On the communicative value of the modern English finite verb

JAN FIRBAS

ON THE COMMUNICATIVE VALUE OF THE MODERN ENGLISH FINITE VERB

I

In some of our previous papers (1,2) we have shown that every sentence element (the smallest of which is the morpheme) carries a certain degree of communicative dynamism (to be referred to as CD in the present paper). (3) The degrees of CD, however, vary from one element to another. This varying intensity of CD moulds, so to speak, the sentence in a particular way, inducing the hearer/reader to impose on it a definite kind of perspective. (4) Viewed in the direction from the beginning to the end of the sentence, the varying intensity of CD may manifest itself in successive rises (which would be in accord with the basic distribution of CD), or in successive falls, or in a curve of rises and falls. Owing to these rises and falls, successive or not, every non-thematic element—and in fact, each of the more dynamic thematic elements — is brought into relief, in regard to the other element (elements) conveying a lower amount (lower amounts) of CD. Although the highest peak of relief is obviously attained by rheme proper (cf. note 3), the essential point is that the degree of CD does not decide alone the degree of noticeability of the relief in which a sentence element will appear. The conspicuousness of the relief in which a sentence element is set in regard to the other elements is in direct proportion to the degree of difference ascertainable in the amounts of CD of those sentence elements. It is on strikingly distinct cases of relief (to be further denoted simply as cases of distinct relief) and on their relations to the shift towards nominal expression that we want to concentrate in the first chapter of the present paper. (5) Let us begin our discussion by illustrating the phenomenon of distinct relief (and of relief in general) by means of the following example. (6)

[1] Here[11] the voices[12] were[20] always[31] raised[32]; they[10] became[20] fervent[30]. — — M 218.26 (7)

Tu[12] vždycky[31] zvýši[32] l[20] y[11] ženy[11] hlas[12] a roz[32]horli[31]l[20]y[10] se[10]. — M 340.26
"Here[12] always[31] rais[32]ed[20]-they[11] women[11] voice[12] and (perf.pref.)[32]-excit-[31]ed[20]-they[10] themselves[10]." (8)

(Needless to say, *they* refers to *voices*, whereas the element *-ly* in *rozhorlily* refers to *ženy*. This is, however, not relevant to our discussion.)

In the English version of [1] (9), *here* and *voices* constitute a considerably

weak theme; and *were*, a very weak transition. These weak elements are followed by noticeably stronger elements, i. e. by the rhematic (or perhaps at least strongly transitional) *always* and the rheme proper *raised*. Similarly, the weak thematic *they* and the weak transitional *became* occur before *fervent*, which is also a noticeably stronger element, in fact the rheme proper of the second co-ordinate sentence. It follows that the rises in CD, taking place after *were* and *became*, are very distinct, and so is the relief into which the respective highly dynamic elements are thrown. (10) (Needless to say, the rise in CD after *voices* is very slight, and the relief in which *were* is being set thereby is almost negligible.)

In the Czech version of [1], *hlas* seems to be more dynamic than its English counterpart, *the voices*. It has been, so to speak, crowded out by *tu* and *ženy* from the weakest sphere of the theme; and if it has not passed into the sphere of transition, it has certainly moved up very near it. Its final position in the sentence surely heightens, though under the circumstances only slightly, (11) the amount of CD conveyed by it. On the other hand, the elements *vždycky zvýšily* and *rozhořlily* stand out in distinct relief. There is an evident rise in CD between *tu* and *vždycky* on the one band, and an evident fall in CD between *zvýšily* and *ženy* on the other. As to the co-ordinate sentence after *a* ('and'), *se* is evidently weaker than *rozhořlily*, which also appears in distinct relief.

It is clear, then, that both in English and in Czech, the phenomenon of relief can be established. Our specimens, however, reveal interesting differences between the two languages. Without attempting to generalize for the moment, we should like to point out that the phenomenon of distinct relief is being brought more prominently to notice in the English version of [1] than in its Czech equivalent. Apart from the fact that the element *voices* is less dynamic than the corresponding Czech element *hlas*, English dissociates the rhematic notions with greater efficacy. This is due to the fact that in the two English co-ordinate sentences of [1] the four primary (12) categories are expressed by separate words b e f o r e the respective rises in CD (. . . *the voices were* . . ., *they became* . . .). In Czech on the other hand, these four categories are indicated by words which at the same time convey the highest amounts of CD.

It is essential to note that although the English version dissociates the rhematic notions from the rest of the sentence with greater efficacy than its Czech counterpart, the respective degrees to which the English rhematic notions have been dissociated are not the same. This is chiefly due to the fact that the item *raised* is linked up with *were* as co-conveyer of the secondary (12) category of voice. In a way, this link lowers the rise in CD and prevents the notion conveyed by the item *raised* from being dissociated with full effect. Hence the relief cannot be so distinct with the item *raised* as it is with the item *fervent*, where b o t h the primary and the secondary categories are conveyed by a semantically w e a k element and occur b e f o r e the rise in CD. All this indicates what an important part the shift towards nominal expression may play in shaping the FSP of the sentence. (13)

Before discussing further instances, let us pause to add a few words about the concepts we have introduced and about the phenomena they denote.

We hope to have offered a satisfactory explanation of the concepts of rise and fall in CD. As to the phenomena of s t r i k i n g l y d i s t i n c t relief (as a rule denoted in this paper simply as d i s t i n c t), we have refrained from giving an exact definition. At the present stage of research we have to put up with the fact that it is difficult to draw a well-defined line of demarcation which would separate the cases of strikingly distinct relief from those that should not be included under that heading.

We hope, however, to be able to present some unmistakable types of the phenomenon.

The phenomena of rise in CD, fall in CD, and distinct relief, belong to the level of FSP. But in order to understand how they function within the structure of a language, they have to be studied in their relation to the grammatical and semantic levels of that language. As we have already pointed out, we intend to study them, especially the phenomenon of distinct relief, in their relation to the shift towards nominal expression. (As the mentioned phenomena can occur with any word of the sentence, they might be studied from other semantic and grammatical viewpoints as well. Such a procedure, however, lies beyond the scope of the present paper.)

As for the dissociating process, we have already studied some of its aspects in an earlier paper. (13) It is fundamentally a semantic process, revealing a tendency to give each semantic element (no matter whether conveying grammatical or lexical meaning) its own separate form within the sentence. In order to understand well how this tendency operates within the structure of a language, it must be studied also in its relation to the grammatical and FSP levels of that language.

Let us now adduce and comment upon some more illustrative examples. Like [1], they all come within the sphere of ordinary instance levels (14), the most frequent type of instance levels both in Czech and in English.

[2] The old dog^{10}͜cut^{20} *an ancient caper or two*^{30}... — M 206.11
Starý pes si^{10} několikrát^{21} jako za dávných dob^{22} po^{32}skoči^{31}]^{21,10}... — M 327.11
"Old dog (refl. pron.)^{10} several-times^{21} as in old times^{22} (perf. pref.)^{32} - jump^{31}-ed^{21}-he^{10}, ... '

[3] And she^{10} gave^{20} *her strange neighing laugh*^{30}... — M 219.32
Za^{23}řehta^{22}]^{21}a^{10} se^{10} jako kůň^{30}... — M 342.4
"(Perf. pref.)^{23}-neigh^{22}ed^{21}-she^{10} (refl.pron.)^{10} like horse^{30}..."

[4] [Beryl felt] (15) that she^{11} was being ^{20} *poisoned*^{30} by this cold woman^{12}, ... — — M 220.22
[Beryl měla dojem,] že ji^{11} ta vystydlá ženská^{12} kaz^{30}í^{20,12}, ... — M 342.32
"[Beryl had impression,] that her^{11} this cold woman^{12} spoil^{30}ing-is^{20}-she^{12}, ..."

[5] On the grass beside her^{11}, lying between two pillows^{12} was^{20} *the boy*^{30}. — M 221.12
Mezi dvěma polštáři^{11} ležel^{21} vedle ní na trávě^{22} její chlapeček^{30}. — M 343.22
"Between two pillows^{11} lay^{21}beside her on grass^{22} her boy^{30}."

[6] ["This is too subtle for me!" He flung out the words,] but his open, quivering, distraught look^{10} was^{20} *like the look*^{31} *of a trapped beast*^{32}. — M 222.18
[„To je finta na mne!" hned vyhrkl,] ale přitom^{11} se^{10} tváří^{21}]^{21,10} bezelstně, rozechvěle a zmateně^{22} jako zvíře, lapené do pasti^{30}. — M 345.2
["This is trick on me!" immediately out-blurted-he,] but simultaneously^{11} (refl. pron.)^{10} looked^{21}-he^{10} artlessly, agitatedly, distraughtly^{22}like animal caught in trap^{30}."

[7] [And suddenly his face dimpled;] it^{10} broke^{20} *into a wide, toothless smile, a perfect beam, no less*^{30}. — M 223.15
[Náhle mu obličej zvarhánkovatěl,] u^{23}smá^{22}]^{21,10} se^{10} bezzubě^{31} na celé kolo^{32}, všecek^{22} se^{10} roz^{32}zářil^{31}]^{21,10} — M 345.32
"[Suddenly him face dimpled,] (perf. pref.)^{23}-laugh^{22}ed^{21}-he^{10} (refl. pron.)^{10} toothlessly^{31} on whole round (an idiom translating here *E.* wide — J. F.)^{32}, all^{22} (refl. pron.)^{10} (perf. pref.)^{32}-beam^{31}ed^{21}-he^{10}."

[8] Linda[11] was[20] *so astonished*[30] at the confidence of this little creature[12]... —
— M 223.21
Linda[11] žas[30]|[20]a[11] nad troufalostí tohoto stvořeníčka[12]...´— 346.14
"Linda[11] marvel[30]led[20]-she[11] at confidence of-this of-little-creature[12]..."

[9] [Now a stone on the bottom moved, rocked,] and there[10] was[20] *a glimpse of
a black feeler*[30]. — M 224.26
[A tu se na dně pohnul a zakymácel kámen] a mihl[20]o[10] se[10] černé ty-
kadlo[30]; ... — M 347.11
"[And now (refl. pron.) on bottom moved and (perf. pref.)-rocked stone] and
flashed-by[20]-it[10] (refl. pron.)[10] black feeler[30]; ..."

