic prominence over the Q and Sp elements of 2, 16, 64 and 79 will be taken up at a later stage of the analysis (see pp. 53—4 and 56).

The first stage of the analysis has once again corroborated that a verb form, finite or non-finite, or rather its notional component, cannot complete the development of the communication within a distributional field if a competitor prevents it from doing so. A possible competitor of a verb form, or rather its notional component, performing the dynamic semantic Pr, AQ, or Q function, is a Ph, Q, or Sp element (or a specification string consisting of an Sp-element and one or more FSp-elements), respectively. In its turn, an Sp-element can have an FSp-element as its competitor. Finally, even an FSp-element can have a competitor — another FSp-element. In this way, the development of the communication within a distributional field is gradually brought to completion, the extent to which an AQ, Q, Sp or FSp element contributes towards this aim differing and hence indicating different degrees of CD. In the text under analysis this difference in degrees of CD is reflected by a difference in degrees of prosodic prominence.

It is of relevance to FSP to make a distinction between the notional component of the verb form and its categorial exponents. These are not devoid of meaning and in consequence participate in the development of the communication. At the moment, let me at least make some comments on the verbal categorial exponents occurring in fields oriented away from the piece of information conveyed by the subject, i. e. towards a piece of information conveyed by a Q, Sp or FSp element. At this point, I am therefore leaving aside the verb forms occurring in the three fields oriented towards the subject performing the Ph-function (*had come* of 34, *went* of 37 and *should return* of 59) as well as *make* of 10, *tried* of 18, burn of 48, *want* of 59 and *make* of 7, already listed (p. 30) as pending interpretation (see pp. 36, 57, 58 and 59).

Provided the notional component of the verb form conveys context-independent information, the categorial exponents contribute less towards the further development of the communication than the notional component and in consequence are exceeded by it in CD. In such a case, the notional component in fact acts as their competitor. It must, of course, be borne in mind that if implemented as bound morphemes, the categorial exponents do not become prosodic feature

bearers in their own right. They become such bearers only if implemented as auxiliaries.

The text analysed contains 26 fields with verbal auxiliaries. Leaving aside 3 auxiliaries the interpretation of which remains pending (those occurring in fields 10, 34 and 59; see above), we find that 22 are actually linked with context-independent notional components and hence do not exceed them in CD. On the other hand, 1 (*could* of the subfield of 36) operates in the absence of a notional component and any other possible competitor. Under these circumstances, it performs the Q-function and carries the highest degree of CD within the distributional field.

The prosodic features of the auxiliaries commented on are in harmony with this interpretation. The 22 auxiliaries, which do not exceed their notional components in CD, do not exceed them in prosodic prominence either: 21 of them are unstressed and 1 (*should* of 43) bears accented strees (the notional component bearing a nucleus serving as IC). The 1 auxiliary which carries the highest degree of CD within its distributional field bears a nucleus that serves as IC.

III

I can now open the second stage of the analysis, which will permit me to remove the asterisks (*) and supply the missing interpretations, as well as amplify the interpretations already offered. The interpretations are recorded in the second set of sheets forming an appendix to this paper.

Dealing mainly with elements performing the Q, AQ and Pr functions and their competitors, the first stage of the analysis was concerned with the advancement and completion, but not with the beginning, of the development of the communication within a distributional field of CD. Starting the second stage of the analysis, I shall concentrate on elements that open this development in that they lay the foundation upon which it is advanced and completed.

In my previous research (Firbas, e. g., 1981.39—45) I have attempted to show that the foundation-laying elements are (1) those that are context-dependent, i. e. convey information retrievable from the immediately relevant context; (2) those that, irrespective of context dependence or independence, perform the B-function; (3) those that, irrespective of context dependence or independence, perform the Set-function, i. e. the dynamic semantic function of expressing merely background, accompanying information; and (4) those that in the absence of elements mentioned under (1), (2) or (3) perform the Pr-function. These findings are corroborated by the present analysis. As will be shown (pp. 48—51), they are by no means invalidated by cases permitting equivocal interpretation.

In principle, an element conveying a piece of information retrievable from the immediately relevant context is context-dependent and hence foundation-laying irrespective of sentence position and the character of its semantic content. In this way, the operation of context overrides that of linear modification and that of se-

mantics. In the analysis, the context-dependent elements have been indicated by the letter 'd' in the interpretations within the brackets, see e. g. *which* of 2, *her* of 3, *she* of 4, *Charmian* of 9, *the kettle* of 16 and *the taper* of 26.

From the 95 elements interpreted as context-dependent, 63 clearly perform the B-function. They are instanced by all the context-dependent elements adduced at the end of the preceding paragraph, the only exception being the element *her*. For context-independent B-elements, 18 in number, see e. g. *the tray* of 7, *the kettle* of 12 and *the skinny large-freckled wrist* of 15. The total number of B-elements is 80. The B-function is indicated by the abbreviation 'B' in the interpretations within the brackets.

As for elements performing the Set-function, there are 24 adverbials that are in part or entirely context-independent and interpreted as conveying background, accompanying information; see e. g. *for a moment* of 4, *as she held it under the tap* of 12, *though it splashed quite a bit on the stove* of 38, and *that afternoon* of 71. With one exception (see the concessive *though* - clause of 38), they are all temporal settings. The Set-function of these elements is indicated by the abbreviation 'Set' in the interpretations within the brackets.

At the present state of research, one can perhaps say that in a wider sense the Set-function is performed by any context-dependent element that does not clearly perform the B-function. This conclusion is justified by the fact that context dependence has a dedynamizing effect, tending to neutralize the dynamic semantic functions and causing the element in question to carry a very low degree of CD, as well as by the fact that the Set-function equally induces the element performing it to carry a very low degree of CD. (In fact, a context-independent Set-element exceeds in CD only context-dependent elements, i. e. none of the other context-independent elements.) See, for instance, *her* of 3, *the kettle* of 16, *for matches* of 21, *with the water* of 43 and *with the plate* of 65.

In this connection field 10 deserves special mention on account of the phrase *make tea*. Both *tea* and the notional component of *make* convey context-dependent information (retrievable from field 7). This makes the auxiliary *could* exceed *make* in CD. In fact, it takes over the Q-function, *herself* serving as a Sp.

I have so far dealt with elements that have become foundation-laying, because from the conditions (1), (2) and (3) they fulfil either condition (1), or (2), or (3), or simultaneously conditions (1) and (2), or (1) and (3). Let me now turn to elements that become foundation-laying because fulfilling condition (4). There are only two verb forms that can be brought under this heading: *come* of 33 and *return* of 59. Under the circumstances they both express appearance on the scene and unmistakably perform the Pr-function.

In regard to the development of the communication within a distributional field, the foundation-laying elements contribute less towards this development than those that, upon the foundation thus laid, advance and complete it. On account of their role in the development of the communication, the latter elements have been referred to as core-constituting (see, e. g., Firbas 1981.48–54 and 1986a.51–4). In accordance with their participation in the development of the

communication, the foundation-laying elements carry lower degrees of CD than the core-constituting elements.

The fact that core-constituting elements carry different degrees of CD has been demonstrated at the first stage of the analysis. Let me now demostrate that even the foundation-laying elements show different degrees of CD.

It is certainly not difficult to understand why foundation-laying elements that are context-dependent carry lower degrees of CD than foundation-laying elements that are context-independent. Conveying information retrievable from the immediately relevant context, the former contribute less towards the further development of the communication that the latter, which convey information irretrievable from this context. Retrievable information is less dynamic than irretrievable information. The following pairs of elements may serve as illustrations: *she* and *for a moment* of 4, *When all was set on the tray* and *she* of 49 and *Last of all* and *she* of 72. In each pair *she* serves as a context-dependent B-element, whereas the other member of the pair serves as a context-independent Set-element. In each case, both elements are foundation-laying, but of the two *she* carries a lower degree of CD.

It is worth noting that not even context-dependent foundation-laying elements carry equal degrees of CD. This is due to the fact that the pieces of information they convey are not equally well established in the immediately relevant context. This becomes evident if we examine the layer formed throughout the paragraph by all the foundation-laying elements. Before adducing examples, let me insert the following note.

As has been shown elsewhere (cf., e. g., Firbas 1961.93–5 and 1986a.59–61), the layer formed by the foundation-laying elements of a paragraph is to be distinguished from the layer formed by the core-constituting elements of the same paragraph. It is one of the functions of the former, not of the latter, to retain elements for a shorter or longer stretch in the flow of the communication. It is a significant feature of each of the five paragraphs composing the text under analysis that the layer formed by the foundation-laying elements keeps the element *Charmian/she/her* in the flow of the communication. *Charmian/she/her* is the most frequently occurring element in the text. It occurs as many as 53 times, 49 of these in pronominal form, the pronominal form used never having any other referent. With one exception (see field 18, to be commented upon on p. 00), it serves as the foundation-laying element that evidently contributes least towards the further development of the communication. All this renders it the most firmly established element within the foundation-laying layer of the entire text under examination. Under these circumstances, any other context-dependent element co-occurring with *Charmian/she/her* in a foundation will exceed it in CD.

This applies, for instance, to *it* of the *as*-clause of 12 and *the kettle* of 16. Like *she,* they are context-dependent. But while they refer to a notion that remains in the flow of the communication for a comparatively short stretch, the notion referred to by *she* remains there permanently. Although *the kettle/it* conveys background, foundation-laying information, *she* conveys a piece of information that is still further relegated to the background. Other instances are provided by the

pairs *she* and *for matches* of 21, *she* and *hot water* of 43, *She* and *this* of 54 and *She* and *with the plate* of 67.

