Svoboda, Aleš

The hierarchy of communicative units and fields as illustrated by English attributive constructions

Brno studies in English. 1968, vol. 7, iss. 1, pp. [49]-101

ALEŠ SVOBODA

THE HIERARCHY OF COMMUNICATIVE UNITS AND FIELDS AS ILLUSTRATED BY ENGLISH ATTRIBUTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The present treatise forms the second instalment of a study dealing with some aspects of a theoretical conception meant to provide a suitable basis for an examination of attributive constructions from the functional point of view. As the first instalment, entitled *Einige Bemerkungen zur Beziehung der Prädikation und Determination vom Gesichtspunkt der funktionalen Syntax aus,* has remained unpublished and may therefore not be accessible to the reader,[1] we feel we ought to give a short summary of the main principles of the theory presented there and to amplify it with some remarks relevant to further discussion.

It should first be stated that our research into the attributive constructions is based on the three-level approach to syntax,[2] the three levels being

a) level of the grammatical structure of sentence (grammatical level),
b) level of the semantic structure of sentence (semantic level),
c) level of the organization of utterance (functional level).

Let us delimit the main spheres of our interest within these three levels as follows.

On the grammatical level,[3] the starting point of our investigation is the independent verbal sentence, which may be represented by the pattern

P. 1 $$S \equiv NP \rightarrow VP_{fin}$$

allowing for all expanding rules frequently used.[4]

As for the attributive constructions, we shall deal with the following constructions:

the clausal attributive construction, expressed by means of an antecedent + an attributive clause

P. 2 $$AC_{clause} \equiv NP \rightarrow S;$$

the semi-clausal attributive construction, represented by a headword + a participial, infinitival or appositive construction

P. 3 $$AC_{semi-clause} \equiv NP \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} VP_{non-fin} \\ NP \end{Bmatrix};$$

the simple attributive construction (to be further denoted as attributive junction), containing a headword + an attributive element in the narrow sense of the word

P. 4 $\quad AC_{junction} \equiv N \rightarrow Attr. \qquad Attr. \equiv \left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{Adjective}\\ \text{Participle}\\ \text{of-Genitive}\\ \text{Saxon Genitive}\\ \text{Prepositional Phrase}\\ \text{Infinitive}\\ \text{Adverb}\end{array}\right\}$

The common denominator of all the grammatical forms to be considered is the relation of grammatical dependence, i.e., such dependence as is expressed by grammatical means (e.g., morphemes, word order, etc.).

On the semantic level, we focus our attention on the relations of predication and determination, corresponding to the relation of grammatical dependence. (The relation of correspondence is not that of identity, but that of close or distant affinity.) Following F. DANEŠ,[5] we regard predication and determination as purely semantic relations, and in this sense we also understand J. BAUER and M. GREPL's definition of predication: 'Predication is an actual act of referring a communicated mark, i.e. some action, state, or quality, to a certain section of the utterance event.'[6] The act of reference is carried out through the temporal and modal qualification of the communicated mark, the mark being thus 'actualized'. It is in this sense that the act of reference is to be regarded as 'actual'. The general pattern of a predication would run

P. 5 $\quad P \equiv UE \leftarrow CM$

Some comment on N. CHOMSKY's well-known example *Invisible God created the visible world*[7] will conveniently help to clarify what we intend to examine on the semantic level.

S. 1 God is invisible.

In this sentence the act of reference (i.e. the temporal and modal qualification of the communicated mark), through which the predicative relation is created, is explicitly expressed by means of the finite form of the verb; hence we shall term such relation verbal predication.

S. 2 God being invisible

As for the semi-clausal construction in S.2, we hold that it expresses the act of reference implicitly, though there are still explicit lexical means that to some extent express temporal and modal indications (e.g., simultaneousness or priority in relation to some other indication).[8] In this case we speak of non-verbal predication, which is as for the degree of actuality comparatively 'weaker' than the verbal predication mentioned above.

S. 3 invisible God

In S. 3, the act of reference is expressed only implicitly. No explicit lexical means are employed to indicate its actuality. We term the relation conveyed

by S. 3 primitive non-verbal predication (or for short, primitive predication). As to the degree of actuality, it is still 'weaker' than the non-verbal predication of semi-clausal constructions.

The transformationalists are right when bringing the above examples to a common denomination by introducing the constituent sentence $S_{const} \equiv \equiv N + be + Adj.$, corresponding, in its general form $S_{const} \equiv NP + VP$, to our pattern of predication. This constituent sentence, however, belongs not to the grammatical, but to the semantic level, and in fact represents a semantic relation of so general a character as to constitute a common denominator of clauses, both principal and subordinate, semi-clausal constructions, and attributive junctions.

The three above examples are cases where the difference in the degrees of actuality seems to be quite apparent. It is to be noted, however, that there is a whole gamut of degrees representing a continuous transition between S. 1 and S. 2 on the one hand (e.g., *God, who is invisible*) and between S. 2 and S. 3 on the other (e.g., *God, always invisible*).

In our opinion, if we had some reliable criterion of the 'strength' or 'weakness' of predication, and arranged a sufficient number of relevant grammatical forms from independent sentences with the 'strongest' predication to attributive junctions with the 'weakest' predication (taking into account transitional phenomena as well), we should obtain a scale with the maximum degree at the one end and the zero degree at the other.

After this sketchy account of our ideas on predication, we shall turn our attention to the question of determination. By determination we understand an accomplished predication, i.e., the result of the act of referring some communicated mark to a certain section of the utterance event. Hence the general pattern of determination will be almost the same as that of predication.

P. 6 $\qquad D \equiv [UE \leftarrow CM]$

When dealing with predication, we examined the referential act in its progress; when dealing with determination, we concentrate on the result produced by the same act taken as a whole. Examples will again illustrate.

S. 4 Invisible God created the visible world.

In regard to the verbal predication of the sentence S. 4, the actuality of the predicative relation implied in the two attributive junctions, *Invisible God* and *the visible world*, is so 'weak' that it often escapes the interpreter's notice and is regarded by him merely as a result of the referential act. In fact, both predication and determination are present, determination, however, playing the dominant role.

S. 5 God, being invisible, created the visible world.

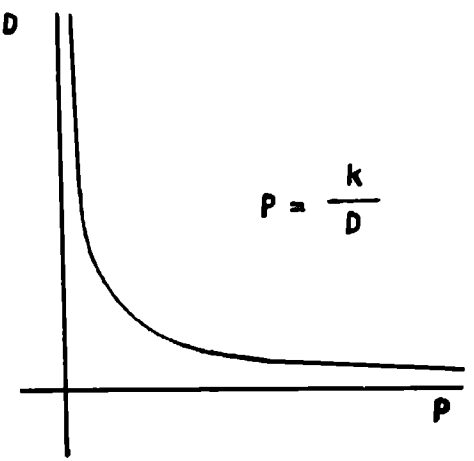
On the one hand, the actuality of the non-verbal predication expressed by the semi-clausal construction, *God, being invisible*, is 'stronger' than that in the above attributive junctions *invisible God* and *the visible world*, and should all the more not escape the interpreter's notice. On the other hand, it is still 'weaker' than the actuality of the verbal predication of the entire sentence. Hence, the role performed by the referential act of *God, being invisible* within

S. 5 is similar to the roles performed by the referential acts of *invisible God* and *the visible world* within S. 4: the referential acts are presented in their results and exhibit the relation of determination.

S. 6 God is invisible. He created the visible world.

In the first sentence of S. 6, the referential act is so forcibly presented in its progress, i.e. in other words, the actuality of the verbal predication is so 'strong', that the result of the act (the determination) can easily escape the interpreter's notice. This is chiefly due to the fact that supersentence relations — in which verbal predications play an important role — have not yet been examined sufficiently enough. Let us at least attempt to find out what the interpretation of the semantic content of the personal pronoun *He* in the second sentence might be if supersentence relations were taken into account. *He* stands not only for *God*, but, roughly speaking, for *God, who is invisible*. Such an interpretation presents the result of the referential act carried out by the preceding sentence and is based on determination.

As may have been gathered from the examples adduced above, the 'weakening' of predication is closely connected with an increase in the importance of the result of the referential act, in short, with the 'strengthening' of determination. We should like to speak here of a transformation of predication into determination, which may correspond to the transformation of a constituent sentence into the form in which it occurs in the matrix sentence. We must keep in mind, however, that we are dealing with relations belonging to the semantic level; these relations must not be confused with those belonging to the level of formal grammar.



Viewed from the semantic level, predication and determination are to be regarded as complementary phenomena, occurring in one and the same grammatical form, with the multiple of their 'degrees' being equal to a certain constant. The graph of inverse proportion may serve as an illustration of their mutual relation.

On the functional level, called also the level of functional sentence perspective (FSP) or the level of the organization of utterance, we shall start with J. VACHEK's functional definition: "The sentence is an elementary verbal act of taking a stand-point towards some reality."[9] In his comment on this definition, J. VACHEK points out that important conclusions can be drawn from it in regard to functional sentence analysis. In the first place, the sentence being an act of taking a stand-point towards some reality means that experience occasioned by the new reality is to be classed with some experience acquired before; in other words, the acquiry of new experience takes place through the mediation of previous experience. It follows that every sentence has a basic section, which appears as known or as something that can be easily gathered

from, or at least most obviously yields itself as a starting point of communication in, the given situation, and a section that brings the very contribution of the given sentence to the development of the discourse. The information communicated by the latter (rhematic — A.S.) section about the former (thematic — A.S.) section cannot be gathered from the situation and constitutes the very essence of the experience towards which the sentence is taking a stand-point.[10]

This functional division of the sentence may be expressed by the pattern

P. 7 $$S \equiv TS \Leftrightarrow RS$$

It need not coincide with the grammatical division of the sentence, as is shown by the following examples.

S. 7 TS: Our *who* | RS: has developed out of *swa hwa swa.*

S. 8 TS: Out of *swa hwa swa* | RS: has developed our *who.*[11]

If we compare S. 7 with S. 8, we can easily see that both the grammatical and the semantic relations in these sentences are exactly the same. The main difference appears on the functional level. While in S. 7 we start with *who* and proceed to *swa hwa swa*, in S. 8 we start with *swa hwa swa* and proceed to *who.* The primary role of word order in these sentences is not to indicate grammatical relations (as is chiefly borne out by S. 8), but to organize the utterance in a certain way. It has to be added, however, that though illustrative, the comparison of S. 7 with S. 8 is not typical of the English way of utterance organization. In a vast majority of English sentences, word order plays the primary role in indicating the grammatical relations, and cannot therefore meet all the requirements of the organization of utterance in the same way as, e.g., the word order in Slavonic sentences can. In consequence, English is compelled to employ some other means of organization than word order, as J. Firbas has convincingly shown.[12] As an experiment, let us re-organize the Russian translation and the English original of Chomsky's sentence adduced above.

S. 9 TS: Невидимый бог | RS: создал видимый мир.

S. 10 TS: Invisible God | RS: created the visible world.

S. 11 TS: Видимий мир | RS: создал невидимый бог.

S. 12 TS: The visible world | RS: was created by invisible God.

While in Russian it is possible to re-organize the sentence by a mere change of word order, in English the passive construction must be employed, as

a change of word order would distort both the grammatical and the semantic relations.

Now a question of basic importance may be raised. Why do we organize a given utterance in different ways? Every native speaker of the respective language knows that S. 9 and S. 11 or S. 10 and S. 12 are not interchangeable. Each of these sentences may be used only in a certain situation, determined by what has come before. Roughly speaking, S. 9 and S. 10 are used if God has been mentioned in the preceding context, while S. 11 and S. 12 are used if the world has been spoken of. Thus in S. 9 and S. 10, if appearing in the given context, *God* is more contextually dependent than *the world*, while in S. 11 and S. 12 *the world* is more contextually dependent than *God*.

Contextual dependence is a rather complex phenomenon, and we shall only touch on it by making some indispensable remarks. We distinguish between grammatical context and semantic context, subsuming under the former the repetition of grammatical formations and under the latter the semantic affinity of naming elements (elements naming or referring to some part of the extralinguistic reality). These two kinds of context co-operate with each other, the result of their co-operation being a certain degree of contextual dependence. If we take a large number of utterances and replace the elements that may be contextually dependent by symbolic marks denoting the degree of their dependence, we shall arrive at a set of patterns that are typical of a given language and may be regarded as patterns of utterance organization in that language. These patterns, however, assert themselves also in utterances occurring in isolation or at the beginning of a chain of utterances. J. FIRBAS has introduced the useful term 'a certain amount of communicative dynamism (CD)' which may, for simplicity's sake, be regarded as the inverse quality of the degree of contextual dependence. CD, however, is a more abstract concept than contextual dependence, because it expresses the mutual relations of elements in the patterns mentioned above, and can be employed also in such utterances as are contextually quite independent, but follow one of the patterns of utterance organization.[13] Similarly to the degrees of contextual dependence, we can distinguish only relative amounts of CD carried by certain elements, i.e., we can only state whether a given element carries a higher or a lower amount of CD (whether it is more or less dynamic) than some other element or elements.

Let us return to the general sentence pattern established on the functional level: $S \equiv TS \leftrightarrow RS$. On the basis of our preceding explanation, TS and RS may be regarded as sets of one or more elements carrying a certain amount of CD.

P. 8 $\quad TS \equiv T_0, (T_1), (T_2), \ldots (T_n)$

P. 9 $\quad RS \equiv R_n, (R_{n-1}), (R_{n-2}), \ldots (R_0)$

where $\quad T_0 < T_1 < T_2 < \ldots < T_n$

$R_n > R_{n-1} > R_{n-2} > \ldots > R_0$

$T_n < R_0$

To be able to distinguish between elements belonging to TS and those belonging to RS, we make use of J. FIRBAS's conclusion that within the so-

called first instance and under certain conditions the temporal and modal exponents of the finite verb constitute a transition proper between TS and RS.[14] For the purposes of this paper, it will be convenient to state that

P. 10 $$Tr_p \equiv R_0$$

It then holds good for a majority of cases within the first instance[15] that all elements carrying a lower amount of CD than Tr_p belong to TS and all elements carrying a higher amount of CD than Tr_p, together with Tr_p, belong to RS. There are two more elements that deserve special attention: the element carrying the lowest amount of CD (the least dynamic element), termed theme proper (T_p)

P. 11 $$T_p \equiv T_0$$

and the element carrying the highest amount of CD (the most dynamic element), termed rheme proper (R_p)

P. 12 $$R_p \equiv R_n$$

If the terminology of the Prague School is employed, the most general expression of the sentence and its components on the functional level would run

P. 13 $$S \equiv TS \Leftrightarrow RS$$

$$TS \equiv T_p, (T_1), (T_2), \ldots (T_n)$$

$$RS \equiv R_p, (R_{n-1}), (R_{n-2}), \ldots (Tr_p)$$

where

$$T_p < T_1 < T_2 < \ldots < T_n$$

$$R_p > R_{n-1} > R_{n-2} > \ldots > Tr_p$$

$$T_n < Tr_p$$

By way of concluding this brief survey of concepts necessary for further discussion, another conclusion arrived at in our previous paper should be mentioned.

On the grammatical level, we regard the sentence as a field of grammatical relations (grammatical field), the most important relation being here that of dependence. On the semantic level, we regard the sentence as a field of semantic relations (semantic field), the most important relation being here that of predication (or determination as its inverse quality). On the functional level, we regard the sentence as a field of relations presenting the results of a co-operation between the other two levels as it is necessitated by the very act of communication (communicative field), the most important relation being here the interrelation between the thematic and the rhematic section. Hence the co-operation of the grammatical field displaying the relation of dependence with the semantic field displaying the relation of predication is the general precondition on the basis of which the communicative field displaying the interrelation between TS and RS comes into existence.

P. 14 $$[NP \rightarrow VP_{fin} = UE \leftarrow CM] = TS \Leftrightarrow RS$$

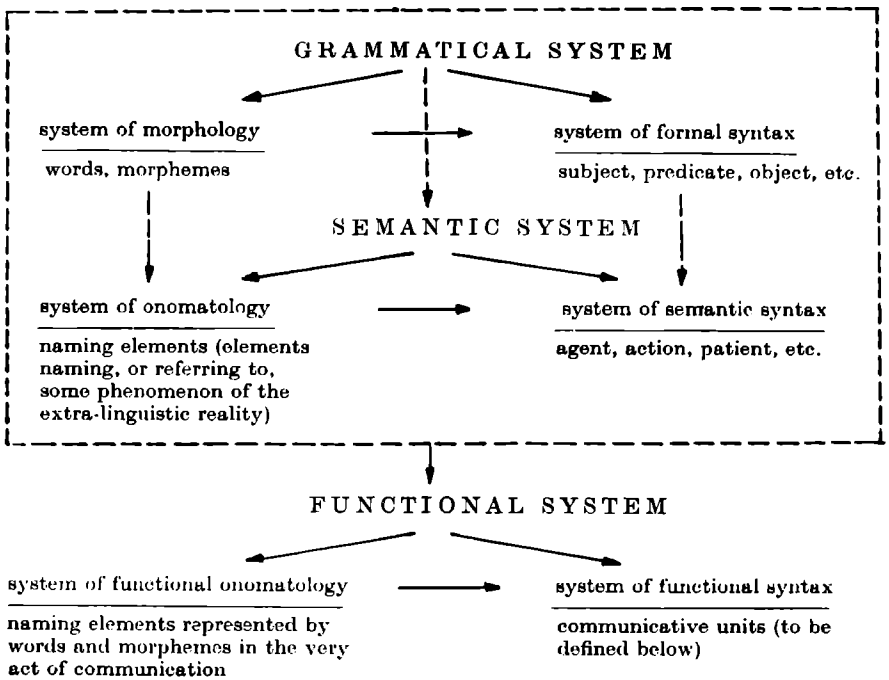
As the relation of dependence (on the grammatical level) and that of predication (on the semantic level) may be found not only in sentences, but also in some other forms of utterance, we hold that even these other forms are to be regarded as fields of grammatical and semantic relations on the basis of which communicative fields come into existence.