[10] And now[12] there[11] sounded[20] *the faintest 'plop'*[30]. — M 224.30
A tu[11] něco[12] slabounce[20] šplíchlo[30]. — M 347.15
"And now[11] something[12] faintly[20] plopped[30]."

[11] Over the verandas, prone on the paddock, flung over the fences,[12] there[11]
were[20] *exhausted-looking bathing dresses and rough striped towels*[30]. — M 225.1
Na verandách, obrácených k pastvisku, a na plotech[10] byly[21] roz[23]věšeny[22]
zplihlé koupací úbory a pruhované osušky[30]. — M 347.19
"On verandas, turned towards paddock, and on fences[10] were[21] out[23]-hung[22]
exhausted-looking bathing dresses and striped towels[30]."

First, a word of explanation as to the italics in the English versions. They have
been used to set off the sections that have been thrown into distinct relief. As the
comparison of the English versions with their Czech counterparts will show, the
reliefs of the latter do not as a rule display such high degrees of distinctness as those
of the former. We have therefore abstained from using italics in the Czech versions.
The rises in CD that have their share in bringing about the italicized distinct
reliefs seem to be evident. They occur after the semantically and dynamically (16)
weak forms of the verb *to be* (functioning as a copula in [5, 6, 8, 9] and [11], and as
an auxiliary in [4]), or after the semantically and dynamically weak items *broke* [7],
sounded [10], *cut* [2], *gave* [3]. The falls in CD seem to be evident as well; cf. the
substantival elements standing after the italicized distinct reliefs in [4] and [8].
(Note how in these two instances the item *the* and the two instances of *this* refer
back to ideas previously mentioned in the context, marking them out as thematic.)
Examining the mentioned distinct rises in CD, we find that the shift towards
nominal expression plays an important part in effecting the italicized distinct reliefs.
A comparison with the Czech versions makes the English shift especially clear. Just
compare (17), e. g., *there was a glimpse* with *mihlo se* [9], *was so astonished* with
žasla [8], *she was being poisoned* with *kazí* [4], *cut an ... caper* with *poskočil* [2],
gave her ... laugh with *zařehtala se* [3], *broke into a ... smile* with *usmál se* [7].
It would be worth trying to indicate the varying degrees of CD within a sentence
by means of a contour-line, with a dotted (...), a broken (---) and a fullbold-faced
(—) section respectively representing the theme, transition and rheme. In this way,
especially in a string of connected sentences, the rises and falls in CD could be better
brought into proportion and accordingly graduated (cf. Note 10). Thus in a con-
tour-line, the representation of a dynamically weak transitional element will be
placed lower than that of a dynamically strong transitional element, although their
numerical notations may be the same (cf. the representations of *sounded*[20] and *sla-
bounce*[20] in the contour-lines on p. 87). We are aware, of course, that the method of

indicating the varying degrees of CD within a sentence by means of contour-lines would have to be further developed, and that the two contour-lines of [10] and those of [12] and [12a] on p. 87, which are all given by way of illustration, are to be regarded as merely tentative. Needless to say, we also appreciate the considerable typographical difficulties that a consistent realization of the contour-line method may involve.

After these preliminary notes, let us concentrate on some special issues that may be called forth by the relations existing between the shift towards nominal expression on the one hand and the phenomenon of distinct relief on the other.

It has already been pointed out, in our previous paper (18) that in the advanced stages of the shift towards nominal expression, the predicative verb is more or less disengaged from conveying the notional content; after such dissociation the latter must necessarily find expression in some non-verbal element of the sentence. This often leads to a special type of distribution of CD within the sentence, viz. in the passing of the dissociated notional component into the sphere of the theme or into that of the rheme, and in the appearance of the predicative verb itself as pre-eminently transitional. (19) Some of the instances under discussion lend themselves very well to a comparison in the indicated respect.

Thus in [7] the notion of smiling has passed into the rheme, rendering the verb pre-eminently transitional; in Czech, on the other hand, owing to the initial position of its conveyer *(usmál)*, the mentioned notion appears as merely transitional, though fairly intensive (owing to the perfective notion conveyed by the prefix *u-*). (20)

Similarly in [3]. Owing to the pressure of the sentence positions, the item *zařehtala* of the Czech version appears as merely transitional, though fairly intensive (note the pressure of the prefix *za-*). (20) In English, on the other hand, the corresponding notion appears quite unmistakably in the rheme thanks to the presence of the semantically and dynamically weak *gave*.

In the Czech version of [9], *mihlo* is evidently transitional; lexically, it functions as an element expressing 'emergence on the scene' (21). The amout of CD conveyed by the item *mihlo*, however, is somewhat raised, for the verb implies the notion of 'a very swift, passing appearance'. In English, this very notion is not conveyed by the verb, but by a noun that occurs after a distinct rise in CD, within the rheme of the sentence.

Let us also compare the English and Czech transitional elements in [11], i. e. the English *were* with the Czech *byly rozvěšeny*. We can easily see that the simple *were*, together with the preceding *there*, forms a markedly weak section which presents a striking contrast to the highly dynamic rheme that follows. Elements that would correspond to the Czech *rozvěšeny* — i. e. *prone* (22) and *flung* — and that would strengthen the mentioned section before the rheme cannot do so because they occur outside this section. Though not quite devoid of CD, they appear at the beginning of the sentence and are so evaluated as thematic, or at most as weakly transitional. In any case, they cannot lower the rise in CD that takes place after the item *were* as *rozvěšeny* lowers that after the corresponding Czech item *byly.*

Similar comparisons could be drawn between the Czech and English versions of [5] and [6] respectively. Comparing the conveyers of the main predicative categories, i. e. *was* with *ležel* (both [5]), and *was* with *tvářil se* (both [6]), we again find that the English verbs have been disengaged from conveying the notional content. This renders them pre-eminently transitional and makes them function as a dividing point (conspicuous, in a way, because of its very semantic and dynamic weakness) between theme and rheme. The notions the verbs have been disengaged from conveying

find their expression outside the semantically weak section represented by the verb — cf. *look* (23) in [6] and *lying* in [5]. The rhemes proper of the Czech and English versions tally with one another *(the boy — její chlapeček, of a trapped beast — zvíře lapené do pasti);* the Czech versions, however, display a gradual rise in CD from one element (or a group of elements) to the other, whereas the English versions show distinct rises before their rhemes.

The above examples have convincingly shown what significant influence a semantically and dynamically weak verb may exercise upon the FSP of a sentence. In comparison with such verbs as are stronger (both semantically and dynamically), the described weak verbs in fact cause a s p e c i a l d i s t r i b u t i o n of CD within the given sentence. This leads us on to another phenomenon which can equally be observed in connection with the dissociating process, and which has its share in bringing about distinct rises in CD and in throwing sentence elements into relief.

The phenomenon to be discussed is that of c o m p a c t n e s s. It can be illustrated by the following sections quoted from the instances under discussion: *an ancient caper or two* [2], *her strange neighing laugh* [3], *his open, quivering, distraught look* [6a] (24, 25), *into a wide, toothless smile, a perfect beam, no less* [7], *a glimpse of a black feeler* [9]. Each of the above sections is made up of a string of elements which differ comparatively little from each other in the amounts of CD they convey. (The sections [2, 3, 7, 9] are entirely rhematic, and the section [6a] is entirely thematic. That their component elements do differ in CD at all is partly due to the fact that under the given circumstances the basic distribution of CD can assert itself.) A considerable difference in CD, however, can be observed between each of the sections ([6a] included) on the one hand and the neighbouring element (or, elements) on the other (cf. the fully quoted instances [2, 3, 6, 7, 9] above). This contrast in CD sets off each section in its entirety against the neighbouring element (or, elements). In this way, the comparatively little differences in CD as observed within such a section on the one hand, and the comparatively considerable difference (or, differences) in CD existing between the section and the neighbouring element (or, elements) on the other, render the section markedly c o m p a c t, both from within and from without. It follows that the phenomenon of compactness makes it possible for a string of elements to be set off as a closely knit unit of components. If the section is rhematic, the phenomenon of compactness has its share in setting it in relief.

The phenomenon of compactness has been established on the FSP level and cannot be identified (26) with any grammatical form. Yet, like other FSP phenomena, it can and must be examined in its relations to the grammatical structure, for it is exactly the grammatical structure from which the phenomenon may receive effective support. Therefore, let us again turn to the discussed sections and examine them in the light of the relations existing between the phenomenon of compactness and the grammatical structure.

On examining the sections, we find that each contains a noun (in [7] there are even two such nouns) whose function it is to be the grammatical headword of a nominal phrase (cf. *caper* in [2], *laugh* in [3], *look* in [6a], *smile* and *beam* in [7], *glimpse* in [9]). (27, 28) The relations between the headword and all the adjectival elements subordinated to it — including also articles and words capable of serving in their stead, and prepositional phrases with a second-rank headword of their own (cf. *feeler* in [9]) — are such as to form a particularly closely knit structure. Within this structure, a significant role is being performed by articles and their substitutes (*her* in [3], *his* in [6a]). These words semantically span, as it were, the field grammatically dominated by the headword to which they belong and thereby produce a

specific unifying effect. It is evident that in bringing about the phenomenon of compactness, FSP may enter into successful co-operation with grammatical structure. This becomes especially evident if we resort to a comparison of the English and the Czech versions of the instance [2] and [6].

The phrase *Starý pes* [2] is as thematic as is its English counterpart *The old dog*. After these thematic openings, however, the English and the Czech version differ considerably. In English, the weak theme is followed by the semantically and dynamically weak transitional *cut*, after which a distinct rise in CD is observed and the reached high level of CD (slightly rising perhaps) is kept up to the end of the sentence. In Czech, on the other hand, there is a gradual rise in CD, taking place throughout the sentence and reaching its climax on the rhematic item *poskočil*. It is significant that under the circumstances the English rheme covers a wider range of notions. Owing to the closely knit structure of the nominal phrase *an ancient caper or two* (note the unifying effect of the article), the English rheme comprises notions that in the Czech version are expressed by means of transitional elements; just compare the transitional *několikrát* with the rhematic *an... or two*, and the transitional *jako za dávných dob* with the rhematic *ancient*. The compactness of the English nominal phrase is evident.

