

In S. 73 the whole construction *that: he was in error* was an object, with *that* functioning as headword in relation to the appositive *he was in error*. From the functional point of view, the entire *that: he was in error* was a rhematic CU⁰ represented by a CF¹ based on non-verbal predication, with *that* functioning as a thematic, and *he was in error* as a rhematic, CU¹. Consequently, the CF of *he was in error* belonged to second rank, there being no doubt which of the two CF's under consideration conveyed the primary and which the secondary communication.⁵¹ The difference of two ranks between the CF's of the two originally independent sentences was quite obvious. It was in fact obvious to an unnecessarily high degree, and the superfluous obviousness was relieved in the following way. The function of *that* (a headword in relation to its appositive clause; functionally one CU¹) had been gradually weakened to such a degree as to become a mere indicator of the inferiority of the CF provided by the originally appositive clause. The superfluous CF originally provided by *that* and its appositive clause had disappeared. In consequence of this, the clause became a CU⁰ represented by a CF¹, i.e., by the CF that was still of lower rank in relation to the CF⁰; but the difference in ranks was no longer greater than it was necessary.

$$S. 74 \quad \frac{T^0 \text{ Tr}^0/R^0}{I \text{ know}} \frac{R_p^0}{\text{that he was in error.}}$$

$$\frac{\quad}{i^1 \quad T^1 \quad \text{Tr}^1 \quad R^1}$$

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

$$S. 75 \quad \frac{T^0 \text{ Tr}^0/R^0}{I \text{ know}} \frac{R_p^0}{\text{he was in error.}}$$

$$\frac{\quad}{T^1 \quad \text{Tr}^1 \quad R^1}$$

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

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

$$S. 76 \quad \frac{T^0 \text{ Tr}^0/R^0}{I \text{ know}} \frac{R_p^0}{\text{the fact that he was in error.}}$$

$$\frac{\quad}{T^1 \quad \frac{i^2 \quad T^2 \quad \text{Tr}^2}{R^2}} \quad R^1$$

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

S. 77 $\frac{T^0 \text{ Tr}^0/R^0}{I}$ $\frac{R_p^0}{\frac{i^1}{T^1 \text{ Tr}^1} \quad R^1}$
 I know the fact that he was in error.

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

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

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

CHAPTER SIX

ATTRIBUTIVE SUBSTANTIVE CLAUSES

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

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

S. 78	$\frac{\text{The fact that he was in error}}{\frac{i^2 \quad T^2 \quad Tr^2 \quad R^2}{T^1 \quad R^1}} \quad \frac{Tr^0 \quad R^0}{\text{is essential.}}$
-------	---

S. 79	$\frac{\text{The fact}}{T^1} \quad \frac{Tr^0 \quad R^0}{\text{is essential}} \quad \frac{\text{that he was in error.}}{\frac{i^2 \quad T^2 \quad Tr^2 \quad R^2}{R^1}}$
-------	--

S. 80	$\frac{\text{It}}{T^1} \quad \frac{Tr^0 \quad R^0}{\text{is essential}} \quad \frac{\text{that he was in error.}}{\frac{i^2 \quad T^2 \quad Tr^2 \quad R^2}{R^1}}$
-------	--

S. 81	$\frac{\text{It}}{I^0} \quad \frac{Tr^0 \quad R^0}{\text{is essential}} \quad \frac{\text{that he was in error.}}{\frac{i^1 \quad T^1 \quad Tr^1 \quad R^1}{T^0}}$
-------	--

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

S. 79 may be understood in the same way as S. 78. From the grammatical point of view, the *that*-clause within *the fact... that he was in error* retains its appositive character even when detached. *The fact* does not only perform the function of a headword, but also anticipates the appositive clause. From the semantic point of view, *the fact*, whose reference to extra-linguistic reality is very vague, is first predicated about by *is essential* on the basis of verbal predication and then more closely qualified by *that he was in error* on the basis of non-verbal predication. In consequence, the validity of the verbal predication is, as it were, extended to the entire *the fact... that he was in error*. From the functional point of view, *the fact* and *that he was in error* represent two CU¹'s, which constitute a CF¹, functioning in the nearest superior CF⁰ as one CU⁰. As *the fact* as one part of this CU⁰ occurs in the thematic section of the CF⁰, it is obvious that even the other part of the CU⁰ must share the same communicative position. *The fact* does not only perform the function of a CU¹, but also indicates the communicative position of the entire CF¹ (CU⁰) within the CF⁰. Under the circumstances, it indicates the thematic character of the CU⁰ *the fact... that he was in error*, so that *is* represents the transitional CU⁰ and *essential* the rhematic CU⁰ within the CF⁰ of the sentence.