P. 15

$$\left[\left\{\begin{array}{l}NP \rightarrow S\\ NP \rightarrow VP_{non\text{-}fin}\\ NP \rightarrow NP\\ N \rightarrow Attr.\end{array}\right\} = UE \leftarrow CM\right] = TS \Leftrightarrow RS$$

We consider this pattern the most general expression of the relations between the three basic levels as far as the above forms of utterance are concerned. This does not mean that the differences displayed by the utterance forms in regard to the type of dependence and predication do not affect the character of the respective communicative fields. This problem, however, is to be dealt with in the course of the following discussion.

In accordance with the view that language is a system of systems,[16] we regard the three described levels as three systems, each showing its own constituents and characteristic internal interrelations. The following tabular arrangement illustrates the positions of the three systems and their constituents within the system of language. It includes also such systems as are closely connected with those under consideration.



Within the system of formal syntax, we distinguish such constituent elements as the subject, predicate, object, adverbial modifier, attribute, predicative complement, etc. These constituents, however, do not always appear on one and the same hierarchic level (e.g., a subject, predicate and object may form a subordinate clause, which in its entirety may become object of the predicate of some principal clause). The independent verbal sentence being the starting point of our investigation, we propose to call the field of its formally syntactic relations the syntactic field of zero rank (to be further denoted as SF^0), and the elements constituting this field zero-rank syntactic units (SU^0's). If the criterion by which the constituents are ranked is the direct relation to the finite verb of the respective clause, the zero-rank SU's are the subject, the predicate (both verbal and nominal),[17] the object, and the adverbial modifier, no matter whether they are expressed by a single word or by an entire subordinate clause. The non-zero-rank SU's are to be dealt with later on. The main relation taken into account is that of dependence.

Within the system of semantic syntax, we shall focus our attention on the kind of predication or determination that may help us to distinguish various kinds of grammatical dependence. As we shall chiefly inquire into the correspondence between syntactic fields and communicative fields on the one hand and that between syntactic units and communicative units (to be defined later on) on the other, we do not introduce the working terms 'semantic field' and 'semantic unit of a certain rank' in order not to make the discussion unnecessarily complicated.[18]

Within the system of functional syntax, a reliable starting point seems to be the communicative field (also called the field of distribution of CD or simply distributional field) which is provided by the independent sentence based on verbal predication. The constituents of this field are such elements as can become carriers of certain amounts of CD. What elements, however, may become such carriers? In his *Communicative Function*, J. FIRBAS has the following answer.

> "Strictly speaking, any element that names, or refers to, some phenomenon of the extra-linguistic reality (by which we understand all the things — in the widest sense of the word — about which communication is being made) carries a certain amount of CD. Consequently, even a morpheme has to be considered a carrier of CD, and if necessary (if, for instance, a consistently detailed analysis is attempted for comparative purposes) marked out as such."[19]

Each of these elements might be regarded as one of the carriers mentioned above, in short as a communicative unit, if we could take it for granted that they all belong to one and the same hierarchic level.

The mere fact that an expression applicable to some phenomenon of the extra-linguistic reality may, more or less adequately, be substituted for by a string of other expressions (e. g., *a Tory — a member of the British Conservative Party*) suggests the idea that several elements corresponding to several phenomena of the extra-linguistic reality may similarly form one carrier of some amount of CD, i. e., one single constituent of a given communicative field. Also the development from the paratactic to the hypotactic expression of ideas within the semantic sphere of communication, and its reflection in the formally syntactic structure of language, intimate the possibility that some

hypotactic relations might be found within the system of functional syntax as well. To avoid the confusion of elements belonging to different hierarchic levels (supposing such levels exist, of course), we introduce the working term 'communicative unit of a certain rank'.

A communicative unit (CU) is represented either by an element of the type described above (a carrier of CD) that may occupy various positions in the thematic or the rhematic section of the communicative field of a certain rank, without its relation(s) to the other element(s) of the same field remaining constant, or by two or more elements that may occupy various positions in the thematic or the rhematic section of the communicative field of a certain rank, without their mutual relation(s) being changed.

Analogically to the system of formal syntax, we shall call the field of distribution of CD within an independent sentence the communicative field of zero rank (CF^0); the CU's that constitute this field consequently have zero rank, too. The formal representatives of both the zero-rank and the non-zero-rank CU's are to be discussed later on.

According to the relative amount of CD carried, the CU^0's may occupy various positions in either the thematic or the rhematic section of a CF^0 (further to be referred to only as communicative positions), and we shall denote them as thematic or rhematic respectively (using the symbols T^0, R^0, and Tr^0, which stands for a special unit belonging to RS). Following J. Firbas's conclusions,[20] we distinguish three basic kinds of means indicating the communicative positions of CU's (to be further termed as indicators of communicative position): (i) word order, (ii) context, (iii) semantic means. As the first two cannot be confused with CU's themselves, we shall not specially mark them in our examples. The semantic means, however, may sometimes bear great resemblance to, or may even be identical with, some CU's. In such cases we apply the following rule: If the primary function of an element is that of naming (onomatological function), we shall denote it as CU. If the primary function of an element is that of indicating the communicative position of some other element(s), its onomatological function playing a secondary role or not being performed at all, we shall denote the respective element as indicator (using the symbol I). The onomatological function of an element may be qualified as primary if within the CF it is not performed by any other element (if no other element refers to the same phenomenon of the extra-linguistic reality). On the other hand, the onomatological role of an element may be qualified as secondary if within the CF it is simultaneously performed by some other element(s), the element concerned being the only one of them performing the function of an indicator.[21] Examples adduced in the course of further discussion will illustrate these statements.

CHAPTER TWO

NON-ATTRIBUTIVE ELEMENTS

In the present chapter we shall attempt to ascertain how zero-rank SU's are projected into the CF of the same rank. Let us start with the SU^0's of subject, object, and adverbial modifier,[22] which have been examined from this

view-point, and where as for the main features at least, the situation seems comparatively clear.

Recent works on FSP[23] have convincingly shown that the SU^0 of subject, formally expressed by means of a substantive or any of its syntactic equivalents, corresponds to one naming element that may occupy various communicative positions[24] within a CF^0, without its relation(s) to the other element(s) remaining constant, for short, it corresponds to one CU^0. When speaking of various positions occupied by the CU^0 of subject, we are aware that the objection may be raised that the character of the English subject is thematic. There is certainly a marked tendency in English to express the theme by means of the subject,[25] but in spite of that, non-thematic CU^0's of subject can easily be found in English as well.[26] Various communicative positions of the CU^0 of subject are displayed more distinctly by Czech where the above tendency is not so pronounced. As V. MATHESIUS's and J. FIRBAS's studies offer sufficient illustration, we shall confine ourselves to showing the SU^0 of subject as a thematic CU^0 on the one hand and as a rhematic one on the other.

S. 13a — $\overline{\text{The girl}}^{T^0}$ broke a vase.[27]

S. 13b — $\overline{\text{Děvče}}^{T^0}$ rozbilo vázu.

S. 14a — $\overline{\text{A girl}}^{R^0}$ broke the vase.

S. 14b — Vázu rozbilo $\overline{\text{děvče.}}^{R^0}$

As for the SU^0 of object, formally expressed by the same means as the above SU^0 of subject, from the functional point of view the situation is very similar. The SU^0 of each object in a given SF^0 corresponds to one CU^0 in the respective CF^0. For more extensive material we again refer the reader to J. FIRBAS's studies.[28]

S. 15a — The girl broke $\overline{\text{a vase.}}^{R^0}$

S. 15b — Děvče rozbilo $\overline{\text{vázu.}}^{R^0}$

S. 16a — A girl broke $\overline{\text{the vase.}}^{T^0}$

S. 16b — $\overline{\text{Vázu}}^{T^0}$ rozbilo děvče.

S. 17a — I gave $\overline{\text{Charles}}^{R^0}$ $\overline{\text{a book.}}^{R^0_p}$

S. 17b — Dal jsem $\overline{\text{Karlovi}}^{R^0}$ $\overline{\text{knihu.}}^{R^0_p}$

S. 18a

$$\underset{\text{I gave a book}}{\overset{R^0}{\overline{}}}\ \underset{\text{to Charles.}}{\overset{R_p^0}{\overline{}}}$$

S. 18b

$$\underset{\text{Dal jsem knihu}}{\overset{R^0}{\overline{}}}\ \underset{\text{Karlovi.}}{\overset{R_p^0}{\overline{}}}$$

SU^0's of adverbial modifier are partly expressed by other formal means than the preceding SU^0's. It is not difficult to ascertain, however, that the SU^0 of each adverbial modifier in a given SF^0 is represented either by one naming element that may occupy various communicative positions within the respective CF^0, without its relation to the other element(s) remaining constant, or by two or more elements that may occupy various communicative positions within the respective CF^0, without their mutual relation being changed, and may therefore be regarded as one CU^0. Two examples will do for the present purpose.[29]

S. 19a $\overset{T^0}{\overline{\text{Just round the corner}}}$ you'll find the G. P. O.

S. 19b $\overset{T^0}{\overline{\text{Hned za rohem}}}$ najdete hlavní poštu.

S. 20a The G. P. O. is $\overset{R^0}{\overline{\text{just round the corner.}}}$

S. 20b Hlavní pošta je $\overset{R^0}{\overline{\text{hned za rohem.}}}$

As to the SU^0 of predicate, the situation is considerably different. This equally applies to the verbal predicate, expressed by the simple or compound verb-form, and to the nominal predicate, expressed by the copula and the predicative complement. Although it is not easy to draw a strict dividing line between the two types of predicate (which, especially in English, display a strong tendency to a continuous transition from one into another), we shall, for clarity's sake, deal with each type separately. Let us start with the verbal predicate.

In one of his recent studies,[30] J. Firbas has shown that the finite verb-form, in our terminology the SU^0 of verbal predicate, contains more than one naming element. These naming elements are represented by (i) the temporal and modal exponents (TME's) of the verb,[31] (ii) the lexical component (notional content) of the verb. (i) and (ii) may occupy various communicative positions within a given CF^0, their mutual relation (in regard to these positions) not remaining constant, but changing in a certain way. Hence the SU^0 of verbal predicate is projected into the respective CF^0 as two CU^0's. To be able to draw a dividing line between TS and RS of a given CF^0, we employ, for the purpose of the present paper, only such examples in which the TME's of the SU^0 of verbal predicate represent the very beginning of the rhematic section of the respective CF^0, viz. transition proper. As has been shown by J. Firbas in the paper published in the present volume (see p. 24), such examples represent the overwhelming majority of cases (about 95 per cent). On the

other hand, cases in which the TME's occupy other communicative positions than Tr_p (e.g. T_p or R_p) are distinctly marked. For simplicity's sake, we shall not take them into account.

S. 21a

T^0	Tr^0	R^0
Mother	was	protesting.

S. 21b

T^0	R^0	Tr^0
Mother	protest	-ed.

S. 21c

T^0	R^0	Tr^0	c
Maminka	protestova	-l	-a.

S. 22a

T^0	Tr^0	R^0
She	was	protesting.

S. 22b

T^0	R^0	Tr^0
She	protest	-ed.

S. 22c

R^0	Tr^0	T^0
Protestova	-l	-a.

As can be seen from S. 22c, we have not exhausted all the CU^0's that may correspond to one SU^0 of verbal predicate. The finite verb, as the formal representative of the SU^0 of verbal predicate, may also contain the exponents of person and number (PNE's), which perform their own onomatological function, and are, therefore, to be regarded as at least one naming element. The same onomatological function, however, may be performed by the CU^0 of subject. The PNE's of predicate (if expressed at all) then function as a mere co-conveyer (c) of the amount of CD carried by the CU^0 of subject.[32] In this way SU^0 of subject and the PNE's of the SU^0 of the corresponding predicate represent two elements referring to one and the same phenomenon of the extra-linguistic reality and remain constant in their mutual relation within the CF^0, in short, represent only one CU^0 as can be seen from S. 21c. This is the prevailing situation in English. On the other hand, in Czech, which frequently dispenses with an SU^0 of subject, the PNE's of the SU^0 of predicate are often the only element referring to the extra-linguistic phenomenon concerned and are therefore projected into the CF^0 as a CU^0, because they occupy their communicative position independently of other elements (see S. 22c). That in their function as a CU^0 the PNE's seem to be confined to positions within the thematic section of a CF^0 can easily be explained on the analogy of personal pronouns, which owing to their specific content remain — under normal, unmarked conditions — within the TS.

Let us now turn our attention to what is called by J. Firbas the dissociating tendency.[33] Contrary to Modern Czech, Modern English displays a tendency to give separate word-forms to each of the CU^0's that can be conveyed by the SU^0 of verbal predicate. This tendency manifests itself, on the one hand, in practically restricting the finite verb-form to expressing the TME's (which remain absolutely essential for signalling the highest degree of actuality of the referential act), and in transferring the notional content of the verb to the

nominal components of the SU^0 of verbal predicate, on the other. The nominal character of the participial component of the verbal predicate is sometimes so pronounced as to allow of being almost identified with the nominal character of an adjective.[34] This fact substantiates the statement that, in English at least, the dividing line between the verbal and the nominal predicate is very unstable. J. FIRBAS has adduced a typical example of coalescence of the two types of predicate: *By this time Lottie was very red in the face and breathing heavily.*[35]

It might have been gathered from what has so far been put forth that the situation within the nominal predicate is rather similar to that within the verbal predicate, and that the SU^0 of nominal predicate may be projected into the CF^0 by the same number of CU^0's as that of the verbal predicate. This fully applies to the SU^0 of nominal predicate expressed by means of some nominal component and the finite form of the verb *be*, because the lexical meaning of the copulative verb has been suppressed to such a degree that its finite form virtually appears as a mere conveyer of the TME's (and only as a co-conveyer of the PNE's), i.e., as one CU^0.[36]

S. 23a

T^0	Tr^0	R^0
She	was	pale.

S. 23b

Tr^0	T^0	R^0	c
Byl	-a	bled	-á.

As soon as the verbal component of the SU^0 of nominal predicate is expressed by means of some other verb than *to be*, the notional component of the verb (possibly another copula) begins to play a more or less important role, too, and like the SU^0 of verbal predicate, cannot be identified with the TME's. Let us compare the following examples:

S. 24a

T^0	Tr^0	R^0
The milk	was	sour.

S. 24b

T^0	Tr^0	R^0
Mléko	bylo	kyselé.

S. 25a

T^0	R^0	Tr^0	R^0
The milk	turn	-ed	sour.

S. 25b

T^0	R^0	R^0	Tr^0	c
Mléko	z-	kys	-l	-o.

S. 24a and S. 24b need no comment. S. 25a contains three CU^0's corresponding to one SU^0 of nominal predicate. (It is to be noted here that in English predicates, verbal or nominal, the PNE's do not, as a rule, constitute a CU^0.) Does this mean that the SU^0 of nominal predicate containing some other copula than *to be* is projected into the CF^0 by a greater number of CU^0's than the SU^0 of verbal predicate? As for English, it seems to be so.

If we examine the corresponding Czech sentence S. 25b, expressing the same extra-linguistic reality, we find that this reality is expressed by the SU^0 of verbal predicate, which seems to be projected into the CF^0 by three CU^0's as well. (We do not take into account the PNE *-o*, which is only a co-conveyer of a certain amount of CD carried by the CU^0 of subject and does not represent a CU^0.) We can even observe a certain correspondence between the aspectual exponent *z-* of the Czech verbal predicate and the notional content of the English copulative verb. The aspectual components of the Czech verb have not yet received sufficient attention from the functional point of view, so that we are not in a position to draw the conclusion that they are always such CU^0's as fully comply with our definition.[37] But still, in our case at least, both the SU^0 of the Czech verbal predicate and the SU^0 of the English nominal predicate seem to be projected into the respective CF^0's by the same number of CU^0's.