As regards instance [6], the differences in the distribution of CD as observed between the Czech and the English version have already been commented upon (see pp. 83—84, and then also Notes 23 and 25). The reason why we take this instance up again is the closely knit nominal phrase *his open, quivering, distraught look*, which eminently reveals the phenomenon of compactness (note also the unifying effect of the possessive *his*). Let us first observe how this phenomenon, together with other means, affects the FSP of the examined sentence (i. e. of [6]). Owing to the pressure of the basic distribution of CD, which under the circumstances can assert itself, and owing to the phenomenon of compactness, the closely knit nominal phrase (containing as many as five words) comes to function as the theme. The co-operation of all the means (including those of the semantic and the grammatical nature) involved in this process leads to the following result: the English version renders thematic even those notions which in the Czech version appear as transitional; thus the thematic elements *his... look* correspond to the transitional *tvářil se*, the thematic sequence *open, quivering, distraught* to the transitional *bezelstně, rozechvěle a zmateně*. It is worth notice that the discussed English nominal phrase is thematic. This shows that the phenomenon of compactness is not at all excluded from shaping the FSP outside the rhematic sphere. Another illustration of this statement is offered by the following observation.

It should be noted that together with grammatical and semantic means (among the latter, let us recall at least the dissociating process), the phenomenon of compactness co-operates in reducing the importance of the verb. Among other things, it considerably loosens the grammatical and semantic relations by which the verb may be bound to other words of the sentence. Thus, whereas in the Czech version of the examined instance, the notions of "openness", "quivering", "distractedness" are rendered by means of adverbs (*bezelstně, rozechvěle, zmateně*), in the English version they are expressed by means of adjectives *(open, quivering, distraught)*. It is clear that the Czech verb stands in direct relation to the conveyers of the above-enumerated notions, while the English verb is related to them much more loosely, *i. e.* only through the medium of the noun.

Both our previous comment and our investigation of the phenomenon of compactness may have given a clear idea of the forces that are at work weakening the

communicative value of the English verb of [6]; the communicative value is being weakened grammatically, semantically and dynamically. The question, however, may be raised whether the conclusions drawn from the comparison of the Czech and English versions of [6] may claim any general validity. In fact, the objection might be put forward that the English versions could be rendered into Czech as *jeho bezelstný, rozechvělý a zmatený pohled byl pohledem zvířete lapeného do pasti*, i. e. in a way closely following the English pattern. Moreover, one could object that all the observations made above in regard to the English version of [6] refer (though of course with a number of necessary modifications) to the Czech version just quoted.

The objection is true enough, yet it overlooks one important fact. The frequency of the concerned pattern (a dynamically compact nominal phrase functioning as theme + pre-eminently transitional verb + a dynamically compact nominal phrase [or a nominal phrase which though not undoubtedly compact clearly occurs in distinct relief] functioning as rheme) is by no means equal in the two languages. Although by no means rare in Czech (see on it below), this pattern occurs in English with much higher frequency. Undoubtedly, a greater frequency of this and similar patterns intensifies the English shift towards nominal expression. On the other hand, a higher frequency of the aforesaid patterns is in complete agreement with, and in fact conditioned by, the very structure of the English language. All this shows that the respective positions of the discussed pattern within the systems of the two languages cannot be the same. The translator's avoidance of the pattern of the English version thus appears fully justified.

Whether consciously or unconsciously, the translator refrained from raising the frequency of a considerably nominal pattern, and preferred to use a verbal one, despite a strikingly different syntagmatic arrangement of the latter. All this supports the claim of the above comment (on [6]) to validity reaching beyond the examined instance. Finally, it should be added that the differences in syntagmatic arrangement and FSP revealed by the English and Czech versions seem to open new vistas for further research, the results of which may prove valuable even for the practical user of English and Czech.
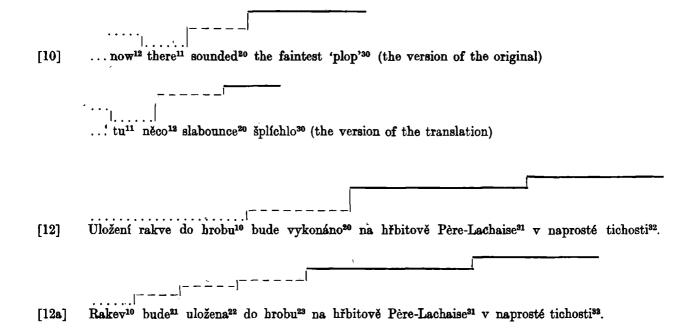
The validity of the above comment (on [6]) is fully supported by J. V. Bečka's papers *Kapitoly o českém slovese (Chapters concerning the Czech Verb)* (29) and *Vyjadřování slovesné a jmenné (Verbal and Nominal Forms of Expression)*. (30) The author adduces numerous instances of semantically weakened Czech predicative verbs that combine with nouns or adjectives and in this way replace semantically full verbs of current use. From a Czech stylist's point of view, Bečka regards the overgrowth, and in the case of certain types even the very existence, of these combinations as deplorable. Apart from bearing out the validity of our comment on [6], however, Bečka's papers are suggestive of some important observations.

Though by no means wishing to put up a case for the described Czech combinations (this would not even be in keeping with the above comments on [6] and with the established qualitative differences in regard to the respective shifts in English and in Czech, (31) we should like to point out that, linguistically speaking, Bečka's illustrative examples of such combinations usually permit of being interpreted in terms of relief and of phenomena cognate with it. A few instances with a brief commentary will substantiate this statement.

[12] Uložení rakve do hrobu[10] bude vykonáno[20] na hřbitově Père-Lachaise[31] v naprosté tichosti[32]. — B 144.40
(The interment of the coffin[10] will take place[20] in the Père-Lachaise cemetery[31] in all quietness[32]. — "Deposition of-coffin in grave[10] will-be out-carried[20] in cemetery Père-Lachaise[31] in all quietness[32].")

[13] Toto doplnění důkazů se[10] stalo[20] podivným způsobem[30]. — B 145.1
(This completion of evidence[10] was made[20] in a peculiar way[30]. — "This completion of-evidence (refl. pron.)[10] happened[20] in-peculiar in-way[30].")

[10]   ...now[12] there[11] sounded[20] the faintest 'plop'[30] (the version of the original)

...tu[11] něco[12] slabounce[20] šplíchlo[30] (the version of the translation)

[12]   Uložení rakve do hrobu[10] bude vykonáno[20] na hřbitově Père-Lachaise[31] v naprosté tichosti[32].

[12a]   Rakev[10] bude[21] uložena[22] do hrobu[23] na hřbitově Père-Lachaise[31] v naprosté tichosti[32].

[14] Minulý čtvrtek[12] pracova[20]i[11] dělník Bílek[11] na vykopávání[31] mohutného pařezu[32]. —
B 146.10
(Last Thursday[12], the worker Bílek[11] was[21] engaged[22] in digging[31] out[32] a huge stump[33]. —
"Last Thursday[12], worked[20]-he[11] worker Bílek[11] at out-digging[31] of-huge of-stump[32].")

[15] ... všechna[12] čísla sudá[11] jsou[20] dělitelná[31] dvěma[32]... B 146.36
(... all[12] even numbers[11] are[20] divisible[31] by two[32]... — "all[12] numbers even[11] are[20] divi-
sible[31] by-two[32]...")

A Czech stylist would no doubt prefer to have the sentences recast as follows: *Rakev bude ulo-
žena do hrobu ...(The coffin will be interred ...)*; *Důkazy se doplnily ... (The evidence was
completed ...)*; *Minulý čtvrtek vykopával dělník Bílek mohutný pař (Last Thursday, the worker
Bílek was digging out a huge stump)*; ... *všechna čísla sudá lze dělit ... (all even numbers can
be divided ...)*. So reworded, the Czech sentences raise the communicative value of the verb
both semantically and dynamically, which is quite in agreement with the general character of
the Czech language system. Consequently, in the reworded versions the rhemes no longer stand
in so distinct relief as they did before the rewording. (32) This is clearly due to the lowering of
the rises in CD occurring before the rhemes. In [12] and [13], the lowering is brought about
in that the compactness of the theme is loosened, one of the thematic notions passing into the
sphere of transition: $uložení^{10} \rightarrow bude^{21} uložena^{22}$; $doplnění^{10} \rightarrow se^{10} doplnil^{20}y^{10}$. In [14] and [15]
it is the compactness of the rheme that is loosened, one of the rhematic notions becoming transit-
ional: $na vykopávání^{31} \rightarrow vykopáva^{20}l^{12}$; $(děli)telná^{31} \rightarrow lze^{20} (dělit)$. In all cases the sphere of
transition is thereby strengthened.

The strengthening of the transitional sphere could be well illustrated by means of contour-lines.
Two of the contour-lines on p. 87 represent the original and the reworded version of [12].

There can be no doubt, however, that the original reliefs (and the original cases of compactness)
are in greater accordance with the communicative needs of the writer; for they enable him to
bring into effective prominence those notions which he thinks most significant, and to tuck away,
as it were, those which he considers less essential or almost unimportant, at the very moment
of communication. In other words, the original forms of FSP fully satisfy the communicative
needs of the writer; the original degrees of communicative value of the verb, however, are at
variance with the requirements imposed by the general structure of the Czech language.

The former of these two observations (the one concerning FSP) accounts for the continued
existence and for the comparatively frequent occurrence (33) displayed by the discussed types
in Czech. It also explains why these types can mostly be found (33) in Czech professional prose
(whose writers, for obvious reasons, are concerned to distinguish between really significant
notions and those that are less significant or almost unimportant at the very moment of
communication). Finally, it implies that the existence of the discussed Czech types cannot be
accounted for solely by stylistic inefficiency.