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

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

In our opinion, the employment of *it* has its important consequences on all the three levels. On the grammatical level, in comparison with *the fact*, it loses its character of the headword of the apposition, but still performs the anticipatory function. It is in fact called 'anticipatory'. On the semantic level, it is so devoid of meaning that it can hardly be considered a naming unit. On the functional level, in comparison with *the fact*, it loses its character of a CU¹, its only function being to indicate the communicative position of the CU⁰ to which it relates. There is no CF extending between *it* and *that he was in error*; consequently, the CF provided by the latter becomes a CF¹ functioning as a CU⁰ in CF⁰. As can be seen from S. 81, owing to the anticipatory *it* functioning as an indicator of thematic communicative position, the CU⁰ *that he was in error* occurs within the thematic section of the CF⁰.

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

S. 82 $\frac{I^0 \quad Tr^0 \quad R^0}{\quad \quad \quad} \quad \frac{T^0}{\quad \quad \quad}$
 There is a school just round the corner.

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

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

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

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

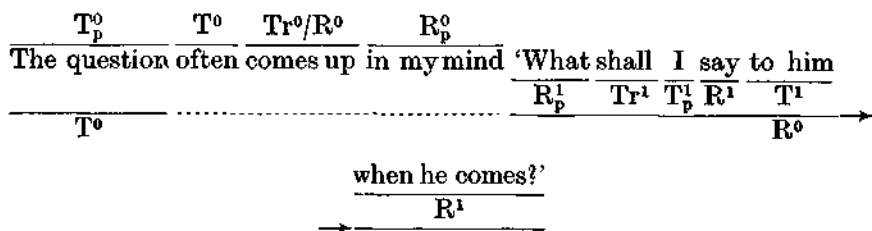
S. 83	T ⁻¹	R ⁻¹
	T ⁰ Tr ⁰ R ⁰	T ⁰ Tr ⁰ /R ⁰ R _p ⁰
	God is invisible.	He created the visible world.
		R ¹ T ¹

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

S. 84	T ⁻¹	R ⁻¹
	T _p ⁰ T ⁰ Tr ⁰ /R ⁰ R _p ⁰	R _p ⁰ Tr ⁰ T _p ⁰ R ⁰ T ⁰
	The question often comes up in my mind.	What shall I say to him
	→	R ⁰
		when he comes?

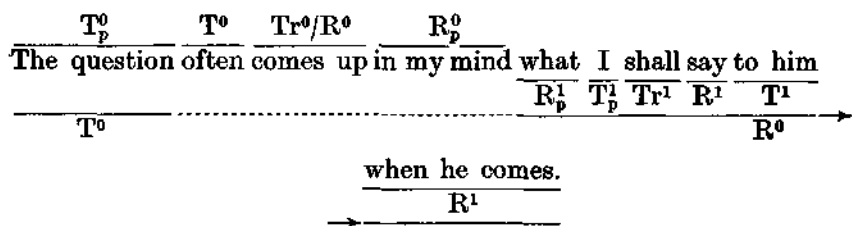
S. 85	T ⁻¹	R ⁻¹
	T _p ⁰ T ⁰ Tr ⁰ /R ⁰ R _p ⁰	R _p ⁰ Tr ⁰ T ⁰ R ⁰ T ⁰
	The question often comes up in my mind	What shall I say to him
	→	R ⁰
		when he comes?

S. 86



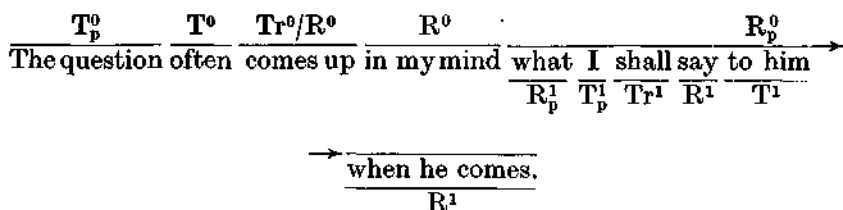
(CURME, *Grammar III*, p. 200)

S. 87



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

S. 88



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

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

CHAPTER SEVEN

ATTRIBUTIVE RELATIVE CLAUSES

From the functional point of view, attributive relative clauses considerably differ from the subordinate clauses dealt with before. In order to be able to throw some light on this difference, let us first examine the following attributive construction containing an appositive clause. (We do not find it necessary to adduce the whole sentence. Let the attributive construction correspond to the thematic CU⁰.)