Turning our attention to Czech, let us admit that the aspectual exponent(s) of the verb may function as one CU^0, and let us compare the number of CU^0's corresponding to the SU^0 of verbal predicate with the number of CU^0's corresponding to the SU^0 of nominal predicate. At first sight the mutual ratio of CU^0's appears to be the same in Czech as in English, i.e., in favour of the nominal predicate, because the Czech nominal predicate may also contain an aspectual exponent. Thus in the sentence *Mléko se zdálo zkyslé* [*milk itself it-seemed (aspectual prefix meaning 'turned')-sour*], there are four CU^0's corresponding to one SU^0 of nominal predicate. It should, however, be borne in mind that this type is comparatively rare. We should frequently say: *Zdálo se, že mléko je zkyslé* [*it-seemed itself that milk is (aspectual prefix meaning 'turned')-sour*], where two verbal predicates perform the same function as the preceding nominal one. We are, therefore, inclined to think that in Czech, contrary to English, the SU^0 of verbal predicate is frequently projected into the CF^0 by the same number of CU^0's as the SU^0 of nominal predicate.

It is not accidental that whereas English, expressing some relatively complex extra-linguistic reality, employs its means (and CU's respectively) within the sphere of the nominal predicate, Czech, expressing the same, meets the increased communicative requirements within the predicate of a verbal character. This fact manifests the English tendency towards nominal expression on the one hand, and the comparatively high communicative value of the Czech verb on the other.[38]

To sum up. We have attempted to show that any SU^0 of subject, object, or adverbial modifier is to be regarded as one CU^0, while SU^0 of predicate, verbal or nominal, is projected as two or more CU^0's into the respective CF^0. Now the question may be raised how to interpret the attribute. In terms of our definition, it cannot be considered an SU^0, as it does not comply with the criterion of the direct relation to the finite verb of an independent sentence (cf. p. 57), but may function as a component part of the SU^0's of subject, object, adverbial modifier, or nominal predicate. Let us first examine the internal conditions of both the semi-clausal and the junctional attributive constructions, which may throw more light on our problem.

CHAPTER THREE

ATTRIBUTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS AS COMMUNICATIVE FIELDS

As has been mentioned in Chapter One, not only independent sentences based on verbal predication, but also attributive constructions based on non-verbal predication, form communicative fields of their own. To demonstrate the specific character of CF's within semi-clausal attributive constructions and attributive junctions,[39] we shall compare them with the CF's of semi-clausal non-attributive constructions and with CF^0's dealt with in the preceding chapter.

	T^0	Tr^0/R^0		R^0			R^0	
S. 26	lips	are	asking	a	question	with	a	smile[40]
	T	Tr/R		R			R	
S. 27	lips,	having	asked	a	question	with	a	smile
	T	Tr/R		R			R	
S. 28	lips,	asking	a	question		with	a	smile
	T	R		R			R	
S. 29	lips	asking	a	question		with	a	smile

S. 26 requires no comment. Let us only point out that we do not mark the differences in the amounts of CD carried by the rhematic CU^0's, because we do not regard it as relevant to our purpose. (If a more detailed examination were necessary, *a question* could be denoted as R^0_p, *with a smile* as R^0_{n-1}, and *asking* as R^0_{n-2},, or *with a smile* as R^0_p, *a question* as R^0_{n-1}, and *asking* as R^0_{n-2}, the interpretation depending on the context.)

On examining the CF's of S. 27, S. 28, and S. 29, we find them strikingly similar to the CF^0 of S. 26. Only in regard to the TME's they reveal an important difference that must be discussed at some length as it is of consequence for the ranking of CF's and their CU's.

In expressing the temporal and modal indication, the TME's of S. 27 and S. 28 are partly explicit (as regards priority to, or simultaneousness with, some other indication), partly implicit. In this way, they also perform the function of indicators of non-verbal predication. As for actuality, the predication indicated by them is 'weaker' than that of S. 26, but still 'strong' enough to present the referential act not only in its result, but also its progress. This is why we regard the constructions represented by S. 27 and S. 28 rather as adverbial semi-clauses (with the meaning of *lips, after having asked a question with a smile* and *lips, when asking a question with a smile)* than as attributive constructions.

If we do not examine *asking* against the background of the verbo-nominal *having asked,* but treat it as an adjectival element (see S. 29), matters assume another aspect. Like an adjective, *asking* does not contain TME's, and consequently represents merely one naming element corresponding to one CU. The absence of the explicitly expressed temporal and modal indications

testifies to the presence of non-verbal predication which, as for actuality, is still 'weaker' than the non-verbal predication of S. 27 and S. 28. In S. 29, the progress of the referential act is suppressed to such a degree (its progressive facet is so blurred) that we can take into account only the result of the act (determination) and regard S. 29 as an attributive construction (in the sense of *lips that are, or were, asking a question with a smile*).

The following examples, ranging from an independent sentence based on verbal predication to an attributive junction based on primitive predication, are to throw more light on the CF's of attributive constructions.

	T^0	Tr^0	$R^o_{(p)}$	$R^o_{(n-1)}$	$R^o_{(n-2)}$	
S. 30	eyes	were	disconcertingly	inattentive	at	times
	T	Tr + i	R	R	R	
S. 31	eyes,	having been	disconcertingly	inattentive	at	times
	T	Tr + i	R	R	R	
S. 32	eyes,	being	disconcertingly	inattentive	at	times
	T	i	R	R	R	
S. 33	eyes	being	disconcertingly	inattentive	at	times
	T	R	R	R		
S. 34	eyes,	disconcertingly	inattentive	at	times	

(GALSWORTHY, 20.6)[41]

	T	R	R	
S. 35	eyes,	disconcertingly	inattentive	
	R	R	T	
S. 36	disconcertingly	inattentive	eyes	

	R	T			R	T
S. 37a	inattentive	eyes		S. 37b	nepozorné	oči
	R	T			R	T
S. 38a	inattentive	ones		S. 38b	nepozorn	-é

S. 30, S. 31, and S. 32 may be explained on the analogy of S. 26, S. 27, and S. 28. On the semantic level, the TME's *having been* and *being* are at the same time indicators of non-verbal predication. On the functional level, each corresponds to one CU and an indicator of the inferiority of the respective CF (this concept will be dealt with in Chapter Five).

If we do not regard *being* as a conveyer of restricted TME's (cf. *asking* in S. 29), but as a mere indicator, which does not correspond to a CU, S. 33 will be a case of potential transition between non-attributive and attributive constructions.

In S. 34 and S. 35, the absence of the explicitly expressed temporal and

modal indications 'weakens' the actuality of predication to such a degree that determination prevails, and hence we have to regard these constructions as predominantly attributive. It must be admitted, however, that the grammatical word order, which S. 34 and S. 35 share with S. 31 and S. 32, opens the possibility of regarding S. 34 and S. 35 as non-attributive constructions (e.g., in the sense of *eyes, while disconcertingly inattentive*).

This possibility induces us to maintain that the actuality of predication in S. 35 is still stronger than that in S. 36, where both the absence of the explicitly expressed temporal and modal indications and grammatical word order 'weaken' the actuality of predication (at the same time 'strengthening' determination) to such a degree that S. 36 can be interpreted only as attributive.

S. 37a is a typical attributive junction where both the absence of the explicitly expressed temporal and modal indications and grammatical word order indicate prevailing determinative relation. The remaining examples are to be dealt with later on.

In this connection, a word has to be said about the CU's within the CF of an attributive construction. On examining a large number of examples (about 1200), we have come to the conclusion that in a vast majority of cases the CU of the headword carries a smaller amount of CD than the CU's of the respective attributive element(s). Supposing the temporal and modal indications, even if expressed only implicitly, are the imaginary dividing line between the thematic and the rhematic section within the CF of a semi-clausal attributive construction or an attributive junction, we regard the CU of the headword as thematic and the CU('s) of the attributive element(s) as rhematic. Such a distribution of CD within the CF of a semi-clausal attributive construction or an attributive junction seems to be the most frequent, and we shall, therefore, regard it as a case of non-marked distribution of CD. This kind of distribution occurs either when both the headword and the attributive element(s) or only the attributive element(s) is (are) contextually independent.

It is not imposible that under certain conditions the headword represents the rhematic and the attribute the thematic CU. (Cf. *Name quickly five things that are round.* — *Round*(T) *tables* (R), *round*(T) *balls*(R), etc.) This kind of distribution of CD can be interpreted as marked. As is to be shown later on, the internal changes within the CF of an attributive construction cannot affect the general hierarchy of CF's and CU's, and we shall, therefore, regard the CF's of semi-clausal attributive constructions and attributive junctions in all the following examples as cases of non-marked distribution of CD.

If we speak of non-marked distribution of CD, however, we do not mean that the mutual relation of the thematic and rhematic CU's in different attributive constructions must be always the same. Let us return to S. 37a and S. 38a. In S. 37a both *inattentive* and *eyes* may be contextually quite independent, and both of them may therefore carry a large amount of CD. In accordance with the general pattern of non-marked distribution of CD, *inattentive* is regarded as a CU carrying a larger amount of CD than *eyes*. As there are only two CU's in the CF, *inattentive* must be the rhematic CU and *eyes* the thematic one, but the difference in the amounts of CD carried may be rather small. On the other hand, in S. 38a *inattentive* may also be contextually independent, while *ones* is evidently always dependent, and hence the difference in the amounts of CD carried by the two CU's may be rather great. The general

character of the CF of S. 38a, however, remains the same as that of S. 37a.

What seems to be of interest here is a comparison of S. 38a with its Czech version (S. 38b). Within the latter, it is a mere PNE of the adjective, a mere morpheme *-é*, that represents the thematic CU of the given CF. While the PNE in the preceding example (S. 37b) was only a co-conveyer of CD carried by the headword and for this reason it did not represent a CU, the PNE *-é* of S. 38b is the only element referring to a certain extra-linguistic phenomenon *(eyes)*, and therefore representing one CU, functionally corresponding to Engl. *ones*.

We find some analogy between the weakening of the PNE's within the English verbal system and the necessity of using personal pronouns (both referring to one and the same extra-linguistic phenomenon) on the one hand, and between the loss of adjectival suffixes representing the PNE's within the English adjectival system and the tendency to preserve the same number of CU's by means of the word *one(s)* on the other. If some grammarians regard *one(s)* as a prop-word, they may be justified in doing so by the fact that *one(s)*, like personal pronouns, stands for some CU('s) that is (are) otherwise expressed by means of another word (other words). This statement by no means contradicts the conception of G. O. CURME, who regards *one(s)* as an adjectival suffix.[42] From the functional point of view, *one(s)* performs the same function as was once performed by the adjectival suffixes in English and is still performed by the adjectival suffixes in Czech, i.e. the function of PNE's, which are able to represent CU's.

Considerations of space prevent us from proceeding any further with our investigation into concrete language material. But the conclusions offered above hold good not only for attributive constructions formally expressed by means of a headword and a participle or adjective, but also for all junctions and semi-clausal constructions following the pattern P. 3 or P. 4. By way of conclusion we shall adduce at least some simple examples, trusting that no further comment is needed.

S. 39 $\frac{\text{R}}{\text{teachers'}}\ \frac{\text{T}}{\text{books}}$

S. 40 $\frac{\text{T}}{\text{books}}\ \frac{\text{R}}{\text{of teachers}}$

S. 41 $\frac{\text{T}}{\text{books}}\ \frac{\text{R}}{\text{for teachers}}$

S. 42 $\frac{\text{T}}{\text{the room}}\ \frac{\text{R}}{\text{above}}$

S. 43 $\frac{\text{T}}{\text{the will}}\ \frac{\text{R}}{\text{to live}}$

S. 44 $\frac{\text{T}}{\text{Uncle}}\ \frac{\text{R}}{\text{Tom}}$

S. 45 $\frac{\text{T}}{\text{Smith,}}\ \frac{\text{R}}{\text{the banker}}$

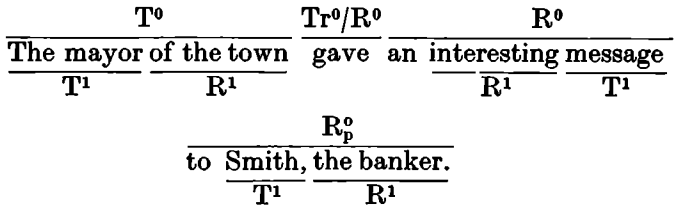
CHAPTER FOUR

ATTRIBUTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS AS COMMUNICATIVE UNITS

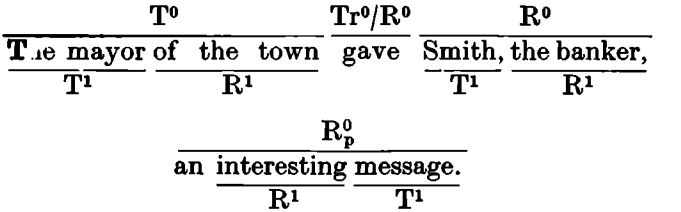
In the present chapter we shall attempt to explain how the CF of a semi-clausal attributive construction or an attributive junction functions within

the CF of an independent sentence, i.e., within the CF of zero rank. Let us first adduce several examples.

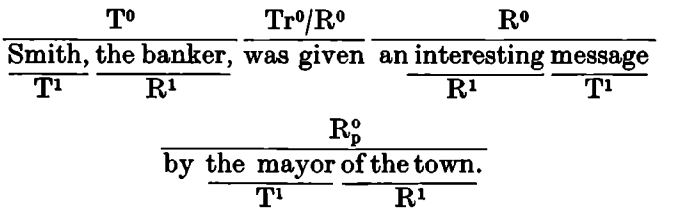
S. 46



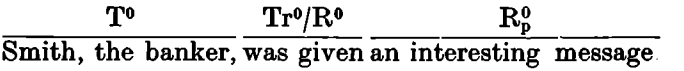
S. 47



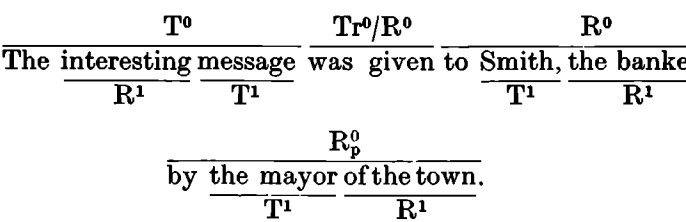
S. 48



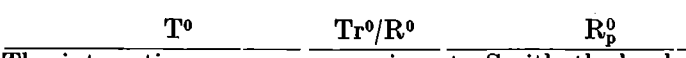
S. 49



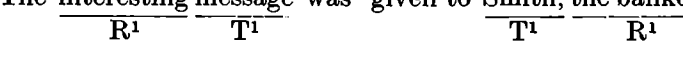
S. 50



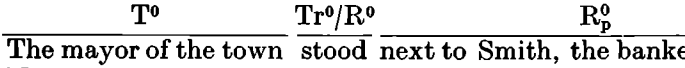
S. 51



S. 52



S. 53



Each of the CF's of the attributive constructions *the mayor of the town, an interesting message*, and *Smith, the banker* consists of two naming elements (carriers of CD) that do not change their mutual relation, no matter whether the respective CF occurs in the thematic or the rhematic section of the CF^0. Thus, in terms of our definition, the CF of a semi-clausal attributive construction or an attributive junction may be regarded as one CU^0. In order to distinguish between the two kinds of CF's and CU's dealt with in our discussion, we shall refer to the CF that represents one CU^0 within CF^0 as a CF of first rank (CF^1), and to its CU's as first-rank CU's (CU^1's). *The mayor of the town, an interesting message*, and *Smith, the banker* represent CF^1's, which function in the respective CF^0 as CU^0's; their constituents are CU^1's (symbolized by T^1, R^1), as has been marked in the above examples. If comparing CF's of various ranks, we refer to CF^0 as superior to CF^1, and to CF^1 as inferior to CF^0.

In speaking of a constant mutual relation between two CU^1's regardless of the communicative positions occupied by the respective CF^1 within CF^0, we always think of one and the same attributive construction used under the same contextual conditions. S. 54 and S. 55 present CF^1's in which the mutual relation of CU^1's may, as for the amount of CD carried, considerably differ from the mutual relation of CU^1's in S. 46—52 (cf. also S. 37a and S. 38a). But the mutual relation of CU^1's remains exactly the same, no matter whether the given CF^1 functions as a thematic or a rhematic CU^0 within CF^0. (S. 54 and S. 55 are to be understood as occurring in a context where, e.g., hats are spoken of.)

S. 54

T^0		Tr^0	R^0	R^0_p	
The grey	one	would	match	your	scarf.
R^1	T^1				

S. 55

T^0	Tr^0	R^0	R^0_p	
I	would	prefer	the grey	one.
			R^1	T^1

From the grammatical point of view, the attributive constructions of S. 46—S. 52 represent the SU^0's of subject, object, adverbial modifier; the attributive construction of S. 53 represents the nominal part of the SU^0 of nominal predicate. As follows from the above discussion, our conclusions concerning the projection of SU^0's into CF^0 as CU^0's hold good also for such SU^0's as are formally expressed by means of a semi-clausal attributive construction or an attributive junction.

Let us return to the ranking of CF's and their CU's. As can be seen from S. 56, not only a CU^0, but also a CU^1 may be represented by an entire CF of an attributive construction. Every CF performing the function of a CU^1 is to be considered a CF of second rank (CF^2), its constituents being second-rank CU's (CU^2's). CF's and CU's of still lower ranks (e.g., CF^3 and CU^3's in S. 57) may be derived analogically.