On the other hand, the latter of the two above observations (that concerning the relation
of the communicative value of the verb to the general structure of the Czech langue) justifies
the endeavour of the Czech scholars to put a stop to the growth of the described constructions.
It also explains why Czechs often find it hard to follow an utterance unduly overburdened with
such constructions. It can be taken for granted, that is, that excessive use of elements not con-
forming with the general structure of a language will, in the long run, impair the smooth functioning
of the language as an efficient vehicle of communication. Consequently, in an effort to develop
a truly efficient style it is not nearly enough to strive after a full satisfaction of one's own com-
municative needs; it is also the needs of the recipient (reader or hearer), i. e. his right to receive
a lucid and perspicuous communication, that have to be taken into account.

The two above observations undoubtedly reveal an interesting case of tension between thought
and language. And it is surely not too pretentious to claim that a thorough study of FSP in all
its aspects and relations may throw much valuable light on the intricate relations of language
and thought.

Winding up our notes on the phenomenon of compactness, we have to return
to the statement that the phenomenon belongs to the FSP level and cannot be
identified with any grammatical form (see p. 84). This in fact amounts to saying
that the phenomenon of compactness can be displayed by any elements that differ
comparatively little from each other in CD, but form a section which in its
entirety noticeably differs in CD from the elements which precede and follow it.
This wording does not want to ignore the support the phenomena of compactness

may receive from grammatical structure; it admits, however, of various forms of such support (some of them not being so effective as that coming from the nominal type discussed above) without making the phenomenon of compactness depend on grammatical structure. This means that by itself the grammatical structure cannot call the phenomenon of compactness into play. This is quite understandable, as the amounts of CD carried by the various members of a certain structure cannot possibly remain unchanged throughout all instance levels.

The phenomenon of compactness certainly deserves more attention than it could receive here. It may be hoped, however, that for the purpose of our general inquiry into the relation of distinct relief to the shift towards nominal expression the above observations will be found sufficient. We may pass on, therefore, to the latter part of our inquiry, in which we intend at least to touch upon the effect the shift towards nominal expression may exert on the context (i. e. on an utterance consisting of more than one sentence). Before doing so, we want to broach two problems raised by the dissociating process.

<div align="center">II</div>

The dissociating process is in full accordance with the analytical structure of English. From the FSP point of view it considerably reduces the number of words that (within the first instance levels) can appear as conveyers of heterogeneous amounts of CD The heterogeneity is due to the fact that such words are composed of morphemes laden with unequal amounts of CD, just cf. $za^{23}\check{r}ehta^{22}l^{21}a^{10}$ with she^{10} $gave^{20}$ a $neighing$ $laugh^{30}$; $po^{23}sko\check{c}^{22}il^{21,10}$ with he^{10} $cut^{2\wp}$ a $caper^{32}$). Or, to put the matter positively, the dissociating process increases the number of semantic elements that assume the form of separate words and in consequence may appear in relief by themselves.

A specially interesting case in point are the word-forms that serve, or evidently tend to serve, as mere conveyers of the (primary and/or secondary) categories. Examining the dissociating process in [2] — [11], we found these conveyers functioning as purely transitional elements (which is their constant function on ordinary instance levels). On second instance levels, however, any one of them may appear by itself (i. e. to the exclusion of all the other elements) in distinct relief and serve as rheme proper. (Cf. the following examples in which the distinct reliefs (34) have been italicized: "He^{10} $will^{30}$ go there tomorrow^{10} — $P\mathring{u}jde^{30}$ tam zítra^{10}/Zítra tam^{10} $p\mathring{u}jde^{30}$; I^{10} am^{30} writing a letter to Auntie^{10} — $Pi\check{s}u^{30}$ tetičce dopis^{10}/Dopis tetičce^{10} $pi\check{s}u^{30}$; I^{10} do^{30} read such books^{10} — $\check{C}tu^{30}$ takové knihy^{10}/Takové knihy^{10} $\check{c}tu^{30}$; He^{10} $will^{30}$ attend the lectures^{10} — $Bude^{30}$ chodit na přednášky^{10}/Na přednášky chodit^{10} $bude^{30}$; I^{10} $should^{30}$ have gone there^{10} — Byl^{30} bych tam šel^{10}.") In Czech, the conveyers of the predicative categories can follow suit in so far as the general structure of Czech allows of their being dissociated. This can happen, however, on a much lower scale than in English because the Czech verb much oftener expresses dynamically heterogeneous elements, i. e. the notional content and the primary and secondary categories, in one word-form .(35) — Consequently, in such cases it very often happens that Czech rheme proper contains the conveyer of the notional content. (In other words, if then not appearing in separate word forms, the morphemes conveying the predicative categories cannot surpass the notional component in CD.)

A twofold conclusion may be drawn from these brief observations. First, the fact that only part of the verbal form, not the whole of it (as may frequently happen in Czech) should be entrusted with conveying rheme proper seems to be another con-

tribution, or perhaps even result of, the English shift towards nominal expression. Second, by relegating the notional component to the theme, English manages to single out with delicate precision the very item to be communicated by such second instance cases, e. g. an emphatic assertion of a previous statement. In our opinion, this precision in communication, achieved on the FSP plane, seems to be a satisfactory compensation for the possibilities offered in other languages by relatively free word-orders. This brings us to the other problem we wish to touch in the present chapter.

Viewed in the light of FSP, the English tendency to dissociate the (primary as well as secondary) categories aims at the establishment of a distinct dividing line between the rhematic and the non-rhematic section of the sentence (cf. our above comment on inst. [2] — [11]). In this connection, the question may be raised whether it would be possible to bring this fact in relation to, and square it with, the well-established English tendency to render the dividing lines between the word-categories (parts of speech) far less distinct than in Czech. The following observations will perhaps throw some light on this problem.

As has been shown in another of our papers, (36) both in English and in Czech the verb is to be regarded as the principal and most adequate conveyer of predicative categories. No other part of speech can take up this function with equal efficiency. The general structure of English, however, makes it comparatively easy to relieve the verb of all semantic content surpassing mere signalization of the predicative categories. Unlike in Czech, this content is necessarily passed on to other parts of speech, chiefly to nouns and adjectives, but also to adverbs and even prepositions. As has been stressed by J. Vachek, the expression of action ceases in English to be a prerogative of the verb, being easily taken up by other parts of speech as well (naturally, in co-operation with the rest of the sentence and the utterance in general). (37) The share of the above discussed dissociating process in blurring the dividing lines separating individual parts of speech is evident. It is, however, also evident that the dissociating process and the mentioned blurring play an important part in enabling FSP to set non-verbal elements in distinct relief. As far as we can see, this explanation offers another proof of efficient co-operation of levels within the system of language. From the FSP point of view, it sheds interesting light on what may be termed, after G. O. Curme, the English love of concrete expression. (38)

In Curme's view concreteness of expression is attained in English if nominal elements are given preference to verbal ones, in other words if the shift towards nominal expression is given full play. This is because the meaning conveyed by nominal elements is upon the whole more concrete in character than that conveyed by verbal ones (39) Hence nominal elements are welcome means enabling the speaker (or writer) to 'bring pictures before the mind' of the hearer (or, respectively, reader).

Viewed in the light of the FSP theory, the 'bringing of pictures before the mind' is greatly facilitated by the operation of the dissociating process and of the blurring tendency. The two factors certainly belong to those features of general English structure that make it possible for FSP to throw nominal elements into distinct relief. It is not difficult to see that elements set in such relief are especially apt 'to bring pictures before the hearer's (or reader's) mind'; their aptitude for this naturally results from the prominence they are being given through FSP in the very act of communication.

As regards Czech, it can be said that the dissociating tendency rarely attains full realization in it; at the same time, the blurring tendency is virtually alien to the

general structure of Czech. These facts can be regarded as further proofs of the qualitative differences characterizing the Czech and the English attitude towards nominal expression.

III

We have proceeded far enough to examine the shift towards nominal expression within the context (i. e. within an utterance consisting of more than one sentence). Such examination is of special interest because it leads to better understanding of the co-operation of the three examined levels (grammatical, lexical and that of FSP) within the systems of English and Czech. Besides, it is within the context that the minor causes of the shift towards nominal expression may be perceived to combine into an active, significant force.

We have chosen an extract that has already been ably commented upon from other points of view; (40) here it will be subjected to detailed analysis in regard to the shift towards nominal expression. The analysis will show the all-round weakening of the communicative value of the English verb. This weakening would come even more to light if we could (i) consistently inquire into the extent to which the notional components of the English and Czech predicative verbs are being disengaged from conveying the (primary and secondary) categories, and (ii) consistently 'relief-map' the English and Czech sentences. We have already given considerable attention to the two methods of research; (41) only lack of space prevents us from applying them consistently in this final section of our investigation.

It will be found convenient if the examined extract is first quoted in full, and afterwards re-quoted , sentence by sentence, for special consideration.

[16] The discreet door shut with a click. She was outside on the step, gazing at the winter afternoon. Rain was falling, and with the rain it seemed the dark came too, spinning down like ashes. There was a cold bitter taste in the air, and the new lighted lamps loked sad. Sad were the lights in the houses opposite. Dimly they burned as if regretting something. — M 410.7

Zdušené dveře už zatím zapadly. Stála na schůdku a obzírala to zimní odpoledne. Pršelo a s deštěm se snášel i soumrak a vířil jako popel. Ze vzduchu ostře čpěl chlad a rozžaté svítilny vypadaly smutně. Smutná byla i světla v protějších domech. Planula, jako by něčeho želela. — M 519.18

Let us now interpret the extract sentence by sentence.

[17] The discreet door[10] shut[20] with a click[30]. — M 410.7

Zdušené dveře[10] už[33] zatím[20] za[32]pad[31]l[20]y[10]. — M 519.18

"Discreet door[10] already[33] meanwhile[20] (perf. pref.)[32]-fall[31]en-had[20]-it[10]."

The adverbial element *with a click* expresses the end of the act of closing, at the same time effecting a quick transfer of the scene (from the inside of a little antique shop to its outside; cf. the sequence *She was outside* opening the following sentence). Though not explicitly conveying the 'click', and though assisted by the item *už* ('already') in indicating the transfer of the scene, the Czech verb quite forcibly expresses the end of the act of closing (the semantic content of the prefix *za-* allowing of the interpretation 'd o b ř e s e z a v ř í t', i. e. 'to close w e l l'). (41a) On the other hand, the English verb is excluded from expressing both the end of the act of closing and the transfer of the scene. From the FSP point of view, the English verb remains transitional, the Czech verb, however, becomes strongly rhematic.