Context dependence keeps the information within the foundation-laying layer. In this connection let me recall that the term 'context dependence' is used in a narrow sense for the purpose of the present analysis. In fact it is in this sense that the term has been used in my other papers as well. Employed in the narrow sense, 'context dependent' is to be understood as retrievable from the immediately relevant context: it is not to be understood as retrievable from a wider context, verbal and/or situational, including that of common knowledge and experience shared by the speaker/writer and the listener/reader. Retrievability as understood in the wider sense does not prevent a piece of information from entering the core-constituting layer and even serving as the item towards which within a distributional field the development of the communication is oriented (perspectived). This is illustrated by elements that in the text under analysis occur in its core-constituting layer in spite of their being retrievable either from the preceding narration within the text analysed itself or from the narration preceding this portion of text or from a wider context.

For instance, the element *Mrs Anthony* of 7 conveys a notion retrievable from the narration preceding the text analysed, but it is not retrievable from the immediately relevant preceding context: it is therefore context-independent and capable of functioning in the core-constituting layer. It is also context-independent in 17, 30 and 49, because in each case it is irretrievable from the immediately relevant context and can therefore operate in the core-constituting layer provided it is not induced to perform the Set-function or the B-function. The elements *the library* of 1 and *the kitchen* of 7 are presented as familiar notions (hence the definite articles), but are context-independent because of their irretrievability from their immediately relevant preceding contexts. For the same reason, they are context-independent when later re-introduced into the flow of the communication (for *the library* see 23, 50 and 55; and for *the kitchen* see 27 and 49). In all these cases they appear in the core-constituting layer.

The notes just offered point to the importance of the immediately relevant preceding context. When not immediately repeated, an element begins to lose its eligibility for serving as a context-dependent component of the foundation-laying layer. This raises the question of for how long a stretch of context an element retains such eligibility after its last mention in the text – in other words, the question of the length of its retrievability span. To my knowledge, this problem has not yet been definitely solved. But desirable as such a definite solution is, its absence does not seriously affect the interpretation of the text under analysis. This is due to the following fact. The text contains comparatively few recurring notions. Recurring, they either evidently remain within the retrievability span or evidently re-appear outside it, i. e. later in the flow of the communication and beyond the range of the span. The following notes will throw more light on this problem.

It is worth noting that in the text under analysis, the number of notions that are referred to at least three times in the flow of the narration, the distance be-

tween the references not exceeding three entire basic fields, is comparatively very small. Only 9 notions form such referential strings: *Charmian/she/her/[present through ellipsis]* (forming 2 such strings; see 1 – [2] – 3 – 4 – 6 – 7 – 9 – 10 – 11 – [12] – 14 – 15 – 16 – 17 – 18 – [19] – 21 – [22] – 23 – [24] – 25 – [26] – 27 – 29 – 30 – 31 – 32 – [33] – 34 – [35] – 36 – 38 – 39 – 41 – 42 – 43 – 44 46 – 48 – 49 – 50 – 51 – 52 – 53 – 54 – 55 and 63 – 64 – 67 – [68] – [69] – [70] – 71 – 72 – 73 – 74 – [75] – [76] – 78 – [79] – 80 – 81 – 83), *tea* (2 strings; see 5 – 6 – 7 – 10 and 79 – 82 – 83), *kettle/it* (2 strings; see 12 – 13 – 14 – 16 and 28 – 30 – 32 – 34), *the automatic lighter/it* (17 – 18 – 19), *matches/any* (20 – 21 – 22), *tapers/taper/the little quivering flame/it* (24 – 26 – 27), *the tea-pot/the pot/it* (29 – 32 – 35 – 39 – 40 – 41), *the tray/it* (3 strings; see 39 – 40 – 41 and 49 – 51 – 52 and 72 – 75 – 76), *the plate of Garibaldi biscuits/the plate* (63 – 65 – 67), *Garibaldi* (63 – 64 – 65) and *biscuits* (63 – 65 – 69).

In regard to the extent of the retrievability span expressed by the number of basic distributional fields occurring between two expressions of a notion, the text analysed does not contain cases in which the distance between the two expressions amounts to four, five, six or seven basic fields. The distance of eight basic fields occurs between *the hot-water jug* of 47 and its repetition in 56. This repetition is undoubtedly context-independent and moreover evidently operates in the core-constitututing layer of the paragraph (cf. p. 40). It follows that the question of the extent of the retrievability span is not of immediate relevance to the present analysis: the distance created by three basic fields is certainly one still apt to constitute such a span, whereas that created by eight is not.

In connection with the narrow conception of context dependence, another question arises. If a notion is repeated within its retrievability span, is it prevented from conveying context-independent information? It is not if it is additionally linked with and induced to convey such information. This can happen irrespective of whether the notion repeated is conveyed by the same or another expression (form).

For instance, the following three items, each repeated within one of the referential strings listed above, convey additional irretrievable information: *the tea pot* of 35, *the tray* of 51 and *the little quivering flame* of 27. The first, *the tea pot* of 35, is preceded by the preposition *over* and the words *tilted its spout,* and is induced by this co-text to convey the goal of a motion. Under the circumstances, the bare notion of 'the tea-pot' itself is a repetition of a piece of information occurring within the retrievability span and therefore context-dependent, but the location of the goal, i. e. its specification, is a piece of information that is irretrievable and hence context-independent.

The second item, *the tray* of 51, invites a similar interpretation. The bare notion of 'the tray' is retrievable. But *the tray* simultaneously expresses the outcome of a selection: the main character of the narration, Charmian, focuses her attention on the tray, disregarding other objects at the moment. Under the circumstances, this selection (specification) is presented as an irretrievable piece of information. It is not without interest to compare field 51, *She looked at the tray,*

with field 42, *She looked at the hot-water jug,* occurring earlier in the narration. Both announce selections, singling out objects due to be coped with by Charmian.

The third item, *the little quivering flame* of 27, expresses the same notion and has the same referent as *the taper* of 26. The attribute *quivering,* however, conveys a piece of irretrievable information which is of particular interest. The quivering is caused by the unsteady trembling hand of the old lady and plays an important role in the narration; cf. *rocked in her hand* of 14 and the description of the old lady's effort to steady her hand in 27.

The interpretation of the three repetitions has demonstrated that an element can simultaneously convey retrievable, i. e. context-dependent, and irretrievable, i. e. context-independent, information. This means that in regard to context dependence/independence an element may become heterogeneous. It may be asked how such heterogeneity manifests itself in the dynamics of communication. It appears that as a rule either one or the other feature, i. e. either context dependence or context independence, predominates. It is the predominant feature that ultimately determines the character of the element in regard to context dependence/independence. Different interpretations cannot be ruled out when the clues offered by the text are not unequivocal or when the interpreter fails to appreciate a clue. (On equivocal clues, see also pp. 48–51.)

The predominance of a context-dependent feature prevents an element heterogeneous in regard to context dependence/independence from operating in the core-constituting layer. This does not invariably hold good the other way round. The predominance of a context-independent feature does not automatically prevent an element from operating in the foundation-laying layer. For instance, the feature of contrast effects the prominence of context independence, but does not necessarily induce its bearer to function in the core-constituting layer. There are, however, context-independent features that do have this effect. The specifying feature of locating the goal of a motion and that of selection come under this heading. (Cf. also the summarizing effect and re-evaluation discussed in Firbas 1985.25–38; 1987a.16 and 33; and here on pp. 57–62.) Further research may establish other such features.

In deciding whether an entirely or predominantly context-independent element operates in the foundation-laying or in the core-constituting layer, a significant role may be played by the notional structures of these layers, especially by their portions constituting the immediately relevant preceding and the immediately relevant following context. An examination of the notional structures of the two layers can assist the interpreter in allotting the Set-and the Sp-functions. The following notes will illustrate this point.

Examining, for instance, the functions of the adverbial elements of time *for a moment, After a while, for a space* and *Then,* occurring in the sequence formed by fields 4, 5, 6 and 7, we cannot fail to observe that under the circumstances all these adverbials convey concomitant, background information, the true thread of the narration being unwound by more dynamic elements. In consequence, the adverbials belong to the foundation-laying layer, serving as temporal settings. Ex-

amining the functions of *heavy* and *as she held it under the tap* in 12, we find that in regard to the core-constitutiong layer, *heavy* is the real thread-unwinding element, the notion of heaviness being further elaborated on in field 13. In this way the adverbial *as*-clause is relegated to the background as a setting.

A clue offered by the text need not always be noticed by the interpreter, who may go by another clue. Moreover, the clues offered need not always be unequivocal. For instance, the interpreter could regard *in her hand* of 14 as a setting disregarding the fact that it conveys an essential piece of information which is elaborated on in the immediately following field 15. In a similar way, the adverbial *between her journeys* of 54 can be interpreted as introducing a piece of information that is not relegated to the background, but elaborated on in the immediately following long sequence of fields (55–76), which discuss the 'journeys' in detail one by one. According to this interpretation, the adverbial does not serve as a setting, but as a specification. The discussion of the relationship between settings and specifications will continue further below (see pp. 48–51).

IV

Before examining the degrees of prosodic prominence, let me once again take up the distinction between the foundation-laying and the core-constituting elements. As has been discussed in greater detail elsewhere (e. g., Firbas 1981.50–4 and 1986a.51–4), the foundation-laying elements constitute the thematic section, i. e. the theme, whereas the core-constituting elements constitute the non-thematic section, i. e. the non-theme, of a distributional field provided by a sentence, clause, semi-clause or nominal phrase. Similarly, the foundation-laying layer and the core-constituting layer within a paragraph equal its thematic and its non-thematic layers, respectively. The terms 'foundation-laying' and 'core-constituting' have not been introduced to replace the terms 'thematic', 'non-thematic' and other related terms (such as 'transitional' and 'rhematic'). On the contrary, 'foundation-laying' and 'core-constituting' felicitously designate the dynamic processes establishing the theme and the non-theme and have come to be used as explicatory terms parallel to 'thematic' and 'non-thematic'.

Let us have a further look at the foundation-laying, i. e. thematic elements. As has already been demonstrated, they stand in different relations to the preceding flow of the communication (see pp. 37–8). A detailed analysis of thematic elements has been undertaken by Svoboda (1985), who has established a number of thematic functions. Somewhat simplifying his approach, I find the following features relevant to my analysis.