S. 56

T^0				Tr^0	R^0
The books	from the	University	Library	are	old.
		R^2	T^2		
T^1		R^1			

S. 57

					T^0				Tr^0/R^0	R_p^0	
Scholars	studying	the	history	of	the	nineteenth	century		met	in	London.
						R^3	T^3				
				T^2		R^2					
T^1	R^1				R_p^1						

On examining concrete language material from the described point of view, we have ascertained that semi-clausal attributive constructions and attributive junctions most frequently constitute CF^1's and CF^2's, less frequently CF^3's and CF^4's, and rather rarely CF^5's, CF^6's, and CF^7's.[43] As sentences illustrating the CF's of lower ranks than CF^3 (CF^4, CF^5, etc.) usually contain attributive clauses, which have not yet been dealt with, we shall confine ourselves to adducing only two examples, trusting that they will reveal the system of ranking with sufficient clearness.

S. 58

				T^0		Tr^0			
The	next	example	is						
R^1	T^1								
				R^0					
a	simplified	variant	of	a	sentence	taken	from	Scott's	novel 'Ivanhoe'.
							R^4	T^4	
							T^3		R^3
R^2	T^2		T^2		R^2		R_p^2		
T^1			R^1						

S. 59

				T^0	Tr^0/R^0				
He	had								
				R^0					
a	collar	bearing	the	inscription	Wamba,	the	born	thrall	of Cedric of Rotherwood.
						R^5	T^5	T^5	R^5
						T^4		R^4	
				T^3		R^3			
			T^2			R^2			
T^1	R^1				R_p^1				

In connection with CF's of inferior ranks, mention must be made of an important phenomenon. Every CF of a semi-clausal construction or an attributive junction functions in the nearest superior CF as its CU. In this way it does not differ in character even from those CU's of the superior CF which are expressed by means of only one naming element (word or morpheme). As one of the CU's of the superior CF, it follows the patterns of distribution of CD the superior CF may form.

S. 60

	T^0	Tr^0/R^0	R_p^0		
A	girl	broke	a	vase.[44]	

S. 61

$$\frac{T^0}{\text{A little girl}}\ \frac{Tr^0/R^0}{\text{broke}}\ \frac{R_p^0}{\text{a vase.}}$$

S. 62

$$\frac{T^0}{\text{A little girl with dark blue eyes and curly black hair}}\ \frac{Tr^0/R^0}{\text{broke}}\ \frac{R_p^0}{\text{a vase.}}$$

S. 63

$$\frac{\text{A little girl with dark blue eyes and curly black hair, always}\ \longrightarrow}{\text{trying to be very quiet not to attract people's attention}}\ \frac{T^0}{}\ \frac{Tr^0/R^0}{\text{broke}}\ \frac{R_p^0}{\text{a vase.}}$$

All the examples are to be understood in a context where neither *a girl* nor *a vase* have been mentioned before. (E.g., we may regard them as answers to the question *What happened at school this morning*?) The amounts of CD carried by the CU^0's of S. 60 are then distributed as follows: the CU^0 *a girl* represents theme proper, the rest is rhematic with the CU^0 *a vase* as rheme proper and the CU^0 of the TME's as transition proper. The same communicative positions are taken up by the corresponding CU^0's in S. 61, S. 62, and S. 63 (which are represented by more or less extensive CF's of inferior ranks), because the given distribution of CD asserts itself no matter whether a CU^0 is represented by one naming element or by an entire inferior CF.

If changing the communicative position of a CU^0 represented by a CF^1, we must employ the same means as are used for indicating the communicative position of a CU^0 represented by one element, viz. word order (here the formal position of the construction within the sentence), context, or semantic means. Supposing that *a vase* has been spoken of in the preceding context, we can replace it by *it* functioning as a semantic means and therefore changing the pattern of distribution of CD in the way illustrated by S. 64 and S. 65. Thus no matter whether expressed by one word (one naming element) or by the whole attributive construction (CF), the SU^0 of subject will then correspond to a rhematic CU^0.

S. 64

$$\frac{R_p^0}{\text{A girl}}\ \frac{Tr^0/R^0}{\text{broke}}\ \frac{T^0}{\text{it.}}$$

S. 65

$$\frac{R_p^0}{\text{A little girl with dark blue eyes and curly black hair}}\ \frac{Tr^0/R^0}{\text{broke}}\ \frac{T^0}{\text{it.}}$$[45]

The possibility of expressing a CU by one naming element or by an entire inferior CF has been discussed at some length in order to preclude a premature and erroneous conclusion. In our opinion, it would be wrong to suppose that the mere presence of attributive elements in a CU^0 might increase its CD to such a degree as to change its communicative position. This is due to the fact that a CU^1 belongs to some other hierarchic level than a CU^0, and to the fact that the actual amount of CD carried by a CU^0 is not determined solely by the amounts of CD carried by its constituents (including the CU^1's). This wording does obviously not imply that there is no difference in the amounts of CD

carried by the CU⁰ *a girl* of S. 60 and the CU⁰ *a little girl* of S. 61, but takes into account that this difference is not great enough to change the communicative positions of these CU⁰'s within their CF's. As has been mentioned above, to effect such changes, language has recourse to other means which function irrespective of whether the CU is expressed only by one naming element or by an entire inferior CF.

It is to be noted here that from a different angle, we have arrived at the phenomenon which has been termed by J. FIRBAS 'compactness'.

> "The phenomenon to be discussed is that of compactness. It can be illustrated by the following sections quoted from the instances under discussion: *an ancient caper or two, her strange neighing laugh, his open, quivering, distraught look, into a wide, toothless smile, a perfect beam, no less, a glimpse of a black feeler*. 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... A considerable difference in CD, however, can be observed between each of the sections on the one hand and the neighbouring element (or, elements) on the other. 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 compact, both from within and from without. If 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."[46]

If in this quotation 'section' is replaced by 'CF of an attributive construction' (we may certainly do so, for the examples adduced by J. FIRBAS in illustration of 'sections' are all attributive junctions), the term 'compactness' denotes exactly the same phenomenon as has been termed here 'the CF of an inferior rank' or referred to as 'occurring within the CF of the nearest superior rank as its CU'. As for the differences in CD between CU's occurring within a CF of first or even more inferior rank, they may be as great as those between the CU⁰'s within a CF⁰. Examined from the view-point of the nearest superior rank, however, they may seem rather small or even irrelevant. Perhaps, this is the reason why J. FIRBAS speaks of a small difference in CD between elements constituting the compact section. We are far from maintaining that the existence of inferior CF's can explain all the phenomena of compactness, but — in regard to the first instance, of course — it seems highly probable that it can account for a vast majority of them. We shall return to these questions when discussing other types of inferior CF than those based on non-verbal predication within attributive constructions.

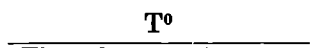
CHAPTER FIVE

NON-ATTRIBUTIVE CLAUSES

We have now proceeded far enough to take up the question of subordinate clauses, which may throw some further light on the general hierarchy of CF's

and some other related problems. We find it necessary first to concentrate on non-attributive clauses.

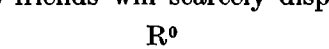
S. 66



will scarcely be disputed by his warmest friends.
(CURME, *Grammar III*, p. 183)

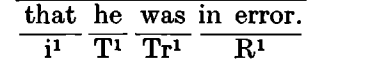
S. 67

His warmest friends will scarcely dispute

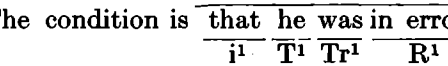


S. 68

The condition is

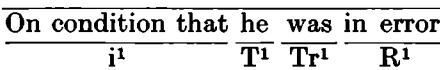


S. 69



the statement of his opponent must be true.

S. 70



will scarcely be disputed by his warmest friends.

On the ground of what has been said before, we find that the subordinate clause *he was in error* has its own CF, based on verbal predication, with *he* functioning as a thematic, *was* as a transitional, and *in error* as a thematic CU. The above examples may show that the mutual relations of CU's within the CF of a subordinate clause do not change, no matter whether CF occupies the thematic or the rhematic section of CF^0. In relation to its superior CF, the CF of the subordinate clause therefore represents only one CU. (See S. 66–69, in which the CF of the subordinate clause performs the function of a CU^0, its components, *he*, *was*, *in error*, acquiring first rank.) S. 70, in which the entire clause stands in relation to *the fact*, requires special comment. The situation here is the same as in the case of the appositional construction *the letter B*, with *the letter* functioning as a thematic, and *B* as a rhematic, CU. Similarly in S. 70, within the construction *the fact that he was in error*, *the fact* functions as a thematic, the clause *that he was in error* as a rhematic, CU. The entire construction itself is a CU^0 represented by a CF^1 with two CU^1's. The clause it contains is a CF^2 with *he*, *was*, *in error* functioning as CU^2's. Similar cases are to be dealt with in more detail later on.

It follows that a CF of a subordinate clause functions as a CU within the

nearest superior CF in the same way as a CF of attributive construction or even of a single naming element. Thus even if expressed by an entire clause, the SU's of subject, object, predicate, and adverbial modifier are projected into the respective CF by means of the same number of CU's as SU's expressed by means of one word.[47]

What seems to be of particular interest here is the function of the subordinating conjunction *that*. On the grammatical level, it indicates that the whole SF of some sentence performs the function of one single member within some other SF displaying the relation of dependence. (It follows that such a member can be either dependent or independent, and the subordinate clause represents not only a dependent, but also an independent member, e.g., if representing the SU^0 of subject.)[48] On the semantic level, *that* indicates transformation of predication into determination, or in other words, denotes that a verbal predication in regard to some other relation of the same kind is to be viewed in its result, i.e., as determination. (Cf. the function of the restricted TME's in semi-clausal constructions and the function of the absence of the explicitly expressed temporal and modal indication in attributive junctions.) On the functional level, *that* indicates that a CF based on verbal predication performs the function of a CU within some other CF based on the same kind of predication; in other words, it indicates the inferiority of the former CF to the latter CF. We shall therefore term it indicator of inferiority (i). It belongs to the same rank as the inferior CF. (It is not to be confused with the indicator of functional position 'I', which ranks with the CU whose functional position it indicates.) In English, the function of an indicator of inferiority can be performed not only by subordinating conjunctions, but also by grammatical word order, e.g., by the succession of predicate-subject-predicate, as may be seen in S. 71. This problem, however, is to be dealt with later on.

S. 71

T^0	Tr^0/R^0	R_p^0		
I	know	he	was	in error.
		T^1	Tr^1	R^1

We should now like to add some notes on the history of indicators of inferiority. We think they will prepare the way for further discussion. Let us make S. 71 the starting point of our argument. After G. O. Curme, the predecessors of S. 71 were two independent sentences (two CF^0's).[49]

S. 72

T^0	Tr^0/R^0	T^0	Tr^0	R^0
I	know.	He	was	in error.

Here, too, the second sentence may be regarded as some sort of an object of the preceding sentence, but this relation is not quite apparent. Attempting to make it more evident, or in other words, to replace parataxis (with some intimation of hypotaxis) by some more obvious hypotactic expression, the primitive speaker probably worded his communication as follows:[50]

S. 73

T^0	Tr^0/R^0	R_p^0			
I	know	that:	he	was	in error.
			T^2	Tr^2	R^2
		T^1	R^1		

In S. 73 the whole construction *that: he was in error* was an object, with *that* functioning as headword in relation to the appositive *he was in error*. From the functional point of view, the entire *that: he was in error* was a rhematic CU^0 represented by a CF^1 based on non-verbal predication, with *that* functioning as a thematic, and *he was in error* as a rhematic, CU^1. Consequently, the CF of *he was in error* belonged to second rank, there being no doubt which of the two CF's under consideration conveyed the primary and which the secondary communication.[51] The difference of two ranks between the CF's of the two originally independent sentences was quite obvious. It was in fact obvious to an unnecessarily high degree, and the superfluous obviousness was relieved in the following way. The function of *that* (a headword in relation to its appositive clause; functionally one CU^1) had been gradually weakened to such a degree as to become a mere indicator of the inferiority of the CF provided by the originally appositive clause. The superfluous CF originally provided by *that* and its appositive clause had disappeared. In consequence of this, the clause became a CU^0 represented by a CF^1, i.e., by the CF that was still of lower rank in relation to the CF^0; but the difference in ranks was no longer greater than it was necessary.

S. 74

T^0	Tr^0/R^0	R_p^0			
I	know	that	he	was	in error.
		i^1	T^1	Tr^1	R^1

We can go still further and say that in English the grammatical order of SU's has become stable to such an extent that the mere position of a clause may indicate the inferiority of its CF in regard to some other CF. In this case even *that* as an indicator of inferiority becomes superfluous, because the lower rank of the following CF is sufficiently indicated by its grammatical position.

S. 75

T^0	Tr^0/R^0	R_p^0		
I	know	he	was	in error.
		T^1	Tr^1	R^1

We have eventually used the same wording that we started with when commenting on S. 72. There is, however, an essential difference between *I know. He was in error* of the primitive stage of development and *I know he was in error* of today. Originally, the two CF's were paratactically connected, their mutual position and semantic content only slightly intimating the possibility of hypotactic attachment. On the other hand, S. 75 is the result of a long development towards hypotactic expression, where inferiority is not vaguely intimated, but quite forcibly expressed.

Under certain conditions, however, the indication of inferiority, if performed by a conjunction or even by mere grammatical position only, may seem rather weak or inadequate to the requirements of a speaker or writer. In such a case the difference between the ranks of the two CF's may again be underlined, as shown in S. 76.

S. 76

T^0	Tr^0/R^0	R_p^0				
I	know	the fact	that	he	was	in error.
			i^2	T^2	Tr^2	R^2
		T^1	R^1			

It would not be surprising if the entire phrase *the fact that* followed the same development as the conjunction *that*, were deprived of its function of a CU, and became an indicator of inferiority. This possibility is illustrated by S. 77.

S. 77

T^0	Tr^0/R^0			R^0_p			
I	know	the fact	that	he	was	in	error.
		i^1		T^1	Tr^1		R^1

The development, however, has not reached such an advanced stage. *The fact* still performs the function of a headword in regard to the appositive *that he was in error* and represents one CU. This explanation holds good also for such constructions as *the question why...*, *the question whether...*, *the condition that...*, *the idea that...*, etc. There are, however, constructions in which one word representing one naming element has lost the character of a CU and has become a mere indicator of inferiority. This is the case of *on condition that* in S. 69, where the absence of the article before *condition* induces us to interpret it rather as part of an indicator of inferiority, *on condition that*, functionally almost identical with *if*, than as a headword in regard to the appositional clause (as a CU). The same, of course, holds good for some similar phrases (conjunctions) such as *providing (that)*, *provided (that)*, *supposing*, etc. They occur on the very outskirts of the sphere of indicators and stand very close to elements representing CU's.

It is well known that most subordinating conjunctions were originally adverbs or indefinite pronouns. Like the *that* of our examples, they first performed, in relation to the following clause, the function of the first member of an appositional construction and later developed into indicators of inferior CF's. But they are not mere indicators of the existence of some hypotactic relation of two CF's; they also determine the kind of this relation on the basis of their original lexical meaning. Here the question may be raised whether they should not have to be regarded as naming elements, and consequently as CU's as well. This problem is not to be dealt with here, because we do not suppose that the general conception of the hierarchy of CF's will be essentially affected if the subordinating conjunctions are regarded as mere indicators of inferior CF's.[52]

Concluding these short and rather sketchy historical notes, we should like to add that from the diachronic point of view, the functional conditions within a complex sentence are to be regarded as the result of a certain tension between two tendencies, which—at least in the examined field—seem to be of antagonistic character. It is the tendency of language to express hypotactic relations as explicitly as possible on the one hand, and the tendency towards economy of expression, suppression of redundancy on the other.

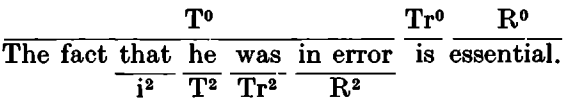
CHAPTER SIX

ATTRIBUTIVE SUBSTANTIVE CLAUSES

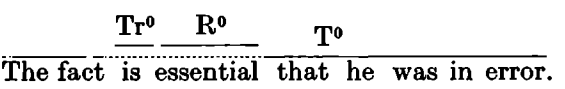
In most cases the function of attributive substantive clauses may easily be explained on the basis of what has been said of attributive constructions and subordinate clauses. For this reason we shall only concentrate on some ap-

positional clauses that deserve special attention from the functional point of view and also on such non-attributive clauses as are closely connected with them.

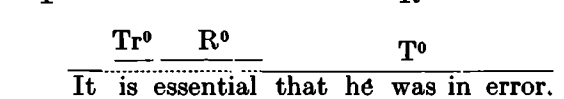
S. 78



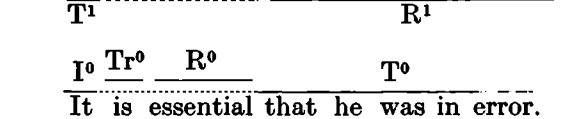
S. 79



S. 80



S. 81



S. 78 was commented upon at the beginning of the preceding chapter (see S. 70). The other examples may be interpreted at least in two ways. Let us start with the interpretation as it is graphically indicated in S. 79—S. 81. (Three kinds of line are to be distinguished. For an explanation, see Appendix, p. 93.)