[18] She[11] was[21] outside[31] on the step[32], gazing at[33] the winter afternoon[12]. — M 410.7

Stá[22]l[21]a[10] na schůdku[30] a obzíra[30]l[21]a[11] to zimní odpoledne[12]. — M 519.18

"Stoo[22]d[21]-she[10] on step[30] and observ[30]ing-was[21]-she[11] the winter afternoon[12]."

Whereas in English there is only one conveyer of the (primary and secondary) categories *(was)*, in Czech there are two *(stála, obzírala)*. Semantically, the first of them *(stála)*, though comparatively weak, is still stronger than its English counterpart *(was)*, which is virtually devoid of lexical meaning altogether. As to the second Czech item *(obzírala)*, its considerable semantic weight, heightened by the semantic content of the inseparable prefix, is beyond all dispute. From the FSP point of view, the English verb remains purely transitional, whereas one of the Czech verbs even moves into the sphere of rheme proper. (42)

[19] Rain[30] was[10] falling[20], and with the rain[10] it seemed[20] the dark[31] came[21] too[32], spinning down[33] like ashes[34]. — M 410.8

Prše[30]l[20]o[10] a s deštěm[10] se snášel[20] i soumrak[30] a víří[20]l[10,20] jako popel[30]. — M 519.19

"Rain[30]ing-was[20]-it[10] and with-rain[10] (refl. pron.) coming-down-was-it[20] also twilight[30] and spinning-was[20]-it[10] like ashes[30]."

In comparison with the possible wording *It rained* and *It was raining*, the author's *Rain was falling* presents an advanced case of the shift towards nominal expression. The notion of raining has been dissociated in the form of a noun which serves as rheme proper. No such dissociation has taken place in Czech, where the notion of raining is conveyed by a 'full-fledged' verb functioning as sole conveyer of rheme, transition and theme.

As to the verbs of the co-ordinate principal clause, following after *and/a* the Czech finite verbal forms *snášel* and *vířil* convey the notions of descending and whirling round, respectively. In English, however, these notions are not carried by the predicative verbal forms *seemed* and *came* (which in any case are semantically very weak, serving respectively as a modal exponent and as a verb of 'emergence on the scene'), (21) but by the nominal participial form *spinning down*. It is true enough that, like *seemed* and *came*, the Czech elements *snášel* and *vířil* also belong to the sphere of transition; yet owing to their fuller semantic content, the Czech predicative verbs stand nearer the rhematic sphere than their English counterparts. Consequently, the respective rises in CD after the English and the Czech verbs cannot possibly be the same.

It follows that as in the two preceding English sentences [18, 19], also the discussed compound English sentence excludes the verb from the rheme, the rhematic notions being conveyed by non-verbal elements: *rain, dark, too, spinning down like ashes*.

[20] There[11] was[20] a cold bitter taste[30] in the air[12], and the new-lighted lamps[10] looked[20] sad[30]. — M 410.10

Ze vzduchu[10] ostře čpěl[20] chlad[30] a rozžaté svítilny[10] vypadal[20]y[10] smutně[30]. — M 519.20

"From air[10] sharply reeked[20] cold[30] and new-lighted lamps[10] looked[20]-they[10] sadly[30]."

The existential construction *(there was)* makes it possible for English to express by a combination of an adjective and a noun *(bitter taste)* (43) what is expressed in Czech by a combination of a verb and an adverb *(ostře čpěl)*. (43) From the

FSP point of view, the resultant rheme section *a cold bitter taste* (note the compacting effect of the indefinite article), surrounded by the dynamically weak groups *There was* and *in the air* (note the thematizing effect of the definite article), presents a first-rate example of distinct relief. The share of the weak element *was* (which, semantically, forms a contrast to the weightier Czech element *čpěl*) in bringing about this relief is evident.

As to the verbs *looked* and *vypadaly*, they do not seem to differ much in their degrees of communicative value. Yet, even here the English verb is the weaker of the two, which is due chiefly to its more pronounced copulative character, evinced by the presence of an adjective instead of an adverb.

[21] Sad[30] were[20] the lights in the houses opposite[10]. — M 410.11
Smutná[10] byla[20] i světla v protějších domech[30]. — M 519.21
"Sad[10] were[20] even lights in opposite houses[30]."

Though, grammatically, the Czech verb is slightly weightier than its English counterpart (the former giving a narrower specification of the grammatical person), from the semantic and the FSP points of view both verbs are very weak. In both languages, the rheme is conveyed by nominal elements. The Czech and the English rheme, however, do not correspond to each other; the comment on the following sentence will show (below) that this lack of correspondence is, among other things, due to the all-round weakening of the verbal element in the English version of the discussed extract. First of all, however , it is imperative to add a few words on the Czech and English versions of [21] from the FSP point of view.

Whereas in English it is the adjective *sad* that constitutes the rheme, in Czech this function is performed by the group *i světla v protějších domech*. The aforesaid group is marked out as rhematic owing to the presence of a special means of FSP, the element *i* 'too, even'. (44) In English, on the other hand, the definite articles before the words *lights* and *houses* (and similarly the definite articles before the words... *afternoon* in [18], *air* in [20], and ... *lamps* in [20]) seem to mark out these words as thematic. Under the circumstances they seem to refer to them as to names of those components of 'the winter afternoon' scene (cf. [18]) about which some observations are being presented in the rhematic sections of the sentences concerned. In this way the above-mentioned definite articles help to build up what may be called the **thematic layer** of the English version of the discussed extract. As for the adjective *sad*, its rhematic character is further supported by the unusual position of the adjective at the beginning of the sentence. This unusualness of position will certainly be felt as more marked in English with its grammatically fixed word-order patterns than in Czech, whose word-order patterns are far less determined by the grammatical principle. An unusual position, this time of an adverb *(dimly)*, is displayed also by the English version of the last sentence [22] of the discussed extract.

[22] Dimly[31] they[10] burned[20] as if regretting something[32]. — M 410.12
Planu[30]l[20]a[10], jako by něčeho[20] žele[30]l[20]a[10]. — M 519.22
"Burn[30]ed[20]-they[10] as-if (aux.verb.form) something[20] regret[30]ting-were[20]-they[10]".

Taking a clause for a separate sphere of the basic distribution of CD, (45) we find that both verbs of the Czech version express the rhemes. In English, on the other hand, the only predicative verb is transitional, being surpassed in CD by the initial

adverb *dimly* and by the final participial construction. It may be argued, and rightly so, that *dimly* should not have remained untranslated, but rendered by some Czech equivalent, perhaps by *kalně*. (46) It is interesting that even if an equivalent had been introduced into the translation, the prepositive *kalně (Kalně planula...)* would not detract from the CD of *planula* as the prepositive *dimly* does from the CD of *burned*. This is due to the deviation from the normal word-order in English, which renders the initial position of the adverb marked and emotive. This fact testifies to the important part the grammatical principle may play in deciding the degree of emotiveness conveyed by a word-order pattern. It also reveals how the fixed position of the verb may entail a decrease in the CD, and hence in the communicative value of, the verb. As to the decrease in CD, it seems to be all the more noticeable as the rhematic *dimly* further develops the trend of thought conveyed by the rhematic elements *sad*, repeatedly found in [20] and [21]. All these expressions belong to what might be termed the r h e m a t i c l a y e r (47) of the English version of the extract. (It will be noted that the corresponding section of the Czech rhematic layer, made up by the elements *smutně, i světla v protějších domech, plápolala*, lack such s e m a n t i c h o m o g e n e i t y.) (48) Besides, it should be pointed out that the described semantic and FSP links between the elements *sad* of [21] and *dimly* of [22] are strengthened by the formal similarity of the word-order patterns (i. e. by the inversions) of the two sentences. In this way, the communicative value of the mentioned non-verbal elements *(sad, sad, dimly)* becomes enhanced, and, on the contrary, that of the accompanying verbs *(burned* included) becomes considerably diminished. And, last but not least, the described semantically homogeneous section of the rhematic layer becomes set off, owing to the noticeable reliefs in which the examined elements appear (at least the reliefs into which the two occurrences of *sad* are brought may be denoted as fairly distinct).

It may be hoped that the analysed extract [16 — 22] has shown with sufficient clearness how the grammatical, semantic and FSP factors may combine in English in order to bring about a marked decrease in the communicative value of the predicative verb within a connected text. Other Czech and English extracts could be adduced and compared. Admittedly, both in English and Czech the degrees of weakening of the verbal element will vary according to the style required by the subject-matter and to a certain extent even according to the individuality of the writer. Still, the findings of this paper as well as those of other papers concerned with the English shift towards nominal expression, seem to warrant the conclusion that the difference in the degrees as displayed by English and Czech texts is so marked as to suggest a qualitative difference between the structures of the two languages. It is only natural that this qualitative difference should affect the choice of means used in the very act of communication.

There is another problem that calls for some consideration. From the point of view of the very act of communication, the most important elements are undoubtedly those occurring in the rhemes. These elements, which form the rhematic layer of an utterance, are the real conveyers of communication. It may then be of some use to focus our attention on the rhematic layers of the English and Czech versions of the discussed extract. In English, the rhematic layer is made up as follows: ... *with a click*[30] [17]; ... *outside*[31] *on the step, gazing at*[33] ... [18]; *Rain*[30] ..., *the dark*[31] ... *too*[32], *spinning down*[33] *like ashes*[34] [19]; ... *a cold bitter taste*[30] ..., ... *sad*[30] [20]; *Sad*[30] ... [21]; *Dimly*[31] ... *as if regretting something*[32] [22]. On the other hand, the Czech rhematic layer contains the following elements: ... *za*[32]*pad*[31]*l*[20]*y*[10] [17]; ... *na schůdku*[30] *a obzíra*[30]*l*[21]*a*[11] ... [18]; *Prše*[30]*l*[20]*o*[10] ... *i soumrak*[30] ... *jako*

popel[30] [19]; ... *chlad*[30] ... *smutně*[20] [20]; ... *i světla v protějších domech*[30] [21]; *Planu*[30]*l*[20]*a*[10] ... *žele*[30]*l*[20]*a*[10] [22].

