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ON THE PROSODIC FEATURES OF THE MODERN ENGLISH
FINITE VERB AS MEANS OF FUNCTIONAL SENTENCE
PERSPECTIVE

(MORE THOUGHTS ON TRANSITION PROPER)

Introduction, p. 11. — I. Some Notes on Transition, Linearity and Second Instance, pp. 12—18. — II. The Gamut of Prosodic Weight and the Gamut of Communicative Dynamism, pp. 19—26. — III. Six Communicative Functions of the English Finite Verb, pp. 26—37. — IV. Conclusions, p. 37. — Notes, pp. 38—44. — Bibliography, pp. 44—47. Souhrn, pp. 47—48.

INTRODUCTION

The present paper continues the discussion of the basic concepts of the theory of functional sentence perspective (= FSP). In this respect, it is a sequel to two previous papers of ours, *On Defining the Theme in Functional Sentence Analysis* (TLP 1/1964, pp. 267—280) and *A Note on Transition Proper in Functional Sentence Analysis* (PP 8/1965, pp. 170—176). It attempts to offer more thoughts on transition proper,¹ its chief aim being to show the primary importance of this concept for the theory of FSP.

Whereas our previous papers confined themselves to the study of the non-prosodic means (i.e. those used by the written language) of FSP, the present paper endeavours to proceed a step further and cover also its prosodic means. As the chief (or rather probably only) conveyers of transition proper are the temporal and modal exponents of the finite verb² (see our *Transition Proper*), it concentrates on the prosodic features of the English finite verb, devoting its second and main part (Chapters Two and Three) to them. In treating of the typical prosodic relations into which the finite verb may enter, it will also adduce statistical evidence of the examined phenomena.³

In order to prepare the ground for the inquiry into the prosodic features of the English finite verb, it is considered necessary to demonstrate two facts: first, that on the level of FSP, transition cannot be linked up with mid-position (not being a word-order concept in the theory of FSP); second, that morphemes and even sub-morphemic elements actually are capable of carrying degrees of CD. In dealing with the first issue, it will be possible to illustrate the important part played by sentence linearity⁴ in producing FSP.⁵ In dealing with the second issue, it will be possible to touch upon the problems of second instance and contextual applicability. The outlined preparatory examination will be undertaken in Chapter One.

CHAPTER ONE

NOTES ON TRANSITION, LINEARITY AND SECOND INSTANCE

In order to show that transition cannot be linked up with mid-position, we propose to examine a set of examples in which the same elements occur in different sentence positions. (German sentences are particularly suitable for this purpose.) In doing so, we shall apply the results arrived at in our previous papers.⁶

1. Der Mann gab dem Jungen einen Ball.
2. Der Mann hat dem Jungen einen Ball gegeben.
3. Der Mann wird dem Jungen einen Ball gegeben haben.
4. Hat der Mann dem Jungen einen Ball gegeben?
5. . . . , daß der Mann dem Jungen einen Ball gegeben hat.
6. (Ein Mann sah einen Jungen.) Dem Jungen gab er einen Ball.
7. (Ein Mann sah einen Jungen,) dem er einen Ball gab.
8. Wem hat der Mann einen Ball gegeben?
9. Es gab der Mann dem Jungen einen Ball.

Let us first inquire into the share of the preceding verbal context (the preceding co-text) in producing the FSP of the sentences under examination. Even if with none of these sentences such a context has been given, the elements *der Mann* and *dem Jungen* may most naturally be interpreted as known, i.e. as conveyed by the preceding context. Contributing comparatively little to the development of the communication, they convey very low, in fact the lowest, degrees of CD. They do so irrespective of the position in the sentence. In other words, they have had their amounts of CD lowered ('dedynamized') by the context and constitute a section within the sentence that is to be regarded as affected by the context and in this way dependent on it.

As to the share of the semantic structure in producing the FSP of the sentences under examination, it fully comes to light within the sections that have remained unaffected by (independent of) the preceding context. In the above sentences, such sections are constituted by the elements *gab/hat gegeben/wird gegeben haben* and *einen Ball*. With a proviso (stated within the brackets below), all of them are to be taken as conveying new information, unknown from the previous context. Communicatively most important of this new information is the goal of the action, expressed by the object, *einen Ball*; less important is the action itself, expressed by the notional component of the finite verb; less important still are the modal and temporal indications, expressed by the temporal and modal exponents of the finite verb (= TME's). (As for the proviso, it should be added that, strictly speaking, the indications of person and number, expressed by the respective verbal exponents convey items of information already offered by the section affected by the context. Through them, the verb participates in that section.) As the items constituting the section unaffected by the context 'push the communication forward' to a varying extent, they display various degrees of CD. Their mutual relation in regard to these degrees, however, remains the same irrespective of the

position in the sentence. It would remain so even if *einen Ball* appeared in front-position. (*Einen Ball gab der Mann dem Jungen*, *Einen Ball wird der Mann dem Jungen gegeben haben*, etc.)

In producing FSP, the context and the semantic structure naturally do not always work counter to, but very frequently in the same direction as, the basic distribution of CD.⁷ (Languages may differ as to the degree of such conformity, a comparatively very high degree being displayed by Czech non- emotive sentences, a somewhat lower one by their German, and a considerably lower one by their English, counterparts.) It is worth noticing, for instance, that in the above sentences the elements *der Mann* and *dem Jungen* always precede the element *einen Ball*. (The occurrence of *einen Ball* in front position would render the word order emotive.)

It should be added that the tendency towards the basic distribution of CD becomes particularly evident if such semantic relations are involved as are incapable of working counter to this distribution. In such cases, if unopposed by the context, the basic distribution of CD directly determines the degrees of CD. This applies to the indirect and direct objects in *Der Mann gab einem Jungen einen Ball* and *Der Mann gab einen Ball einem Jungen* (where the indefinite articles prevent the objects from being interpreted as affected by the context). Although the former may sound more natural than the latter, it is in either case the final position (and hence the basic distribution of CD) that indicates the most important element. The final position produces a similar effect in the following pair of sentence types: *Der Mann gab dem Jungen den Ball*, *Der Mann gab den Ball dem Jungen*. (They of course present another type of contextual dependence, their last but one items, *dem Jungen* and *den Ball*, being most naturally interpreted as affected by the context.)

In the light of the above interpretations, the set of the examined sentences offers further illustration of the co-operation (interplay) which takes place between the tendency towards the basic distribution of CD, the context and the semantic structure in producing the distribution of CD over the sentence elements, i.e. the FSP of a sentence. For certain purposes, it is sufficient to determine the relation between the elements in regard to the amount of CD they carry. For a better understanding of FSP, however, it has proved useful to analyze the sentence into theme, transition and rheme. In all the nine specimen sentences, *einen Ball* is rhematic (so is also *Wem* in 8); *der Mann/er*, *dem Jungen/dem*, together with the verbal exponents of person and number, are thematic (so is *es* in 9); the finite verb — with the exception of the exponents just mentioned — is transitional, the exponents of tense and mood functioning as transition proper. Let us concentrate on this latter pair of exponents, which delimit the non-thematic section from the theme.

According to the above comments on the most natural uses of the examined set of specimens, the exponents of tense and mood have never been thematized or rhematized. Throughout all the specimens, they function as transition proper. They do so irrespective of the position they occupy within the sentence. The same holds good for the following set of Czech sentences, all of them examples adduced and commented upon by V. MATHESIUS in *Čestina*, p. 339.

1. Na svatbu k nim přišel pan hrabě.⁸
2. Na svatbu k nim přišel sám pan hrabě.

3. *Sám pan hrabě k nim přišel na svatbu.*
4. *Na svatbu k nim sám pan hrabě přišel.*
5. *Pan hrabě k nim přišel na svatbu.*
6. *Pan hrabě k nim přišel i na svatbu.*
7. *I na svatbu k nim pan hrabě přišel.*
8. *Pan hrabě k nim i na svatbu přišel.*
9. *Přišel k nim pan hrabě na svatbu.*
10. *Přišel k nim na svatbu pan hrabě.*
11. *Přišel k nim na svatbu sám pan hrabě.*
12. *Přišel k nim pan hrabě i na svatbu.*

In their most natural use, all the twelve specimens present *k nim* as thematic. Another constant feature is the rhematizing force of *sám* (2, 3, 4, 11)⁹ and *i* (6, 7, 8, 12); the elements respectively following it, *pan hrabě*, *na svatbu*, function as rhemes irrespective of the position they occupy. (In accordance with the Czech system of word-order, their front or their last but one position — a marked deviation from the basic distribution of CD — renders the order more or less emotive.) Through these rhematizing devices, the semantic structure considerably narrows the contextual applicability of the respective sentences. This becomes especially evident when the sentences without the rhematizers (1, 5, 9, 10) are examined. In each of them, either *na svatbu* or *pan hrabě* can be interpreted as a theme known from the preceding context, and correspondingly either *pan hrabě* or *na svatbu* as rheme (an emotive order occurring — in accordance with the Czech system of word order — if the rhematic element precedes the thematic). Among all these relations a fixed place is occupied by the finite verb form *přišel*. It remains transitional, its TME's functioning as transition proper, irrespective of the position within the sentence. (In accordance with the system of Czech word-order, it colours the order emotively if occurring initially or finally.)

We may not have discussed all the possible kinds of FSP in which the examined specimens may appear. We have, however, concentrated on the most natural ones. They once again show clearly enough that from the point of view of FSP 'transition' cannot be invariably linked up with mid-position. True enough, transitional elements frequently do occur in this position. They most obviously do so if the co-operation (interplay) of the three mentioned factors is such that they all consistently operate in one direction, i.e. in that of the basic distribution of CD. But deviations from this 'harmonious' interplay frequently take place, transitional elements appearing in front or end position. As employed by FSP, transition refers to elements that carry such degrees of CD as are neither the highest nor the lowest within the sentence, but rank as intermediate between them. Like the theme¹⁰ — and the rheme, for that matter —, transition cannot be invariably linked up with a definite position within the sentence.

The offered conclusion has brought us to the close of the first section of Chapter One. Before passing on to the second part, let us add a note concerning the sentence viewed as a field of relations among which the syntactic relations play the dominating role.¹¹ (They, as it were, stake off this field.) It is worth special notice that the co-operation (interplay) of the three discussed factors (the tendency towards the basic distribution of CD, the context and the se-

mantic structure) has a considerable share in establishing the relations within this field and in making it appear as what has been appropriately described as a 'one-after-the-other' functioning in a 'together' (DUZEN — *Grammatik*, p. 599). In a 'together', let us add, that, if need be, may counteract the linearity of the 'one-after-the-other'.¹²

As has already been pointed out, in none of the uses discussed above have the temporal or modal indications conveyed by the verb passed into the theme or rheme. Under special circumstances, however, they may do so, inducing the form that conveys them to function as bearer of rheme proper (*Der Mann GAB¹³ dem Jungen einen Ball, Der Mann HAT dem Jungen einen Ball gegeben, Pan hrabě k nim PŘIŠEL na svatbu*) or to occur in a (usually extensive) theme proper (*Der Mann gab dem JUNGEM einen Ball, Pan hrabě k NIM přišel na svatbu*). Such circumstances are characteristic of what we have termed after D. L. BOLINGER (*Linear Modification*, p. 1123) 'second instance' — a sphere covering sentences in which one element has been singled out as bearer of rheme proper, the other elements belonging to a (usually extensive) theme proper. It is hoped that an inquiry into the circumstances transferring a sentence to second instance will prove the necessity of regarding morphemes as carriers of degrees of CD and throw some light on the relation of form and function in FSP. A highly valuable contribution to the problem of second instance has recently been offered by D. S. WORTH. In his paper *Suprasyntactics*, WORTH discusses the second instance uses operated on *John reads the local paper* (e.g., *JOHN reads the local paper, John READS the local paper, John DOES read the local paper, John reads the LOCAL paper*). Using a different terminology than we do, he refers to the phenomenon of second instance as 'emphasis'. He offers the following definition: "The function of the emphatic category is to separate out¹⁴ some linguistic unit (sentence, noun phrase, word, morpheme, submorphemic segment, etc.) and by means of this separating out to establish an ad hoc opposition between the given unit on the one hand and all the like units (i.e. all units belonging to a form-class determined by the environment of the given unit) on the other hand".¹⁵ The idea of ad hoc opposition is worth special attention. In discussing it, WORTH points out that *John did go home* can be opposed to *John went home* or to the negative *John didn't go home*, but not to sentences with different lexical content, e.g. *Peter went to the movies*. Thus in connection with ad hoc opposition Worth raises another important point — the requirement of the same lexical content of the two opposed sentences. An examination of his examples shows that this requirement does not necessarily apply to the items because of which the sentences are opposed. In fact, the bearer of the ad hoc opposition (i.e. the linguistic unit that has been separated out for this function) provides a point in which the opposed sentences may semantically differ. This observation is borne out by the discussion appended to Worth's paper (PROCEEDINGS, pp. 704ff.).