	T ⁰				
S. 91	the idea that he is supporting my suggestion				
	i ²	T ²	Tr ²	R ²	R _p ²
	T ¹			R ¹	

We trust S. 91 needs no detailed comment.⁵⁶ It should only be stressed that *the idea*, representing the thematic CU¹, does not belong to *that he is supporting my suggestion*, representing the rhematic CU¹ (CF²), and that there is no element in CF² identical with *the idea* (that only performing the function of an indicator of inferiority). Let us, however, focus our attention on a situation in which the subject of the appositive clause and the headword of the whole attributive construction are identical.⁵⁷

	T ⁰				
S. 92	the idea that (it) is supporting my suggestion				
	i ²	T ²	Tr ²	R ²	R _p ²
	T ¹			R ¹	

	T ⁰				
S. 93	the idea that is supporting my suggestion				
	T ²	i ²	Tr ²	R ²	R _p ²
	T ¹			R ¹	

	T ⁰				
	T ¹				
	R ¹				
S. 94	the idea that is supporting my suggestion				
	T ¹	i ¹	Tr ¹	R ¹	R _p ¹

	T ⁰				
S. 95	the idea that is supporting my suggestion				
	T ¹	i ¹	Tr ¹	R ¹	R _p ¹

	T ⁰				
S. 96	the idea supporting my suggestion				
	T ¹	R ¹			R _p ¹

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

But if the headword (*the idea*) refers to the same extra-linguistic phenomenon as some element of the following appositive clause (*it*), the anaphoric pronoun is not employed and its function is performed by the headword itself (as can be seen from S. 93), which then performs a double function: that of a headword of a whole attributive construction, and that of a subject within an appositive clause. Semantically, it functions within two predicative relations: in a non-verbal predication combining *the idea* and *the idea is supporting my suggestion*, and in a verbal predication combining *the idea* and *is supporting my suggestion*. A comparison of S. 93 with S. 92 will show that even on the functional level, *the idea* performs the functions of two CU's of different rank (of a thematic CU² and a thematic CU¹).

As can be seen from S. 94, the double functions of *the idea* on the grammatical and the semantic level are not the only consequence of the absence of the anaphoric pronoun. On the functional level, the coalescence of the thematic CU² and the thematic CU¹ causes the entire CF² to change into a CF¹. Hence there are two CF¹'s existing within one and the same construction and mingling with each other. Their CU¹'s, being of the same rank, observe the same rules of distribution of CD as if they were CU¹'s of a single CF¹ (i.e. not one consisting of two CF¹'s).⁵³

Such a functional situation is illustrated by S. 95. The following, however, has to be borne in mind. Even if the attributive construction is regarded as one CF¹ (*the idea* functioning as its thematic CU¹), the above described grammatical and semantic relations (especially the double functions of *the idea*, the antecedent) remain exactly the same. The absence of the anaphoric pronoun functions as indicator of the double function of the antecedent on all three levels (the double function on the functional level is to be dealt with later on), while *that* may, on the functional level, be regarded as a mere indicator of inferiority corresponding to an indicator of transformation of predication into determination on the semantic level, and to an indicator of the respective change in the kind of dependence on the grammatical level.⁵⁴

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

What has been said about attributive constructions with an antecedent functioning as subject of the relative clause holds good also for constructions where the antecedent functions as object.⁵⁵

S. 97	T^0
	the idea that he is supporting (it)
	$i^2 \quad T^2 \quad Tr^2 \quad R^2 \quad T_p^2$
	$T^1 \quad R^1$

S. 98	T^0
	the idea that he is supporting
	$T_p^2 \quad i^2 \quad T^2 \quad Tr^2 \quad R^2$
	$T^1 \quad R^1$

S. 99	T^0
	the idea that he is supporting
	$T^1 \quad R^1$
	$T_p^1 \quad i^1 \quad T^1 \quad Tr^1 \quad R^1$

S. 100	T^0
	the idea that he is supporting
	$T_p^1 \quad i^1 \quad T^1 \quad Tr^1 \quad R^1$

S. 101	T^0
	the idea he is supporting
	$T_p^1 \quad T^1 \quad Tr^1 \quad R^1$

S. 97–S. 100 may be explained in the same way as S. 92–S. 95. As to S. 101, I. POLDAUF has convincingly shown⁶¹ that the grammatical order of antecedent + the typical beginning of the English sentence (subject followed by predicate) signalizes the grammatical and semantic relations as efficiently as the presence of the ‘relative’ *that*. On the functional level, too, the above grammatical word order functions as an indicator of inferiority in exactly the same way as *that* in S. 100.