S. 79 may be understood in the same way as S. 78. From the grammatical point of view, the *that*-clause within *the fact... that he was in error* retains its appositive character even when detached. *The fact* does not only perform the function of a headword, but also anticipates the appositive clause. From the semantic point of view, *the fact*, whose reference to extra-linguistic reality is very vague, is first predicated about by *is essential* on the basis of verbal predication and then more closely qualified by *that he was in error* on the basis of non-verbal predication. In consequence, the validity of the verbal predication is, as it were, extended to the entire *the fact... that he was in error*. From the functional point of view, *the fact* and *that he was in error* represent two CU^1's, which constitute a CF^1, functioning in the nearest superior CF^0 as one CU^0. As *the fact* as one part of this CU^0 occurs in the thematic section of the CF^0, it is obvious that even the other part of the CU^0 must share the same communicative position. *The fact* does not only perform the function of a CU^1, but also indicates the communicative position of the entire CF^1 (CU^0) within the CF^0. Under the circumstances, it indicates the thematic character of the CU^0 *the fact... that he was in error*, so that *is* represents the transitional CU^0 and *essential* the rhematic CU^0 within the CF^0 of the sentence.

If we replace the naming element *fact* by elements with still more general

(and vaguer) reference to extra-linguistic reality, we shall at last come to the element *it*. S. 80 represents a potential case where *it* functions in the same way as *the fact* in S. 79.

In our opinion, the employment of *it* has its important consequences on all the three levels. On the grammatical level, in comparison with *the fact*, it loses its character of the headword of the apposition, but still performs the anticipatory function. It is in fact called 'anticipatory'. On the semantic level, it is so devoid of meaning that it can hardly be considered a naming unit. On the functional level, in comparison with *the fact*, it loses its character of a CU^1, its only function being to indicate the communicative position of the CU^0 to which it relates. There is no CF extending between *it* and *that he was in error;* consequently, the CF provided by the latter becomes a CF^1 functioning as a CU^0 in CF^0. As can be seen from S. 81, owing to the anticipatory *it* functioning as an indicator of thematic communicative position, the CU^0 *that he was in error* occurs within the thematic section of the CF^0.

The above explanation holds good also for the anticipatory *there*. As it is not to be dealt with here, we shall at least adduce one example for illustration, trusting that no further comment is needed.

S. 82

I^0	Tr^0	R^0	T^0
There	is	a school	just round the corner.

Coming back to substantive clauses, let us state once again that the above explanation presents only one aspect of the matter. In order to prepare the way for the second interpretation, a word has to be inserted on non-verbal predication.

In our previous paper,[1] we submitted the idea that at the primitive stage of development, non-verbal predication expressed by placing two members side by side, i.e., by means of some sort of apposition, performed the function of any predicative relation, i.e., even functions performed by means of verbal predication today. We have also shown that the development of verbal predication facilitates the differentiation between primary and secondary communication in that the former came to be expressed by means of verbal predication, i.e. clausal predication, whereas the latter was confined to non-verbal predication. As for actuality, non-verbal was much 'weaker' than verbal predication, and came to be regarded as non-clausal predication. It may have been at this point that explicitly expressed hypotaxis originated. This explanation, however, traced the development of non-verbal predication based on apposition only in one direction. It focussed its attention on non-verbal predication within such CF's as were inferior to those based on verbal predication. There is, however, another sphere in which the non-verbal predication based on apposition can still be met with — the sphere of supersentence relations. While dealing with the object clause, we could follow the development of a relation between two independent sentences into superiority on the one hand, and inferiority on the other, i.e. into the hypotactic relation of two CF's. This is, however, not the only possible result.

The sentences may occur side by side, the second standing in a kind of apposition to the first, none of them, however, showing any signs of superiority or inferiority. If taken as a whole, the second of the two sentences may refer

to the entire content of the first, this referential act permitting of being regarded as non-verbal predication. To distinguish it from the non-verbal predication dealt with before, we shall term it as supersentence predication. Let us only recall the comment on S. 6, in which, for simplicity's sake, mention was made only of the semantic relation of *he* to the preceding sentence. In fact, however, the entire content of *He created the world* refers to *God is invisible.* Regarding the occurrence of two sentences standing side by side as a kind of grammatical dependence and the referential act as supersentence predication, we can conclude that the conditions under which a CF comes into existence have been fulfilled. Consequently, the entire *God is invisible. He created the visible world* represents one CF, its CU's being the two sentences. On the analogy of our previous ranking, we shall call this field a CF of minus first rank (CF^{-1}) and its units minus-first-rank units (CU^{-1}'s). We may certainly assume that in regard to the preceding context, in most cases, the first of the two sentences will be contextually more dependent than the second, and interpret the CU^{-1} of the first as carrying a smaller amount of CD than the CU^{-1} of the second. It is a pity that supersentence relations have not yet been examined sufficiently enough to allow of a general conclusion as to how many CU^{-1}'s may form a CF^{-1}. It seems probable that a CF^{-1} is not necessarily provided only by two, but possibly even by more CU^{-1}'s. As our examination will not exceed the scope of two CU^{-1}'s, i.e. of two independent sentences, we shall leave the suggested problem to further research. For the purposes of this paper we shall denote the less dynamic CU^{-1} as thematic, and the more dynamic CU^{-1} as rhematic. S. 83 will illustrate.

S. 83

T^{-1}			R^{-1}				
T^0	Tr^0	R^0	T^0	Tr^0/R^0	R_p^0		
God	is	invisible.	He	created	the	visible	world.
					R^1		T^1

We can now pass on to the second interpretation of the appositive clauses under discussion. Let us compare the following examples.[53]

S. 84

T^{-1}				R^{-1}				
T_p^0	T^0	Tr^0/R^0	R_p^0	R_p^0	Tr^0	T_p^0	R^0	T^0
The question	often	comes up	in my mind.	What	shall	I	say	to him

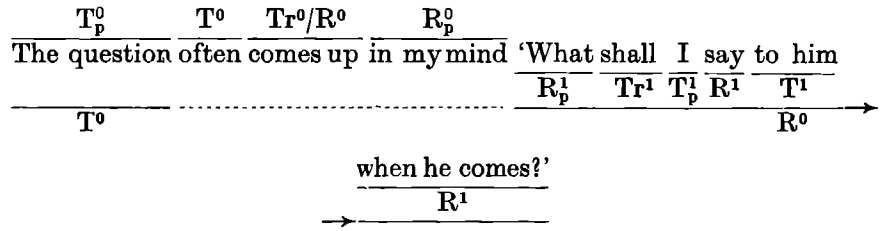
R^0
when he comes?

S. 85

T^{-1}				R^{-1}				
T_p^0	T^0	Tr^0/R^0	R_p^0	R_p^0	Tr^0	T^0	R^0	T^0
The question	often	comes up	in my mind	'What	shall	I	say	to him

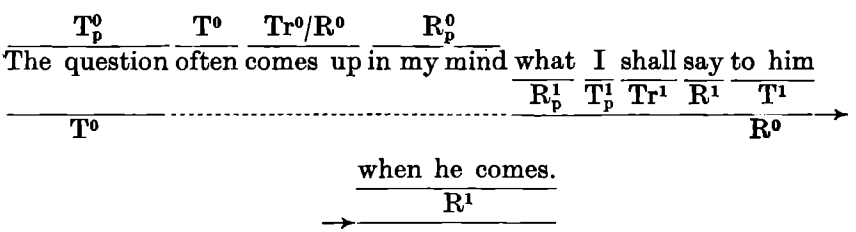
R^0
when he comes?

S. 86



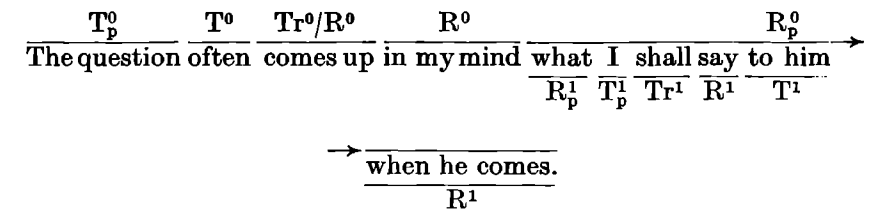
(CURME, *Grammar III*, p. 200)

S. 87



(CURME, *Grammar III*, p. 200)

S. 88



S. 84 may be explained on the analogy of S. 83. From the grammatical point of view, we are dealing with two sentences, one of which stands in apposition to the other; from the semantic point of view, with two sentences based on verbal predication, the second related to the first on the basis of non-verbal supersentence predication;[54] from the functional point of view, with two sentences (two CF^0's) corresponding to two CU^{-1}'s, which form together a CF^{-1}.

In S. 85 and S. 86, the second sentence is more closely attached to the first and may be interpreted either as indicated in S. 85 (on the analogy of S. 84) or as indicated in S. 86. In the latter case the most important consequences of the closer link between the two sentences are the following: becoming a formal part of the first sentence, the second sentence loses its appositive character. Semantically, it no longer refers to the entire content of the first sentence, but only to the element *question*: supersentence predication has been reduced to non-verbal predication between *the question* and *What shall I say to him when he comes?* In our opinion, however, the change of predication has

not gone so far as to indicate the inferiority of the CF of the *The question What shall I say to him when he comes?* to the CF^0 of *The question often comes up in my mind*, but both CF's are on the same hierarchic level, i.e. both of them belong to zero rank.

While S. 86 allows of two possible interpretations, the above changes being intimated only by punctuation in the written and by stress and intonation in the spoken language, S. 87 indicates these changes quite convincingly by means of word order (*what I shall say...* instead of *What shall I say...*). Thus within one and the same sentence, two CF^0's mingle with each other, their CU's being of the same rank (CU^0's) and hence observing the same rules of distribution of CD as if they were CU^0's of one single CF^0. This situation is illustrated by S. 88, which at the same time shows that the second interpretation is also applicable to the appositive clauses (and clauses of similar character) dealt with at the beginning of the present chapter. S. 89 and S. 90 may serve as further illustration.

S. 89

T^0	Tr^0	R^0	R_p^0				
The fact	is	essential	that	he	was	in	error.
			i^1	T^1	Tr^1		R^1

S. 90

T^0	Tr^0	R^0	R_p^0				
It	is	essential	that	he	was	in	error.
			i^1	T^1	Tr^1		R^1

We trust that S. 89 requires no comment. In S. 90, *it* is not to be regarded as anticipatory, but as impersonal; it therefore represents one CU^0.[55] This problem, however, exceeds the scope of the examination of attributive constructions and will not be dealt with here.

It has to be added that what has been referred to above as the second interpretation can be arrived at not only on the basis of producing two sentences, representing two CU^{-1}'s, 'compact' to such a degree as to represent one CF^0, with one of the original CU^{-1}'s functioning as its CU^0, but also on the basis of 'loosening' the mutual relation of two members of an appositional construction, representing two CU^1's, to such a degree as to turn them into independent CU^0's.

By way of conclusion, it should be stressed that both the above offered interpretations find their practical application in the functional analysis of language material. In written language, it is sometimes difficult to decide which of them to choose, because the clues provided by context are not always conclusive enough. In spoken language, however, such difficulties do not arise, because stress and intonation are safe guides in distinguishing between thematic and rhematic CU's, so that there is no doubt as to which interpretation, or more exactly, which pattern of distribution of CD, applies to a given sentence.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ATTRIBUTIVE RELATIVE CLAUSES

From the functional point of view, attributive relative clauses considerably differ from the subordinate clauses dealt with before. In order to be able to throw some light on this difference, let us first examine the following attributive construction containing an appositive clause. (We do not find it necessary to adduce the whole sentence. Let the attributive construction correspond to the thematic CU^0.)

S. 91

				T^0			
the idea	that	he	is	supporting	my	suggestion	
	i^2	T^2	Tr^2	R^2		R_p^2	
T^1				R^1			

We trust S. 91 needs no detailed comment.[56] It should only be stressed that *the idea*, representing the thematic CU^1, does not belong to *that he is supporting my suggestion*, representing the rhematic CU^1 (CF^2), and that there is no element in CF^2 identical with *the idea* (*that* only performing the function of an indicator of inferiority). Let us, however, focus our attention on a situation in which the subject of the appositive clause and the headword of the whole attributive construction are identical.[57]

S. 92

				T^0			
the idea	that	(it)	is	supporting	my	suggestion	
	i^2	T^2	Tr^2	R^2		R_p^2	
T^1				R^1			

S. 93

				T^0			
the idea	that		is	supporting	my	suggestion	
T^2	i^2		Tr^2	R^2		R_p^2	
T^1				R^1			

S. 94

				T^0			
T^1				R^1			
the idea	that		is	supporting	my	suggestion	
T^1	i^1		Tr^1	R^1		R_p^1	

S. 95

				T^0			
the idea	that		is	supporting	my	suggestion	
T^1	i^1		Tr^1	R^1		R_p^1	

S. 96

				T^0			
the idea				supporting	my	suggestion	
T^1				R^1		R_p^1	

S. 92 instances a potential case employing an anaphoric *it* (referring to *the idea*). The functional situation is exactly the same as in S. 91.

But if the headword *(the idea)* refers to the same extra-linguistic phenomenon as some element of the following appositive clause *(it)*, the anaphoric pronoun is not employed and its function is performed by the headword itself (as can be seen from S. 93), which then performs a double function: that of a headword of a whole attributive construction, and that of a subject within an appositive clause. Semantically, it functions within two predicative relations: in a non-verbal predication combining *the idea* and *the idea is supporting my suggestion*, and in a verbal predication combining *the idea* and *is supporting my suggestion*. A comparison of S. 93 with S. 92 will show that even on the functional level, *the idea* performs the functions of two CU's of different rank (of a thematic CU^2 and a thematic CU^1).

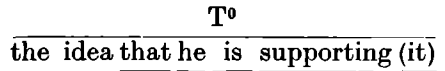
As can be seen from S. 94, the double functions of *the idea* on the grammatical and the semantic level are not the only consequence of the absence of the anaphoric pronoun. On the functional level, the coalescence of the thematic CU^2 and the thematic CU^1 causes the entire CF^2 to change into a CF^1. Hence there are two CF^1's existing within one and the same construction and mingling with each other. Their CU^1's, being of the same rank, observe the same rules od distribution of CD as if they were CU^1's of a single CF^1 (i.e. not one consisting of two CF^1's).[58]

Such a functional situation is illustrated by S. 95. The following, however, has to be borne in mind. Even if the attributive construction is regarded as one CF^1 (*the idea* functioning as its thematic CU^1), the above described grammatical and semantic relations (especially the double functions of *the idea*, the antecedent) remain exactly the same. The absence of the anaphoric pronoun functions as indicator of the double function of the antecedent on all three levels (the double function on the functional level is to be dealt with later on), while *that* may, on the functional level, be regarded as a mere indicator of inferiority corresponding to an indicator of transformation of predication into determination on the semantic level, and to an indicator of the respective change in the kind of dependence on the grammatical level.[59]

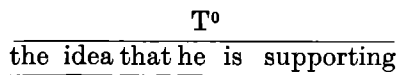
As in attributive constructions non-verbal predication, in substance, confines itself to expressing the predicative relation of existence, the element predicated about equalling the antecedent, we may, under the circumstances, go the length of omitting the element *is*, which dominantly expresses the temporal and modal qualifications of the referential act. Thus the indicator of inferiority, *that*, becomes superfluous, the inferiority of the respective CF being sufficiently indicated by the absence of explicitly expressed temporal and modal indications. This situation is illustrated by S. 96. We have adduced this example chiefly in order to demonstrate its similarity to S. 95. This similarity is one of the reasons why we consider S. 95 (or S. 94) a more probable solution than S. 93.

What has been said about attributive constructions with an antecedent functioning as subject of the relative clause holds good also for constructions where the antecedent functions as object.[60]

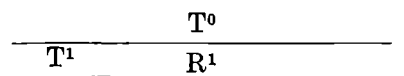
S. 97



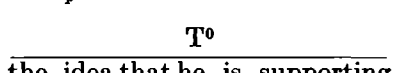
S. 98



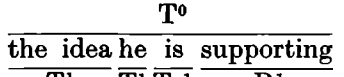
S. 99



S. 100



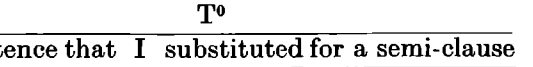
S. 101



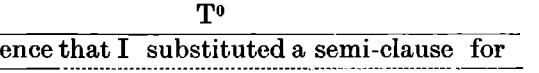
S. 97—S. 100 may be explained in the same way as S. 92—S. 95. As to S. 101, I. POLDAUF has convincingly shown[61] that the grammatical order of antecedent + the typical beginning of the English sentence (subject followed by predicate) signalizes the grammatical and semantic relations as efficiently as the presence of the 'relative' *that*. On the functional level, too, the above grammatical word order functions as an indicator of inferiority in exactly the same way as *that* in S. 100.

Let us return to the absence of the anaphoric pronoun functioning as an indicator of the double function of the antecedent.