Some thematic elements convey information that is non-existent within the retrievability span, and hence context-independent. Others convey information that does appear within this span, but occurs in the immediately relevant section of the core-constituting, i. e. non-thematic, layer; for instance, in the non-theme of

the immediately preceding distributional field. Such thematic elements convey retrievable, context-dependent information that has been transferred from the non-thematic to the thematic layer. Other thematic elements convey information that has equally appeared within the retrievability span, but now occurs in the immediately relevant section of the foundation-laying, i. e. thematic, layer. Such thematic elements repeat information that has already been introduced into the thematic layer and is now further established in it. These different types of thematic element differ in the extent to which they contribute towards the further development of the communication, and hence carry different degrees of CD. Most dynamic are those that convey context-independent information, less dynamic those that convey context-dependent information transferred from the non-thematic layer to the thematic layer, and least dynamic those that convey context-dependent information already present in the thematic layer. Elements of the first type and those of the second type perform functions that Svoboda has termed 'diathematic' and those of the third type the function of theme proper. As contextual situations make it necessary to elaborate on this classification, Svoboda has devised a scale of thematic functions reflecting a gradual rise in CD. The bottom end of this scale is taken up by theme proper and the upper end by diatheme, theme proper oriented elements and diatheme oriented elements ranking between them. The usefulness of this elaboration is corroborated by the present analysis.

The preceding notes concern the written context. As for the the immediately relevant non-verbal, situational context, it does not affect the text under analysis in any particularly noticeable way. The text does not contain references to the speaker, reader, people in general or nature in general, i. e. notions which are all regarded as permanently present in the immediately relevant situational context (cf. Svoboda 1983.55 and Firbas 1986a.56). It is perhaps only the very vague and very general reference to the situation at hand conveyed by the pronoun *it* that could be mentioned in this connection; see the *it*'s in fields 5, 45, 53 and 70, which have all been interpreted as themes proper.

Needless to say, Svoboda's scale need not be fully implemented, the thematic functions being decided according to the actual contextual conditions. In the presence of other thematic elements, the diatheme carries the highest, and the theme proper the lowest, degree of CD within the theme.

The thematic functions can be illustrated by the following examples. For instance, field 16 contains three thematic elements: *At last, she* and *the kettle.* The first is context-independent, whereas the second and the third are context-dependent, both conveying information already established in the thematic layer. The first serves as diatheme, whilst the second – being more firmly established in the thematic layer than the third – as theme proper. The third is regarded as theme proper oriented.

Three thematic elements also occur, for instance, in field 32: *When the kettle had boiled, she* and *the pot.* Conveying context-independent information (mainly through *boiled*), the first serves as diatheme. Conveying information firmly established in the thematic layer, the second serves as theme proper. Transferring information from the non-thematic to the thematic layer, the third is diathematic

(cf. *the tea-pot* functioning in 29 as an Sp-element), but in the presence of a more dynamic diathematic element to be regarded as diatheme oriented.

In the analysis of the text, the following abbreviations have been used to indicate the thematic functions: ThPr, ThPro, DTho and DTh. They stand for theme proper, theme proper oriented, diatheme oriented and diatheme, respectively.

In regard to the non-thematic, i. e. core-constituting, elements, the following notes must be added. The non-thematic elements continue and complete the development of the communication upon the foundation provided by the thematic elements. As has been shown, the relationship into which linguistic elements enter in the course of the development of the communication can be expressed in terms of competitorship. The element winning the competition completes this development. It expresses the piece of information towards which the communication is oriented (perspectived). This element carries the highest degree of CD within the distributional field and has come to be termed rheme proper.

In terms of competitorship, particular features have been established by the analysis of the functions performed by the categorial exponents of the finite verb form in the development of the communication. It has already been indicated (see p. 34) that the complex information conveyed by these exponents recedes into the background before any non-thematic information with which it co-occurs in the distributional field. Without going into detail, let me recall that the categories of tense and mood are of particular importance in this connection. Through their exponents, the TMEs (the temporal and modal exponents), they not only establish a link between the entire semantic content conveyed by the distributional field on the one hand, and the extralingual reality, concrete or abstract, on the other, but also invariably start building up the core-constituting information upon the foundation. In this way, the TMEs are induced to act as a boundary, and simultaneously as a link, between the thematic and the non-thematic sections of the field. The act of linking thematic and non-thematic information is itself a piece of information that is specific of and unique to the field (cf. Daneš 1974.111) – a piece of information not to be identified with the temporal and modal indications simultaneously conveyed by the TMEs. It invariably remains context-independent even if the temporal indication or the modal indication or both become context-dependent.

From the point of view of form, the TMEs may coincide with other categorial exponents – for instance, those of person and number, the PNEs. Like the indications of tense and mood, those of person and number may be either context-dependent or context independent.

The information conveyed by the categorial exponents of the finite verb is indeed complex. The present analysis, however, is predominantly concerned with their function, or to be exact, the function of the TMEs, of initiating the non-thematic information in the development of the communication. In this sense, the TMEs perform a function that has been termed the function of transition proper.

Transition proper and rheme proper are linked with the lowest and the highest degrees of CD within the non-thematic section of the field, respectively. On the grounds of what has been demonstrated at the first stage of the analysis, it can be

added that in the presence of other elements conveying non-thematic information, the development of the communication gradually proceeds from transition proper towards rheme proper, with an element or elements close to transition proper and constituting the rest of transition and an element or elements coming closer to rheme proper and constituting the rest of rheme.

Let me recall and emphasize at this point that the development of communication is not a purely linear phenomenon (Firbas, e. g., 1986a.46). The distribution of degrees of CD, reflecting this development, is determined by an interplay of factors, in which linear modification is only one of the participants.

Of the elements that in the development of the communication towards rheme proper tend to come close after transition proper, it is the notional component of the finite verb that is of particular importance. It is transitional if in the presence of competitors it performs the AQ, the Q or the Pr function. (It is, however, thematic if performing the Pr-function in the absence of a Set-element; cf. the subfield of 37.) Its competitors are rhematic, the one completing the development of the communication becoming rheme proper.

Apart from the notional component of the finite verb, the following elements have been found to stand close to transition proper: the sentence adverbs *plainly* of 52 and *still* of 71; the conjunctions *but* (see, e. g., 9), *as* (e. g., 12), *when* (e. g., 13), *though* of 38, *even if* of 53, *in case* of 59, *if* of 70 and *save that* of 81; and the adverbial element *yes* of 11. Semantically, they come closer to the TMEs than the notional component of the finite verb. They have therefore been interpreted as transition proper oriented.

Also of particular interest are the negativing adverbials *not* (occurring in 19, 22, 38, 48 and 82) and *never* (52). On the one hand, in expressing negative polarity, they are semantically linked to the TMEs. On the other, they point to the negation focus, i. e. the rheme proper of the negative field (cf. Firbas 1976.49): to *work* of 19, *find* of 22, *over her dress* of 38, *to burn* of 48, *carry* of 52 and *altogether hot* of 82. In pointing to the negation focus, they do not convey the negation focus themselves. In principle, they can do so only if the rest of the field is context-dependent (cf. the comment on p. 45). Normally, they are transition proper oriented and simultaneously point to the negation focus, i. e. the rheme proper of the negative field. In this capacity, they operate as Negation Focus Anticipators. (I intentionally avoid the wording 'rheme proper oriented'. This is because 'transition proper oriented' is used to denote elements that in regard to degrees of CD come close to transition proper. In a similar way, the designations 'theme proper oriented' and 'diatheme oriented' are used, denoting elements standing closely to theme proper and diatheme, respectively. A Negation Focus Anticipator is transition oriented, but simultaneously points to rheme proper over transitional and/or rhematic elements, including them in what other scholars, for instance Hajičová (1975), would call scope of negation.)

A similar situation obtains in questions (see Firbas 1976.49). They have their question focuses and Question Focus Anticipators. The text analysed contains two yes-no questions (fields 10 and 43). In them the role of the Question Focus Anticipator is performed by the TMEs, which serve as conveyers of yes-no polar-

ity. The question focuses (rhemes proper) of 10 and 43 are borne by *herself*, and *bother* (or to be more exact, the notional component of the form *should bother*), respectively. (Let me note that in principle the TMEs can become bearers of the rheme proper of the question, i. e. its focus, only in the absence of competitors. This occurs when the rest of the interrogative sentence is context-dependent.)

These notes, too, bear out the observation that the semantic content of the TMEs is complex and can simultaneously perform more functions. As for the function of transition proper, consisting in providing a boundary, and simultaneously a link, between the thematic (foundation-laying) and the non-thematic (core-constituting) section of a field, the TMEs perform it permanently and invariably.

The preceding discussion has demonstrated which elements constitute the transition within the non-thematic section of a distributional field. Let me add that as far as the rheme is concerned, any element carrying a higher degree of CD than the TMEs can become rhematic provided no competitor prevents it from acquiring this status. Continuing to serve as transition proper, even a TME can act as rheme proper on account of one of its semantic features in the absence of a competitor. In this way, the TME *could* performs the function of transition proper in all the fields in which it occurs in the text examined; see 10, 19, 22, 36, 52 and 64. Additionally, in 10 it serves as a transitional Q-element and Question Focus Anticipator, and in 36 – in the absence of a competitor – even as a Q-element and rheme proper.

The discussion has so far concentrated on fields implemented by verbal clauses, principle or subordinate, simple or complex. The verbal clause occupies a central position within the system of language. In view of this, the interpretation of FSP functions of the elements of semi-clause and those of verbless sentences can take place against the background of the verbal sentence/clause. Adopting this criterion, I find that verbless sentences or semi-clauses may be themeless, but cannot be rhemeless. I agree with Svoboda that they can also lack transitional elements with the exception of an indication of transition proper. It is at least through transition proper that rheme is anchored in the flow of communication. It follows that transition proper and rheme proper are always present. In the absence of TMEs, transition proper can be indicated by the weakened categorial exponents of the non-finite verb form (cf. Firbas 1986a.69). If neither the TMEs nor any weakened categorial exponents are present, the anchoring in the flow of communication is indicated merely by punctuation reflecting the creation of the distributional field – for instance, by the combination of capitalization and full stop. At the level of the spoken language, it is the ever-present intonation that takes over this anchoring function.