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

S. 102	T^0
	the sentence that I substituted for a semi-clause
	$T_p^1 \quad i^1 \quad T^1 \quad Tr^1/R^1 \quad R_p^1$

S. 103	T^0
	the sentence that I substituted a semi-clause for
	$T_p^1 \quad i^1 \quad T^1 \quad Tr^1/R^1 \quad R_p^1$

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

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

S. 104	T_p^1	i^1	T^1	Tr^1/R^1	R_p^1
	the sentence	which	I	substituted for a semi-clause	
			T^0		

S. 105	T_p^1	i^1	T^1	Tr^1/R^1	R_p^1
	the sentence	for which	I	substituted a semi-clause	
			T^0		

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

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

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

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

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

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

	Tr^0	R^0		
	I^0	was	P a u l	T^0
S. 106	It	the one that played the piano.		
		T^1	i^1	Tr^1/R^1
				R_p^1
	I^0	Tr^0	R^0	T^0
S. 107	It	was Paul that played the piano.		
		T^1	i^1	Tr^1/R^1
				R_p^1

In S. 106, *Paul* functions as a rhematic CU⁰, while the entire relative clause with the antecedent, functioning as its thematic CU¹, constitutes a thematic CU⁰, owing to the anticipatory *It* functioning as indicator of its communicative position (cf. S. 81, p. 77). S. 107 only simplifies the symbolic notation of S. 106.

The above solution, however, is not the only one. Let us just think of the possibility of regarding *that* as co-conveyer of CD carried by the antecedent (e.g., in *the man that played the piano was Mr. Smith*). Provided the functions of the antecedent and of the relative clause within a given CF become different, the antecedent may be regarded as a mere CU⁰, without performing any other function, and *that* (originally a co-conveyer) as the only element that within the given CF¹ performs the function of theme proper, i.e. the function of one CU¹ (cf. Czech PNE's, mostly co-conveyers, representing CU's; p. 61). This solution — based on the conception that in such cases as S. 107, the antecedent does not perform the double function — is illustrated by S. 108.

	I^0	Tr^0	R^0	T^0
S. 108	It	was Paul that played the piano.		
		T^1	Tr^1/R^1	R_p^1

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

CHAPTER EIGHT

TRANSFORMATIONS

The purpose of the present chapter is to give a general idea of what we propose to call transformations within the system of functional syntax. By transformation we understand the change of a CF into a CU of the same rank (e.g., the change of a CF⁰ into a CU⁰ represented by a CF¹), or the change of a CU into a CF of the same rank (e.g., the change of a CU⁰ represented by a CF¹ into a CF⁰). In fact, we have dealt with such transformations in the course of previous discussion, without referring to them as such. Examples will illustrate.⁶⁶

- | | |
|--------|---|
| | T ⁻¹ |
| | T _p ⁰ T ⁰ Tr ⁰ /R ⁰ R _p ⁰ |
| S. 109 | The question often comes up in my mind. |
| | R ⁻¹ |
| | R _p ⁰ Tr ⁰ T _p ⁰ R ⁰ T ⁰ R ⁰ |
| | What shall I say to him when he comes? |
| | T ⁰ Tr ⁰ |
| S. 110 | The question that often comes up in my mind is |
| | T _p ¹ i ¹ T ¹ Tr ¹ /R ¹ R _p ¹ |
| | what I shall say to him when he comes. |
| | R ⁰ |
| | R _p ¹ T _p ¹ Tr ¹ R ¹ T ¹ R ¹ |
| | The question often comes up in my mind |
| S. 111 | The question often comes up in my mind |
| | R _p ⁰ |
| | what I shall say to him when he comes. |
| | R _p ¹ T _p ¹ Tr ¹ R ¹ T ¹ R ¹ |

S. 109 was explained on p. 80. In S. 110, the original CF⁰'s of S. 109 have been transformed into CF¹'s (CU⁰'s), *that* in the first CF⁰ and word order in