In the discussion F. HOUSEHOLDER points out that *John DID go home* is not only opposed to the neutral *John went home* and the negative *John didn't go home*, but also (and often) to such sentences as *John will go home, John can go home*. In the same discussion, E. BUYSENS raises a similar point when saying (p. 704) that *is* in the sentence *John is here* can be stressed in three cases at least. Thus if *John is here* is opposed to *John isn't here, John will be here in a moment, or John is coming here*, the stress on *is* respectively emphasizes

the meaning of the indicative mood, that of the present tense, or that of localization. BUYSSENS concludes that the three meanings are united in *is* and each can be emphasized in its turn.

Together with WORTH's observations, HOUSEHOLDER's and BUYSSENS's notes are suggestive of the fact that the semantic content conveyed by the finite verb form is not undifferentiated, but composed of several items of meaning. In regard to the second instance uses of the finite verb, this phenomenon is of particular importance. It may be further illustrated by some possible second instance uses of the Czech finite verb *přišel* in its basic meaning. *Přišel* (the preterite of *přijíti* [to come], a derivative of *jíti* [to go]), which may constitute a separate sentence, is composed of three morphemes each of which conveys some item(s) of meaning: the prefix *při-*, conveying the meaning of approach, arrival;¹⁶ the base *še-*, meaning 'go'; and the ending *-l* functioning as an exponent of tense (preterite) and mood (indicative) as well as of person (third), number (singular) and gender (masculine). It should be added that the prefix *při-*, together with the absence of imperfective morphemes, renders the finite verb perfective (i.e. makes it convey the perfective 'vid' [aspect]), presenting the action as a complex fact.¹⁷ It is on account of any item of its comparatively complex semantic content that the finite *přišel* can function as bearer of 'emphasis', i.e. as rheme proper. It can do so on account of a semantic item conveyed by: the prefix *při-* (if opposed to *odešel* [he went away, he left], or even to other prefixed *šel*-forms, such as *došel*, *obešel*, *vyšel*, *zašel*, in case the *při-* has been misunderstood and is to be singled out for special attention); the base *-šel* (if opposed to *přiběhl* [he came running], *přijel* [he came by car, by train, riding on horseback, etc.], *přiletěl* [he came by plane], etc., in case it is emphasized that the newcomer merely walked); or the ending *-l* (if opposed, e.g. to *přijde* [he will come], *přišel by* [he would come], *byl by přišel* [he would have come], and also to *nepřišel* [he did not come, he has not come], in the last case conveying mere assertion that he DID come or HAS come; or if opposed to *přišels* [you came], *přišli* [they came], *přišla* [she came]). The list of possible oppositions into which *přišel* may enter can be extended still further. Thus in regard to the 'vids', *přišel* may be opposed to *přicházel* [he was coming], *přichážíval* [he used to be coming], both of which present the action not as a complex fact, but in its course of development. Moreover, the basic meaning of *přijíti* can be modified in several ways, which considerably increases the number of possible oppositions into which *přišel* may enter. The exact point of opposition will naturally always be determined by the context, which may not always require that the finite verb form should become bearer of rheme proper on behalf of merely one simple semantic item. Thus *přišel* might be opposed to *utekl* [he ran away], where not only the semantic item of *při-*, but also that of *šel* becomes involved. (The matter would be different if *přišel* [he came] were opposed to *nedostavil se* [he did not turn up]. In this case the synonymy of both may allow *přišel* to serve as rheme proper solely on behalf of the affirmative.) The list of possible oppositions has not been exhausted. But even so the following conclusions may be drawn in regard to the function of the finite verb within second instance. We believe them to be valid not only for the Czech, but also for the English and the German finite verb.

If functioning as bearer of 'emphasis',¹⁸ i.e. rheme proper in a second instance sentence, the finite verb form (or its component) does not do so on account of

its entire semantic content which it conveys, but most frequently only on account of one of the items of this content. The same applies to other sentence elements provided their semantic content is capable of internal differentiation. As to the semantic items of the bearer of rheme proper that are not involved in the ad hoc opposition, they cannot be regarded as rhematic but as constituting, together with all the other semantic items within the sentence, an extensive theme proper.¹⁹ In other words, with the exception of a minimum number (most frequently one only) of semantic items, the entire semantic content of the second instance sentence appears as thematized. This makes it possible for the bearer of rheme proper to occupy any position within the sentence, and accounts for a very special kind of contextual dependence of the second instance sentence.²⁰ (Owing to its uniquely extensive operation on second instance level, the context is the only means that on this level operates counter to the basic distribution of CD. This explains why within second instance any formal element, irrespective of the character of its semantic content, may become bearer of rheme proper, the usual operation of the semantic structure in producing FSP being thus overruled.)

The fact that different contexts lead to different ad hoc oppositions, rhematizing different semantic items, has important consequences. A sentence structure, or a linguistic unit of lower rank, accordingly displays variation as to the thematized (contextually affected) and the non-thematized (contextually unaffected) section of its semantic content (the latter section providing the rhematic item[s] to be separated out for the ad hoc opposition). Taken together, all such possible variations displayed by a linguistic unit constitute the second instance subsphere within its contextual applicability. (Cf. the comments on *John reads the local paper* and *Přišel*.) This wording implies that the semantic and grammatical structures examined in the present section could display other types of contextual dependence than those discussed.²¹ The uses examined in the present section have to be regarded as extreme ones showing the minimum amount of contextually unaffected, i.e. non-thematized, semantic content; only such extreme cases are considered by us to be pure (or genuine) second instance sentences.

It is worth pointing out that an inquiry into second instance contextual applicability of a linguistic unit may serve an additional useful purpose — that of revealing its semantic structure. (By singling out the various semantic items for possible ad hoc contrasts, the inquirer in fact explores the structure of the semantic content of a linguistic unit. The more complex the semantic structure of the unit, the wider its contextual applicability on second instance level. Whereas *přišel* would display considerably wide, *on [he]* would display a comparatively narrow, second instance contextual applicability.)

Needless to say, in regard to the degree of contextual dependence, it may not always be easy to distinguish these extreme cases from those that come very near them. As within other spheres in the language system, even within that of the contextual applicability of a semantic and grammatical structure, borderline cases appear.²² Strictly speaking, our second instance covers a narrower section of the contextual applicability of a semantic and grammatical sentence structure than WORTH'S emphasis. In terms of the theory of FSP, by a genuine second instance sentence we would understand one that expresses an ad hoc opposition, the bearer of which is the only element within the

sentence whose semantic content has not become entirely affected (thematized) by the context. Thus structures of the *It is John that reads the local paper* type,²³ though possibly expressing an ad hoc opposition, are not confined to second instance. True, the semantic and grammatical character of the structure considerably limits its contextual applicability. In its most natural use, it singles out *John* as rheme, *is* functioning as transition and the rest of the sentence as an extensive theme. But though carrying the lowest amount of CD, the extensive theme of such a sentence may still, and usually does, convey some information not known from the previous context. In such circumstances, together with the transitional *is*, it cannot be regarded as entirely contextually dependent (affected) and interpreted as functioning within second instance. Like other sentence structures, even the *It is ... that* type may pass into the second instance sphere. This becomes particularly evident if an element other than the one usually singled out becomes bearer of rheme proper, all the other elements having become contextually dependent (affected) and bearers of an extensive theme proper, e.g. *It IS John that reads the local paper, It is John that READS the local paper.*

On the ground of what has been said before, two observations may be made. The first concerns D. S. WORTH's definition.

It is certainly correct that the given unit has been singled out of a class of like units, and in this respect opposed to all the other like units. Nevertheless, it would be more exact to say that in the examples referred to, the unit is simultaneously opposed to one like unit in particular and to all possible like units in general. The general opposition becomes especially evident if in regard to semantic and grammatical structure, the sentence containing the unit to be singled out is a mere repetition. This may happen when a unit has not been correctly understood, and the entire sentence, or merely the unit itself, has to be repeated. Needless to say, such a repetition represents quite a special kind of contextual dependence, for the entire semantic content has already occurred in the previous context.

The second observation shows the relevance to the purposes of the present study of the preceding brief inquiry into the question of second instance. For the problem in hand, it is of fundamental importance that linguistic units of various rank may become bearers of rheme proper on account of only one item of their semantic content. This has important theoretical consequences.

In regard to semantic structure, it follows that under certain conditions the theory of FSP has to reckon even with items constituting the semantic contents of linguistic units. In regard to form, it proves the necessity of regarding morphemes and even submorphemic elements as possible carriers of degrees of CD. (D. S. WORTH is quite right in not restricting the function of expressing the ad hoc opposition to words only, but in ascribing it even to linguistic units of lower rank.) This has been known before,²⁴ but D. S. WORTH's inquiry into the ad hoc oppositions into which a linguistic unit may enter as bearer of 'emphasis', i.e. rheme proper within second instance, corroborates it with special clearness. In this way, an inquiry into second instance justifies an examination of the function of the TME's in FSP.²⁵ Such an examination will be undertaken in the following two chapters. It will test the validity of the view that the most frequent function of the TME's in FSP is that of transition proper. (As has been pointed out this view has been put forth in our *Transition Proper*.)

THE GAMUT OF PROSODIC WEIGHT AND THE
GAMUT OF COMMUNICATIVE DYNAMISM

Let us now examine the prosodic features of the finite verb and their relation to FSP, and see whether the results of the examination bear out our previous findings. The material to be examined has been excerpted from P. A. D. MAC-CARTHY'S, *Reader*, pp. 24–45. It has yielded 419 positive finite verb forms.²⁶ We shall start the inquiry by commenting on the prosodic features displayed by the finite verbs in the following set of examples.^{27,28}

1. I'm 'so 'glad. — 24.05
2. [Then I re'tired to a 'seat in the 'park]
and spent 'half an 'hour or so... — 32.06
3. [I,thought] I'd 'just go into 'town... — 31.23
4. ... — I should 'say a 'hundred 'yards 'wide, ... — 32.18
5. ... — he 'made me a 'special 'rate for the 'children, ... — 33.05
6. He's 'growing 'up 'fast. — 31.09
7. It 'seems the ex'act 'opposite, ['doesn't it]. — 37.28
8. But I 'read a re'view of it the 'other 'day. — 30.04
9. 'Did you 'get 'ours. — 24.08

In 1, 2 and 3, the finite verb is unstressed. This feature is particularly worth notice where the verbal form is compound and both the auxiliary and the notional component remain without stress (3). In 4 and 5, the finite verb bears partial stress (with and unstressed auxiliary in 4). 6 contains a phrasal verb, whose both notional components are stressed, only the auxiliary remaining unstressed.²⁹ In 7, 8 and 9 the finite verb forms are fully stressed, the stress falling even on the auxiliary component (9).

To sum up. The arrangement of the examples show a gradual increase in the prosodic weight of the finite verb. In none of the 10 examples, however, does the finite verb carry the nucleus.³⁰

Verbs appear as nucleus bearers in the following set of examples (10–15). Among them, a special type is represented by 10, in which the examined verb is not the only nucleus bearer. (The verb in question is a phrasal verb, the nucleus occurring on its adverbial particle; two other nucleus bearers occur later in the sentence.)

10. ... but it 'turned 'out that they'd 'just had 'several cancel'lations for
the 'second 'fortnight in 'August. — 32.29
- Within each of the remaining examples (11–15), the finite verb is the only nucleus bearer.
11. [„Yes.] I must 'run. — 31.26
 12. [..., and I 'had the 'feeling] we should be 'well looked 'after
there. — 33.06
 13. ['No,] one 'realises 'that, [of 'course]. — 33.16
 14. 'How 'are you. — 24.04
 15. 'Would you 'just 'get it 'for me? — 37.15
- In 11, 12, 13 and 14 the nucleus falls on a non-auxiliary component of the

verb. If auxiliaries occur (as in 11 and 12), they are unstressed. In 15, too, the nucleus is carried by the notional component; the auxiliary, however, is stressed.

To sum up. Examples 10–15 show a further gradual increase in the prosodic weight of the finite verb. They differ from 1–10 in that their verbs are nucleus bearers.

The finite verb is a nucleus bearer also in 16 and 17. These examples, however, must be grouped separately. The reason will be given further below.

16. But it 'is the book I₁ read about in the₁ article [I'm 'sure]. — 30.08

17. [,Yes,] we did. — 25.11

Having commented on the prosodic features of the finite verbs of 1–17, let us now inquire into the relations of these features to FSP.