In the text under examination, 9 distributional fields (20, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62 and 63) are provided by verbless structures. Three of them (55, 59 and 63) contain distributional subfields provided by semi-clauses.

The thematic and the non-thematic elements discussed above are indicated in the analysis as follows: ThPr, ThPro, DTho, DTh, Tr, Rh and RhPr stand for theme proper, theme proper oriented, diatheme oriented, diatheme, transition,

rheme and rheme proper, respectively. Transition proper is indicated by the + symbol. The combination +o or the abbreviation TrPro stands for transition proper oriented. The function of transition proper has been indicated only if performed by the TMEs.

V

We can now turn our attention to the distribution of degrees of prosodic prominence over the thematic section of the field. In doing so, we need not – for the purpose of the present analysis – pay attention to themes that apart from the PNEs are constituted by one element only. (The PNEs perform a thematic function if the development of the communication is oriented away from the information conveyed by the subject. If the development of the communication is oriented towards the information conveyed by the subject, they perform a rhematic function. The functions of the PNEs have not been further examined here.) I shall therefore concentrate on themes that apart from the PNEs consist of more than one element.

In the text examined, 34 fields contain more than one thematic element. With the exception of 4 fields (27, 28, 32 and 38) with 3 elements, they all contain 2 elements. The prosodic relationship between these thematic elements is demonstrated below. First the elements occurring in pairs, and then those occurring in threes, are considered. If an element bears more than one prosodic feature, only its representative feature, i. e. the most prominent of its features, is taken into account. In all, 15 combinations have been found in the text.

First, a close examination of the combinations reveals that in all of them the context-dependent elements are prosodically less prominent than context independent-elements. This is in perfect correspondence with the fact than context-dependent elements contribute less towards the development of the communication than the context-independent elements. The former carry lower degrees of CD than the latter.

Second, close examination of the combinations also reveals that, with the exception of two (3 and 14), all of them induce prosodic prominence to reflect the different thematic functions. Themes proper are the prosodically least prominent, and the diathemes the prosodically most prominent, of all the thematic elements. Theme proper oriented elements and diatheme oriented elements rank between them, theme proper elements being prosodically less prominent than diatheme oriented elements. All this is once again in perfect agreement with the degrees of CD carried by the thematic elements.

As for the two exceptional combinations, 14 (displayed by field 27) will be taken up on p. 50 and 3 (displayed by the subfield of 55) on p. 54.

1. A c(ontext)-d(dependent) ThPr UNSTRESSED concurs with a c.-d. ThPro el(ement) occurring LATER in the field and UNSTRESSED; see the subfield in 12.

2. A c.-d. ThPr UNSTRESSED concurs with a c.-d. DTh occurring LATER in the field and UNSTRESSED; see field 52 and subfield in 64.
3. A c.-d. ThPr UNSTRESSED concurs with a c.-d. DTh occurring EARLIER in the field and UNSTRESSED; see subfield in 55.
4. A c.-d. ThPr UNSTRESSED concurring with a c.-d. DTh bearing UNACCENTED STRESS; see field 43.
5. A c.-d. ThPr UNSTRESSED concurs with a c.-d. DTh bearing ACCENTED STRESS; see fields 3, 7, 30 and 39.
6. A c.-d. ThPr UNSTRESSED concurs with a c(ontext)-ind(ependent) DTh bearing ACCENTED STRESS.
7. A c.-d. ThPr UNSTRESSED concurs with a c.-d. DTh bearing a NON-IC NUCLEUS (a LOW RISE AFTER A FALL serving as IC); see field 48, 54 and 67.
8. A c.-d. ThPr UNSTRESSED concurs with a c.-ind. DTh bearing a NON-IC NUCLEUS (a LOW RISE AFTER A FALL serving as IC); see fields 4, 6, 21, 45, 70, 71, 72, 74 and 78.
9. A c.-d. ThPr UNSTRESSED concurs with a c.-ind. DTh bearing a NON-IC NUCLEUS (other than a low rise after a fall serving as IC); see field 5 and 49.
10. A c.-d. ThPr bearing UNACCENTED STRESS concurs with c.-ind. DTh bearing a NON-IC NUCLEUS (a LOW RISE AFTER A FALL serving as IC); see field 9.
11. A c.-d. DTho UNSTRESSED concurs with a c.-d. DTh bearing ACCENTED STRESS; see the subfields in 7 and 63.

Let me now turn to the relational patterns shown by the four fields with three thematic elements.
12. A c.-d. ThPr UNSTRESSED concurs with a c.-d. DTho el. bearing UNACCENTED STRESS and a c.-ind. DTh bearing NON-IC NUCLEUS (other than a low rise after a fall serving as IC); see field 32.
13. A c.-d. ThPr UNSTRESSED concurs with a c.-d. DTho el. bearing ACCENTED STRESS and a c.-ind. DTh bearing a NON-IC NUCLEUS (other than a low rise after a fall serving as IC); see field 38.
14. A c.-d. ThPr UNSTRESSED concurs with a c.-ind. DTh bearing a NON-IC NUCLEUS (other than a low rise after a fall serving as IC) and a c.-d. DTho el. occurring LATER and also bearing a NON-IC NUCLEUS (other than a low rise after a fall serving as IC); see field 27.
15. A c.-d. ThPr bearing UNACCENTED STRESS concurs with a DTho el. bearing ACCENTED STRESS and a DTh bearing a NON-IC NUCLEUS (other than a low rise after a fall serving as IC); see field 28.

The above demonstrated relationship between the various thematic functions and degrees of prosodic prominence is also borne out by the following statistics.

The text analysed contains 60 elements that perform the function of theme proper. Of these, 56 are unstressed, 2 bear unaccented stress and 2 have accented stress.

The text analysed contains 5 elements that are theme proper oriented. Of these, 4 are unstressed and 1 bears unaccented stress.

The text analysed contains 7 elements that are diatheme oriented. Of these, 2 are unstressed, 1 bears unaccented stress, 33 bear accented stress and 1 bears a non-IC nucleus (other than a low rise after a fall serving as IC).

The text analysed contains 56 diathemes. Of these, 6 are unstressed, 5 bear unaccented stress, 17 accented stress, 12 a non-IC nucleus implemented as a low rise after a fall serving as IC, and 16 a non-IC nucleus other than a low rise of the above type.

The difference in prosodic prominence between the themes proper and the theme proper oriented elements on the one hand and the diathemes on the other is striking. As for the diatheme oriented elements, their prosodic prominence comes closer in its intensity to that of the diathemes than to that of the themes proper and the theme proper oriented elements. All this is in perfect correspondence with the degrees of CD carried by the thematic elements under consideration.

Another important fact revealed by the above examination of themes consisting of more than one element and equally displayed by the rest of the themes of the fields so far examined is the absence of a nucleus serving as IC.

In discussing the relationship of the degrees of CD and the degrees of prosodic prominence, I have so far dealt separately with the thematic and the non-thematic section of the field. Before turning to the distribution of degrees of CD and degrees of prosodic prominence over the entire field, I still have to pay special attention to one particular point. It concerns the settings (Set-elements) and the specifications (Sp/FSp-elements) and their prosodic implementation. The discussion of this point will prepare the way for the final assessment of the role played by intonation in the interplay of factors of FSP.

As has been demonstrated, the Set-function and the Sp/FSp-function play important roles in the development of the communication. Conveying concomitant, background information, a Set-element operates in the thematic layer, whereas an Sp/FSp-element operates in the non-thematic layer, or to be more specific, in the rhematic layer (constituted by all the rhematic elements in the flow of the communication). The very fact, however, that settings occur fairly freqently in final position in an English distributional field may create situations when the outcome of the interplay of the FSP factors is equivocal. This happens, for instance, when a final adverbial element is context-independent and when neither the character of its semantic content nor the character of the semantic relations into which it has entered suggests with sufficient clearness whether mere background, concomitant information or essential, core-constituting information is being conveyed; and possibly when neither the semantic structure of the thematic layer nor that of the non-thematic layer (or particularly of the rhematic layer within it) offers clues that suggest an unequivocal interpretation. It may, however, also happen that in spite of the presence of suggestive clues, their suggestiveness passes unheeded by the reader.

At the level of the spoken language, the equivocalness in regard to settings and specifications is as a rule (cf. Firbas 1985.43) removed by intonation, which establishes either the one or the other of the two functions. In this way, intona-

tion acts as a disambiguator. For instance, the adverbial elements *in her hand* of 14 and *between her journeys* of 54 (cf. p. 41) are marked by intonation as specifications. They are both induced to bear the most prominent prosodic feature within the field – the IC. Let me add a few more examples.

Field 44 contains two context-independent adverbial elements, *so well* and *up to now*. Evaluating the old lady's efforts, the first, an adverbial of manner, conveys a piece of core-constituting information and undoubtedly serves as a specification. The second, an adverbial of time, perhaps permits of two interpretations. Does it convey background information by merely stating the length of time during which the activity evaluated was taking place, or is it meant to emphasize that everything had been going well all along up to the point just reached? The second interpretation, giving the adverbial the status of a specification, is the more plausible one. The emphasis is in harmony with the old lady's determination not to give up; cf. the wording of field 46 *(But she felt strong and fearless)*, that of field 31 (repeating that of field 46) and that of field 71 *(Still, she felt fearless that afternoon)*. By placing the IC on *up to now*, intonation unequivocally marks the phrase as a specification.