S. 102



S. 103



The absence of the anaphoric pronoun respectively representing the direct and the indirect object in S. 102 and S. 103 indicates that its function is performed by the antecedent. It follows that even the preposition *for* in S. 103 belongs to the antecedent.

The above constructions, however, may be expressed in the following way:

S. 104

			T^0			
the sentence		which	I	substituted	for	a semi-clause
T_p^1		i^1	T^1	Tr^1/R^1		R_p^1

S. 105

			T^0			
the sentence		for which	I	substituted	a	semi-clause
T_p^1		i^1	T^1	Tr^1/R^1		R_p^1

On the one hand, *which* may be regarded as a mere indicator of inferiority functioning in exactly the same way as *that*. (Cf. *the sentence which I substituted a semi-clause for*.) On the other hand, like the partly inflected *who*, *which* displays certain features of a naming element (a carrier of CD). An attempt must be made to determine whether it corresponds to a CU^1 or not. On condition that as in S. 102 and S. 103, the antecedent performs the double function (which seems highly probable),[62] *which* refers to the same extra-linguistic phenomenon as its antecedent, equalling it also in one of its functions within the CF^1. The antecedent and *which* may consequently be regarded as co-conveyers of CD, together representing one CU^1.[63] But it is only *which* that performs the function of an indicator of inferiority. If we apply the rule concerning indicators of communicative position (p. 58) also to indicators of inferiority, we shall qualify *which* only as an indicator of inferiority. What has been said about *which* holds good also for *who*.[64]

A more precise explanation of the discussed phenomena could be offered on the basis of the historical development of the relative clause and its constituents. The historical treatment of this matter, however, exceeds the scope of the present study, and we shall, therefore, confine ourselves to a few necessary notes.

Originally, *swa hwa swa* and *swa hwilk swa* represented a $CU^{(2)}$ within the $CF^{(2)}$ of an appositive clause (which later became a relative clause), while the head-word of the entire attributive construction (which later became an antecedent) represented a CU as well, but one of nearest superior rank (CU^1). The antecedent, however, displayed an ever increasing tendency to perform the double function, i.e., that of *swa hwa swa* and that of *swa hwilk swa*. The tendency may have been receiving encouragement from the *that*-constructions, whose antecedents already performed the double function. In consequence, *swa hwa swa* and *swa hwilk swa* were becoming only co-conveyers of the amount of CD carried by the antecedent and ceased to function as a CU. To some extent they also indicated (and in their present form of *who* and *which* still co-indicate) the double function of the antecedent, which later came to be signalled chiefly through the absence of the anaphoric pronoun. It became, however, their primary function to indicate the inferiority of the respective CF. In losing the character of a CU, they also lost their determinative *swa*. (It is interesting, however, that in cases in which they did constitute one CU, *swa* was preserved and their CU status was even underlined. Cf. *whosoever*.) At the same time, their nominal character was considerably weakened. (Cf., e.g., the employment

of the uninflected *who*, and the possibility of using *which* without a preposition, as in *the sentence which I substituted a semi-clause for.*)

On the other hand, *the* and *that*, originally functioning as indicators of inferiority, have not only been preserved (in their present form of *that*) where inferiority was insufficiently indicated by word order, but — possibly under the influence of constructions with *who* and *which* — even strengthened to such a degree as to permit of being considered co-conveyers of the amounts of CD carried by the respective antecedents. (Hence the opinion that not only *who* and *which*, but also *that* may be regarded as the subject or the object of the relative clause.[65]) Even if the difference between *that* on the one hand and *who* or *which* on the other were levelled out, and *that* were to be regarded as a co-conveyer as well, it would not change the general character of the CF of an attributive construction with a relative clause, because the primary function of *that*, *who*, and *which* is that of an indicator of inferiority.

Let us examine the double function of the antecedent from the synchronic stand-point. Under certain conditions, the relation between the antecedent and the entire relative clause with the antecedent functioning as its constituent is loosened to such a degree as to correspond to two different CU's of the same rank. Examples will illustrate.

S. 106

	Tr^0	R^0				
I^0	was	P a u l		T^0		
It		the one	that	played	the	piano.
		T^1	i^1	Tr^1/R^1		R^1_p

S. 107

I^0	Tr^0	R^0		T^0		
It	was	Paul	that	played	the	piano.
		T^1	i^1	Tr^1/R^1		R^1_p

In S. 106, *Paul* functions as a rhematic CU^0, while the entire relative clause with the antecedent, functioning as its thematic CU^1, constitutes a thematic CU^0, owing to the anticipatory *It* functioning as indicator of its communicative position (cf. S. 81, p. 77). S. 107 only simplifies the symbolic notation of S. 106.

The above solution, however, is not the only one. Let us just think of the possibility of regarding *that* as co-conveyer of CD carried by the antecedent (e.g., in *the man that played the piano was Mr. Smith*). Provided the functions of the antecedent and of the relative clause within a given CF^0 become different, the antecedent may be regarded as a mere CU^0, without performing any other function, and *that* (originally a co-conveyer) as the only element that within the given CF^1 performs the function of theme proper, i.e. the function of one CU^1 (cf. Czech PNE's, mostly co-conveyers, representing CU's; p. 61). This solution — based on the conception that in such cases as S. 107, the antecedent does not perform the double function — is illustrated by S. 108.

S. 108

I^0	Tr^0	R^0		T^0		
It	was	Paul	that	played	the	piano.
			T^1	Tr^1/R^1		R^1_p

Concluding the present chapter, we should add that under certain conditions not only clausal attributive constructions, but also semi-clausal attributive constructions and attributive junctions may correspond to two different CU^0's. These conditions, however, have been only cursorily examined, and this is why in the course of further discussion the above types will be adduced as more or less *ad hoc* examples. We are, of course, aware that they occupy a definite position within the system of functional syntax.

CHAPTER EIGHT

TRANSFORMATIONS

The purpose of the present chapter is to give a general idea of what we propose to call transformations within the system of functional syntax. By transformation we understand the change of a CF into a CU of the same rank (e.g., the change of a CF^0 into a CU^0 represented by a CF^1), or the change of a CU into a CF of the same rank (e.g., the change of a CU^0 represented by a CF^1 into a CF^0). In fact, we have dealt with such transformations in the course of previous discussion, without referring to them as such. Examples will illustrate.[66]

S. 109

		T^{-1}			
T_p^0		T^0	Tr^0/R^0		R_p^0
The question		often	comes	up in	my mind.

			R^{-1}			
R_p^0	Tr^0	T_p^0	R^0	T^0		R^0
What	shall	I	say	to	him	when he comes?

S. 110

			T^0				Tr^0
The question	that	often	comes	up	in	my mind	is
T_p^1	i^1	T^1	Tr^1/R^1			R_p^1	

			R^0			
what	I	shall	say	to	him	when he comes.
R_p^1	T_p^1	Tr^1	R^1	T^1		R^1

S. 111

T_p^0		T^0	Tr^0/R^0		R^0
The question		often	comes	up	in my mind

			R_p^0			
what	I	shall	say	to	him	when he comes.
R_p^1	T_p^1	Tr^1	R^1	T^1		R^1

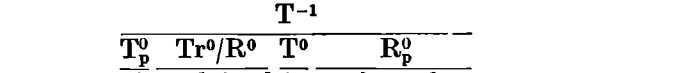
S. 109 was explained on p. 80. In S. 110, the original CF^0's of S. 109 have been transformed into CF^1's (CU^0's), *that* in the first CF° and word order in

the second functioning as indicators of inferiority, while the CF^{-1} based on supersentence non-verbal predication has been transformed into a CF^0 based on verbal predication, inferiority being signalled through the presence of TME's. The mutual relations of CU's and CF's, however, remain practically the same.

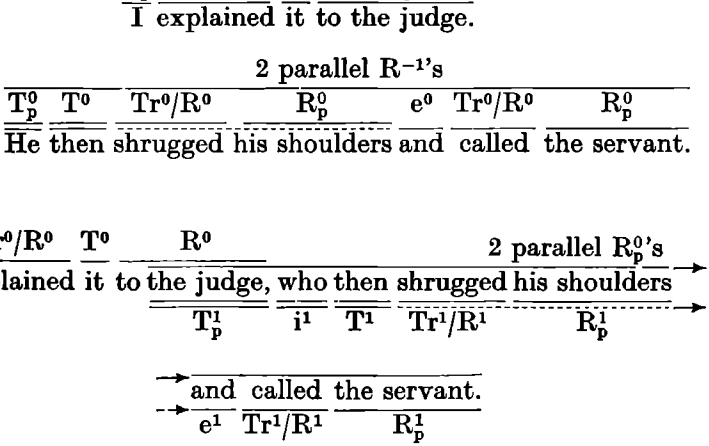
S. 111 seems to be of particular interest. Only one part of the CF^{-1} (the second CF^0) has been transformed into CF^1, while the other part (the first CF^0) is preserved in its original form. Such transformations are often employed to make the communication more compact (cf. S. 111) or to make the hypotactic relations more apparent (cf. *I could not speak to him. He was not at home. — I could not speak to him, because he was not at home.*).

A similar transformation is employed if a sentence is changed into a continuative clause. In such a case, the antecedent and the respective continuative clause represent two different CU's of the same rank.[67]

S. 112

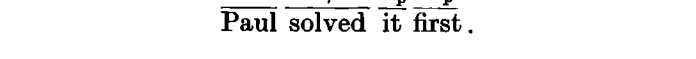


S. 113

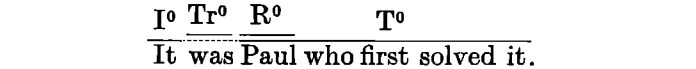


Transformations, however, are not only employed in such cases as adduced above; they may also serve as important means of utterance organization (cf. S. 114 and S. 115).

S. 114



S. 115



Up to now, we have only spoken of transformations within the functional system of one and the same language. We can, however, come across similar changes as described above if we compare two sentences expressing one and the same section of extra-linguistic reality, but belonging to the functional

systems of two different languages. As these changes occur in the sphere of comparative syntax, we propose to call them comparative transformations.

Let us compare S. 116 (cf. S. 113) with its Czech translation (S. 117). The CF of the English continuative clause is, in accordance with the requirements of Modern Czech, transformed from first into zero rank.

S. 116

T_p^0	Tr^0/R^0	T^0	R^0				2 parallel R_p^0's	
I	explained	it	to	the judge,	who	then	shrugged	his shoulders
				T_p^1	i^1	T^1	Tr^1/R^1	R_p^1
				and	called	the servant.		
				e^1	Tr^1/R^1	R_p^1		

S. 117

T^{-1}			2 parallel R^{-1}'s						
$T_p^0/Tr^0/R^0$	T^0	R_p^0	e^0	T_p^0	T^0	Tr^0/R^0	R_p^0	e^0 Tr^0/R^0	R_p^0
Vysvětlil jsem	to	soudci	a	ten	pak	pokrčil	rameny	a zavolal	služebnou.

* I-explained I-am[68] it to-judge and this[69] then he-shrugged shoulders and he-called maid-servant.

If translating S. 118 (cf. S. 115) into Czech, we transform the original CF^1 into zero rank and meet the demands of utterance organization by means of word order, as shown by S. 119.

S. 118

I^0	Tr^0	R^0		T^0		
It	was	Paul	who	first	solved	it.
		T_p^1	i^1	T^1	Tr^1/R^1	T^1

S. 119

T^0	T_p^0	Tr^0/R^0	R_p^0
První	to	vyřešil	Pavel.

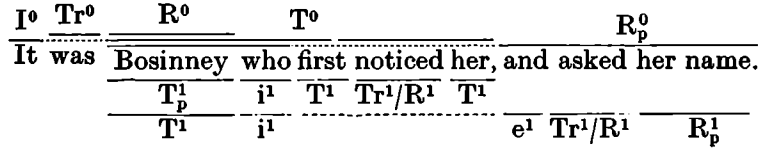
* First it he-solved Paul.

In illustration we adduce two English sentences (taken from GALSWORTHY's *The Man of Property*) and their Czech counterparts.

S. 120

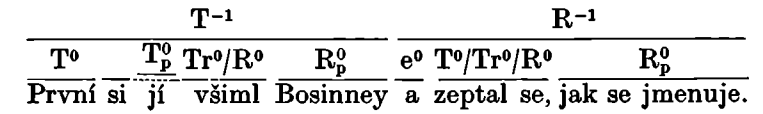
I^0	Tr^0	R^0					2 parallel T^0's			
It	was	Bosinney	who	first	noticed	her,	and	asked	her	name.
		T_p^1	i^1	T^1	Tr^1/R^1	T^1	e^1	Tr^1/R^1	R_p^1	

S. 121



(GALSWORTHY, 21.11)

S. 122



(GALSWORTHY, 24.34)[70]

* First (refl. particle) her he-noticed Bosinney and he-asked (refl. particle) how (refl. particle) she-is-called.

S. 120 shows the possibility of regarding the two relative clauses as parallel thematic CU⁰'s. In this case the indicator of communicative position relates to both CU⁰'s; *Bosinney*, being the only rhematic element within the CF⁰, represents rheme proper.

But if we examine the context in which the above sentence occurs,[71] matters assume another aspect. In the first part of the sentence *(It was Bosinney who first noticed her)*, the employment of two CF's of different rank is to be regarded as a means of utterance organization singling out *Bosinney* as the only rhematic CU⁰. There is no reason, however, why the second part should be understood in the same way *(It was Bosinney... who first asked her name)*, for *first* selects only from two people, Bosinney and his fiancée, the latter indeed knowing the required name very well. Hence we regard the second part of the sentence as a continuative relative clause *(...Bosinney..., who asked her name)*, which together with its antecedent represents the most dynamic CU⁰ of the CF⁰ (rheme proper), as can be seen from S. 121.

The Czech translator in fact understood the sentence in the way indicated by S. 121. In accordance with the tendencies characteristic of Modern Czech, he transformed the English CF¹ *Bosinney who first noticed her* into a Czech CF⁰, *První si jí všiml Bosinney* (the demands of utterance organization being met by means of word order, cf. S. 118—S. 119), and the CF¹ *Bosinney, who asked her name* into a CF⁰, *a zeptal se, jak se jmenuje*, corresponding to the rhematic CU⁻¹ (cf. S. 116—S. 117). On the other hand, the tendency to nominal expression in Czech is not so strong as in English, and this is why the English CF² *her name*, based on non-verbal predication, was transformed into the Czech CF¹ *jak se jmenuje*, based on verbal predication.

It occurs ever more frequently that an English CF based on non-verbal predication is transformed into a Czech CF based on verbal predication, and an English CF based on verbal predication is transformed into a Czech CF

based on non-verbal predication. Both types of these transformations are illustrated by S. 123 and S. 124. If Czech were taken as the starting point of this comparison, the above situation might testify to the increasing communicative value of English nominal constructions on the one hand, and to the decreasing communicative value of the English finite verb on the other.[72]

S. 123

T^0	Tr^0/R^0	R^0		R_p^0		
He	had	sherry-coloured	eyes,	disconcertingly	inattentive	at times.
		R^1/R^2	T^1/T^2			
		T_p^1		R_p^1	R^1	R^1

(GALSWORTHY, 20.5)

S. 124

		T_p^0				
		Jeho	nazlátle	hnědé	oči	
			R_p^2	R^2	T^2	
		T^1	R^1			

Tr^0	R^0	R^0		R_p^0			
byly	někdy	tak nepozorné,	že	to	uvádělo	do rozpaků.[73]	
		(i[1]) co-indic.	i^1	T^1	Tr^1/R^1	R_p^1	

(GALSWORTHY, 23.10)

* His goldish brown eyes were at-times so inattentive that it it-led to embarrassment.

As transformations and their problems are not the main concern of the present study, we have confined ourselves only to several illustrative examples. But even they may have revealed the characteristic changes in the hierarchical relations of CF's and CU's with sufficient clearness. In our opinion, transformations may throw further light on the functional system of language on the one hand and contribute to the solution of some problems of the grammatical and the semantic system on the other. A larger number of sentences would naturally have to be examined and further research undertaken.

* * *

By way of concluding the present study, we feel we ought to point out that the presented conception is meant to provide only a suitable basis for a more detailed functional analysis of attributive constructions. It is meant to provide a starting point at which such an analysis might begin. It is to be borne in mind

that the present conception is to be regarded as a mere theoretical frame, which may, on the basis of further research, be accepted, corrected, or even essentially changed. Nevertheless, we hope to have thrown at least some light on some unknown points within the functional system of language in particular, and — in this sense — offered a modest contribution to the research into human communication in general.