A comparison of the English and the Czech rhematic layers reveals the following striking difference: whereas the English rhematic layer contains not a single predicative verb (i. e. not a single conveyer of predicative categories), the Czech rhematic layer contains five of them (in contrast with the non-verbal rhematic elements, they have been spaced out). Needless to say, we do not contend that the quoted ratio is universally valid (cf. our above notes on the varying degrees of the weakening of the verbal element); it confirms, however, that the tendency to relegate the predicative verb (occurring on the ordinary instance levels) to the transitional layer of the utterance is at work with much greater force in English than in Czech. In other words, the general structure of English — on a much larger scale than that of Czech — (i) favours the expression of rhematic notions rather by nominal than by verbal elements, and (ii) ultimately tends to render the predicative verb markedly transitional. On the other hand, the general structure of Czech — on a much larger scale than that of English — (i) liberally permits the predicative verb to convey rhematic notions, (ii) liberally permits the transitional verb to move up close to the rheme. Consequently, as a rise in CD before a rhematic element is more conspicuous if occurring after a markedly transitional verb than after a verb coming up closer to the rheme, the relief with which the entire rhematic layer is set off against the other (i. e. the thematic and the transitional) layers is more conspicuous within an English utterance than within its Czech equivalent. This conclusion bears out our observations offered in Chapter Two of the present paper, concerning the tendency towards the introduction of distinct dividing lines between non-rhematic and rhematic elements as well as the tendency aimed at increasing the number of dynamically homogeneous words.

The argument of the present chapter may be summed up as follows. If the rhematic layer contains the real conveyers of communication, then the elements occurring within it are of paramount importance in regard to the communicative needs of the speaker. As the rhematic layer of an English utterance unmistakably tends to be pre-eminently nominal, the English verb loses considerably in its communicative value in favour of the nominal elements. Thus, viewed in the light of FSP theory, the high communicative value of the nominal elements in the very act of communication is by no means a negligent factor in the continuously strengthening present-day shift towards nominal expression in English.

IV

We have come up to the close of the present paper in which we have set out to study the function of the English and Czech verbs in the very act of communication. Here we have mostly concentrated on how this function operates from the point of view of FSP. In one of our previous papers (49) we have examined the respective positions of the Czech and the English verb in the systems of English and Czech, and found that both language structures possess channels through which a shift away from verbal to nominal expression may take place. The intensity of this shift is directly proportioned to the gradual loss in the communicative value of the verb in regard to its grammatical, lexical and FSP functions. Our above-mentioned paper has also revealed that English and Czech differ widely in their respective attitudes to the use of the described channels. Whereas English, as it were, widens

the existing channels and opens new ones, Czech narrows them, preventing new ones from springing into being. In the present paper it has been shown that in Czech a marked tension arises between the shift towards nominal expression on the one hand and the tendency to keep up a comparatively high communicative value of the verb on the other. This tension, in fact, assumes such a form as to make it possible to speak of an anti-shift towards nominal expression in Czech. This testifies to a marked qualitative difference between the English and Czech structures.

In English, on the other hand, the situation is different. True enough, the verb remains the most adequate conveyer of the predicative categories of tense and mood (50), asserting its position of the most suitable grammatical centre of the sentence (51) and in this way setting up definite limits to the shift towards nominal expression (52); for all this, however, the English verb shows considerable losses in communicative value. Unlike in Czech, these losses — which can be observed on all three indicated levels, but chiefly on the lexical and on that of FSP — notably change the position of the English verb within the structure of the language and remarkably affect its role in the very act of communication. It is essential, however, that the losses do not impair the communicative efficacy of the English sentence in particular and utterance in general. The very opposite is true: being semantically weak, the English verb may serve as a transitional element, allowing the rhematic nominal elements to come into prominence and so adding to the concreteness of English expression. As for the utterance, a semantically and dynamically weak verb may help to bring into prominence the rhematic layer, i. e. the most essential part of the communication. All this is achieved through the joint functioning of the grammatical, lexical and FSP levels, the analytic character of English playing no little part in this co-operation.

It is perhaps the constant regard to this co-operation and to its relation to the entire language system that may justify the existence of the present paper.

(1) The present treatise forms the third instalment of a study dealing with some aspects of the shift from verbal to nominal expression within the structure of the English language. The first, entitled *Thoughts on the Communicative Function of the Verb in English, German and Czech*, appeared in Brno Studies in English I, Prague 1959, pp. 39—63; the second, entitled *More Thoughts on the Communicative Function of the English Verb*, in the Sborník prací filosofické fakulty brněnské university 1959, A 7, pp. 74—96.

(2) Esp. in the paper *Poznámky k problematice anglického slovního pořádku s hlediska aktuálního členění větného (Some Notes on the Problem of English Word-Order from the Point of View o Actualf Sentence Analysis)*, Sborník prací filosofické fakulty brněnské university 1956, A 4, pp. 94—107; and in the paper *Thoughts on the Communicative Function of the Verb in English, German and Czech* (Note 1).

(3) The degree of CD conveyed by a sentence element is determined by the extent to which the sentence element contributes to the development of the communication. This is undoubtedly most developed by those elements that convey the new piece of information and are referred to as the r h e m e of the sentence. It is least developed by those elements which convey something that is known, or may be inferred, from the verbal or from the situational context, or simply something that evidently constitutes the starting point of the communication within the sentence; these elements are referred to as the t h e m e of the sentence. Elements which belong neither to the theme nor to the rheme form a kind of t r a n s i t i o n. — Between the comparatively least important element, the theme proper, and the comparatively most important element, the rheme proper, one can observe a gamut of degrees of varying importance, of varying CD. It is, of course, not always easy to draw an exact dividing line between the transition and the theme on the one hand, and the transition and the rheme on the other. In such cases it is necessary to attempt at least a c o r r e c t e s t i m a t e of the relative importance of the elements composing the analysed structure.

The described method of analysis will be applied to all instances examined in the present paper. The small figures placed above the line after a word or group of words (see, e. g., instance [1] on p. 79) represent the gamut of CD as displayed by the elements within theme ([11, 12, 13] ...), transition ([21,22,23] ...) and rheme ([31,32,33] ...). (The numbers [10], [20], [30] are used if no further differentiation within theme, transition, and rheme, respectively, seems necessary.

Let us add that if not interfered with, word-order creates what we have called the basic distribution of CD. This means that in distributing CD the sentence positions, as they follow each other from beginning to end, tend to run through the basic gamut starting with theme proper and finishing with rheme proper. There is, however, a certain tension between the sentence positions as conveyers of the basic distribution of CD on the one hand and the context, together with the semantic-contextual means on the other. (By semantic-contextual means we understand words that on account of their specific semantic character show quite a particular relation to the context.) This tension may result in a truly manifold and effective co-operation of all the concerned means of the functional sentence perspective (i. e. the sentence positions on the one hand, and the context, together with semantic-contextual means, on the other). These and other problems pertaining to f u n c t i o n a l s e n t e n c e p e r s p e c t i v e (see below and Note 4) have been dealt with in detail in the two papers quoted in Note 1 and in *K otázce nezákladových podmětů v současné angličtině (On the Problem of Non-Thematic Subjects in Contemporary English)*, Časopis pro moderní filologii 39/1957, pp. 22—42, 165—173; in *Some Thoughts on the Function of Word-Order in Old English and Modern English*, Sborník prací filos. fak. brněnské univ. 1957, A 5, pp. 72—98; and in *Bemerkungen über einen deutschen Beitrag zum Problem der Satzperspektive*, Philologica Pragensia 1/1958, pp. 49—54.

(4) Referred to as the functional perspective of the sentence, or functional sentence perspective (to be denoted as FSP). Cf. Note 3.

(5) It perhaps goes without saying that we are far from setting out to prove that every English sentence displays the phenomenon of distinct relief brought about by the shift towards nominal expression. Yet the cases showing the phenomenon are frequent enough to deserve our attention, for they throw valuable light on the interrelations between language, thought and reality as revealed by cases participating in the shift towards nominal expression. (See also Note 6.)

(6) In connection with rises and falls in CD within the sentence, it is perhaps not quite inappropriate to think of a relief-map showing the elevations and depressions of the earth's surface. In examining the rises and falls in CD and the subsequent levels, or even peaks of CD attained by the various sentence elements, we are, in a sense, 'relief-mapping' the sentence. And we do not think it an exaggeration to maintain that such 'relief-mapping' may promote better knowledge of the function of language in the very act of communication.

(7) M stands for the *Collected Stories of Katherine Mansfield* (Constable, London 1948) or for its Czech translation (Katherine Mansfieldová, *Zahradní slavnost*, transl. by Hana Skoumalová and Aloys Skoumal, Vyšehrad, Prague 1952). The figures after the instances give the page and line on which the quoted instance begins (the lines taken up by the headings counting as well). On the small figures placed above the line, see Note 3.

(8) An attempt at a reasonably literal Czech translation is offered in quotation marks for the benefit of those who are not accustomed to read Czech. The translation preserves the order of the Czech words, but cannot always go the length of keeping the order of morphemes within them. The corresponding Czech and English morphemes, however, can be easily identified with the help of the little figures above the line of print. (These figures, of course, are primarily intended to indicate the degree of CD of all those preceding elements — with the exception of conjunctions and similar introductory words — that stand without such indication.) In order to avoid unintelligibility, we have left some Czech elements untranslated; their semantic function, however, is sufficiently shown by the indication of their grammatical character in parentheses (cf., e. g. [3] on p. 81). It should be pointed out in this connection that a Czech perfectivizing prefix with a numerical index is supposed to express some special lexical meaning and to convey a somewhat higher amount of CD than the remaining part of the verbal form (cf. *More Thoughts* ... [Note 1], p. 88). As regards the prepositions that have been hyphenated with their headwords (cf., e. g. *of-this* in [8] on p. 82), they are to correspond to Czech inflexional endings. (No attempt, however, has been made at a consistent indication of Czech inflexions.)