The adverbial *in her tea* of 63 conveys retrievable information and should accordingly serve as a setting, and not bear the IC, but rather occur in the post-IC prosodic shade. It has, however, been induced to bear the IC and in this way become deshaded. The deshading seems to serve a good purpose and comes close to what has been broadly termed the recapitulatory or summarizing effect (Firbas, e. g., 1985.37). The adverbial *in her tea* is part of a statement describing a habit of the old lady's and consequently conveying a generalizing kind of information. The summarizing or generalizing character of a statement is irretrievable, which permits the adverbial to be treated as a carrier of additional and predominant context-independent information. Under the circumstances, by placing the IC on *in her tea*, intonation unequivocally marks the adverbial as a specification.

Interpreting *with the strain* of 15, we could argue that the strain experienced by the old lady is sufficiently indicated by the heaviness of the kettle and by its becoming even heavier when it is filled with water, as well as by its rocking in the old lady's evidently frail and feeble hand. Moreover, the definite article accompanying *strain* does not refer to information outside the retrievability span but to information placed within it. This opens the possibility of interpreting the element as a setting. On the other hand, it could be argued that the notion of 'strain' has not been expressed with sufficient clarity within the retrievability span. This does not rule out the possibility of interpreting the element as a specification. Moreover, such an interpretation would also be possible if the element were looked upon as serving a recapitulatory purpose by stating the effect of the old lady's efforts. Intonation settles the matter. The IC occurring on the element marks it as a specification.

Two pairs of adverbials are worth special comment; *off the plate* of 65 and *on the floor of the hall* of 66; and *the broken biscuits* and *even the crumbs*, both of 69. In each case, the first item of the pair conveys retrievable information and could therefore be weakened in prosodic prominence and relegated to the the-

matic layer, whereas the second unmistakably functions as a specification in the rhematic layer. At the level of the spoken language, however, they are all given prosodic prominence. In each pair, the two items display a kind of parallelism, the items of the first pair bearing high falls and those of the second low falls. In each pair, this parallelism heightens the communicative importance of the first item and presents the two-stage event described in a more compact way. It is worth noticing that the first event is reported after the flow of the narration has been interrupted by a reminiscence of the old lady's (cf. *She could well remember . . .;* field 64). In this way, the greater prominence goes hand in hand with the resumption of the story of the old lady's exertions. In each case, intonation marks the first item of the pair as a specification.

Two more adverbial elements deserve special comment: *about tea* of 6 and *upon it* of 76. Within them *tea* and *it* are context-dependent, whereas *about* and *upon* are context-independent. In a prepositional phrase with such distribution of information the context-dependent feature usually predominates, inducing the phrase to behave as a context-dependent unit and consequently as a setting. This interpretation is then reflected by reduced prosodic prominence affecting the entire unit. Both in 6 and in 76, however, the context-independent preposition bears the most prominent prosodic feature in the field, the IC, and has its meaning foregrounded in this way. In 6, this effect is accentuated by the preceding insertion of *for a space,* set off by commas in the written text and intonationally in the spoken. The insertion interrupts the flow of the communication and permits *about* to be thrown into relief. Together with the nucleus on *thought,* the IC on *about* draws the listener's attention to the old lady's reflections (evoked by tea-time — cf. 5 — and leading to her daring decision to make the tea herself). The IC on *upon* of 76 helps to underline the success of her enterprise testified to by the neat look of the tray: the neat arrangement of the tea-things upon it. Under the circumstances, the ICs mark the two adverbial elements as specifications.

Another interesting case is presentend by the elements *in one shaking hand, that hand* and *with her other hand,* all occurring in field 27 and all containing the word *hand.* The fact that the little quivering flame, i. e. the taper that had been lit, was carried in a shaking hand has already been clearly indicated by the words *bore* and *quivering* at the beginning of 27. The information conveyed by *in* and *shaking hand* is therefore redundant. Of the four words constituting the phrase *in one shaking hand,* it is in fact only the word *one* that contributes towards the further development of the communication. Together with *that* and *other* of the other two *hand*-phrases, it forms a thread-unwinding string expressing a contrast that plays an important role in the narration, but may escape a less attentive reader's attention. (Contrast operates here as the predominating context-independent feature; cf. p. 40.) The nuclear tones occurring on *one, that* and *other* ensure that the string does not remain unnoticed. The theree *hand*-phrases have been interpreted as specifications.

It may be asked whether intonation can perform its disambiguating function without any limitations. Since it does not operate in a manner independent of the non-prosodic FSP factors, it can be expected that situations can arise in which in

spite of its joining the interplay of factors, it fails to remove equivocalness. The element *the quivering flame* of field 27 may come under this heading.

In spite of the presence of a nucleus, it remains unclear whether the context-independent information conveyed by *quivering* (cf. p. 40) is weighty enough to make the element serve as a specification. If it is, the nucleus occurs on a rhematic element and field 27 cannot be regarded as an exception in terms of the discussion offered on p. 46. If it is not, the nucleus prosodically intensifies a thematic element and field 27 displays a kind of prosodic intensification to be discussed on pp. 55–7. It is the latter interpretation that has been adopted in the analysis.[4]

VI

The preceding discussions of the relationship between the two distributions (that of the degrees of CD as determined by the non-prosodic FSP factors and that of the degrees of prosodic prominence) as displayed by the thematic section on the one hand and the non-thematic section on the other enable two observations to be made concerning the role of intonation in FSP. First, through the distribution of degrees of prosodic prominence intonation merely reflects the distribution of degrees of CD as determined by the interplay of the non-prosodic FSP factors. Such a situation entitles the observer to speak of perfect correspondence between the two distributions. Second, in cases where the contextual conditions admit more than one interpretation of the interplay, intonation disambiguates the situation through following one clue in preference to another clue or other clues occurring in the text. A consistent survey of the types of relationship between the two distributions over the entire distributional field, simultaneously covering the thematic and the non-thematic section, will add futher observations to the two just made. By way of starting such a survey let me first adduce instances of distributional fields reflecting the roles of intonation characterized by the two above observations. (The results of the survey are tabulated at the end of this section.)

Cases of perfect correspondence are, for instance, fields 3, 4 and 53. The degrees of prosodic prominence displayed by the representative prosodic features of the communicative units constituting the field are in agreement with the degrees of CD assigned to them by the interplay of the non-prosodic FSP factors.

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[4] A special problem is posed by the interpretation of *a little*, which modifies *lifted* and *splashing* in 34 and 48, respectively. Its occurrence in a post-nuclear shade makes it impossible to regard it as a specification. It is not without interest to note that the meaning conveyed by it can be expressed by a verbal prefix in Czech; cf. *ponadzvednout* meaning 'to lift a little' (*nadzvednout* 'to lift'); *postříknout* meaning 'by splashing to wet a little' (*stříkat* 'to splash'). Both in 34 and in 48, *a little* has been tentatively interpreted as transition proper oriented.

In 3, *her,* serving as ThPr, is unstressed, *The effort of stooping,* serving as DTh, bears accented stress, and *tired,* serving as RhPr, bears a nucleus functioning as IC.

In 4, *she,* serving as ThPr, is unstressed, *for a moment,* serving as DTh, bears a non-IC nucleus implemented as a low rise after a fall occurring within the same field, *sat,* serving as Tr, bears a non-IC nucleus exceeding in prosodic prominence the low rise following it, and *the big chair,* serving as RhPr, bears an IC nucleus as its representative feature.

In 53, one communicative unit is implemented by a subordinate clause providing a distributional subfield. The prosodic feature representing this subfield within the basic distributional field is a nucleus functioning as IC. Field 53 shows the following correspondence between the two distributions. *She,* serving as ThPr is unstressed; *would,* serving as transition proper, is unstressed as well but occurs after the thematic *She; take,* serving as Tr, bears accented stress; the rhematic *in,* serving as a Sp, equally bears accented stress but occurs later in the field; the rhematic *the tea-things,* serving as FSp1, bears a non-IC nucleus; the rhematic *one by one,* serving as FSp2, equally bears a non-IC nucleus, but occurs later in the field; and finally the rhematic *even if*-clause, serving as FSp3 and RhPr, is prosodically represented by the IC. Let me add that in its turn the *even if*- clause, providing a distributional subfield, displays perfect correspondence between the two distributions as well. Its ThPr, *it,* is unstressed ; *even if,* serving as a transition proper oriented element, bears accented stress; *took,* serving as transition, equally bears accented stress, but comes later in the subfield; and finally *half an hour,* serving as RhPr, is prosodically represented by the IC.

The type of relationship between the two distributions as evidenced by the fields just analysed has been indicated in the survey tabulated od pp. 60–2 by the abbreviation PERF. CORR., standing for perfect correspondence between the distribution of degrees of CD as determined by the interplay of non-prosodic factors of CD and the distribution of degrees of prosodic prominence.

The second of the two observations made above has already been exemplified by the cases discussed on pp. 48–51, but an analysis of instances assessing the function of each communicative unit in the field will not be out of place here. As has been discussed on p. 50, the adverbial element *about tea* of 6 is marked as a specification by intonation. The resultant relationship between the two distributions is the following. *She,* serving as ThPr, is unstressed; *for a space,* serving as a Set-and DTh, bears a non-IC nucleus implemented as a low rise after a fall within one field; *thought,* serving as Tr, bears a non-IC nucleus other than a low rise of the type just described; and finally *about tea,* serving as RhPr, bears the IC.

Another case illustrating the second observation is the adverbial *in her tea* of 63, occurring in a second rank subfield provided by an expanded infinitive. The first rank subfield, in which the expanded infinitive operates as a communicative unit, is provided by a relative clause. Within the second rank subfield, the adverbial is marked by intonation as a specification. The relation between the two distributions as displayed by this subfield is the following: *to dip,* serving as Tr,

bears accented stress, whereas *in her tea,* serving as rheme proper, bears a nucleus functioning as IC. As for the first rank subfield, the relationship between the two distributions is displayed by it as follows: *which,* serving as a DTho-element, is unstressed; *Charmian,* serving as DTh, bears accented stress; *loved,* serving as Tr, bears accented stress as well, but occurs later in the field; and the second rank subfield *to dip in her tea,* serving as RhPr, has an IC nucleus as its representative prosodic feature.