APPENDIX

Explanation of symbols and abbreviations

Base-type letters:

AC	attributive construction
Attr.	attribute
c	co-conveyer
CD	communicative dynamism
CF	communicative field
CM	communicated mark
CU	communicative unit
D	determination
e	indicator of equality
FSP	functional sentence perspective
I	indicator of communicative position
i	indicator of inferiority
k	constant
N	noun
NP	noun phrase
P	predication
PNE	exponent of person and number
R	rhematic CU
RS	rhematic section
S	sentence
SF	syntactic field
SU	syntactic unit
T	thematic CU
TME	temporal and modal exponent
Tr	transitional CU
TS	thematic section
UE	utterance event
VP	verbal phrase

Subscripts:

clause	clausal
const	constituent
fin	containing a finite verb-form
junction	junctional
non-fin	containing a non-finite verb-form
p	proper
semi-clause	semi-clausal

Superscripts:

$-1, 0, 1, 2, 3, \ldots$	indicating rank

Signs:

$\equiv$	equality
$\rightarrow$	dependence (arrow pointing to the dependent member)
$\Rightarrow$	reference (arrow pointing to the member referred to in the referential act)
$\Leftrightarrow$	interrelation

=	correspondence (not equality, but close or distant affinity)
(X)	X is optional
$\left\{\begin{matrix}X\\Y\\Z\end{matrix}\right\}$	one the of elements must be chosen
[X ⇐ Y]	X ⇐ Y is to be taken in its entirety (as a result)
X/Y	see note[40]

Graphic marks:

———	indicating the extent of an element
------	linking up parts of an element
.....	linking up elements of one CF
⟶	lines provided by arrows are to be regarded as connected

NOTES

[1] The paper was presented as a State Examination Thesis and may be found in the library of the German Department of Brno University.

[2] Cf. F. DANEŠ, *A Three-Level Approach to Syntax.*

[3] "As for the grammatical level, it can be characterized by the fact that it is autonomous, and not onesidedly dependent on the semantic content; consequently, it is a rather self-contained and determining component. Thus the grammatical categories such as subject etc. are not based on the semantic content, but on the syntactic form only; they are bearers of a linguistic function in the given system." (F. DANEŠ, *A Three-Level Approach to Syntax*, p. 227.) Following this conception, we shall always employ the adjective 'grammatical' in the sense of 'formal', 'deprived of semantic content', 'viewed from the purely formal stand-point'.

[4] For the explanation of symbols employed in the present paper see Appendix, p. 92.

[5] See F. DANEŠ, *A Three-Level Approach to Syntax*, p. 227.

[6] J. BAUER—M. GREPL, *Skladba spisovné češtiny*, p. 44. The original wording is: "Predikace je aktuální vztažení nějakého sdělovaného příznaku, tj. činnosti, stavu nebo vlastnosti na jistý úsek promluvové skutečnosti."

[7] See O. THOMAS, *Transformational Grammar*, p. 90 f.

[8] Cf. V. HRABĚ, *Polovětné vazby*, pp. 16—19. It has to be noted that we employ the terms 'implicit', 'implicitly' in the sense of 'non-explicit', 'non-explicitly'.

[9] J. VACHEK—J. FIRBAS, *Lingvistická charakteristika*, p. 92. The original wording is: "Věta je elementární slovní zaujetí stanoviska k nějaké skutečnosti."

[10] See J. VACHEK—J. FIRBAS, ibid.

[11] S. 8 represents a simplified version of G. O. CURME's sentence "Out of the double determinative construction with indefinite *who*, in its original form *swa hwa swa*, i.e., *so who so*, literally, *that somebody that one*, has developed our common relative pronoun *who*, which in accord with its original meaning refers only to persons: ..." (*Grammar III*, p. 208).

[12] See J. FIRBAS, *Communicative Function*, esp. pp. 42—44, and also other works by the same author, quoted in the Bibliography.

[13] It has to be stressed here that CD is a concept belonging to the level of the organization of utterance, and must not be confused with the concepts of semantic information or even subjective information, which at the present stage of linguistic research seem to be rather obscure. This confusion sometimes leads to the objection that the amount of CD is determined by intuition. Considering that the leading word-order principle in nearly all Slavonic languages manifests itself in ordering elements according to the amounts of CD carried, we do not find it any more difficult to ascertain which of the elements in the sentences *Jenda přišel včera* [*John came yesterday*], *Včera přišel Jenda* [*Yesterday came John*], *Jedna včera přišel* [*John yesterday came*] carries a lower or a higher amount of CD in regard to its neighbouring elements than to state, also on the basis of word order, which of the members in the English sentences *Boys beat girls*, *Girls beat boys*, *I gave Peter a book*, represents the subject, predicate, or object, direct or indirect, because the leading word-order principle in English is that of grammatical relations. In both cases the result of our investigation is based not on intuition, but on conventionality of usage. The only difference is that English conventional usage was codified by

means of grammatical rules a long time ago, whereas Czech conventional usage started being codified by means of rules of utterance organization in comparatively recent times. Thus a comparison of Czech utterances with their English counterparts has proved to be a valuable help in ascertaining the amounts of CD carried by elements in English utterances, as well as in establishing typical patterns of English utterance organization. An important proviso obviously is that the compared utterances do not only refer to the same extra-linguistic reality, but do so under equal conditions. This does not mean, of course, that a comparison of Czech, or any other language, with English is indispensable for the research into English utterance organization. English patterns of utterance organization must be establishable within the system of the English language even without such a comparison, but the method of comparison is an efficient tool and may disclose facts that would otherwise escape the observer's notice. A reference to the theory of transformational grammar may substantiate our argument. English, as an analytic language with a comparatively rigid word order, seems to have been more suitable than Czech, a synthetic language, for providing a basis for the theory of transformational grammar to originate and develop from. But this, of course, does not at all mean that the theory could not have been developed on Czech ground, quite independently of English. Nevertheless, it is more convenient to apply the transformational theory to English first, and on the basis of a comparison of the English with the Czech system, establish correspondences and differences leading to the formulation of generative and transformational rules that are typical of the Czech language.

[14] J. FIRBAS, *Transition Proper*.

[15] To put it briefly, first-instance sentences are such as do not belong to second instance. Second-instance sentences "contain one heavily contrasted word, and except for their phonic (prosodic) and possibly also their typographic form, they imitate the structure of those sentences with which they are being contrasted (no matter whether these sentences have really been uttered or merely exist in the writer's/speaker's and reader's/listener's minds). Viewed from the angle of functional sentence perspective, the heavily contrasted word constitutes the rheme proper, all the other elements forming an extensive theme proper. Any word can function as rheme in these sentences, even such as otherwise serves as a thematic semantic-contextual means." (J. FIRBAS, *Communicative Function*, p. 43.) See also J. FIRBAS, op. cit., pp. 51—53.

[16] Cf. J. VACHEK, *System of Systems*, esp. pp. 94—95.

[17] The predicate is to be understood here in the narrower sense of the word. It may therefore be represented merely by a simple or a compound verb-form (verbal predicate), or by a copula with a predicative complement (nominal predicate). It does not comprise the object and the adverbial modifier.

[18] Problems concerning the relations between the system of functional syntax and that of semantic syntax are dealt with in K. PALA's paper *Homonymy*.

[19] J. FIRBAS, *Communicative Function*, p. 42.

[20] See esp. *Communicative Function*, pp. 42—43.

[21] We have introduced this rule only for the practical purpose of investigating concrete language materials. If only means indicating the communicative positions of CU's were to be examined, word order, context, and some CU's would have to be marked as indicators, too.

[22] J. FIRBAS speaks about the subject, object, etc., functioning on the level of FSP.

[23] See esp. J. FIRBAS, *Communicative Function* and *Non-Thematic Subjects in Contemporary English*.

[24] It is to be borne in mind that 'communicative position' is not a word-order concept.

[25] See V. MATHESIUS, *Funkce podmětu*.

[26] See J. FIRBAS, *Nezákladové podměty* and *Non-Thematic Subjects in Contemporary English*.

[27] In S. 13a, S. 14a,S. 15a, and S. 16a, the articles function as indicators of the communicative positions of the respective CU⁰'s. For simplicity's sake, we do not mark them as such. For a more detailed explanation of these examples see J. FIRBAS, *Communicative Function*, pp. 51—52.

[28] See esp. J. FIRBAS, *Communicative Function*

[29] For other examples see E. DVOŘÁKOVÁ, *Adverbs*.

[30] J. FIRBAS, *Transition Proper*.

[31] In defining the TME's (cf. his *Prosodic Features* in the present volume, p. 38), J. FIRBAS follows B. TRNKA. (Cf. B. TRNKA, *Structural Morphology*.)

[32] Cf. J. FIRBAS, *More Thoughts*, pp. 74—79.
[33] See J. FIRBAS, *More Thoughts*, p. 79 ff.
[34] Cf. G. O. CURME, *Grammar II*, p. 68.
[35] J. FIRBAS, *More Thoughts*, p. 93, note 11. (The sentence was taken from K. MANSFIELD, *Collected Stories*.)
[36] Cf. G. O. CURME, *Grammar III*, p. 26: "The verb *be*, the oldest and most common of the copulas, has in most cases nothing whatever of its original concrete meaning, so that it for the most part is employed today not to convey sense but merely to perform a function, to indicate predication, connecting the subject with the real predicate."
[37] See Chapter One, p. 58.
[38] Cf. J. VACHEK, *Complex Condensation*, esp. pp. 70—72.
[39] Clausal attributive constructions are to be dealt with in a special chapter.
[40] If one SU corresponds to more than one CU and no specification is needed as to the correspondence of the parts of the SU to the CU's, we shall separate the symbols denoting the CU's by the fraction stroke. The order of symbols need not correspond to the order of the respective parts corresponding to the CU's, e.g.,

$$\frac{T^0/Tr^0/R^0}{\text{Pracovali.}} \qquad \frac{T^0 \quad Tr^0/R^0}{\text{They worked.}}$$

The actual correspondence is as follows:

$$\frac{R^0 \quad Tr^0 \; T^0}{\text{Pracova} \quad \text{-l} \; \text{-i.}} \qquad \frac{T^0 \quad R^0 \quad Tr^0}{\text{They work -ed.}}$$

[41] J. GALSWORTHY, *The Man of Property* (B. Tauchnitz, Leipzig 1909).
[42] See G. O. CURME, *Grammar II*, p. 180 f., *Grammar III*, pp. 498 f., 518 ff.
[43] The relevant figures taken from a statistic examination of Modern English attributive constructions are as follows:

AC	total	CF^1	CF^2	CF^3	CF^4	CF^{5-7}
N → Adjective	437	233	130	46	22	6
N → of-Genitive	271	163	65	32	8	3
NP → NP	97	53	20	15	3	6
NP → S	104	52	37	7	0	8

The results of the mentioned statistic examination are contained in the present author's *Attributive Elements*.
[44] See J. FIRBAS's interpretation of this sentence in *Communicative Function*, p. 51, and in the present volume, p. 22.
[45] In S. 64 and S. 65, also the indefinite articles play an important role in indicating the communicative position of the respective CU^0. In S. 60—S. 63, this role was obscured by the fact that both *girl* and *vase* were contextually quite independent, and hence both of them were used with the indefinite article.
[46] J. FIRBAS, *Communicative Value*, p. 84. See also his *Poznámky*, p. 100.
[47] Cf. G. O. CURME, *Grammar III*, p. 175: "As each subordinate clause which is not merely a modifier of some word within one of the component elements of the sentence has a definite function as if it were a simple word, its position in the sentence is regulated by the same principle that determines the position of a single word with the same function and logical force."
[48] Cf. G. O. CURME, *Grammar III*, p. 174.
[49] See G. O. CURME, *Grammar III*, p. 171.
[50] Cf. G. O. CURME, *Grammar III*, p. 243.
[51] The terms 'primary communication' and 'secondary communication' are closely connected with the conception of hypotactic expression of ideas. Roughly speaking, primary communication conveys an idea that may be regarded as semantically in-

dependent of other ideas, while secondary communication conveys an idea that may be regarded as semantically dependent on some other idea or ideas. For a more detailed explanation see V. HRABĚ, *Polovětné vazby*, p. 16. (This study also contains a reference to B. HAVRÁNEK, *Metodická problematika historicko-srovnávacího studia slovanské syntaxe [Methodological Problems of Comparative Historical Studies of Slavonic Syntax]*, Sb. Československé přednášky pro IV. mezinárodní sjezd slavistů v Moskvě, Praha 1958, p. 155.)

[52] It is worth mentioning that even prepositional constructions may have developed out of appositional constructions consisting of an adverb (as headword) and a substantive (as an appositive). Hence these constructions could originally be regarded as CF's, with the adverb functioning as a thematic and the substantive as a rhematic CU. The prepositional phrase could be regarded as an appositional construction even if we followed G. O. CURME's conception (*Grammar III*, p. 561), according to which the adverbs were employed to strengthen the meaning of the grammatical case of a substantive (e.g., the locative). In regard to the first interpretation, the communicative positions of the CU's would be reversed. Anyhow, the appositional character of the above constructions has gradually disappeared, and we no longer feel the necessity of regarding them as CF's.

[53] It is to be borne in mind that the indication of communicative positions as given in the examples always represents only one of more possible solutions.

[54] To clarify the semantic relations within these two sentences, we can transform the verbal predication of each into determination, and the supersentence predication into verbal predication, without changing the hypotactic relations. Hence the sentence *The question that often comes up in my mind is what I shall say to him when he comes* expresses semantic relations that are very similar to those in S. 84. (Cf. Chapter Eight, p. 87).

[55] However absurd it may seem, we hold that the impersonal *it* is semantically a far stronger element than the anticipatory *it*. The impersonal *it* names, or refers to, a certain phenomenon of the extra-linguistic reality, i.e. a 'non-person'. Though abstract, the phenomenon of 'non-person' is always represented by one and the same definite section of the extra-linguistic reality. The impersonal *it* may therefore be regarded as one naming element, as one carrier of CD, that is able to perform the function of a CU. Thus the functional character of the sentence

T^0	Tr^0	R^0
It	is	cold.

remains the same, no matter whether *it* refers to 'non-person' (e.g., in an utterance concerning the weather) or to a radiator. On the other hand, the anticipatory *it* does not refer to any section of the extra-linguistic reality, and cannot therefore be regarded as one naming element (carrier of CD) corresponding to a CU. The objection that the anticipatory *it* always refers to the very same section of the extra-linguistic reality as the element cr elements anticipated only supports the opinion voiced above. As the anticipated element or elements may refer to any section (phenomenon) of the extra-linguistic reality, the anticipatory *it*, if taken by itself, is capable of referring to all the sections (phenomena) of the extra-linguistic reality, i.e., to no section (phenomenon) in particular: it practically has no naming force at all.

[56] For an explanation of a similar example, see Chapter V, p. 73.

[57] The following examples are to be approached from a purely synchronic stand-point. Even though the diachronic explanation may be rather similar, it cannot be identified with the synchronic interpretation offered.

[58] Cf. the explanation of the sentence *The question often comes up in my mind what I shall say to him when he comes*, pp. 80—81.

[59] Strictly speaking, owing to its formal position, *that*, together with the absence of the anaphoric pronoun, also indicates the double function of the antecedent. (Cf. *the idea that is supporting my suggestion* in contrast with *that the idea is supporting my suggestion*, where *that* functions only as indiactor of inferiority.) We might, therefore, regard *that* as a co-indicator of the double function of the antecedent. As from the two indicators *that* is the only one indicating inferiority, and as the absence of the anaphoric pronoun only indicates the double function of the antecedent, we simply denote *that* as a mere indicator of inferiority, and the absence of the pronoun as an indicator of the double function (the latter not being symbolized in our examples).

[60] The restricted scope of this chapter prevents us from dealing with antecedents corresponding to other elements than the subject and the object of the relative clause. Such antecedents (corresponding, e.g., to an adverbial modifier, or even an attribute of some element), however, may be explained in a similar way.

[61] I. Poldauf, *Vztažné věty v angličtině a v češtině*, esp. p. 176 f.

[62] Cf. I. Poldauf, *Vztažné věty v angličtině a v češtině*, esp. p. 174.

[63] Cf. the PNE's of the finite verb, functioning as a co-conveyer and together with the subject, representing one CU (p. 61); or cf. the PNE's of the Czech adjective (p. 67).

[64] The explanation of the other relative pronouns is rather complicated. For the purposes of the present paper, however, it is not necessary to attempt it here.

[65] See I. Poldauf, *Vztažné věty v angličtině a v češtině*, p. 174, note[33].

[66] The relations within the following pairs of examples may also be regarded as transformations: S. 1—S. 2, S. 1—S. 3, S. 4—S. 6, S. 5—S. 6, S. 26—S. 27, S. 26—S. 28, S. 26—S. 29, S. 30—S. 31, S. 30—S. 32, S. 30—S. 33, S. 30—S. 34, the CF's of *he was in error* of S. 66 and S. 70, or of S. 79 and S. 81.

[67] The symbol 'e', employed in some of the following examples, denotes an indicator of equality of rank.

[68] An auxiliary accompanying *vysvětlil. Vysvětlil jsem* corresponds to *I explained.*

[69] A demonstrative pronoun relating to *judge.*

[70] J. Galsworthy, *Sága rodu Forsytů, Bohatec* (Praha 1957), translated by Zdeněk Urbánek.

[71] S. 121 occurs in the following context:
"A tall woman, with a beautiful figure, which some member of the family had once compared to a heathen goddess, stood looking at these two (Bosinney and his fiancée, June — A.S.) with a shadowy smile... The engaged couple thus scrutinised were unconscious of the passive goddess. It was Bosinney who first noticed her, and asked her name. June took her lover up to the woman with the beautiful figure. 'Irene is my greatest chum,' she said: 'Please be good friends, you two!' "

[72] Transformations of the above type also give evidence of the fact that English adjectives display a greater ability to express action than their Czech counterparts. Cf. J. Vachek—J. Firbas, *Lingvistická charakteristika*, p. 73 ff.