(9) I. e. in example [1] on p. 79. When referring to examples we shall give only their numbers in square brackets. The context will make it sufficiently clear whether the Czech or the English version is referred to.

(10) The numerical notation does not fully disclose these facts. It should be pointed out once for all that although a rising sequence of numbers, e. g. that of [20]—[30], indicates a rise in CD, it fails to give the exact degree of the rise.

(11) *Hlas* is in fact a thematic element as it conveys a notion that may be gathered from the previous context.

(12) I. e. those of person, number, tense and mood. The categories of gender, voice, aspect (in Czech), actuality (in English) are regarded as secondary. Cf. *More Thoughts on the Communicative Function of the English Verb* (Note 1).

(13) On the tendency to dissociate the primary and secondary categories as an important factor in the shift towards nominal expression, see *More Thoughts* ... (Note 1), passim.

(14) In this way, we exclude from our observation what we have tentatively called special instance levels, and superinstance (second instance) levels. The latter cover sentences in which any word, provided it is a heavily contrasted one, may become rheme proper (cf. 'Here the voices were always raised'). Under the heading of the former come sentences containing an element that has been superimposed upon, or built into, an already formally complete sentence structure in order to rhematize (or even turn into rheme proper) any element within that structure (cf. the function of the intensifying *even* in 'Here even the voices were always raised'). For an exposition of the instance levels, see Chapter Three of the *Thoughts*... (Note 1). The theory of instance levels has been suggested to us by D. L. Bolinger's observations on second instance sentences in *Linear Modification*, PMLA 1952, p. 1123.

(15) Throughout the present paper, those parts of the quotations that do not come in for discussion appear in square brackets.

(16) Whenever used in the present paper, the adjective *dynamic* is to be understood to be employed in the sense of 'communicatively dynamic'. With due modifications, the same holds good for the adverb *dynamically*.

(17) Recalling the observations offered at the beginning of this chapter, we need not perhaps add any further comments on these quotations. The spaced English words (italicized in the full quotations above) belong to the distinct reliefs.

(18) See *More Thoughts*... (Note 1), pp. 92ff.

(19) It is quite in accordance with what has so far been set forth that the described phenomenon will be found on a much larger scale in English than in Czech. This implies that the phenomenon is by no means excluded from Czech structure. See more about it on p. 86ff.

(20) On the function of the Czech perfective prefixes viewed in the light of FSP theory, see *More Thoughts*... (Note 1), pp. 83—86.

(21) This phenomenon has been treated of in greater detail in our paper *On the Problem of Non-Thematic Subjects*... (Note 3). See also our papers *Some Thoughts on the Function of Word-Order*... (Note 3), pp. 78—79; *Thoughts on the Communicative Function*... (Note 1), pp. 48.

(22) *Prone* has not been rendered correctly. It does not refer to the 'verandas', but to the

'bathing dresses' and 'towels'. Like *flung*, it indicates the way in which the 'bathing dresses' and 'towels' have been put into their positions in the described scene.

(23) The noun *look* occurs twice in the sentence under discussion. On its first occurrence, it appears as thematic. On its second occurrence, in spite of the repetition, it is fairly dynamic. This is because it assists in instituting a comparison. On the other hand, it *is* weakened by the repetition, which explains why it is appreciably weaker in CD than the following words *of a trapped beast*, which constitute the rheme proper. The relief, however, into which the nominal phrase *like the look of a trapped beast* has been brought is undoubtedly distinct.

(24) The letters *a* and *b* having been added to distinguish between two sections, both of which belong to one and the same sentence. Cf. Mote 25.

(25) The English version of [6] contains another nominal phrase *(like the look of a trapped beast)* which we denote as [6b]. Strictly speaking, however, it does not display the phenomenon of compactness because of the repetition of the word *look* (cf. Note 23). Yet, occurring in distinct relief, the nominal phrase has a considerable share in reducing the communicative value of the predicative verb.

(26) See more about it on pp. 88ff.

(27) On *feeler* in [9] cf. below.

(28) *Look* in [6b] could be quoted as well. Strictly speaking, however, it does not reveal the phenomenon of compactness. (Cf. Note 25.)

(29) Naše řeč 17/1933, esp. pp. 97—102 and 225—230.

(30) Naše řeč 24/1940, esp. pp. 144—152. Instances quoted from this paper are denoted by B.

(31) Cf. our *More Thoughts...* (Note 1), passim.

(32) If our conclusions arrived at so far are applied to the parenthesized English translations of the reworded Czech sentences, we shall obtain the following results. Even after the rewording the English sentences show an unmistakable shift towards nominal expression. Even the rises and reliefs occurring after the weakly transitional elements *(will be, was, was, can be)* appear fairly noticeable. All this goes to prove the validity of our above comment (on [6]).

(33) These are relative statements. They by no means contradict the above comment (on [6]) maintaining the definitely higher frequency of the discussed types in English than in Czech.

(34) On second instance levels, the one element functioning in the given sentence as rheme proper — in contrast with the other elements that form an extensive theme proper — always appears in distinct relief.

(35) In this connection cf. B. Trnka's observation in his paper *Analysis and Synthesis in English*, English Studies 10/1928, p. 143: "In English this feeling [i. e. the morphological feeling — J. F.] appears as the *syntagmatical* or *sentence feeling*, in Slavonic languages as the *etymological* or *word feeling*. The sentence feeling leads to the conception of a word as a morphologically unchaged unit and as a member of the sentence, and prevents the analysis of the word into its parts and the derivation of new words. The etymological feeling on the other hand makes the speaker feel words as composed of several parts and leads him to derive new words."

(36) See *More Thoughts...* (Note 1), pp. 82—83, and 90—91.

(37) J. Vachek, *Lingvistická charakteristika současné angličtiny (A Linguistic Characterology of Contemporary English)*, Prague 1958, pp. 106—107.

(38) See G. O. Curme, *A Grammar of the English Language II*, Boston 1935, p. 68: "The English mind is fond of such concrete expression."

(39) J. Vachek, op. cit., p. 107.

(40) See J. Caha, *Mansfieldové "Zahradní slavnost", Pokus o rozbor překladu (Czech Translation of Mansfield's 'Garden Party', An Attempt at an Analysis of the Translation)*, Časopis pro moderní filologii 37/1955, p. 295.

(41) On method referred to under (i) see *More Thoughts...* (Note 1), passim, on that referred to under (ii), see Chapter One of the present paper.

(41a) On the function the Czech perfectivizing verbal prefix may play in FSP, see *More Thoughts...* (Note 1), p. 88.

(42) The English rheme, which is predominantly nominal, explicitly underlines the transfer of the scene through the presence of the element *outside*. This bears out J. Caha's observation (op. cit., p. 295) that there should have been an equivalent of that word in the Czech translation.

(43) On the psychological transfer from the sphere of taste to that of smell *(taste — čpěl)*, see J. Caha, op. cit., p. 295.

(44) On special means of FSP, operating on special instance levels (cf. Note 14), see *Thoughts...* (Note 1), p. 53.

(45) On lower and higher spheres of the basic distribution of CD cf. our paper *Thoughts...* (Note 1).

(46) Cf. J. Caha, op. cit., p. 296.

(47) In our opinion, the study of the thematic, transitional and rhematic layers of context would disclose further facts about the lexical, grammatical and FSP systems of language. Though conceived in a somewhat different way than the present study, J. V. Bečka's paper *Stylistika a rozvíjení myšlenkové linie (Stylistics and the Elaboration of the Trend of Thought)*, Slovo a slovesnost 18/1957, pp. 197—216, contains a number of observations relevant to the suggested questions. The problem of the thematic layer is taken up in a suggestive article by K. Boost *Der deutsche Satz, Die Satzverflechtung*, Deutschunterricht 2/1949, 3. Heft, pp. 7—15.

(48) Even the question of semantic homogeneity of the rhematic layer invites further research, as it might again throw some light on the interrelations between language, thought and reality.

(49) *More Thoughts...* (Note 1).

(50) Op. cit., p. 82.

(51) Op. cit., p. 83.

(52) Op. cit., p. 90.

SOUHRN.

O sdělné hodnotě novoanglického slovesa určitého

Studie tvoří třetí část práce, která zkoumá anglický posun od vyjadřování slovesného k vyjadřování jmennému. První část, nazvaná *Thoughts on the Communicative Function of the Verb in English, German and Czech (Ke komunikativní funkci slovesa v angličtině, němčině a češtině)*, vyšla v sborníku Brno Studies in English I, Praha 1959, str. 39—66, druhá část, nazvaná *More Thoughts on the Communicative Function of the English Verb (Další myšlenky o komunikativní funkci anglického slovesa)*, v Sborníku filosofické fakulty brněnské university 1959, A 7, str. 74—96.

I. Autor si všímá toho, jak se tendence formálně vydělovat a neopakovat nositele základních predikačních kategorií (osoby, čísla, času a způsobu) jeví ve vztahu k jistým jevům funkční perspektivy větné (= FPV). Jde v podstatě o následující skutečnosti, neustále v práci demonstrované na anglickém a českém materiálu.

FPV se utváří *stoupáním* a *klesáním* výpovědní dynamičnosti větných složek. Stoupnutí, popř. poklesy ve výpovědní dynamičnosti pak dávají „reliéfně" *vyniknout* nezákladovým složkám. Jiný jev, rovněž působící při utváření FPV, je výpovědně dynamické *zkompaktnění* větných složek. Takové zkompaktnění vzniká, vytvoří-li se ve větě — ať už v oblasti základové nebo nezákladové — úsek charakterisovaný proti ostatním větným částem (popř. proti zbývající větné části) tím, že se jeho složky co do stupňů výpovědní dynamičnosti od sebe navzájem velmi málo liší. Stoupnutí a poklesy, vyniknutí, jakož i zkompaktnění jsou jevy, které patří do oblasti FPV. Je však třeba je zkoumat ve vztahu k jevům gramatickým a sémantickým.