As can be gathered from works on intonation, rheme is most naturally signalled by the nucleus.³¹ In consequence, the absence of a nucleus on the finite verb and its presence on some other, non-verbal element may be expected to signal that the verb does not convey the highest, rhematic, but some lower, possibly transitional degree of CD. Bearing in mind that a low rise occurring after a fall has been established as functionally less important of the two, we can say the following.³²

In exx. 1–9, there is always some element other than a finite verb that carries a nucleus (*'so glad, 'half an 'hour or so, into 'town, a 'hundred yards 'wide, a 'special rate for the 'children, 'fast, the ex'act 'opposite, a re'view, the 'other 'day*). With the exception of the element carrying the low rise (*the 'other 'day*) after a fall, all the nucleus bearers contribute more to the further development of the communication than the finite verb. As to the element carrying the low rise after the fall, it is thematic; so are the pronouns *I, me, he, it, you*. The former expresses a mere temporal situational setting, the latter convey information well known from the preceding context.

It follows that in regard to the degrees of CD, the finite verbs, not being thematic, can rank neither with the elements interpreted as rhematic nor with those interpreted as thematic. They rank between them, undoubtedly forming a transition. Within this transition, the lowest degrees of CD are carried by the TME's, which in their turn constitute a transition proper. They can be expressed by means of auxiliaries, and it is certainly quite in keeping with their function in FSP if they remain unstressed.

In 10 (a complex sentence), the *that*-clause contributes more to the further development of communication than the examined finite verb: it communicates what actually 'turned out'. It constitutes the rheme of the entire complex sentence, its nucleus acquiring greater functional importance than that of the examined finite verb. Though a nucleus bearer, the verb remains transitional.

In 11–15, the finite verbs are not linked up with any sentence elements that would surpass them in CD. (In this respect they markedly differ from the finite verbs of 1–9.) Thus besides the respective thematic pronoun (*I, we, one, you*), *must run* of 11 is not accompanied by any other element at all; *should be...looked after* of 12 is accompanied by thematic *there* and by *'well*, which surpasses in CD all the other elements except *looked after* itself; *'realises* of 13 is accompanied by thematic *that*; *'are* of 16 is accompanied by *'how*, which cannot be regarded as the most important element within the sentence and under the circumstances therefore ranks below the finite

verb;³³ *would... 'get* of 15 is accompanied by thematic *you* and *for me*, and non thematic *just*, which underlines the meaning of the verb, but does not surpass it in CD.

It follows that in 11–15, the finite verb functions as conveyer of rheme proper. It must be added, however, that it does not do so on account of its TME's. These elements remain transitional, functioning as transition proper. In fact, they perform this very function in all the examples so far discussed (1–15). We consider this observation to be of paramount importance for the discussion to follow.

16 and 17 have been grouped separately. This is because in contrast with 1–15, they contain finite verbs that have become bearers of rheme proper on account of a modal indication. (Incidentally, in both cases we have to do with affirmation.) As the rest of the sentence bears theme proper (fairly extensive in 16), no element is transitional.³⁴ (As can be gathered from the previous discussion and will be borne out by that to follow, exx. 16 and 17 illustrate marked functions of the TME's in FSP.)

The comments on exx. 1–17 have provided a working basis an elaboration of which it is hoped will throw some light on the relation of the prosodic features of the finite verb to its function in FSP. Before a tabular survey and a statistical evaluation of the results of the present inquiry can be given, a word has to be added on the relation between the finite verb and the thematic section of the sentence or clause in which it occurs.

All the above examples (1–17) have entirely unstressed themes. Recalling the prosodic features of the finite verbs and the remaining elements of 1–17, as well as their functions in FSP, we can draw the conclusion that the examined examples show an evident coincidence between the gamut of prosodic weight (unstressed – partially stressed – stressed – bearing a nucleus) and the gamut of CD (theme proper – rest of theme – transition proper – rest of transition – rheme excluding rheme proper – rheme proper).³⁵ This evident coincidence is effected in that the thematic elements are unstressed and the transitional elements prosodically lighter than those carrying higher degrees of CD (which in their turn are prosodically heaviest). Such coincidence, however, is not universally valid as can be seen from the following sentences.

18. The pro¹prietor was ¹¹most ¹friendly ... – 33.05

19. ¹Mine's from the ¹library, ... 30.17

20. ¹Inside it was ¹nice ¹too, ... 32.26

21. The ¹first few looked ¹rather ¹shabby ... – 32.23

22. – but [¹anyhow,] the ¹first place I ¹went and in¹quired at had ¹just had a ¹new ¹coat of ¹paint. – 32.24

In 18–22, elements that according to the theory of FSP are to be interpreted as thematic (*The pro¹prietor*, *¹Mine*, *¹Inside it*, *The ¹first few*, *the ¹first place I¹went and in¹quired at*) appear as stressed or even as nucleus bearers. This means that they are prosodically heavier than the accompanying unstressed transitional verbs (*was*, *'s*, *was*, *looked*, *had...had*). The question may be raised whether the described lack of coincidence between the two gamuts does not invalidate the assumption of a relation existing between the prosodic features of the finite verb and its functions on the level of FSP; or, to bring it even to a finer point, whether an unstressed finite verb may still be inter-

preted as transitional if accompanying a prosodically heavier theme. The following observations should help to clarify the matter.

A. SVOBODA (*Hierarchy*, see present volume pp. 71—72) convincingly shows how a thematic subject may be expanded and thereby raise its CD without becoming communicatively more important than the non-thematic rest of the sentence, the latter only correspondingly raising its CD. Thus in *A girl had broken a precious vase brightly painted with a fanciful hunting scene; A pretty girl with red lips, dark blue eyes, and curly black hair had broken a vase brightly painted with a fanciful hunting scene; A pretty girl with red lips, dark blue eyes, and curly black hair had broken a vase*, the subject merely provides the foundation (theme) upon which the information offered by the rest of the sentence is built. It follows that in all the three sentences the subject carries the lowest amount of CD, whereas the highest amount is carried by the object, the finite verb mediating between them. It also follows that in spite of its mediatory role, the verb is not included within the foundation. Even its TME's (*had + en*) remain outside it. Supplying temporal and modal indications, they carry the lowest amount of CD within the non-thematic section and start building up the main information on the foundation provided by the theme. In this way, as has been discussed in greater detail elsewhere (see our *Transition Proper*, esp. pp. 174—175), they are transitional par excellence, performing the function of transition proper. As we see it, they would perform it both in the written/printed and in the spoken form of the discussed sentences, provided they have not passed into second instance.

In consequence, what has been said about the above three printed sentences is, with due alterations, applicable to the spoken sentences adduced in 21 and 22. Comparing the subjects of 21 and 22, we find that the latter is far more expanded than the former. In regard to their verbs (*looked, had had*) both subjects remain thematic, no matter how much information they convey. The verbs therefore rank above them as transitional. Transitional are also the verbs of 18, 19, 20.

It may now be asked how these phenomena affect the relation between the prosodic gamut and the gamut of CD. 18—22 make it clear that in the transition — theme direction³⁶ the gamuts do not necessarily show straightforward coincidence. This is, however, made up for by the operation, or rather co-operation, of non-prosodic means of FSP. Their operation, together with the fact that in its entirety the non-thematic section must be prosodically heavier than the theme,³⁷ permits the prosodic features of not being fully coincident with the gamut of CD within the thematic section of a given distributional field.³⁸ They are free to perform various functions. Apart from serving the rhythmic structure of the sentence, they may put the theme or one of its components into evident, though not heavy, contrast with some element mentioned in, or easily understood from, previous context; impart to the theme the additional meaning of 'as to/as for /concerning/in regard to/ ...' or simply make it carry some prominence of its own,³⁹ or add to it some more or less intensive emotive colouring (dependent on the character of the prosodic features used⁴⁰ and the contextual meaning of the thematic elements). Contrast, additional meaning or prominence, and emotive colouring are items of communication and accordingly raise the CD of the theme (foundation) without making it surpass in CD the rest of the sentence. All these phenomena

might come under the heading of the prosodic intensification of the theme.

We may now turn our attention to the relation of the finite verb to the non-thematic section of the sentence. The rest of the paper will be devoted to this problem, the main concern remaining the problem of transition proper. A tabular arrangement of the results of our inquiry will provide a useful starting point for further discussion.

TABLE I

Type	The Finite Verb of the Sentence or Clause										The Non-Thematic Section of the Sentence or Clause ²⁾ (not including the finite verb) Number of non-verbal nucleus bearers occurring within the non-thematic section that are functionally weightier ⁴ than the finite verb	Total Number of Cases
	The Sphere of Function in FSP of ¹⁾		Prosodic Characteristics of									
	the TME's of the finite verb form	the finite verb form to the exclusion of its TME's	the auxiliaries (if present) of the finite verb form				the finite verb form to the exclusion of possible auxiliaries					
			Number of Cases									
			unstressed	partially stressed	stressed	bearing a nucleus	unstressed	partially stressed	stressed	bearing a nucleus		
I	theme proper	theme proper	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	ONE	1
II	transition proper	theme	2	—	—	—	8	5	—	—	AT LEAST ONE	13
III	transition proper	transition proper	8	—	—	—	117	2	2	1	AT LEAST ONE	122
IV	transition proper	transition	78	1	8	1	77	22	100	13	AT LEAST ONE	212
V	transition proper	rheme proper	17	—	1	—	3	2	—	56	NONE	61
VI	rheme	theme ³⁾	—	—	—	10	3	—	—	1	NONE	10

Notes on Table I

¹ Strictly speaking, this double-column records how the finite verb form functions in FSP through its semantic content.

- ² The term 'non-thematic' is always to be understood here in regard to the distributional field in which the examined verb functions. Thus, e.g., in *and she 'makes me 'feel I'm 'doing her a 'kindness if I 'let her look after them ,sometimes* (31.20), the distributional field of *makes* is the entire complex sentence. Its theme is formed by *she* and *me*; the rest is non-thematic (containing two distributional subfields with their own themes, transitions and rhemes). The distributional field in which *'m doing* occurs is the entire subordinate content clause. Its theme is formed by *I* and *her*; the rest (containing one subfield with its own theme, transition and rheme) is non-thematic.⁴¹
- ³ Provided this component occurs. Cf. the higher number in the column recording the prosodic characteristics of the auxiliaries.
- ⁴ The problem of the functionally weightiest prosodic feature has been touched upon on pp. 31—33.

TABLE 2

Type	Characteristics of the Finite Verb (Cf. Table 1)		Total	Percentage		
I	theme proper	theme proper	1	0.2	0.2	0.2
II	transition proper	theme	13	3.1	3.1	} 97.4
III	transition proper	transition proper	122	29.1	} 79.7	
IV	transition proper	transition	212	50.6		
V	transition proper	rheme proper	61	14.6		
VI	rheme proper	theme	10	2.4	2.4	
			419	100.0	100.0	100.0

Tables 1 and 2 cover the examined material drawn from P. A. D. MAC-CARTHY'S *Reader*. In order to meet the objection that the conversations presented by the *Reader* are artificial, a short extract from non-scripted material has been analyzed on the same lines as the material taken from the *Reader*. The non-scripted material has been found in D. CRYSTAL and R. QUIRK'S *Prosodic and Paralinguistic Features* (pp. 71—73). The results of the latter analysis bear out those attained by the former and are presented in Table 3.

As can be gathered from the tables, the characteristics of the six types may be summed up as follows.

TYPE I. The finite verb occurs outside the non-thematic section of the given distributional field (to be further denoted only as 'non-thematic section'). It is entirely thematic. (The TME's are thematic as well.)

TYPE II. The finite verb functions in the non-thematic section, but only through its TME's, which constitute transition proper. To the exclusion of its transitional TME's, the finite verb is thematic.

TYPE III. The finite verb occurs fully within the non-thematic section, but remains entirely within transition proper.

TYPE IV. The finite verb occurs fully within the non-thematic section, but its notional component is noticeably weightier (carries a higher amount of CD)

than its TME's. Only the latter constitute transition proper. The finite verb does not express rheme proper.

TYPE V. The finite verb is not only fully non-thematic, but becomes bearer of rheme proper. Its TME's, however, constitute transition proper.

TYPE VI. The finite verb functions as bearer of rheme proper, but only through its TME's. Otherwise it is thematic.

The statistical evaluation of the prosodic characteristics of the six types (as presented by Tables 1 and 2 and corroborated by Table 3) offers the following results.

TYPE I is excluded from the sphere of the stress bearers and nucleus bearers. This is in accordance with the thematic character of the verb.

TYPE II is also excluded from the mentioned sphere. This is in accordance with its function within theme and transition proper.