The first rank subfield of 63 is a case of perfect correspondence between the two distributions. It remains so irrespective of whether the representative prosodic feature of the second rank subfield occurs on *to dip* or *in her tea.* The question is how to interpret the second rank subfield of 63 and the above discussed field 6. The fact is that in neither of the two fields does intonation operate regardless of the clues offered by context – in other words, regardless of the interplay of the non-prosodic FSP factors. But by preferring one clue to another, it does not merely reflect the interplay, but completes it. Instead of merely reflecting an FSP function, it codetermines it. This is why one can speak of perfect correspondence between the two distributions only with a proviso, and this is why in the survey the fields to which this observation applies are accompanied by the label 'PERF. CORR., p. l' ('p.' standing for 'proviso' and 'l' referring to the observation just made here.)

In analysing distributional fields, the present analysis stops at those provided by nominal phrases. The problem of their prosodic implementation has been touched upon in Firbas 1987a.17–8. (For a detailed discussion of the functional perspective of the nominal phrase, see Svoboda 1987.) It is important to recall that the most prominent prosodic feature borne by a nominal phrase performs the representative function in regard to other communicative units, but need not necessarily occur on the element carrying the highest degree of CD within the nominal phrase; cf., e. g., *in the big chair* of 4 and *in Mrs Anthony's chair* of 49. In each case, the attributive element (*big* in 4 and *Mrs Anthony's* in 49) exceeds its headword in CD and carries the highest degree of CD within the phrase. (As Svoboda has shown, this occurs when the attributive element is context-independent; see Svoboda 1968.) It is, however, the headword that bears the most prominent prosodic feature. In its representative function, this feature reflects perfect correspondence between the two distributions examined; in regard to the internal structure of the phrase it does not. (As shown in Firbas 1987a.17–8, however, the absence of perfect correspondence, which may occur in nominal phrases, stays within certain limits. For instance, the headword cannot bear the representative feature if it is context-dependent.)

A relationship which is somewhat similar to that between the attributive element and its headword is shown by the manner adverb and the verb. If context-independent, the manner adverb exceeds the verb in CD (Chládková 1979); it does not, however, necessarily exceed it in prosodic prominence if immediately preceding it; see the combinations *cautiously built* of 2, *well remember* of 64 and *carefully poured* of 79. It is worth noting that, discussing the relationship between the manner adverb and the verb in Czech, Kopečný characterizes the former as

a kind of verbal attribute (Kopečný 1962.25). Leaving the problem open, I tentatively assume that the combination in which a manner adverb immediately precedes the non-auxiliary verb form behaves in a way similar to that displayed by the attribute and its headword. The most prominent of the prosodic features occurring on the adverb-verb combination of the type described here represents the combination in regard to the other communicative units in the field. I am, however, not prepared to go the length of regarding the adverb-verb combination as one communicative unit. Hence it is only with a proviso that the tentative interpretation of the adverb-verb combination of the type described here permits fields 2, 64 and 79 to be regarded as displaying perfect correspondence between the two distributions. The proviso is indicated by 'p. 2' in the label accompanying the three fields in the survey: 'PERF. CORR., p. 2'.

What may be looked upon as a very slight deviation from perfect correspondence between the two distributions examined is displayed by the subfield of 55. It is the only instance of its kind. The two thematic elements, *which* an *she,* are unstressed and exceeded in prosodic prominence by the transional *placed,* bearing accented stress, and the rheme proper *on the library hearth,* bearing an IC nucleus. In this respect, the subfield undoubtedly displays perfect correspondence between the two distributions. It is within the unstressed theme that the deviation occurs. Following the unstressed diatheme *which,* the unstressed theme proper *she* gains more prosodic prominence through position. But, taking place as it does within the unstressed section of the field and not affecting the FSP status of either of the two thematic elements in any way, this deviation appears to be practically insignificant. Nevertheless a proviso label, numbered 3 ('PERF. CORR, p. 3'). accompanies the interpretation of the subfield in the survey.

A group of 5 fields displays another deviation that does not seem to be very striking, though slightly more significant than the previous one. The fields have one feature in common. In each case an unstressed transition proper oriented element, a conjunction, is exceeded in prosodic prominence by one or two unstressed thematic elements, which with one exception (see subfield of 70 and the comments below) are unstressed as well and attain a higher degree of prosodic prominence only through position.

For instance, field 50 shows the following relationship between the two distributions examined. The unstressed theme proper, *she,* is in turn exceeded in prosodic prominence by the transitional *thought* and the rheme proper *of her bright fire in the library,* bearing an IC nucleus. Strictly speaking, the unstressed conjunction *But,* serving as a transition proper oriented element, does not quite match the perfect correspondence between the two distributions displayed by the rest of the field. The deviation is, of course, a very slight one, and does not affect the FSP functions of the elements.

The stressed thematic element referred to above occurs in the subfield of 70, which shows perfect correspondence between the two distributions examined but for the unstressed transition proper oriented conjunction *if* and the diatheme *anyone,* bearing unaccented stress. Like the other four fields, the subfield of 70 also shows a deviation from perfect correspondence which appears to be of com-

paratively little significance. This is why the survey records the five fields as cases of perfect correspondence with a proviso. They are accompanied by the label 'PERF. CORR., p. 4'.

It is worth noticing that the five fields just discussed come close to a comparatively large group which is of particular interest. This group comprises 34 fields, which have one feature in common: the deviation from perfect correspondence involves an auxiliary verb form serving as transition proper, or a notional component verb form simultaneously serving as transition proper and ordinary transition, or an entire complex finite verb form simultaneously serving as transition proper and ordinary transition. In 33 cases, the verb form concerned is exceeded in prosodic prominence by one or more thematic elements on the one hand, and by one or more non-thematic elements on the other. In only 1 case (see field 71) is a verb form simultaneously serving as transition proper and ordinary transition exceeded by a transition proper oriented element on the one hand and another non-thematic element on the other. Fields 5, 28, 32 and 77 will illustrate this.

In 5, the theme is constituted by *it,* serving as theme proper, and *after a while,* serving as diatheme. The non-thematic elements are *was,* simultaneously serving as transition proper and ordinary transition, and *tea-time,* serving as rheme proper. In regard to degrees of prosodic prominence, theme proper is unstressed, the diatheme bears non-IC nuclear stress and rheme proper bears the IC. Under the circumstances, the unstressed transitional *was* does not match the perfect correspondence pattern: it is exceeded in prosodic prominence by the diatheme.

In 28, *under the kettle* serves as theme proper and bears unaccented stress, and *the gas* is diatheme oriented and bears accented stress, *At last* serves as diatheme and bears a non-IC nucleus and *lit* serves as rheme proper and bears the IC nucleus. Under the circumstances, the auxiliary *was,* serving as transition proper, does not match the perfect correspondence pattern: it is exceeded in prosodic prominence by all the thematic elements.

In 32, *she* serves as theme proper and is unstressed, *into the pot* is theme proper oriented and bears unaccented stress, *When the kettle had boiled* serves as diatheme and is represented by a non-IC nucleus, and finally *tea* serves as rheme proper and bears an IC nucleus. Under the circumstances, the verb form *spooned,* serving both as transition proper and ordinary transition and bearing accented stress, once again does not match the perfect correspondence pattern. It is exceeded in prosodic prominence by the diatheme.

In 77, *The performance,* serving as diatheme, bears a non-IC nucleus, and *twenty minutes,* serving as rheme proper, bears the IC. Under the circumstances, the complex verb form — the unstressed *had* serving as transition proper and *taken* bearing unaccented stress and simultaneously serving as transition proper and ordinary transition — does not match the perfect correspondence pattern. It is exceeded in prosodic prominence by the diatheme.

It is important to note that the prosodic weakening of the verb form does not affect its transitional function, which consists in starting to build up the core-constituting information upon the foundation provided by the thematic elements. Nor does this prosodic weakening of the transition affect the theme-rheme rela-

tionship. In all the 34 fields displaying the weakening, the theme-rheme relationship as determined by the interplay of the non-prosodic factors is faithfully reflected by intonation. In all these fields, the distribution of degrees of CD over the themes and the rhemes as determined by the interplay of the non-prosodic factors is in perfect correspondence with the distribution of degrees of prosodic prominence.

The prosodic weakening of a transitional element taking place under the conditions described leads to the prosodic intensification of an element or elements to which a lower degree or lower degrees of CD have been assigned by the interplay of the non-prosodic FSP factors. In 33 out of the 34 fields, the weakened transitional element has been exceeded in prosodic prominence by the representative prosodic feature of the theme. In 3 cases, this feature is borne by theme proper (in the absence of any other thematic element; see fields 11, 32 and the second subfield of 49) and in 30 cases by the diatheme. In 1 case a transition proper oriented element has been intensified in regard to the verb form serving as ordinary transition (field 71). The prosodic intensification of the theme and the prosodic weakening of the transitional element, which always involves the element performing the function of transition proper, is not at variance with the fact that transition proper serves as a link and at the same time as a boundary between the thematic and the non-thematic sections of a field. The auxiliary verb forms, which invariably perform the function of transition proper (see p. 45), are always unstressed if ocurring in one of the fields of the group under discussion.

It follows that the prosodic weakening of transition, in particular that of transition proper, and the prosodic intensification of the theme serve a good purpose. So does in 71 the intensification of the transition proper oriented *Still* in relation to *felt*, simultaneously serving as transition proper and ordinary transition. It adds more force to the narrator's assertion that the old lady remained brave that afternoon in the face of all the difficulties she had to overcome.

A good purpose is also served by the additional intensification of *lifted* in field 16, one of the 33 fields, in which the intensification of the representative prosodic feature of the theme takes place. The Q-element *lifted* is given greater prosodic prominence than the Sp-element *safely*. Field 16 announces that the old lady's effort to lift the kettle (the heaviness of which had put a great strain on her; cf. fields 12, 13, 14 and 15) was successful.