Takovým zkoumáním lze zjistit, že vydělování predikačních kategorií činí za jistých okolností z verba finita složku ryze přechodovou. Tato ryzí přechodovost slovesa pak vede ve spojení s jevy FPV výše jmenovanými k takovému utváření FPV, že se do jádrových oblastí dostávající se zřetelným „reliéfním" vyniknutím složky nominální. Tato skutečnost má poměrně značný podíl na posunu od vyjadřování slovesného k vyjadřování jmennému. Je zcela ve shodě s gramatickou stavbou angličtiny a češtiny, že naznačené způsoby posunu budou daleko hojnější v angličtině než v češtině.

II. Je zcela v souhlase s analytickým charakterem anglické gramatické stavby, že tendence vydělovat a neopakovat jednotlivé významové prvky (gramatické i lexikální) vydatně snižuje v angličtině počet slov, která se pro svou polymorfematičnost mohou stát nositeli heterogenních stupňů výpovědní dynamičnosti. (Srovn. č. *Zařehtala se* a *She gave a neighing laugh*. Uvedená anglická věta vyděluje základ /She/, přechodovou složku /gave/ i jádro /a neighing laugh/; v jejím českém protějšku naproti tomu slovo „zařehtala" tlumočí základ /-a/, přechod /-l-/ i jádro /zařehta-/.) V kladné formulaci to znamená, že vydělující tendence zvyšuje počet významových prvků, které mohou fungovat jako samostatná slova, a tak snáze zřetelně reliéfně vyniknout. To se projevuje zvlášť nápadně v tzv. druhé instanci, v níž každé slovo se může stát buď vlastním jádrem, nebo naopak přejít do vlastního základu. Skutečnost pak, že se vydělující tendence uplatňuje v angličtině s větší intenzitou než v češtině, přispívá k tomu, že se významová složka anglického slovesného tvaru dostává méně často do vlastního jádra než významová složka tvaru českého.

Jiným důsledkem velké intenzity, s kterou se v angličtině projevuje vydělující tendence, je to, že angličtina proti češtině důrazně usiluje o zřetelné hranice mezi jádrovou a nejádrovou částí věty. Toto úsilí není nijak v rozporu se známou anglickou tendencí stírat hranice mezi slovními druhy. Naopak, poměrná snadnost, s jakou anglické sloveso předává svou dějovost jiným slovním druhům, zvl. substantivu a adjektivu, dovoluje, aby anglické sloveso fungovalo jako ryze přechodová složka s malou výpovědní dynamičností, a tak umožňovalo nominálním složkám přejímat funkce jádrové a přitom zřetelně reliéfně vyniknout. Souvislost popsaného zvýšení komunikativní hodnoty anglických nominálních složek s posunem od slovesného k jmennému vyjadřování je zřejmá.

III. Poslední kapitola třetí části práce zkoumá, jak se z uvedených tří hledisek různé formy posunu od vyjadřování slovesného k vyjadřování jmennému jeví ve výstavbě anglického a českého odstavce. Ukazuje se, že zvláště v angličtině působí uvnitř promluvy jistý tlak ve směru k nominálnímu vyjadřování. Tlak je z hlediska FPV tím důraznější, čím více je jádrové sepětí (vznikající v odstavci působením jádrových složek, které jsou vlastními nositelkami sdělení) vytvářeno pomocí složek nominálních. Silná účast nominálních složek na tomto sepětí, jak je tomu v angličtině, ovšem vydatně — a to z hlediska celé promluvy — přispívá k oslabení funkce slovesa v aktu sdělení. Zvláštní úlohu při vytváření jádrového sepětí, jádrové „trasy" uvnitř odstavce, mají jevy popsané v předešlé kapitole.

Posun od vyjadřování slovesného k vyjadřování jmennému je patrný jak v angličtině, tak v češtině. Jde tu však o různé stupně. Tento kvantitativní rozdíl ve stupních posunu se projevuje v kvalitativním rozdílu mezi strukturou angličtiny a strukturou češtiny. Kvalitativní rozdíl se jeví i v tom, že vzhledem k češtině lze hovořit přímo o tendenci k vyjadřování slovesnému, která posun k vyjadřování nominálnímu vydatně zdržuje.

РЕЗЮМЕ

К вопросу о коммуникативной ценности определенной формы
новоанглийского глагола

Статья представляет дальнейшую, третью уже часть труда, исследующего сдвиг от глагольного способа выражения к именному выражению. Первая часть, под названием Thoughts on the Communicative Function of the Verb in English, German and Czech (К коммуникативной функции глагола в английском, немецком и чешском языках), появилась в сборнике Brno Studies in English I, Прага 1959 г., стр. 39—63, вторая часть, под названием More Thoughts on the Communicative Function of the English Verb (Дальнейшие мысли о коммуникативной функции английского глагола), в Сборнике трудов философского факультета университета г. Брно, 1959, А-7, стр. 74—96.

I. Автор обращает внимание на то, как тенденция к формальному выделению и неповторению носителей основных предикативных категорий (лица, числа, времени и наклонения) сказывается в отношении к определенным явлениям функциональной перспективы предложения (= ФПП). Речь идет, в основном, о следующих фактах, постоянно демонстрирующихся на английском и чешском материале в ходе всего труда.

ФПП образуется в результате повышения и понижения коммуникативной динамичности элементов предложения. Повышения, эвент. понижения коммуникативной динамичности обусловливают „рельефное отличение" нетематических (т. е. не относящихся к теме, или же к основе, к „данному" всего высказывания) элементов. Другое явление, также оказывающее свое влияние на образование ФПП, — это коммуникативно-динамическое уплотнение элементов предложения. Такое уплотнение происходит тогда, если в предложении — пусть в области темы, пусть в области не-темы — создается отрезок, характеризующийся в противоположность остальным отрезкам предложения (эвент. остающемуся отрезку предложения) тем, что компоненты его мало отличаются друг от друга по степени коммуникативной динамичности. Повышения и понижения, отличения, как и уплотнения — все это явления, относящиеся к области ФПП. Однако их нужно рассматривать во взаимосвязи с грамматическими и семантическими явлениями.

Путем подробного рассмотрения можно установить, что выделение предикативных категорий, при определенных условиях, превращает вербум финитум в чисто транзитивный (т. е. переходный между „данным" и „новым") элемент. Эта транзитивность, в сочетании с указанными явлениями ФПП, влечет за собой такое оформление ФПП, что в область ядра высказывания (т. е. ремы, или же „нового") с отчетливым „рельефным отличением" попадают номинальные элементы. Эта действительность играет относительно важную роль в сдвиге от глагольного способа выражения к именному выражению. В совершенном соответствии с грамматическим строем английского и чешского языков стоит то, что отмеченные способы сдвига в английском языке происходят многим чаще, чем в чешском.

II. Из самой природы аналитического характера английского грамматического строя закономерно вытекает, что тенденция к выделению и неповторению отдельных значимых элементов (грамматических и лексических) существенным образом понижает в английском языке количество слов, которые благодаря своему полиморфематизму могут стать носителями гетерогенных ступеней коммуникативной динамичности. (Ср. чеш. Zařehtala se и She gave a neighing laugh. Приведенное англ. предложение выделяет основу [She], транзитивный элемент [gave] и ядро [a neighing laugh]; в его чешском соответствии, однако, в слове „zařehtala" отражается основа [-a], транзитивный элемент [-l] и ядро [zařehta-].) В положительной формулировке это означает, что „выделяющая" тенденция повышает количество значимых элементов, которые способны функционировать в качестве самостоятельных слов, и, таким образом, легче могут рельефно отличиться. Особенно наглядно это сказывается в т. наз. второй инстанции, где любое слово может стать или собственным ядром, или, наоборот, перейти в собственную основу (= тему) высказывания. Тот факт, что тенденция к выделению более интенсивно проявляется в англ. языке, чем в чешском, в свою очередь способствует тому, что значимый компонент английской глагольной формы менее часто попадает в позицию собственного ядра, чем значимый компонент чешской глагольной формы.

Другим последствием большой интенсивности, с которой в англ. языке обнаружи-

вается выделяющая тенденция, является то обстоятельство, что английский язык в отличие от чешского настойчиво стремится к отчетливому размежеванию состава ядра предложения от состава не-ядра. Подобное стремление никак не противоречит известной английской тенденции к стиранию граней между частями речи. Напротив, относительная лёгкость, с которой английский глагол передает свое значение действия другим частям речи, особенно существительному и прилагательному, позволяет, чтобы английский глагол функционировал в качестве чисто транзитивного элемента с малой коммуникативной динамичностью и, таким образом, способствовал выполнению номинальными элементами функций ядра высказывания и отчетливому их рельефному отличению. Связь описанного повышения коммуникативной ценности английских номинальных элементов со сдвигом от глагольного выражения к именному выражению очевидна.

III. Последняя глава третьей части работы исследует, каким образом на основании указанных трех точек зрения разные формы сдвига от глагольного выражения к именному выражению отражаются в построении английского и чешского абзаца. Оказывается, что особенно в английском языке в пределах всего заявления (т. е. нескольких предложений) действует определенное давление по направлению к номинальному выражению. Это давление, с точки зрения ФПП, тем сильнее, чем больше взаимоспаяние отдельных ядер (получающееся в абзаце благодаря воздействию элементов ядер, которые и являются собственными носителями сообщения) создается с помощью номинальных элементов. Большое участие номинальных элементов в таком взаимоспаянии, как это наблюдается в английском языке, в значительной мере, конечно, способствует — именно с точки зрения всего заявления — ослаблению функции глагола в акте сообщения. Особую роль при образовании взаимоспаяния ядер, или же ,,трассы'' ядер в пределах абзаца, играют описанные в предшествующей главе явления.

Сдвиг от глагольного выражения к номинальному выражению наблюдается как в английском, так и в чешском языке. Однако мы имеем дело с различными степенями такого сдвига. Это качественное различие в степенях сдвига отражается в качественном различии между структурой английского языка и структурой чешского языка. Качественное различие проявляется также в том, что в отношении чешского языка можно прямо говорить о тенденции к глагольному способу выражения, в значительной степени тормозящей номинальное выражение.

<div align="right">Перевел Р. Мразек</div>