TYPE III. Out of 122 cases, 119 (i.e. 99.1 per cent) are excluded from the

TABLE 3
(Crystal-Quirk)

Type	Characteristics of the Finite Verb (Cf. Table 1)		Total	Percentage			
I	theme proper	theme proper	0	0	0	0	
II	transition proper	theme	0	0	0	0	
III	transition proper	transition proper	13	35.1	86.4	8,1	94.5
IVa	transition proper	transition	13	35.1			
IVb	transition proper	transition	6 ¹	16.2			
V	transition proper	rheme proper	3	8.1			
VI	rheme proper	theme	2	5.5	5.5	5.5	
			37	100	100	100	

¹ 6 cases bearing a nucleus.

sphere of nucleus bearers. 117 (i.e. 95.9 per cent), on the other hand, occur within the sphere of unstressed elements. This is in accordance with the fact that the finite verb constitutes transition proper. (The one case in which the finite verb functions as nucleus bearer is due to intensification, other nucleus bearers being present and the verb retaining the status of transition proper.)

TYPE IV. Out of 212 cases, 199 (i.e. 93.9 per cent) occur outside the sphere of nucleus bearers. (The 13 nucleus bearers are due to prosodic intensification, other nucleus bearers being present. One of these 13 nucleus bearers is an auxiliary.) In comparison with Type III, the number of stress bearers is increased. Out of 212 cases, there are 100 of them (47.1 per cent), which number may be raised to 122 (57.5 per cent) if the bearers of partial stress (22 in all)

are included. All this is in accordance with the transitional character of the finite verb. The higher degree of prosodic weight is due to the fact that within Type IV the finite verb comes nearer to rheme proper than within Type III.

TYPE V. Out of 61 cases, 56 (i.e. 91.8 per cent) occur within the sphere of nucleus bearers. (The remaining cases are finite verbs occurring in prosodically light distributional fields. Under the circumstances, however, the finite verb appears as the prosodically heaviest element within these fields.) This is in accordance with the fact that within the sphere of Type V, the finite verb functions as bearer of rheme proper.

TYPE VI. Within this type, it is the auxiliaries that appear as nucleus bearers. This is in accordance with the special character of this type, which presents the TME's as bearers of rheme proper. This applies to all the 10 cases recorded.

In contrast with Type VI, all the other Types exclude the auxiliaries from the sphere of nucleus bearers. (There is only one exception within Type IV; see above.) This is in accordance with their conveying transition proper, no matter whether the rest of the finite verb form is thematic, transitional or rhematic.

As neither the characteristics nor the frequencies can present a full picture, we propose to adduce illustrative examples and some additional comment. (Wherever possible, we shall also give examples from the non-scripted material offered by D. CRYSTAL and R. QUIRK's *Prosodic and Paralinguistic Features*.) In doing so, we hope to throw further light on the relation between the prosodic features of the finite verb and its function in FSP. At the same time we shall point out borderline cases or perhaps even borderline areas and suggest problems that might be taken up by further research.

CHAPTER THREE

SIX COMMUNICATIVE FUNCTIONS OF THE ENGLISH FINITE VERB

The tabular arrangement and the statistical evaluation reveal six types of communicative function performed by the English finite verb. They are an outcome of the co-operation of non-prosodic and prosodic means of FSP in satisfying the communicative needs of the speaker in the very act of communication. As the comments will show, we are aware that further research may establish subtypes and so improve upon the classification.

TYPE I

Example

23. 'What did you say? — 25.16

Comments

23 is the only example of its kind. (It is a case of I_{1+2} .)^{42, 26} As has been discussed elsewhere (*Word Order in OE. & ModE.*, pp. 90—93), considered

in the light of FSP, a question performs the following two functions: (1) to indicate the want of knowledge on the part of the questioner, and (2) to impart knowledge to the informant as to the particular angle from which the questioner wants him to approach the question (i.e. to satisfy the indicated want of knowledge). Applying this observation to the structure *What did you say?*, we find that the first function is performed by the interrogative *what*, the second by the other elements, which for this purpose appear in different kinds of FSP (*What did you say? What did you say? What did you say?*). If a repetition of a reply is required, the second function is no longer important, for not only is it obvious that something was said, but also that it was said and by whom. In fact, it would be possible, though less polite, simply to ask *What?* It follows that the example under discussion shows an unusually high degree of contextual dependence, which has its share in signalling the request for repetition. (The rise naturally expresses appeal,⁴³ the prosodically light character of the elements after the interrogative being in agreement with the high degree of contextual dependence.) This is why all the elements, including the TME's, after the interrogative of 23 have been interpreted as thematic.

The verbal form of *read*, including the TME's, is thematic also in 16, given on p. 20. The entire semantic content of the *but*-clause constitutes an extensive theme proper with the exception of the semantic item of affirmation, which causes *is* to become bearer of rheme proper. (The information conveyed by the elements *the book, read about, in the article* is merely being repeated. This is borne out by the preceding context in which, for instance, the sentence *But I read a re view of it the other day* occurs, the *review* being the article referred to in 16.) The extensive theme proper includes the examined verb, *I read*, which is the only one of our material that has not been covered by the above tabular arrangement. This is because the *but*-clause is a second instance sentence, admitting of no distributional subfield⁴⁴ and thus preventing the clause in which *I read* occurs from having a thematic and non-thematic section of its own. In this way, the clause falls outside the sphere mapped out by the tabular arrangement which is concerned with the relation of a finite verb to the non-thematic section of its sentence or clause; cf. the last but one column of Table 1. As in Type I, however, the finite verb, *read* of 16 is entirely thematic, which is a feature signalling marked contextual dependence.

TYPE II

Examples

24. ^vThey were [·]booked [·]up [·]too, [·]really, ... — 32.28.

25. [They [·]said on the ^vradio last [·]night] that a [·]thaw was ex[·]pected. — 43.24.

Comments

The preceding context of 24 (*Inside it was nice 'too, but 'un'fortunately they were 'book'd right 'up. So I 'wert to the 'plæz next 'door.*) makes it clear that, with the exception of its TME's, the finite verb of 24 has to be interpreted as conveying known information; it carries the lowest degree of CD and is thematic. Though due to a different kind of interplay of means of FSP, thematic is also the notional component of the finite verb in 25. This can be accounted for as follows.

The *that*-clause of 25 contains a non-thematic subject accompanied by

a verb that under the circumstances announces the appearance of something and is in this respect a verb of 'existence or appearance on the scene'. The entire clause is contextually independent. Its FSP is determined by the semantic structure that works counter to the basic distribution of CD, a *thaw* (subject) being rhematic, *was* + ... -*ed* transitional (transition proper) and *expect* thematic. (For a detailed discussion of the function of verbs of existence in FSP, see our *Non-Thematic Subjects*. See also M. SCHUBIGER's *Word-Order and Intonation*, pp. 259 and 264. The sentences '*Father is coming*, *The Browns have arrived*, adduced by her on p. 259, contain rhematic subjects and verbs of 'existence or appearance on the scene' which perform the communicative function of the type under discussion. Rhematic subjects and verbs of 'existence or appearance' occur also in the sentences '*Here comes John*, '*Round the corner... stood the lawcourts*, *But at that moment came Dr Sykes*, '*Across the road, behind a ... lay Brookfield*, adduced on the same page. Within these sentences, however, the lowest (thematic) degrees of CD are carried by adverbial elements, the verbs becoming fully transitional.) Both 24 and 25 are cases of II_{1+2} .

TYPE III

Examples

From the examples adduced earlier, the following belong here: 1, 18, 19, 20; they all represent III_{0+1} cases. Ex. 26, adduced and discussed below, is a III_{1+1} . Three more examples (27, 28, 29) will be given in the Comments.

26. Of course, there've been some 'shameful and 'dreadful cases ... - C-Q 72.30.⁴⁵

Comments

Not only 26, but also the examples referred to above, contain a finite form of the verb *to be*. Even a brief examination shows that in its weakness the lexical content of this form differs very little from the semantic content conveyed by its TME's. The same applies to the amounts of CD carried. This induces us to regard not only the TME's, but the entire finite form of the verb *to be* as bearer of transition proper. For the time being, *to be* is the only verb that we are interpreting in this way. (This implies that under Type III only such cases have been recorded as contain some finite form of *to be*.) This procedure has been adopted, for semantically speaking, the verb *to be*, especially as a copula, is considered the weakest of English verbs. We are, of course, aware that there are other verbs that because of their semantic weakness come very close to it. (Cf. G. O. CURME, *Syntax*, p. 26.) On the other hand, some lexical uses may be shifting the verb *to be* out of the sphere of the pure copula.) An inquiry into this question may raise the number of verbs functioning as Type III cases, but would not affect the basic observation that their TME's carry the lowest degrees of CD within the non-thematic section.

It is of particular interest that a semantically weak verb occurring entirely within transition proper is capable of throwing the rheme into strikingly distinct relief. (In other words, in 26 the relief is effected by a conspicuous rise in CD due to the striking difference in the amounts of CD carried by the finite verb and the nominal phrase.⁴⁶ The distinctness of the relief brought about by non-prosodic means of FSP may be enhanced by prosodic features.

Transition proper remains unstressed. The rheme, on the other hand, not only acquires stress, but even bears a nucleus. In this way, especially if the theme remains unstressed as well, the relief is brought about by an efficient co-operation of non-prosodic and prosodic means of FSP (and presents a case of perfect coincidence between the gamut of prosodic weight and the gamut of CD).

Table 1, however, shows a small number of cases in which the bearer of transition proper is partially stressed (29b), fully stressed (27 and 28) or even bearing a nucleus (29a). (27, 28, 29a, 29b are respectively III₀₊₃, III₀₊₃, III₀₊₄, III₀₊₂.)

27. That 'certainly 'lis the 'quietest /time. — 30.26

28. 'Is there a 'view from our 'rooms? — 33.11

29 a,b . . . , but the 'fact /is, [my 'watch had /stopped while I was 'cut 'shopping, and I was "horrified to /find] how /late it /was [when I got 'back]. — 34.07

In all these cases, prosodic intensification of transition proper occurs. An essential characteristic of this kind of intensification is that it does not cause the finite verb to change its status of transition proper. The intensification remains within limits provided by the co-operation of prosodic and non-prosodic means of FSP. In this way, the prosodic intensification of transition proper is subject to the same restrictions as the prosodic intensification of the theme.

Like that of the theme, the prosodic intensification of transition proper may take place for various reasons. It may be due to rhythm (cf. the partial stress on /was of 29 and the nucleus on /is of 29). 29 is an involved and long sentence easily splitting up into sections indicated by junctures. The nucleus on /is signals such a juncture; it separates the theme and transition proper from the entire rhematic section of the complex sentence and even underlines the relief in which this section occurs. At the same time, the nucleus adds more weight and perhaps some emotive colouring to the speaker's statement. Emotive colouring is the chief reason of the prosodic intensification of transition proper in 27 and 28. In 27, the speaker emphatically expresses his agreement with his interlocutor's view. In 28, appeal and perhaps anxiousness for a satisfactory reply are involved. Depending on context and meaning, emotive colouring may acquire different shades (in varying proportion serving the two non-referential functions, expression and appeal)⁴⁷ and in its own special way contribute to the development of communication. It even raises the CD of the bearer of transition proper without making it surpass in CD the other non-thematic elements.

TYPE IV

Examples

From the examples given earlier, the following belong here: 2 (IV₀₊₃), 3 (IV₁₊₁), 4 (IV₁₊₂), 5 (IV₀₊₂), 6 (IV₁₊₃), 7 (IV₀₊₃), 8 (IV₀₊₃), 9 (IV₃₊₃), 10 (IV₀₊₄), 21 (IV₀₊₁), 22 (IV₁₊₁).

From the passage adduced by D. CRYSTAL and R. QUIRK, the following (30a, 30b, 31) examples may be added. 30a, 30b, 31 are respectively IV₍₀₊₁₎, IV₍₀₊₁₎, IV₍₀₊₃₎.

30a, b Well, 'that brings us to the 'second half of what I wanted to /say.

— C—Q 72.11.

31. ...and you ¹¹spend ^vfar too little. — C—Q 73.04.
Further three examples (32—34) are given in the Comments.

Comments

With the exception of the four examples last mentioned, all the other above examples referred to or quoted in full represent the overwhelming majority of Type IV cases in which one non-verbal element carries the nucleus, the verb being merely unstressed, partially stressed or fully stressed. It is characteristic of all Type IV cases that there is a difference in the amounts of CD carried by the TME's and the rest of the finite verb form. (The difference will of course be less distinct with verbs that because of their semantic weakness come close to the copulative verb *to be*.) The latter surpasses in CD the former, which retain the status of transition proper. In this respect, Type IV differs from Type III, where the TME's, together with the rest of the finite verb form, constitute transition proper.

Another phenomenon worth mentioning is prosodic intensification. Subject to limitations set by the co-operation of non-prosodic and prosodic means of FSP, it operates also on fully transitional verbs. Ex. 31 quoted above and exx. 32—34 will illustrate. 32, 33, 34 are respectively cases of IV_{3+4} , IV_{1+4} , IV_{0+4} .