The fields belonging to the group just discussed are given the label 'N.–R. INTENSIFICATION', standing for 'non-re-evaluating intensification'. The qualification 'non-re-evaluting' indicates that the intensification described does not affect, or in other words, re-evaluate, the theme-rheme relationship. The degrees of CD carried by the elements affected by prosodic intensification are raised at the level of the spoken language and so is the total amount of CD carried by the entire field, but the FSP functions performed by the constituents of the field are not re-evaluated. Such re-evaluation can indeed take place, but under special circumstances. These will be shown by a small group of fields the discussion of which has been deferred to the closing part of the analysis.

The small group is constituted by fields that have so far remained uninterpreted. Their common feature is a particular kind of discrepancy between the distribution of degrees of CD as determined by the interplay of the non-prosodic factors of FSP and the actual distribution of degrees of prosodic prominence. Field 18 will illustrate.

As determined by the interplay of the non-prosodic FSP factors, both *She* and *it* of 18 are context-dependent and hence thematic. Having no competitor, the context-independent notional component of the finite verb, *tried,* carries the highest degree of CD and serves as rheme proper. This distribution of degrees of CD in not reflected by the distribution of degrees of prosodic prominence. The particular kind of discrepancy displayed by field 18 consists in the fact that *She* as a non-rhematic element carries the most prominent prosodic feature, i. e. the IC, while the rheme proper appears in the post-IC prosodic shade.

This discrepancy does not disprove the operation of the non-prosodic FSP factors. On the contrary, it is highly functional. Without obliterating the original distribution of the degrees of CD, it adds a new, emotive dimension to the field. As an analysis of the text shows, the extra emphasis placed on *She* not only puts it in contrast with *Mrs Anthony* of 17, but in accordance with the communicative purpose of the narration underlined the old lady's effort to do everything herself without any other person's help and her enjoying being all on her own in the house. (Cf. 81, one of the closing sentences of the narration: 'All was as usual, save that she was blissfully alone . . .'.) This additional piece of information is not conveyed by any means of the written language, but supplied at the level of the spoken language.

Not reflecting the distribution of CD as determined by the non-prosodic FSP factors, but signalling additional information, intonation raises the degrees of CD of the elements it intensifies. In contrast with the prosodic intensification previously discussed, the type of prosodic intensification just described affects the theme-rheme relationship as determined by the interplay of the non-prosodic factors of FSP. It re-evaluates it and is therefore regarded as re-evaluating prosodic intensification. This re-evaluation, however, can take place only against the background of the distribution of degrees of CD as determined by the interplay of the non-prosodic factors of FSP.

Re-evaluating prosodic intensification has been discussed in greater detail in Firbas 1980, 1985 and 1987a. Let me just recall here that the elements occurring before the re-evaluating IC remain unaffected, whereas with one exception those occurring after it, in its shade, are thematised. The exception is the TMEs, which continue to serve as transition proper. Elements thematised at the re-evaluating level retain their CD relationship, the most dynamic element becoming the diatheme. In the analysis, prosodic re-evaluation is indicated by the '>' sign. For instance, *She,* the IC bearer in 18, and the elements *tried* and *it,* occurring in its shade, are followed by the interpretations (i) d, B, ThPr > RhPr; (ii) +; Q, RhPr > +; DTh; and (iii) d, Set, Dth > DTho; respectively. Fields showing re-evaluating prosodic intensification are accompanied by the label 'R. INT.' in the survey.

Another case of re-evaluating prosodic intensification is the subfield of 79. The interplay of non-prosodic FSP factors orients (perspectives) it to *into the saucer,* regarding it as a specification. The IC, however, appears on the intensifier *very* in *very little,* putting *into the saucer* in the post-IC prosodic shade. The re-orientation (re-perspectiving) serves a good purpose. It additionally underlines the carefulness with which the old lady carried out her preparation; cf. the wording *carefully poured out,* occurring in the preceding clause. Moreover, the notion of 'very little', suggesting the effectiveness of the old lady's carefulness, is taken up by the following sentence. Owing to the operation of the rhematizer *even,* it is oriented (perspectived) to *even that little,* which bears the IC.

The placement of the IC on the intensifier *very* deserves special comment. In addition to putting the communicative unit *into the saucer* in a re-evaluting post-IC prosodic shade, it creates such a shade even within the communicative unit *very little* itself. This shade is marked through re-evaluation, for the IC placement would be unmarked if it occurred on the context-independent *little.* (For intensifiers involved in re-evaluating prosodic intensification, see Firbas 1985.31–4.) This re-evaluating prosodic intensification taking place within a communicative unit made up of an adverb combined with *very* has not been specially indicated in the present analysis. It would, however, have to be indicated if the analysis were to be made even more detailed.

Re-evaluating prosodic intensification is also caused by the placement of the IC on *not,* linked with the adverbial element *enough to burn* in the subfield of 48. The re-evaluation can be accounted for as follows. As has already been pointed out, the interplay of non-prosodic FSP factors permits the negation focus anticipator *not* to serve as negation focus, i. e. as rheme proper, only in the absence of context-independent elements. In accordance with this, the actual bearer of the negation focus in the subfield of 48 is the verb form *to burn.* Under these circumstances, the placement of the IC on *not* effects re-evaluating prosodic intensification, which once again serves a good purpose: to emphasize the old lady's concern to proceed as carefully as possible in order to avoid an accident (cf. field 45).

All the above discussed cases of re-evaluating prosodic intensification involve what has been termed shading (Firbas 1985.36). Elements induced by the interplay of non-prosodic FSP factors to carry the highest degrees of CD have not been made to bear the IC, but placed in the post-IC prosodic shade. It may be asked whether field 41 could be interpreted as a case of re-evaluating prosodic intensification involving the reverse process – that of deshading, which induces the IC to be borne by elements that in accordance with the interplay of non-prosodic FSP factors should appear in the post-IC prosodic shade (cf. Firbas, ib.). The element concerned is the IC bearer *after all* of 41. It is a context-independent sentence adverb which in the presence of other context-independent elements is normally to be interpreted as transition proper oriented. Bearing the IC, it markedly orients (perspectives) the field to the narrator's attitude towards the facts he conveys. In the analysis, I have interpreted field 41 as a case of re-evaluating prosodic intensification. The good purpose served by the re-evaluation is to

emphasize the successful completion of a difficult task (cf. the wording *difficult part* in field 32) the old lady has engaged herself in. The conveying of the notion of completion coincides with the final, closing position of *after all* in the paragraph.

Special comment is required by the ICs occurring on *Mrs Pettigrew* in 7 and 59. In 59, the relation between the context-independent *Mrs Pettigrew* and *should return* presents no difficulty. The former performs the Ph-function, the latter, or rather its notional component, the Pr-function, the latter duly appearing in the post-IC prosodic shade cast by the former. (*Return* is a verb expressing appearance on the scene.) What requires an explanation is the occurrence of *want tea* in the same shade. *Tea* can be regarded as context-dependent and therefore as legitimately appearing in the shade, but *want,* or rather its notional component, is context-independent and interpretable as a Q-element. It is, of course, known that in the presence of a context-independent subject as its only competitor, the verb tends to recede into the background and to perform the Pr-function, but this does not seem to give a fully satisfactory explanation for the appearance of *want* in the shade. It is rather its parallel occurrence with *return* that relegates it to the background and permits both *Mrs Pettigrew* and *Godfrey* to be brought into relief as Ph-elements. Foregrounding the two persons only underlines their absence from the house and the sole presence of the old lady in it. Ultimately, the same motif may lie behind the placement of the IC on *Mrs Pettigrew* and the shading of *to make the tea* in 7. Once again, *the tea* is context-dependent and *to make* interpretable as a Q-element, but the latter is relegated to the background in order to permit the foregrounding of *Mrs Pettigrew* along with *Mrs Anthony* and in this way the underlining of their absence from the house; cf. the wording of 8, the following sentence, *But Mrs Pettigrew had gone out,* which corroborates this interpretation.

It follows that, taking into account the contextual clues provided by the thematic layer on the one hand and the rhematic layer on the other, the interpretation offered considers the verb forms *to make* and *want* to perform the Pr-function. I do not think, however, that an interpretation can be excluded which, disregarding or not sufficiently heeding these clues, would consider the two verb forms to perform the Q-function. But such an interpretation would be reflected by another distribution of prosodic prominence, inducing the verb forms to become IC bearers. I believe that reflecting one or the other interpretation, the distribution of prosodic prominence, i. e. intonation, performs the disambiguating function and asserts itself as an FSP factor in its own right. Summing up the discussion of the small group of fields that have been singled out for special attention, let me point out that in all of them intonation has asserted itself as an FSP factor in its own right. In fields 18, 41 and 79, it effects re-evaluating prosodic intensificaton; in the subfields of 7 and 59 it acts as a disambiguator, in the sense of preferring one clue to another in determining the dynamic semantic function of an element.