[73] *Jeho [his]* in S. 124 is thematized by the preceding context. The situation here is the same as that in the example illustrating the marked distribution of CD within attributive junctions (p. 66).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

J. Bar-Hillel—R. Carnap, *Sémantická informace*, TIJ, pp. 165—175 [a Czech translation of *Semantic Information*, Communication Theory, pp. 503—512, (London 1953)].

J. Bauer—M. Grepl, *Skladba spisovné češtiny* [*Syntax of Standard Czech*] (Prague 1964).

BSE — Brno Studies in English (Prague).

ČMF — Časopis pro moderní filologii (Prague).

G. O. Curme, *Grammar II — A Grammar of the English Language II* (Boston 1935).

G. O. Curme, *Grammar III — A Grammar of the English Language III* (Boston 1931).

F. Daneš, *A Three-Level Approach to Syntax*, TLP 1, pp. 225—240 (Prague 1964).

M. Dokulil, *Zum wechselseitigen Verhältnis zwischen Wortbildung und Syntax*, TLP 1, pp. 215—224 (Prague 1964).

E. Dvořáková, *Adverbs — On the English and Czech Situational Adverbs in Functional Sentence Perspective*, BSE 4, pp. 129—142 (Prague 1964).

J. Firbas, *Bemerkungen über einen deutschen Beitrag zum Problem der Satzperspektive*, PP 1, pp. 49—54 (Prague 1958).

J. Firbas, *Communicative Function — Thoughts on the Communicative Function of the Verb in English, German and Czech*, BSE 1, pp. 39—68 (Prague 1959).

J. Firbas, *Communicative Value — On the Communicative Value of the Modern English Finite Verb*, BSE 3, pp. 79—104 (Prague 1961).

J. Firbas, *More Thoughts — More Thoughts on the Communicative Function of the English Verb*, SPFFBU A7, pp. 74—98 (Brno 1959).

J. Firbas, *Nezákladové podměty — K otázce nezákladových podmětů v současné angličtině* [*On the Problem of Non-Thematic Subjects in Contemporary English*], ČMF 39, pp.22—42 and 165—173 (Prague 1957).

J. Firbas, *Non-Thematic Subjects in Contemporary English* (a revised version of *Nezákladové podměty*), TLP 2, pp. 239—256 (Prague 1966).
J. Firbas, *Poznámky — Poznámky k problematice anglického slovního pořádku z hlediska aktuálního členění větného* [*Notes on the Problem of English Word Order from the Point of View of Functional Sentence Perspective*], SPFFBU A4, pp. 83—107 (Brno 1955).
J. Firbas, *Prosodic Features — On the Prosodic Features of the English Finite Verb as Means of Functional Sentence Perspective*, published in the present volume, pp. 11—48.
J. Firbas, *Theme — On Defining the Theme in Functional Sentence Analysis*, TLP 1, pp. 267—280 (Prague 1964).
J. Firbas, *Transition Proper — A Note on Transition Proper in Functional Sentence Analysis*, PP 8, pp. 170—176 (Prague 1965).
J. Firbas, *Východisko výpovědi — K otázce tzv. východiska výpovědi* [*On the Problem of the Theme*], SPFFBU A13, pp. 87—96 (Brno 1965).
J. Firbas, *Word-Order — From Comparative Word-Order Studies*, BSE 4, pp. 111—128 (Prague 1964).
M. A. Ganshina—N. M. Vasilevskaya, *English Grammar* (Moscow 1964).
Der Grosse Duden, Grammatik der deutschen Gegenwartssprache (Leningrad 1962).
V. Hrabě, *Polovětné vazby — Polovětné vazby a kondenzace „druhého sdělení" v ruštině a v češtině* [*Semi-Clausal Constructions and Condensations of "Secondary Communication" in Russian and in Czech*], (Prague 1964).
W. Jung, *Kleine Grammatik der deutschen Sprache* (Leipzig 1961)
F. Kopečný, *Základy české skladby* [*Fundamentals of Czech Syntax*] (Prague 1958).
D. M. MacKay, *Místo „významu" v teorii informace*, TIJ, pp. 176—186 [a Czech translation of *The Place of Meaning in the Theory of Information*, Communication Theory (London 1956), pp. 215—224].
B. Mandelbrot, *Komunikace a formální struktura textů*, TIJ, pp. 130—150 [a Czech translation of *Structure formelle des textes et communication*, Word 10, 1954, pp. 1—27].
V. Mathesius, *Aktuální členění — O tak zvaném aktuálním členění větném* [*On the So-Called Functional Sentence Perspective*], Slovo a slovesnost 5, pp. 171—174 (Prague 1939).
V. Mathesius, *Čeština a obecný jazykozpyt* [*Czech Language and General Linguistics*] (Prague 1958)
V. Mathesius, *Characterology — On Linguistic Characterology with Illustrations from Modern English*, Reader, pp. 59—67.
V. Mathesius, *Funkce podmětu — Několik poznámek o funkci podmětu v moderní angličtině* [*Some Notes on the Function of the Subject in Modern English*], ČMF 10, pp. 244—248 (Prague 1924).
V. Mathesius, *Potentiality — On the Potentiality of the Phenomena of Language*, Reader, pp. 1—32.
V. Mathesius, *Systematic Analysis — On Some Problems of the Systematic Analysis of Grammar*, Reader, pp. 306—319.
V. Mathesius, *Zur synchronischen Analyse fremden Sprachguts*, Reader, pp. 398—412.
J. Nosek, *Notes on Syntactic Condensation in Modern English*, TLP 1, pp. 281—288 (Prague 1964).
K. Pala, *Homonymy — On the Homonymy of Subject and Object in a Synthetic and an Analytical Language System*, see pp. 149—166 of the present volume.
B. Palm, *The Place of the Adjective Attribute in English Prose from the Oldest Times up to Our Days* (Lund 1911).
I. Poldauf, *The Third Syntactic Plan*, TLP 1, pp. 241—255 (Prague 1964).
I. Poldauf, *Vztažné věty v angličtině a v češtině* [*Relative Clauses in English and in Czech*], Sborník Vysoké školy pedagogické v Olomouci, pp. 159—194 (Prague 1955).
PP — Philologica Pragensia (Prague).
Reader — A Prague School Reader in Linguistics, compiled by J. Vachek (Bloomington 1964).
M. Renský, *English Verbo-Nominal Phrases*, TLP 1, pp. 289—299 (Prague 1964).
M. Riffaterre, *Kritéria pro stylistický rozbor*, TIJ, pp. 245—263 [a Czech translation of *Criteria for Style Analysis*, Word 15, 1959, pp. 154—174].
F. Schmidt, *Logik der Syntax* (Berlin 1962).
SPFFBU — Sborník prací filosofické fakulty brněnské university (Brno).
A. Svoboda, *Attributive Elements — Some Types of English Attributive Elements Examined from the Point of View of Functional Sentence Perspective*, an unpublished Diploma

Thesis, presented at the Department of English, University of Brno (Brno 1966).
A. SVOBODA, *Einige Bemerkungen zur Beziehung der Prädikation und Determination vom Gesichtspunkt der funktionalen Syntax aus*, an unpublished State Examination Thesis, presented at the Department of German, University of Brno (Brno 1965).
TIJ — Teorie informace a jazykověda [The Theory of Information and Linguistics] (Prague 1964).
TLP — Travaux linguistiques de Prague (Prague).
O. THOMAS, *Transformational Grammar — Transformational Grammar and the Teacher of English* (New York 1965).
B. TRNKA, *On the Linguistic Sign and the Multilevel Organisation of Language*, TLP 1, pp. 33—40 (Prague 1964).
B. TRNKA, *Structural Morphology — Some Thoughts on Structural Morphology*, READER, pp. 329—334.
J. VACHEK, *Complex Condensation — Some Thoughts on the So-Called Complex Condensation in Modern English*, SPFFBU A3, pp. 63—77 (Brno 1955).
J. VACHEK, *Dictionnaire de linguistique de l'École de Prague*. Avec collaboration de J. DUBSKÝ (Utrecht — Anvers 1960).
J. VACHEK—J. FIRBAS, *Lingvistická charakteristika — Lingvistická charakteristika současné angličtiny [Linguistic Characterology of Contemporary English]*, (Prague 1962).
J. VACHEK, *System of Systems — Notes on the Development of Language Seen as a System of Systems*, SPFFBU A6, pp. 94—106 (Brno 1958).
J. P. VINAY—J. DARFELNET, *Stylistique comparée du français et de l'anglais* (Paris 1958).
R. WELLS, *Míra subjektivní informace*, TIJ, pp. 187—195 [a Czech translation of *Measure of Subjective Information*, Structure of Language and its Mathematical Aspects, Proceedings of Symposia in Applied Mathematics 12, 1961, pp. 237—244].

SOUHRN

HIERARCHIE SDĚLNÝCH JEDNOTEK A POLÍ VE SVĚTLE ANGLICKÝCH PŘÍVLASTKOVÝCH KONSTRUKCÍ

1. Úvod

Samostatná věta slovesná, věta vedlejší, polovětná vazba přívlastková a jednoduché přívlastkové spojení jsou zkoumány z hlediska tří syntaktických rovin: 1. roviny (formálně) gramatické, 2. roviny sémantické a 3. roviny funkční (zvané též rovina funkční perspektivy větné či rovina organizace výpovědi). V každé z těchto rovin se zkoumané formace jeví jako pole určitých vztahů mezi danými prvky (jednotkami). V gramatické rovině jde o pole formálně syntaktických vztahů — v samostatné větě je to syntaktické pole nultého řádu $(SF^0)^*$ —, kde důležitou úlohu hraje vztah syntaktické závislosti. Syntaktickými jednotkami nultého řádu (SU^0) jsou podmět, přísudek, předmět a příslovečné určení, vyskytují-li se v rámci samostatné věty. V sémantické rovině jde o pole sémantických vztahů, kde hlavní úlohu hraje vztah predikace (nebo determinace jako její převrácené hodnoty). Autor rozlišuje tři základní typy predikace: 1. predikaci větnou (u vět samostatných i vedlejších), 2. predikaci nevětnou (u polovětných vazeb) a 3. predikaci primitivní (u jednoduchých přívlastkových spojení). Vztah predikace v sémantické rovině odpovídá vztahu syntaktické závislosti v rovině gramatické, neznamená to však, že by tyto dva vztahy byly totožné. Pro jednoduchost výkladu nejsou sémantické jednotky (jako např. činitel děje, trpitel dějem zasažený, děj samotný, atd.) brány v úvahu. Ve funkční rovině se jedná o pole vztahů funkčních neboli o sdělné pole (CF), kde hlavní úlohu hraje interrelace mezi jeho částí tematickou a rematickou. Tato interrelace odpovídá sémantickému vztahu predikace a gramatickému vztahu závislosti. Autor dochází k závěru, že existence vztahu závislosti a predikace v dané syntaktické formaci podmiňuje vznik interrelace mezi dvěma základními částmi jejího CF. Sdělné pole samostatné věty slovesné je označováno jako CF nultého řádu (CF^0) a jeho prvky (v práci definované) se nazývají sdělné jednotky nultého řádu (CU^0).

II. Nepřívlastkové prvky

Zkoumání vztahu mezi SF^0 a CF^0 ukazuje, že každá SU^0 podmětu, předmětu nebo příslovečného určení se promítá do odpovídajícího CF^0 jako jedna CU^0, ať už tematická či

rematická. SU^0 slovesného nebo jmenného přísudku (který je chápán v užším slova smyslu, a nezahrnuje tedy předmět a příslovečné určení) se promítá jako dvě či více CU^0. Jedna z těchto přísudkových CU^0 odpovídá temporálnímu a modálnímu exponentu (nebo exponentům) určitého slovesa a podle zjištění J. Firbase zaujímá ve velké většině případů sdělnou pozici na předělu tematické a rématické části CF^0, zbývající CU^0 odpovídají lexikálně významovým složkám přísudku a mohou zaujímat různou sdělnou pozici v tematické nebo rematické části CF^0. (Mluví-li se o sdělné pozici, nejde o termín slovosledný.) Autor se též dotýká problematiky jmenného přísudku v angličtině a vidových exponentů v češtině.

III. Přívlastkové konstrukce jako sdělná pole

Srovnání CF^0 samostatných vět slovesných s CF polovětných vazeb a jednoduchých přívlastkových spojení ukazuje, že všechna CF mají z funkčního hlediska v podstatě tentýž charakter a jejich CU mohou být určovány podobně jako CU^0. Rozdíl je pouze v tom, že v CF polovětných vazeb přívlastkových a jednoduchých přívlatskových spojení se nevyskytuje přechodová CU, která je v samostatných větách formálně vyjádřena temporálními a modálními exponenty určitého slovesa. Podle výsledků statistického zkoumání je ve většině případů řídící člen přívlastkové konstrukce tematickou CU a přívlastkové elementy odpovídají jednotkám rematickým. Takovéto rozložení výpovědní dynamičnosti (CD) je nazýváno bezpříznakovým. Při rozložení příznakovém je přívlastkový element tematickou a řídící člen rematickou CU. Jelikož změny rozložení CD v rámci daného CF neovlivňují celkovou hierarchii sdělných jednotek a sdělných polí, autor se jimi podrobněji nezabývá.

IV. Přívlastkové konstrukce jako sdělné jednotky

CF polovětných vazeb a přívlastkových spojení jsou zkoumána z hlediska jejich funkce v příslušných CF^0. Promítá-li se některé z prve jmenovaných CF do příslušného CF^0 jako jeho CU^0, jedná se o sdělné pole prvního řádu (CF^1), jehož jednotky jsou také prvního řádu (CU^1). CF^1 je pak podřazeno příslušnému CF^0 nebo, obráceně řečeno, CF^0 je nadřazeno danému CF^1. Podobně se též určují CF nižších řádů (např. CF^2, CF^3, CF^4, atd.) a jejich jednotky. Důležitým poznatkem je, že CF daného řádu se do nejbližšího nadřazeného CF promítá jako CU, která má týž funkční charakter jako CU vyjádřená pouze jedním slovem.

V. Nepřívlastkové věty vedlejší

CF vedlejších vět nepřívlastkových jsou nižších řádu než CF^0 (tj. CF^1, CF^2, atd.). Na rozdíl od CF dříve zkoumaných konstrukcí přívlastkových, kde podřazenost daného pole byla indikována nepřítomností temporálních a modálních exponentů slovesa, je podřazenost CF vedlejších vět nepřívlastkových indikována podřadícími spojkami nebo slovním pořádkem. Autor doplňuje výklad několika historickými poznámkami, které se týkají vývoje vedlejších vět a indikátorů podřazenosti z hlediska funkčního.

VI. Přívlastkové věty substantivní

CF přívlastkové věty substantivní vystupuje jako rematická CU v CF, které se vytváří mezi touto větou a jejím řídícím členem, představujícím CU tematickou. Toto nadřazené CF vystupuje pak jako jedna CU v dalším nadřazeném CF (např. v CF^0). Autor se též pokouší o funkční výklad vět typu *It is essential that he was in error*. Jedno řešení je založeno na poznatcích získaných zkoumáním vět substantivních, druhé předpokládá existneci CF mezi dvěma větami samostatnými. Podle předešlého určování řádů je pak CF vznikající mezi samostatnými větami polem minus prvního řádu (CF^{-1}), jehož jednotkami (CU^{-1}) jsou CF^0 jednotlivých vět.

VII. Přívlastkové věty vztažné

CF přívlastkové konstrukce obsahující větu vztažnou vzniká splynutím dvou CF téhož řádu. V tomto případě má řídící člen vztažné věty dvojí funkci: 1. je tematickou CU vzhledem k celé vztažné větě, která je pak CU rematickou, a 2. představuje jednu z několika CU sdělného pole vztažné věty. Vztažné zájmeno nebo jeho ekvivalent nevystupuje v CF vztažné věty jako CU, ale představuje pouze indikátor podřazenosti daného CF a ko-indikátor dvojí funkce řídícího členu. Hlavním indikátorem dvojí funkce řídícího členu je nepřítomnost anaforického zájmena. Autor se též dotýká funkčního řešení vět typu *It was Paul that played the piano*.

VIII. Transformace

Transformací se rozumí změna CF daného řádu v CU téhož řádu (čili v CF nejbližšího nižšího řádu) nebo změna CU daného řádu (představované polem nejbližšího nižšího řádu) v CF téhož řádu. Transformace jsou zkoumány pouze perspektivně. Vyskytují-li se v systému jednoho a téhož jazyka, jsou obvykle opodstatněny snahou o zkompaktnění výpovědi nebo změnou ve funkční větné perspektivě. Transformace, které se vyskytují při srovnání dvou jazykových systémů, jsou nazývány transformacemi srovnávacími. Svým významem se neomezují jen na rámec lingvistické teorie, ale pomáhají též řešit některé problémy překladatelské praxe.

*I když jsme si vědomi jisté neobvyklosti, ponecháváme zde v souhrnu anglické zkratky, jak jich bylo použito v práci. Činíme tak hlavně pro usnadnění lepší orientace v práci samé.