32. I was ¹going to ^vsay [that ^vthat comes from a Latin word ^vtoo, originally]: . . . — 36.31

33. ^vWell, I'd ^vlove a ^vdrink. — 34.22

34. [. . .and you ^valso said] that he generally ^vattacks ^velderly and defenceless ^vwomen. — C—Q 72.28

In 31 the verb is heavily stressed, but the fall is prosodically weightier and functionally more important.⁴⁸ In 32 and 33, the verbs are nucleus bearers; the tones, however, are rises: because of their inconclusiveness they are outweighed by the following conclusive falls. Comparing the falls on *at'tacks* and *'women* of 34, we consider the last fall functionally more important.⁴⁹ It is worth noticing that the percentage of transitional verbs bearing nuclei is markedly higher in D. CRYSTAL—R. QUIRK's specimens than in P. A. D. MAC CARTHY's conversational texts. (The latter contain 13 cases, i.e. 2.8 per cent, out of 419; the former 6 cases, i.e. 16.2 per cent, out of 37.) This is quite understandable as the former are non-scripted discussions, whereas the latter are prepared conversations, and though sounding perfectly natural, certainly not going the length of making full use of prosodic intensification. (They are after all intended for foreign learners of English.)

All the discussed examples of intensification fall under a wider heading of examples in which the verb is not the only nucleus bearer within the distributional field and will be presently discussed at some length in the comments relating to Type V. (Examples of Groups B and D on p. 32 provide further illustration of Type IV intensification.)

TYPE V

Examples and Comments⁵⁰

The comments to be offered here concern the finite verb as bearer of the functionally weightiest prosodic feature within a distributional field of CD. They involve two aspects, which require a word of explanation.

First, the verb becomes bearer of the functionally weightiest prosodic feature if it expresses the rheme proper of the distributional field in which it occurs.

But such a field may be a distributional subfield which in its entirety expresses the rheme proper of a distributional field of higher order.⁵¹ Considered in this second aspect, the finite verb as bearer of the functionally weightiest prosodic feature performs an additional function — that of prosodically signaling the character of rheme proper of the entire subfield.

In other words, considered in the first aspect, the finite verb bears the functionally weightiest prosodic feature because it itself expresses the rheme proper of the respective distributional field. Considered in the second aspect, it bears the functionally weightiest prosodic feature also on account of the respective distributional field, which in its entirety functions as rheme proper within a distributional field of higher order.⁵²

The comments are presented in two sections. The first touches upon the problem of when to interpret the finite verb as bearer of the functionally weightiest prosodic feature within a distributional field. Both mentioned aspects will be involved in this section.

The second section concentrates on the finite verb as bearer of the functionally weightiest prosodic feature on its own account. Consequently, merely the first aspect will be involved here. It is in fact this aspect that has been followed in deciding whether a finite verb is a Type V case.

Within the FIRST section of the comments, let us first turn our attention to the question of when to interpret the finite verb as bearer of the functionally weightiest prosodic feature within a distributional field. In most cases, it is not difficult to determine whether the verb is performing this function. The matter is less easy to decide if the finite verb is not the only nucleus bearer within a given distributional field. There are 23 cases in our material that come under this heading.

A convenient solution of the question would be to regard the last nucleus within a distributional field as the functionally weightiest prosodic feature within that field.

This solution would be applicable to a group of 3 cases in which the finite verb is the last and evidently also most important nucleus bearer within the respective distributional field. (See the examples of Group A below.) It is also applicable to a group of 7 cases in which the finite verb was not the last and evidently not the most important nucleus bearer within the respective distributional field. (See the examples of Group B below.)⁵³ But a group of 5 cases in which the finite verb was not the last, but evidently the most important nucleus bearer within the respective distributional field, indicates the necessity of a modification of the mentioned solution. (See the examples of Group C below.) A modification is also suggested by the group of the remaining 8 cases, in which the finite verb (not occurring as the last nucleus bearer within the respective distributional field) has been tentatively interpreted in 7 cases as not carrying, and in 1 case as carrying, the functionally most important nucleus. (See the examples of Group D below.)⁵⁴

Group A. 35. I've ¹always ^vwanted one. — 39.22

36. ^vSome people say ¹frosts *kill* ^voff all the ^ggerms. — 43.10

37. ... and I ¹had the ¹feeling we *should be* ¹well looked ¹after there. — 33.06

Group B. 38. ... but the ¹fact ¹is, my ¹watch had ¹stopped while I was ¹out ¹shopping. — 34.07

39. Well, to ¹go ¹back to abbrevi¹ation, I was ¹going to ¹say that ¹that comes from a ¹Latin word ¹too, originally. — 36.30

40. ... but it ¹turned ¹out that they'd ¹just had ¹several cancel-
lations for the ¹second ¹fortnight in ¹August. — 32.29

41. ¹Mealtimes and ¹bedtimes and ¹so on *are* ¹bound to be rather
dis¹organized at first. — 45.10

42. ¹Jane ¹does ¹help me a ¹lot, of course. — 31.15

43. ¹Well, I'd ¹love a ¹drink. — 34.22

44. I think ¹Joyce ¹ar¹anged things so that ¹everything could be
¹popped under the ¹grill at the ¹last ¹minute, when ¹everybody
was ¹actually ¹here. — 34.16

Group C. 45. I'll ¹show them ¹to you if you ¹like. — 39.12

46. It's ¹hardly ¹ever ¹used ¹now, except ¹possibly by the ¹shop
people who ¹sell them. — 36.27

46a. [¹No,] we ¹heard they were ¹staying, [but we ¹never ¹saw
them]. — 27.45

46b. I ¹thought I ¹recognized your ¹voice. — 24.03

47. ..., and I was ¹hor¹rified to ¹find how ¹late it ¹was when I got
¹back. — 34.08

A necessary modification of the mentioned solution is suggested by the occurrence of a low rise after a fall (cf. 45 — 46b). Another modification is suggested by the occurrence of a low fall within a group of low-pitched syllables after a more prominent fall (cf. 47).

Group D. 48. I ¹lost my ¹old one at ¹school, ... — 39.24

49. [¹Anyhow,] my ¹writing's ¹changing all the ¹time. — 40.20

50. I ¹generally ¹settle ¹down straight a¹way. — 30.27

51. I'd ¹read ¹two of them be¹fore. — 40.28

52. [As I ¹said just ¹now,] ¹Joyce was ¹waiting till you ¹came
be¹fore ¹starting to ¹cook the ¹meat, [so there's ¹bound to be
a ¹bit of an ¹interval in ¹any case]. — 34.25

53. [...but the ¹fact ¹is,] my ¹watch ¹had ¹stopped while I was ¹out
¹shopping — 34.07

54. It ¹looks jolly ¹nice ¹anyhow. — 40.01

55. Well ¹people ¹can ¹read it ¹anyway. — 40.10

The tentative character of the adopted interpretations of 48—55 becomes evident if the following is taken into consideration. Provided it is not linked up with a thematic subject and a verb of motion or one of 'appearance or existence on the scene',⁵⁵ a contextually independent adverb of place or time may express a mere local or temporal setting, i.e. a piece of purely concomitant information. In actual fact, in our material, the presence of a low rise (occurring after a fall), or absence of a nucleus, on a final adverbial element of place or time could always be accounted for by the purely concomitant character of the adverbial element. (Cf. *the other* ¹day of 8, *there* of 37, *now* of 46, *in* ¹some cases of 55a, *when* ... ¹front of 56, and *when you get back* of 59.

55a. ...though it's a ¹bit ¹hard to ¹see in ¹some cases. — 37.24

56. The 'tide was in when I first walked along the front, ... — 32.15

In this connection the question may naturally be raised under what conditions, if occurring finally and bearing a nuclear tone other than a low rise coming after a fall, a contextually independent adverbial element still expresses merely concomitant information and consequently cannot become bearer of the functionally weightiest prosodic feature (cf. ex. 57 and the *while*-clause of 53), or expresses an important temporal or local specification (as with verbs of motion or verbs of 'existence or appearance on the scene' as specified above, or as has been tentatively assumed in the interpretation of exx. 48—52) and is consequently capable of becoming bearer of the functionally weightiest prosodic feature. A definite answer to this question must remain pending.

57. [Look.] I wrote that with it yesterday. — 40.02⁵⁶

The interpretations of the 23 examined finites can be summed up as follows: 9 (1 tentatively) have been interpreted as expressing rheme proper and therefore coming under V; 13 (7 tentatively) as expressing transition and therefore coming under IV; and 1 as expressing transition proper and therefore coming under III. The interpretations may be symbolized as follows: 've ... ^vwanted of 35 — V₁₊₄, kill 'off of 36 — V₀₊₄, should be looked after of 37 — V₁₊₄, 'is of 38 — III₀₊₄, was 'going to say of 39 — IV₃₊₄; 'turned out of 40 — IV₀₊₄, are 'bound of 41 — IV₁₊₄, does help of 42 — IV₄₊₁, 'd 'love of 43 — IV₁₊₄, arranged of 44 — IV₀₊₄, 'll 'show of 45 — V₁₊₄, 's...used of 46 — V₁₊₄, was 'horri'fied of 47 — V₁₊₄, 'lost of 48 — IV₀₊₄, 's 'changing of 49 — IV₁₊₄, settle 'down of 50 — IV₀₊₄, 'd 'read of 51 — IV₁₊₄, 'came of 52 — IV₀₊₄, had 'stopped of 53 — V₁₊₄, 'looks of 54 — IV₀₊₄, can 'read of 55 — IV₁₊₄, 'heard of 46a — V₀₊₄, 'thought of 46b — V₀₊₄.

An attempt at a tonemic and definite solution of the particular question of the functional relation between two or more nuclear tone bearers occurring within one distributioned field must be left to further research. In fact, such an attempt lies outside the scope of the present inquiry, which is primarily concerned with transition proper. The tentative character of the interpretation does not affect the argument that in all the 23 discussed cases, the TME's of the examined finite verbs perform the function of transition proper.

Within the SECOND section of the comments relating to Type V, we shall concentrate on those distributional fields in which the finite verb functions as bearer of rheme proper and the functionally weightiest prosodic feature. All in all, 61 cases come under this heading (including the 9 cases interpreted as bearers of rheme proper in the first section of the present comments). Out of these 61 cases, 56 were nucleus bearers. We shall discuss them first.

The 56 cases of nucleus bearers can be conveniently divided into 6 groups. To avoid repetition, let us point out that the following holds good for all the groups: within the examined distributional field, the grammatical subject is thematic, the TME's of the finite verb constitute transition proper, the rest of the finite verb form is bearer of rheme proper and the functionally weightiest prosodic feature.⁵⁷ The groups differ as to the number and type of further elements within the distributional field. An inquiry into such elements may be very revealing.

The largest group of cases (26 in all; cf. exx. 11 and 58—62 below) showed no other further element in the sense specified above. The group also included

what might be termed additional remarks (consisting of a pronominal subject and a finite verb form as in ex. 60), contact clauses, i.e. relative clauses dispensing with a relative pronoun in the object case (ex. 61),⁵⁸ and a clause introduced with the compound relative *what* (ex. 62).

58. They've 'just been 'cleaned. — 42.21

59. [I'll 'have a cup of 'tea ready for you] when you get 'back. — 42.21

60. ['Oh,] 'I 'see! — 36.22

61. ['Yes. Such a 'change after the 'mild winters] we'd been 'having. — 43.09

62. ['Yes. I know 'just] what you 'mean. — 44.08

Nearly all the cases of the second largest group (15 in all; cf. exx. 13, 35, 36, and exx. 63—68 below) comprise one additional element — a thematic object. (In two cases two thematic objects occur. Cf. exx. 15 and 67.) It is expressed either by a personal pronoun (in one case combined with *all*; exx. 63 and 64), the prop-word *one* (ex. 35), by a thematized substantival object (ex. 65), thematized object semi-clause (ex. 66), or thematized object clause (ex. 67). Close to this group come examples with thematic 'pro-adverbs' (ex. 68 with *so*). Let us add that one example contains the 'pro-adverb' *here* and a thematized temporal adverbial element.

63. ['Well,] I'll 'tell you. — 32.14

64. [Are you 'sure] you could 'manage us all? — 25.19

65. We 'missed the 'news last 'night, ... — 43.26⁵⁹

66. I'd 'love to see them. — 39.13⁶⁰

67. I'll 'show you, 'how it 'writes. — 40.02⁶¹

68. ['Yes,] I should 'think so. — 41.02

Another group is formed by examples (7 in all; cf. ex. 14 and exx. 69 and 70 below) containing as their additional element an interrogative word introducing a direct (ex. 69) or indirect (ex. 70) question. As has been pointed out earlier, the interrogative word does not surpass in CD the rheme proper of the respective field. (See *Word Order in OE. & ModE.*, p. 90.)