In the survey of the analysis, fields 18, 41, 48 and 79 have [continued on p. 62]

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  1    PERF. CORR.
  2    PERF. CORR.   p. 2
 [2]   PERF. CORR.
  3    PERF. CORR.
  4    PERF. CORR.
  5                                N.-R. INT.
  6    PERF. CORR.   p. 1
  7    PERF. CORR.
 [7]                               N.-R. INT.
[[7]]  PERF. CORR.   p. 1
  8                                N.-R. INT.
  9                                N.-R. INT.
 10                                N.-R. INT.
 11                                N.-R. INT.
 12                                N.-R. INT.
[12]   PERF. CORR.   p. 4
 13    PERF. CORR.
[13]   PERF. CORR.   p. 4
 14    PERF. CORR.   p. 1
 15                                N.-R. INT.
 16                                N.-R. INT.
 17    PERF. CORR.
[17]   PERF. CORR.
 18                                                    R. INT.
 19    PERF. CORR.
 20    PERF. CORR.
 21    PERF. CORR.
 22                                N.-R. INT.
 23    PERF. CORR.
 24    PERF. CORR.
 25    PERF. CORR.
 26    PERF. CORR.
 27                                N.-R. INT.
[27]   PERF. CORR.
[27]                               N.-R. INT.
[[27]] PERF. CORR.
 28                                N.-R. INT.
 29    PERF. CORR.
[29]   PERF. CORR.
 30    PERF. CORR.
[30]   PERF. CORR.
[[30]] PERF. CORR.
 31    PERF. CORR.
 32                                N.-R. INT.
[32]                               N.-R. INT.
 33    PERF. CORR.
[33]                               N.-R. INT.
 34    PERF. CORR.
 35    PERF. CORR.
 36    PERF. CORR.
[36]   PERF. CORR.
 37                                N.-R. INT.
 38                                N.-R. INT.
[38]   PERF. CORR.
 39                                N.-R. INT.
 40    PERF. CORR.
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41				R. INT.
42	PERF. CORR.			
43	PERF. CORR.	p. 1		
44	PERF. CORR.			
45	PERF. CORR.			
[45]	PERF. CORR.			
46	PERF. CORR.			
47			N.-R. INT.	
48	PERF. CORR.			
[48]				R. INT.
49			N.-R. INT.	
[49]			N.-R. INT.	
[49]			N.-R. INT.	
50	PERF. CORR.	p. 4		
51	PERF. CORR.			
52	PERF. CORR.			
53	PERF. CORR.			
[53]	PERF. CORR.			
54	PERF. CORR.			
[54]	PERF. CORR.			
55	PERF. CORR.			
[55]	PERF. CORR.	p. 3		
56	PERF. CORR.			
57			N.-R. INT.	
58	PERF. CORR.			
59	PERF. CORR.			
[59]	PERF. CORR.	p. 1		
60	PERF. CORR.			
61	PERF. CORR.			
62	PERF. CORR.			
63	PERF. CORR.			
[63]	PERF. CORR.	p. 1		
64	PERF. CORR.	p. 2		
[64]	PERF. CORR.	p. 4		
[64]	PERF. CORR.			
65			N.-R. INT.	
66	PERF. CORR.			
67	PERF. CORR.			
68	PERF. CORR.			
69	PERF. CORR.			
[69]	PERF. CORR.	p. 1		
70			N.-R. INT.	
[70]	PERF. CORR.	p. 4		
[[70]]	PERF. CORR.			
71			N.-R. INT.	
72			N.-R. INT.	
[72]	PERF. CORR.			
73	PERF. CORR.			
[73]	PERF. CORR.			
[[73]]	PERF. CORR.			
74			N.-R. INT.	
[74]	PERF. CORR.			
75			N.-R. INT.	
76	PERF. CORR.	p. 1		
77			N.-R. INT.	
78			N.-R. INT.	
79	PERF. CORR.	p. 2		

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[79]                                                    R. INT.
 80    PERF. CORR.
 81                              N.-R. INT.
[81]   PERF. CORR.
 82                              N.-R. INT.
 83    PERF. CORR.
[83]   PERF. CORR.
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been given the label 'R. INT.', stating for 're-evaluating intensification'. The subfields of 7 and 59 have been classified as cases of 'PERF. CORR. p. 1'.

The survey tabulating the interpretations of all the fields and subfields examined has been inserted in the text above.

VII

In this analysis I have endeavoured to demonstrate that linguistic elements as conveyers of information assume different positions in the development of the communication. (Neither position nor development is to be understood here as a purely linear notion, because neither the starting point nor the completion of the process of communication within a linguistic communicative field necessarily coincides with the beginning or the end of this field.) Some elements prepare a foundation upon which others gradually build up and complete the communication. As long as a linguistic element conveys some meaning, it participates in this development. The relative extent to which it contributes to this development, i. e. to the dynamics of the communication, determines its degree of communicative dynamism (CD). Examining the interplay of (i) the operation of linear modification, (ii) that of the semantic character of a linguistic element and the character of the semantic relations into which this element enters, and (iii) last but not least that of the immediately relevant context, the analysis has first established the distribution of degrees of CD over the communicative (distributional) fields, i. e. their functional sentence perspective (FSP), at the level of the written language. Having done so, it has concentrated on the relationship between this distribution and that of the degrees of prosodic prominence; in other words, on the role played by intonation in FSP. The survey tabulates the results of this inquiry.

The survey is supplemented by two tables below, giving the frequencies of the types occurring in the text.

The largest group is constituted by fields that show perfect correspondence between the two distributions. In this case intonation reflects the outcome of the interplay of the non-prosodic FSP factors. In reflecting this outcome, it does not act as a truly active FSP factor at the level of the spoken language.

Close to this group stands that of the fields which can be interpreted as showing perfect correspondence with certain provisos. Intonation comes to play an active part in the interplay of FSP factors when proviso 1 applies (see p. 53). In such cases it consummates the interplay at the level of the spoken language by reflecting one of the potential clues offered by the written text. In this sense it disambiguates an equivocal operation of the non-prosodic FSP factors.

TABLE 1

	PERF. CORR.	PERF. CORR. p.	N.-R. INT.	R. INT.	
Basic fields	45 (54.2)	8 (9.6)	28 (33.7)	2 (2.4)	83
Subfields of 1st r.	16 (50.0)	8 (25.0)	6 (18.8)	2 (6.2)	32
Subfields of 2nd r.	4 (80.0)	1 (20.0)	0	0	5
	65 (54.2)	17 (14.2)	34 (28.3)	4 (3.3)	120

1st r. = first r.: 2nd rank = second rank.
The brackets contain the percentage (not rounded off).

TABLE 2

	PERF. CORR. and PERF. CORR.p.	N.-R. INT.	R. INT.	
Basic fields	53 (63.9)	28 (33.7)	2 (2.4)	83
Subfields of 1st r.	24 (75.0)	6 (18.8)	2 (6.2)	32
Subfields of 2nd r.	5 (4.2)	0	0	5
	82 (68.3)	34 (28.3)	4 (3.3)	120

1st r. = first rank; 2nd r. = second rank.
The brackets contain the percentage (not rounded off).

Though outnumbered by the first group, the third is by no means unimportant. In operating within the fields constituting it, intonation does not affect the theme-rheme relationship as determined by the interplay of the non-prosodic FSP factors, but intensifies a non-rhematic element. The remarkable effects produced by this prosodic intensification have been discussed above (see p. 56). In producing the intensification, intonation acts as an active participant in the interplay of FSP factors, but does not operate in a manner independent of them.

Since it does not affect the theme-rheme relationship, the type of intensification described has been termed non-re-evaluating. It raises the degrees of CD, but does not change the mutual relationship of the carriers of degrees of CD. Tunes may differ in their capability of producing various types of non-re-evaluating prosodic intensification and consequent additional rises in CD. This question has not been examined in the present inquiry.

Though heavily outnumbered by the other three groups, the fourth represents a very important type as well. In it intonation asserts itself as a powerful participant in the interplay of FSP factors, because it achieves a re-evaluation of the

outcome of the interplay of the non-prosodic factors. This re-evaluation entails a significant rise in the degrees of CD carried by the elements affected. But even here, intonation cannot operate in a manner independent of the non-prosodic factors. The effect produced through the re-evaluation can be implemented and understood only against the background of the outcome of the interplay of the non-prosodic factors. The comparatively very low frequency of the fourth type is not surprising. It would certainly be higher in a dialogue (see Firbas 1987a. 33). But even there it evidently must remain within limits imposed upon highly marked linguistic phenomena.

I trust that the analysis has shown the usefulness of the concept of communicative dynamism (CD). CD permits a determination of the position an element assumes in the development of the communication within the sentence viewed as a communicative field. The degrees of prosodic prominence are systemically related to the degrees of CD. They cannot be distributed over the sentence in disregard of the distribution of degrees of CD as determined by the non-prosodic factors of FSP.

ABBREVIATIONS

AQ	the dynamic semantic function of ascribing a quality
B	the dynamic semantic function of expressing a bearer of quality
CD	communicative dynamism
c.–d.	context-dependent
d	context-dependent
DTh	diatheme
DTho	diatheme oriented
FSP	functional sentence perspective
FSp	the dynamic semantic function of expressing a further specification
FSp1	the first FSp-element in a specification string
IC	intonation centre
N.R. INT.	non-re-evaluating intensification
NegFocA	negation focus anticipator
p. 1	proviso (first p. listed in Section Six)
PERF. CORR.	perfect correspondence
Ph	the dynamic semantic function of expressing a phenomenon presented
PNEs	exponents of person and number of the finite verb
Pr	the dynamic semantic function of presentation
Q	the dynamic semantic function of expressing a quality
QFocA	question focus anticipator
Rh	rheme
RhPr	rheme proper
R. INT.	re-evaluating intensification
Set	the dynamic semantic function of expressing a setting
Sp	the dynamic semantic function of expressing a specification
Th	theme
ThPr	theme proper
ThPro	theme proper oriented
TMEs	temporal and modal exponents of the finite verb

Tr	transition
TrPro	transition proper oriented (also: +o)
+	transition proper
+o	transition proper oriented (also: TrPro)
*	marking an element the function of which will be accounted for at a later stage of the analysis
>	re-evaluated to
[. . .]	enclosing a distributional subfield
[[. . .]]	enclosing a subfield occurring within a subfield

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STUPNĚ VÝPOVĚDNÍ DYNAMIČNOSTI A STUPNĚ INTONAČNÍ VÝRAZNOSTI

Článek podrobně analyzuje intonaci úryvku ze současného anglického (britského) románu, a to z hlediska funkční větné perspektivy (aktuálního členění větného). Na konkrétním textu se demonstruje souhra neintonačních činitelů funkční větné perspektivy a intonace, která do této souhry vstupuje na rovině mluveného jazyka. Článek je dalším příspěvkem k otázce vztahů mezi stupni výpovědní dynamičnosti a stupni intonační (prozodické) výraznosti. Podávaná analýza prozaického textu je pendantem k analýze textu dialogického, uveřejněného v předcházejícím, sedmnáctém svazku řady *Brno studies in English*.