69. ['Well,] 'how did you get 'on. — 32.03

70. ['Now then, we'll 'look 'up 'BRE/V and 'see] what we 'get. — 37.16

All these examples form an overwhelming majority of cases in which the finite verb expresses rheme proper and bears a nucleus. They show to what considerable extent the finite verb as rheme proper depends on the absence of elements that if present would carry a higher amount of CD (cf. the examples with verbs conveying lower amounts of CD than rheme proper) or on the thematization of such elements. All this shows that it is under certain grammatical, semantic and contextual conditions that the finite verb may become rheme proper and bear a nucleus as the functionally weightiest prosodic feature. We believe that inquiries that have previously been made into the mentioned non-prosodic conditions may throw useful light on the prosodic means of FSP. (The present notes are certainly not at variance with the observation made on the non-prosodic level that an object carries a higher amount of CD than the finite verb provided the object is contextually independent, i. e. if it has not been thematized by the context. This observation is corroborated by our material in which all the objects occurring in distributional fields of Type IV

are contextually independent. A contextually independent object prevents the finite verb from becoming rheme proper and from turning the distributional field into a Type V one. In other words, a finite verb cannot become bearer of the functionally weightiest prosodic feature in the presence of a contextually independent object.⁶² The grammatical, semantic and contextual conditions under which a finite verb can become rheme proper and bearer of the functionally weightiest prosodic feature bear out that on the level of FSP the finite verb is predominantly transitional. This is not contradicted by the remaining 8 examples which, strictly speaking, cannot be referred to any of the discussed groups.

A special group is formed by 3 examples (71–73) in which the finite verb expresses some contrast. This contrast does not seem to be as heavy as that achieved by pure second instance sentences. The non-bearers of contrast in 71–73 (i.e. under the circumstances, the non-verbal elements of these examples) do not display such total contextual dependence as the non-bearers of contrast in pure second instance sentences. This applies especially to 71 and 72, less evidently to 73, which might be regarded as a borderline case.

71. See ex. 46a.

72. See ex. 46b.

73. It ^vlooks jolly ^vnice. — 39.26

Another group is formed by 4 examples, three of which (45, 46, 53⁶³) have already been quoted. They contain adverbial elements (e.g. *if you ^vlike; except ^vpossibly by the ^vshop people who ^vsell them; while I was ^vout ^vshopping*) which are contextually independent, but presented as communicatively less important concomitants.

An interpretation of 74 has to remain pending.

74. Did they ^vall come ^vout properly? — 39.13

By way of closing the comments on Type V cases, two notes have to be added. The first concerns the 5 Type V cases in which the finite verb did not bear a nucleus. Exx. 75–77 are representatives of this group.

75. [^vI ^vnever ^vsmoke,] you know. — 35.02

76. [^vYes, ^vLast year,] I remember, [^vsome of the ^vtrees were quite ^vgreen by ^vthis time). — 43.06

77. [..., and ^vlots of people] we ^vknow [have had bron^vchitis or ^vworse). — 43.14

In 75 and 77 the examined verbs occur in short sentence structures which provide basic distributional fields of their own, but having the character of an additional or parenthetical remark, play an insignificant role in the communication. Similarly in 76, brevity and little communicative importance accounts for the prosodic weakness of the finite verb.

The second note concerns prosodic intensification. Like theme and transition, even rheme may show prosodic intensification. But carrying the highest amount of CD, rheme may undergo prosodic intensification without impairing the coincidence between the gamut of prosodic weight and the gamut of CD. Exx. 29 and 35 and exx. 78 and 79 below may illustrate.

78. ^vI ^vknow. — 30.23

79. [^vOh I ^vsee. Then ^vper^vhaps there'll ^vjust be ^vtime for a ^vciga^vrette.] I'm ^vlonging for a ^vsmoke. — 34.29

TYPE VI

Examples

80. But it 'is the book I ,read about in the ,article [I'm 'sure.] — 30.08
 81. ..., but 'otherwise I 'really ,,do feel the ,strain... — 31.16
 82. 'Well that ,,does sound nice. — 33.08
 83. [You've never 'seen ,mine.] — I 'jolly well ''have [— on that invi'tation you ,sent me]. — 40.07
 84. I ,,must ,read it. — 30.15
 85. [I ,say.] ,,Do shut the ,door. — 42.04
 86. 'Oh 'did you? — 28.48
 87. [You ''said, there is 'widespread sup'port in the 'country and in'deed I ag'ree with you. I'm quite sure] there 'is [— for the 'views I've ex'pressed]. — C-Q 72.18

The examples may be symbolized as follows: 80 — VI₀₊₄, 81 — VI₄₊₁, 82 — VI₄₊₁, 83 — VI₄₊₀, 84 — VI₄₊₄, 85 — VI₄₊₁, 86 — VI₄₊₀, 87 — VI₀₊₄.

Comments

In Type VI cases, the TME's no longer perform the role of elements that merely accompany some more important information (cf. p. 22). They do not start building up the information upon the foundation provided by the theme; they become bearers of the most important piece of information, i.e. of rheme proper, themselves. (In our material, the information conveyed was of a modal character, chiefly affirmation.) The more evidently the rest of the semantic content of the sentence is thematized or is perhaps presented as such, the more efficiently and forcibly the semantic item conveyed as the most important piece of information is expressed. (Elements that semantically underline and strengthen this piece of information co-operate in constituting rheme proper; cf. 'really of ex. 81 and 'jolly well of ex. 83). The fact that the efficient functioning of the TME's as rheme proper depends on the thematic character, i.e. on the contextual dependence, of the rest of the sentence testifies to the special character of Type VI, and to the special position taken up by the TME's within the system of FSP.

Complete thematization of the semantic content to the exclusion of one semantic item can of course be achieved only on pure (genuine) second instance. We have used the qualification of 'pure' ('genuine') to indicate the extreme limit of contextual applicability of a sentence structure. Besides pure second instance cases, however, there are certainly such as have not reached the specified high degree of thematization, but come very near to it. Such cases could be regarded as second instance sentences in a wider sense of the term. An exact delimitation of the sphere taken up by such cases must remain pending.

From the examples quoted here, perhaps only 80 is pure second instance. (Very close to it come exx. 81, 82 and 83. Pure second instance would be the distributional field *there is* if it were taken by itself.) Ex. 86, a type surely well-known from everyday conversation, shows that Type VI does not cover only cases of ad hoc oppositions. As to a borderline case, let us recall ex. 42. It contained a finite verb with a nucleus on its auxiliary. It was the only auxiliary bearing a nucleus that was not classed with Type VI, but IV. Another interpretation might consider the auxiliary rhematic as well, though not bearer

of rheme proper. This, however, would presuppose the establishment of another type covering finites that as to CD come very close to rheme proper. This might be an improvement on the presented classification. It would have to be found out, however, to what extent such a type (or subtype) is signalled through the co-operation of non-prosodic and prosodic features.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSIONS

The co-operation of non-prosodic and prosodic means in signalling the examined six communicative functions of the finite verb (i. e. its functions in FSP) could be regarded as perfect were it not for the cases the interpretations of which are only tentative.⁶⁴ It is certainly true that borderline cases are an acknowledged feature of the language system.⁶⁵ But the question remains whether further research would not succeed in reducing the degree of tentativeness.⁶⁶ In spite of the tentative interpretations, the statistical evaluation, put into more accurate perspective by the comments, shows that a high degree of coincidence between grammatical structure and FSP as revealed by the TME's on the non-prosodic level is borne out with equal clearness on the prosodic level. Even the low percentage of cases in which the TME's deviate from this coincidence is not haphazard. The deviations are charged with special functions and are highly marked. It should be added that the described coincidence includes also the semantic (onomatological) function of the TME's. All this bears out I. P. RASPOV's basically correct observation that the TME's are transitional, and our modification of it that they are indeed transitional par excellence, though not invariably so in all contextual situations.⁶⁷ The high degree of the described coincidence⁶⁸ establishes the validity of 'transition proper' as a basic concept of the theory of FSP. It also makes it a suitable starting point for further inquiries into the relations between the semantic and grammatical structures of the sentence on the one hand and its FSP on the other. As they almost invariably convey the lowest degree of CD within the non-thematic section, the TME's are a suitable point of delimitation between the thematic and the non-thematic sections. (This point, however, is not to be understood as a word-order phenomenon.)

The comments have further shown that prosodic weight evidently tends to be in the first place determined by the requirements of FSP. It appears that even prosodic intensification, which may take place because of rhythmic or emotive reasons, can operate only within limits set by the co-operation of non-prosodic and prosodic means of FSP. This explains why the elements conveying the theme may be prosodically light or heavy, whereas an element conveying rheme proper is to be as a rule the prosodically heaviest element within the given distributional field if it is not to lose its rhematic status. In addition to prosodic weight, it is the position of occurrence of the prosodic features that is in the end determined by FSP. As we see it, valuable light could be thrown on the relations between grammatical and prosodic features if this fundamental role of FSP were taken into account.

NOTES

- ¹ We do not think it necessary to give here an outline of the theory of FSP. Quite recently, such an outline has been given in our *Non-Thematic Subjects*, pp. 240–241. For the benefit of the reader who has not read our previous papers, however, we think it necessary to give at least some of the most important definitions. (They are mostly worded in the same way as in *Transition Proper*, pp. 170–171.)
By FSP we understand the distribution of various degrees of communicative dynamism (= CD) over the elements within the sentence, this distribution being determined by the co-operation of the grammatical and semantic structures of the sentence under certain conditions of contextual dependence. By the degree of CD carried by a sentence element, we understand the extent to which the sentence element contributes to the development of the communication, to which, as it were, it 'pushes the communication forward'. (This conception is based on the fact that linguistic [or any other] communication is not a static, but a dynamic phenomenon. By communicative dynamism, we understand a quality displayed by communication in its development [unfolding] of the information to be conveyed and consisting in advancing this development.) The elements carrying the lowest degrees of CD constitute the theme, those carrying the highest degrees, the rheme, the element carrying the very lowest degree of OD functioning as theme proper, the one carrying the very highest degree of CD as rheme proper; in regard to the amount of CD carried, transition ranks above theme on the one hand, and below rheme on the other, e.g. *In Prague my brother (th) was suddenly taken (tr) ill with a fever (rh)*, with *my brother* functioning as theme proper, *with a fever* as rheme proper. It is in keeping with the outlined interpretation to regard *was* as transition proper. (On the level of FSP we regard *as* an element any linguistic unit within the sentence — not excluding the morpheme — capable of carrying a degree of CD. (On the hierarchy of such elements, see A. SVOBODA, *Hierarchy*.) Contextual dependence is constituted by the amount of the already given (known) and that of the newly conveyed (unknown) information, as well as the manner in which these kinds of information are conveyed. (As to the range of degrees of contextual dependence a sentence structure may cover, we refer to it as the contextual applicability of the sentence structure.) It should be added that by the semantic structure of the sentence, we understand the non-grammatical, purely semantic relations between the semantic contents conveyed by the sentence elements. As for the sentence, we regard it as a field of relations, with the syntactic relations playing the primarily dominating role. (Cf. note⁴¹.) (The above illustrative sentence is an expansion of the example adduced by B. TRNKA on p. 38 of his *Multilevel Organisation*.)
- ² By the temporal and modal exponents of the verb we understand all the formal expedients (such as the alteration of stem vowels in *sing, sang, sung*, the verbal suffix *-ed*, the auxiliaries, etc.) used by the verb to convey its temporal and modal indications. We follow here B. TRNKA (*Morphology*, p. 58, or READER, p. 330). The possible auxiliary elements within a finite verb form are conveniently indicated by O. THOMAS's phrase structure rule: Aux → Tn (Modal) (have + en) (be + ing). (Tn stands for tense.) (See *Transformational Grammar*, p. 130.)
- ³ The usefulness and importance of a statistical inquiry into phenomena of FSP has been stressed by Prof. B. TRNKA in a private communication.
- ⁴ The importance of sentence linearity and second instance for the study of FSP has been suggested to us by D. L. BOLINGER's *Linearity*.
- ⁵ In dealing with the mentioned phenomena we attempt to elaborate the views of V. MATHESIUS, the founder of the theory of FSP. (Cf. his *Linguistic Characterology, Čeština, Rozbor, Řeč a sloh*.) The importance of the theory has been suggested to us by J. VACHEK. (For his recent evaluations of V. Mathesius' work see, e.g., *Prague Linguistic School*; cf. also his editorial notes added to V. Mathesius' *Rozbor*, as well as his editorial sequel to V. Mathesius' *Řeč a sloh*.) In attempting to throw some light on the relation between the prosodic features of the finite verb and its function in FSP, we hope to be able to offer a modest contribution to the studies in the correspondence of prosodic to grammatical features, so successfully begun by R. QUIRK and his collaborators (see R. QUIRK ET AL., *Studies*).
- ⁶ The examples are taken from E. BACH, *Order*, p. 263. On the relation between the function of the finite verb in FSP and its sentence position, see our *Communicative Function* and E. BENEŠ, *Verbstellung*.

- ⁷ By the basic distribution of CD we understand a consistent theme-transition-rheme distribution of CD over the sentence elements.
- ⁸ A literal English translation of

Na svatbu k nim přišel pan hrabě

would be *To wedding to them he-came Lord Count.

- Sám* and *i*, occurring in some of the other sentences, respectively mean *himself* and *even*.
- ⁹ On rhematizing elements, which are to be regarded as special means of FSP, see our *Communicative Function*. A student of them will benefit by consulting the works of K. BOOST (*Untersuchungen*), F. DANEŠ (*Intonace*), B. A. ILYISH (*Razvitiye, Structure*), J. MISTRÍK (*Realizácia, Slovosled*), M. SCHUBIGER (*Role, Intonation*).
- ¹⁰ The theme is linked up with front-position by K. BOOST (*Untersuchungen*) and F. TRÁVNÍČEK (*Aktuální členění větné*). We have discussed K. BOOST's and F. TRÁVNÍČEK's views in our *Bemerkungen and Theme*, respectively.
- ¹¹ As we have already stated elsewhere (*Theme*, p. 278, note 19, *Transition Proper*, p. 171, note 8) we concur here with P. TROST, who regards the sentence as a field of syntactic relations. We agree with him when he says that the word 'syntactically unrelated to the preceding or following words equals a sentence.' (Translated from P. TROST, *Subjekt a predikát, Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Slavica Pragensia* 4, p. 267.) Cf. also our notes on the sentence regarded as a field of tension in *Bemerkungen*, p. 54, last but one paragraph.
- ¹² Within this field, which is a 'one-after-the-other' functioning as a 'together', linearity manifests itself in various ways. It is at the basis of various lines: the grammatical line, along which the sentence is being structured grammatically, the line of semantic structure, the FSP line, and of course the prosodic line. All these, and possibly other lines, have their share in building up the field of relations within the sentence. At this point mention may be made of W. N. FRANCIS's query in his review of our *Comparative Studies* (see his *Review of BSE* 4, p. 149). Quoting from *Comparative Studies* (p. 115) our assumption that 'it is in accordance both with the character of human thought and with the linear character of the sentence to arrange the sentence elements in a consistent theme-transition-rheme sequence, i.e. according to the degree of CD, starting with the lowest and gradually passing on to (ending with) the highest' (such a sequence represents what we have termed the basic distribution of CD), he asks (1) on what basis this assumption is made, and (2) if it is well founded, 'what opposing forces operate to cause many languages to develop normal syntactic patterns that violate that order.' The following may be said in reply to this query. The assumption is chiefly based on the fact that it is most natural for a discourse (communication) to be developed gradually; in other words, it is most natural for a speaker 'to begin at the beginning' and gradually proceed towards the fulfilment of the communicative purpose of the discourse. (See also our *It was ... that*, p. 142). This is necessitated by the character of human apprehension as well as by the linear character of the discourse. These observations are applicable to various sections of the discourse (chapters, paragraphs, sentences etc.). The sentence, however, provides a field which is particularly suitable for counteracting the linearity, manifested on the FSP line in the basic distribution of CD. (On how linearity can manifest itself, e.g., along the grammatical line, see K. PALA's *Homonymy* in the present volume). In the present paper (see esp. Chapter One) and elsewhere (see, e.g. *Non-Thematic Subjects*), we have endeavoured to demonstrate the co-operation of means of FSP, which work either in the same direction as, or counter to, the basic distribution of CD. Considered in this light, the positions of the elements can be accounted for by the operation of various factors (grammatical structure, emotive reasons, rhythm etc.) In this way, such deviations — their realizations depending on the system of the given language — serve various useful purposes; language cannot do without them. As the FSP of a sentence is the outcome of the co-operation of FSP means, we do not as a rule regard deviations from the basic distribution of CD as its violations. Although the degree of validity of the theory of FSP has not yet been definitely established, it appears to be considerably high in regard to English, German and Czech. It is hoped that further research will throw more light on points that have not yet been settled (cf. *Non-Thematic Subjects*, pp. 245–248). In our opinion, the co-operation of means of FSP, varying from language to language in accordance with the differences in grammatical structure, may be claimed to be an Indo-European universal. It may well be that it is a language universal in the true sense of the word.

- ¹³ Capitals indicate the bearer of rheme proper, non-capitalized words belonging to the (extensive) theme proper.
- ¹⁴ Cf. our wording, which in denoting the same phenomenon uses the expression 'to single out'. (See above our *Communicative Value*, p. 90).
- ¹⁵ D. S. WORTH spaces out all the words of his definition, except those in the brackets.
- ¹⁶ Cf. I. POLDAUF, *Slovník*, p. 714.
- ¹⁷ Cf. I. POLDAUF, *Slovník*, p. 1236.
- ¹⁸ It should be noted that dealing with the phenomenon under discussion various other writers (e.g. H. O. COLEMAN, D. JONES, V. MATHESIUS, F. TRÁVNÍČEK, F. DANĚŠ) have used the term 'emphasis' as well. In the present paper, D. L. BOLINGER's 'second instance' has been adopted partly because it replaces an overworked term (cf. F. DANĚŠ's comment on 'emphasis' in *Intonace*, cf. also K. J. DOVER, *Greek Word Order*, p. 32), partly because it adequately indicates the place occupied by the ad hoc opposition uses within the entire sphere of the contextual applicability of a given semantic and grammatical structure. It is worth noticing that independently of D. L. BOLINGER, F. DANĚŠ speaks of a two-layered contextual organization (functional sentence perspective) of a sentence conveying contrast emphasis. He uses the following diagram, in which A represents the original, one-layered sentence, B the two-layered one, put in opposition to it. (For the benefit of the reader who may not have a ready command of Czech, we adduce a literal English translation: Th/eme/ and Rh/eme/ are translations of DANĚŠ's Z/áklad/ and J/ádro/.) — See his *Intonace*, p. 76.

A: Tato touha po svobodě *This longing for freedom	nenabývá it-does-not-acquire	u něho with him
Th		Rh
zvláštního významu. special significance.		
centre of Rh		

B: Tato touha po svobodě *This longing for freedom	nabývá it-DOES-acquire	u něho with him	zvláštního významu. special significance.
1. Th		Rh	
2. Th	Rh		Th

In B it is the second layer that produces the final effect, overruling the first, which would have determined the FSP of the sentence had it not been involved in contrast emphasis. In other words, the second layer has been superimposed upon the first, which shows the FSP of the original sentence.

- ¹⁹ It is by communicating the ad hoc opposition that the singled out semantic item(s) develops (develop) the communication further. In this sense, it (they) conveys (convey) new, contextually independent information, whereas all the other items throughout the sentence merely repeat information already communicated.
- ²⁰ The special kind of contextual dependence of a second instance sentence becomes particularly apparent if the sentence is of considerable length. The longer it is, the more evident it becomes what a small section of the entire semantic content of the sentence remains unaffected by the context.
- ²¹ Nor did the first section of the present chapter cover the entire range of contextual application of the structures discussed. Contrary to the present section it did not deal, e.g., with second instance uses.
- ²² Cf. the note on borderline cases in the closing section of the present paper.
- ²³ On the FSP of this type, see our *It was... that*. The corresponding Czech type has been dealt with by J. FILIPEČ, *Byl to ... který* and F. DANĚŠ, *Intonation*.
- ²⁴ Cf. V. MATHESIUS' remark (*Čestina*, p. 240) that the theme may be reflected in the morphological make-up of the word. It has suggested to us the necessity of an inquiry into the function of TME's in FSP. (Cf., e.g., our *Transition Proper*.)
- ²⁵ In regard to the relation between form and semantic content, it is obvious that not every semantic item is given its own form. Such a procedure would make a language analytical to an undesirable degree. It may be expected, of course, that in contrast to the synthetic type of language the analytical will narrow down the contextual

- ³⁴ Semantically speaking, the entire semantic content of the sentence (including the temporal indication) has become an extensive theme proper.
- ³⁵ As has been established, the gamut of CD is not a word order concept. The same applies to the gamut of prosodic weight.
- ³⁶ Viewed from the point of view of transition proper, which is our main concern. We might just as well speak about the theme-transition direction.
- ³⁷ This statement will be corroborated by the results of our inquiry to be discussed in detail further on. — On the co-operation of language levels, cf. J. VACHEK's observations in *Complementation*.
- ³⁸ On the concept of 'distributional field', see e.g. our *It was ... that*, esp. pp. 142—143, and the extensive note⁴¹ below.
- ³⁹ Cf. F. DANEŠ, *Intonace*, esp. pp. 105—109. His observations concern the intonation of the theme in Czech, but are of wider general interest.
- ⁴⁰ As is well known, the attitudinal function of English intonation has been discussed by a number of scholars. Cf. the works mentioned in notes^{4,9}, to which at least W. JASSEM's *Intonation* and K. L. PIKE's *Intonation* should be added.
- ⁴¹ It follows that the basic type of distributional field is provided by the sentence, which may contain one or more distributional fields of lower order (subfields) provided by subordinate clauses, and semi-clausal and other structures. (As has been shown by A. SVOBODA in *Hierarchy*, distributional fields of CD are also provided by clausal and non-clausal attributive constructions. As to the distributional fields dealt with in the present paper, they may be specified as those provided by sentences and clauses. This is understandable since it is the finite verb form that is in the centre of our interest.) A field within which the degrees of CD are distributed may equally serve as a field of distribution of degrees of prosodic weight. Two more examples may serve as additional illustration.
- (i) √Some people say 'frosts kill 'off all the germs. — 43.10
- (ii) Well, to 'go 'back to abbreviation, I was 'going to ,say that √that comes from a Latin word 'too, originally — 36.30
- Each example is a complex sentence providing a distributional field, (i) containing one distributional subfield (an object clause), (ii) containing two distributional subfields (an infinitive semi-clause and an object clause). The first finite verb of (i) (*say*) is transitional within the entire basic field; the second finite verb (*kill 'off*) is rhematic within the subfield. As to (ii), its first finite verb (*was 'going to ,say*) is transitional within the entire basic field, while the second finite verb (*comes*) is transitional within the subfield.
- The distribution of theme, transition and rheme within the basic fields of (i) and (ii) are as follows: √Some people (th) say (tr) 'frosts... (rh); to 'go... I (th) was 'going to ,say (tr) that ... (rh). Strictly speaking, *Well* constitutes a subfield of its own. (On the thematic character of the initial infinitive construction, cf. E. GOLKOVÁ, *Infinitive*. For further comments on (ii), see p. 30. On pp. 31—33, (i) and (ii) are adduced as exx. 36 and 39 and commented upon again.)
- The examples show that the term 'subfield' indicates that the field is provided by a structure of lower grammatical order than the sentence. The term is in no way an indication of the amount of CD carried by the field.
- It should be added that a subfield enters into the basic field as an element of the latter (cf. A. SVOBODA's *Hierarchy*). As to the prosodic weight of a subfield within the basic field, it is determined by the prosodically heaviest element of the subfield.
- As to the term 'distributional', it has been chosen because it is in concord with the concept of distribution used in the definition of FSP. (FSP has been defined as the outcome of the distribution of various degrees of CD over the elements within a sentence. Cf. our *Transition Proper*, p. 170.) Instead of 'distributional' A. SVOBODA employs the designation 'communicative'. (See his *Hierarchy*.) We find his term equally suitable; it is in harmony with the concept of communicative dynamism, stressing the communicative function of the field (in other words, its function in the act of communication). On the problem of distributional fields, see also our *It was ... that*, pp. 142—143.
- ⁴² The notation indicates the function of the finite verb in FSP and its prosodic features. The Roman, the first Arabic, and the second Arabic numeral respectively indicate the function of the finite verb in FSP, the prosodic characteristics of its auxiliary or auxiliaries, and the prosodic characteristics of its non-auxiliary part. 1, 2, 3, 4 respec-

- tively stand for 'unstressed', 'partly stressed', 'stressed', 'bearing a nucleus'. A zero (0) indicates that the respective part of the finite verb is not used.
- ⁴³ On the rise expressing appeal, see esp. O. A. BODELSEN, *Tunes*. It should be added that by appeal we understand one of K. Bühler's three functions of communication. (Cf. p. 29 and note⁴⁷).
- ⁴⁴ On the phenomenon of second instance sentences eliminating subfields, see our *It was... that*, p. 144.
- ⁴⁵ C—Q are used in reference to examples quoted from D. CRYSTAL and R. QUIRK's *Prosodic and Paralinguistic Features*. For the purposes of our paper, however, we have adapted the tonetic notation.
- ⁴⁶ The phenomenon of strikingly distinct relief has been dealt with in greater detail in our *Communicative Value*, passim.
- ⁴⁷ On the three functions of communication, i.e. reference, (Darstellung), expression (Kundgabe) and appeal (Appel), see K. BÜHLER, *Sprachtheorie*, pp. 28—29.
- ⁴⁸ We believe to be right in assuming that provided they are contextually independent, adverbial elements of degree carry a higher amount of CD than the finite verb. (Cf. E. DVOŘÁKOVÁ, *Adverbs*, p. 136.)
- ⁴⁹ The problem of the functional importance (i.e., under the circumstances, the degree of CD signalled) of nuclei occurring within one distributional field will be touched upon on pp. 31—33.
- ⁵⁰ In dealing with Type V cases, we find it convenient to deviate from the adopted procedure by giving some comments first.
- ⁵¹ On the conception of distributional fields, see the extensive note⁴¹.
- ⁵² In either case, the finite verb remains the actual bearer of the functionally weightiest prosodic feature, although strictly speaking, in the second case, it is no longer the finite verb, but the entire distributional subfield, that becomes the functionally most important bearer. For the purpose of the present discussion, however, we do not consider it necessary to introduce this fact explicitly into the following discussion.
- ⁵³ One of these examples (42) is a special case, its finite verb having the nucleus on the auxiliary. The example will be commented upon on p. 36.
- ⁵⁴ In exx. 35—55, the examined finite verbs have been italicized. For easier reference, exceptionally even those examples are given here that have already been adduced. There are eight of them: 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 43, 47, 53. (Cf. note⁴¹ and exx. 12, 29, 32, 10, 33, 29, 29, respectively. Ex. 29 contains three finite verbs as nucleus bearers.)
- ⁵⁵ Cf., e.g., to a 'seat in the park of 2, into town of 3, from the 'library of 19. Cf. also: √She's still in 'bed, ... (43.19), So I 'went to the 'place next 'door (32.27), You could 'just pop 'round to the 'baker's, ... (42.17). Cf. E. DVOŘÁKOVÁ, *Adverbs*, p. 135.
- ⁵⁶ In our opinion, *yesterday* of 57 conveys merely concomitant information. Evidently the speaker's main concern is not when but what he was writing with his pen. He is in fact explicitly drawing his listener's attention to what he has written. (Cf. the imperative *look*.) The interlocutor's reaction is in keeping with this interpretation: 'What a funny writing you have got. The examined section of 57 does not contain a finite verb as a nucleus bearer. The example has been adduced, however, because of the obvious concomitant character of the adverbial element. Less obvious perhaps is the concomitant character of the *while*-clause of 53 (29). But even here the fact the speaker is primarily concerned with is that his watch has stopped; the time when this happened seems to be of secondary importance. (Like *yesterday*, the *while*-clause would convey a mere temporal setting, not a temporal specification.)
- ⁵⁷ For the sake of completeness, let us add that together with the finite verb, in addition to the elements already mentioned and those to be specified presently, the following elements occurred within the examined fields: *just about, just, hardly ever, always, well, now, last night*. Each element occurred once and except the last two appeared before the notional component of the finite verb. (The last element was evidently thematized.) Occasionally, a conjunction (e.g. *when*) opened the distributional field.
- ⁵⁸ If occurring in a corresponding non-contact clause, the relative pronoun would be thematic.
- ⁵⁹ The preceding context is as follows: *They 'said on the √radio last 'night that a 'thaw was ex,pected. — 'Oh 'really?*
- ⁶⁰ The preceding context is as follows: *I took 'lots of 'snaps of "all the places we went to. I'll 'show them to you if you 'like. — 'Oh, 'thanks 'awfully! In this context 66 is in fact synonymous with 'I'd love to be shown the snaps'.*

- ⁴¹ We are interested here in the distributional field of the finite verb form of *to show*. This field contains the subfield provided by the object which has been thematized by the preceding context. In it the following sentences occur: 'Will you let me 'write with it?' (39.26) — *I don't think you'd better.* (39.27).
- ⁴² On the prosodic level, these notes bear out our earlier observation, based on an inquiry into non-prosodic phenomena, that a contextually independent object is communicatively more important than the finite verb, irrespective of sentence position. (Cf. our *Communicative Function*, passim, but esp. p. 46.) A palpable proof of the validity of such a statement is offered by German intonation. Provided it conveys a new piece of information, the German object is prosodically heavier (as a rule bearing the functionally weightiest prosodic feature) than the finite verb. This evidence is particularly valuable, for in contrast with its English counterpart, the German object can either precede or follow the finite verb. (On the intonation of the object in German, see the illuminating comments of F. TROJAN, *Satzbetonung*, pp. 17 ff.). We believe that these facts provide sufficient ground for the assertion that, under the specified conditions, the object carries a higher degree of CD than the finite verb, and meet W. N. FRANCIS's objection that such a statement is a good deal arbitrary. For further discussion of the functions performed in FSP by the prosodic features of the finite verb and its object, see our *Verb-Object Combination*.
- ⁴³ The interpretation of 53 has been given as tentative.
- ⁴⁴ Under the heading of imperfect co-operation of prosodic and non-prosodic means of FSP would not come cases in which the non-prosodic means unmistakably signal as rheme another element than the nucleus bearer. We have not come across such cases in our material, but they undoubtedly exist. (Our cautious wording that the 'rheme is most naturally signalled by the nucleus' (p. 20) in fact provides for such cases.) Thus we do not think it impossible for a speaker exceptionally to give a gradually falling intonation to the sentence of the *A* 'little 'girl 'came into the room type, in which the rheme is expressed by the subject (see our *Non-Thematic Subjects*, p. 243). Other types certainly exist. (Cf. e.g., *How 'very 'beautiful is the 'lane!*, in which the subject, though evidently thematic, bears the nucleus. The sentence is quoted from M. SCHUBIGER, *Word-Order and Intonation*, p. 261.)
- ⁴⁵ On the position of borderline cases within language systems see, e.g., F. DANEŠ, *Centre and Periphery*, p. 10 ff. In support of his view he quotes F. HOCKETT's comment on the hypothesis that "there are gaps, asymmetries, or 'configurational pressures' in every phonological system, no matter when examined". Daneš is right in extending it to all levels of language. Like Daneš, we quote Hockett's comments in full. "Most systems, by virtue of a sort of semi-magical logistics of maneuvering on the part of analysts, can be forced to appear neat and symmetrical. The maneuvering is always worth undertaking, not in order to force symmetry where there is lack of it, but because it is heuristically valuable — it helps to show relationships within a system that might otherwise be missed. But the asymmetries, however pushed about, remain in the system." (UNIVERSALS, p. 20).
- ⁴⁶ On the postulate of absolute regularity of language phenomena and on language trends and tendencies, see B. TRNKA, *Linguistics*, p. 164.
- ⁴⁷ Cf. I. P. RASPOPOV, *Aktualnoye chleneniyе*, pp. 35—36; p. 26, note 3. See also our *Transition Proper*, pp. 173—174.
- ⁴⁸ By a point of perfect coincidence between the grammatical structure on the one hand and FSP on the other, we understand a grammatical phenomenon invariably linked up with a certain function in FSP.

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SOUHRN

O přízvukově-melodických rysech anglického určitého slovesa jako prostředcích funkční perspektivy větné (Další myšlenky o vlastním přechodu ve FPV)

Autorova práce navazuje na jeho článek, který se zabýval otázkou základu (*K otázce tzv. východiska výpovědi*, Sborník prací filosofické fakulty brněnské university 1965, A 13) a na jeho článek zabývající se otázkou vlastního přechodu (*A Note on Transition Proper in Functional Sentence Analysis*, Philologica Pragensia 8/1965.)

Jak je dobře známo, přechod ve větě vyjadřují složky, které co do výpovědní dynamičnosti stojí mezi složkami základovými a jádrovými. Jak autor dovedil ve svém článku v časopise Philologica Pragensia, jeví se temporální a modální exponenty určitého slovesa (=TME) jako složky, které uvnitř přechodu mají nejnižší stupeň výpovědní dynamičnosti (=VD). Vytvářejí tak vlastní přechod, jsou přechodem *par excellence*. Ostatní část slovesa může být základová, přechodová nebo jádrová. Autor tak přijímá myšlenku I. P. RASPOVA. Modifikuje ji však v tom smyslu, že TME mohou ve zvláštních, příznakových, dobře specifikovaných případech fungovat i v základu nebo jádru. TME jsou tak v bezpříznakových případech mezníkem mezi základovou a nezákladovou větnou částí.

V první kapitole práce autor ukazuje, že přechod nelze spojovat s žádným větným místem. Přechod není pojem slovosledný. Zvláště přesvědčivě to ukazují větná postavení německého slovesa. Dále se v první kapitole zabývá případy tzv. druhé instance, v níž jedna větná složka se stává nositelem vlastního jádra, zatímco ostatní vytvářejí rozsáhlý vlastní základ. Těmito případy se zabývá proto, aby ukázal, že i s morfémy, popř. i se submorfémovými útvary je třeba počítat jako se složkami schopnými vyjadřovat stupně VD. (*Tatínek včera odejel*. [Nefíkal jsem, že přijel.]

Vlastní jádro práce tvoří kapitola druhá a třetí. Zkoumají, v jakém souladu je funkce slovesa ve FPV s jeho rysy intonačními. Soustřeďují se na tyto čtyři přízvukově-melodické

rysy: bezpřízvučnost, částečná přízvučnost, přízvučnost a nositelství intonačního centra. (V souhlase s F. DANEŠEM zahrnuje autor pod termínem intonace melodii i přízvuk.¹ Uvedené rysy je třeba chápat jako intonační.²) Na základě statistického zkoumání souvislých toneticky přepsaných textů zjišťuje autor šest typů, ukazujících na šest možných funkcí anglického určitého slovesa v aktu sdělení (celkem bylo interpretováno 419 případů určitého slovesa). Určité sloveso tu je zkoumáno ve svém vztahu k nezakladovému úseku věty, hlavní nebo vedlejší, v níž se vyskytuje.

Typ I. je v zkoumaném materiálu výjimečný. Určité sloveso je zcela základové (tj. jak svými TME, tak svou částí významovou). S tím je v souhlase, že není ani nositelem přízvuku ani intonačního centra.

Typ II. Určité sloveso funguje v nezakladové oblasti jen prostřednictvím TME; jinak je základové. (Jde o 13 proc. celkového počtu případů, tj. případů všech šesti typů.) S tím je opět v souhlase, že není ani nositelem přízvuku ani intonačního centra.

Typ III. Určité sloveso je plně v nezakladové oblasti. Jak TME, tak významová část funguje jako vlastní přechod. (Jde o 29,1 proc. celkového počtu případů.) S tím je v souhlase, že v 99,1 proc. případů tohoto typu není sloveso nositelem intonačního centra. Ve zbylých případech jde o přízvukově-melodickou intenzifikaci, ke které dochází především z důvodů rytmických nebo emotivních, a to v mezích určovaných nezvukovými i zvukovými prostředky FPV.

Typ IV. je rovněž plně v nezakladové oblasti. Vlastní přechod tvoří však jenom TME, neboť významová část je zřetelně výpovědně dynamičtější. (Jde o 50,6 proc. celkového počtu případů.) S tím je v souhlase, že na rozdíl od typu III. jeví typ IV. zvýšený počet nositelů přízvuku (57,5 proc. případů tohoto typu) i intonačního centra (6,1 proc. případů tohoto typu). V posledním případě jde opět o intenzifikaci.

Typ V. TME určitého slovesa zůstávají nositeli vlastního přechodu. Významová část však vyjadřuje vlastní jádro. (Jde o 14,6 proc. celkového počtu případů.) S tím je v souhlase, že v 91,8 proc. případů tohoto typu je určité sloveso nositelem intonačního centra. (Zbytek případů funguje jako jádro v krátkých vložených nebo dodatkových větách, intonačně celkově velmi lehkých.)

Typ VI. TME jsou nositeli vlastního jádra, významová komponenta je však základová. (Jde jen o 2,4 proc. celkového počtu případů.) S tím je v souhlase, že nositelkami výpovědního centra jsou pomocné složky. Podobně jako u typu I., jde o příznakové kontextové zapojení.

Statistická zjištění a komentáře, které se podrobně zabývají i mezními případy, potvrzují, že TME fungují jako vlastní přechod a vytvářejí poměrně velmi pevný styčný bod mezi gramatickou (i sémantickou) stavbou věty a FPV. Tím zaujímají TME i zvláštní postavení mezi gramatickými složkami věty, které, jak je dobře známo, takový vysoký stupeň koincidence mezi gramatickou stavbou a FPV nejeví. TME ve funkci vlastního přechodu je proto možno považovat za vhodný výchozí bod pro studium vztahů mezi gramatickou stavbou a intonací. Takové studium nutně předpokládá zkoumání vztahu intonace k FPV.

¹ F. DANEŠ, *Intonace a věta ve spisovné češtině*, Praha 1957, zvl. str. 5.

² A. C. GIMSON, *An Introduction to the Pronunciation of English*, Londýn 1962, zvl. str. 244.