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

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

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

$$S. 112 \quad \frac{\frac{T^{-1}}{T_p^0 \quad Tr^0/R^0 \quad T^0 \quad R_p^0}}{I \text{ explained it to the judge.}}$$

$$\frac{2 \text{ parallel } R^{-1}\text{'s}}{\frac{T_p^0 \quad T^0 \quad Tr^0/R^0 \quad R_p^0 \quad e^0 \quad Tr^0/R^0 \quad R_p^0}}{\text{He then shrugged his shoulders and called the servant.}}$$

S. 113

$$\frac{\frac{T_p^0 \quad Tr^0/R^0 \quad T^0 \quad R^0}{I \text{ explained it to the judge, who then shrugged his shoulders}} \quad \frac{2 \text{ parallel } R_p^0\text{'s}}{\rightarrow}}{\frac{T_p^1 \quad i^1 \quad T^1 \quad Tr^1/R^1 \quad R_p^1}{\rightarrow}} \rightarrow$$

$$\frac{\rightarrow}{\frac{e^1 \quad Tr^1/R^1 \quad R_p^1}{\rightarrow}} \rightarrow$$

$$\frac{\rightarrow}{\text{and called the servant.}}$$

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

$$S. 114 \quad \frac{T^0 \quad Tr^0/R^0 \quad T_p^0 \quad R_p^0}{\text{Paul solved it first.}}$$

$$S. 115 \quad \frac{I^0 \quad Tr^0 \quad R^0 \quad T^0}{\text{It was Paul who first solved it.}}$$

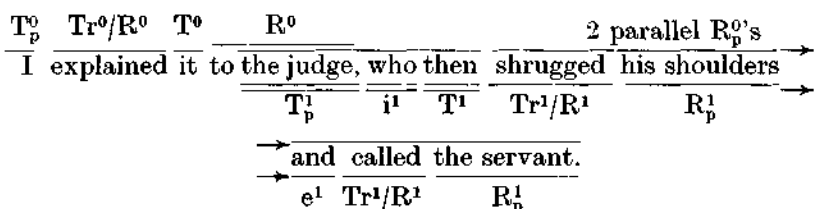
$$\frac{T_p^1 \quad i^1 \quad T^1 \quad Tr^1/R^1 \quad T^1}{\rightarrow}$$

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

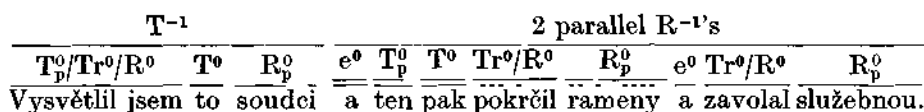
systems of two different languages. As these changes occur in the sphere of comparative syntax, we propose to call them comparative transformations.

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

S. 116

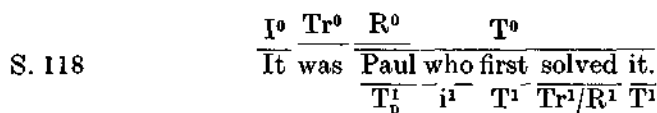


S. 117



* I-explained I-am⁶⁸ it to-judge and this⁶⁹ then he-shrugged shoulders and he-called maid-servant.

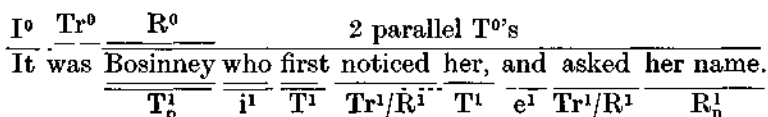
If translating S. 118 (cf. S. 115) into Czech, we transform the original CF¹ into zero rank and meet the demands of utterance organization by means of word order, as shown by S. 119.



* First it he-solved Paul.

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

S. 120



S. 121

I^0	Tr^0	R^0	T^0				R_p^0
It	was	Bosinney	who	first	noticed	her,	and asked her name.
		T_p^1	i^1	T^1	Tr^1/R^1	T^1	
		T^1	i^1		e^1	Tr^1/R^1	R_p^1

(GALSWORTHY, 21.11)

S. 122

T^{-1}				R^{-1}		
T^0	T_p^0	Tr^0/R^0	R_p^0	e^0	$T^0/Tr^0/R^0$	R_p^0
První	si	jí	všiml	Bosinney	a	zeptal se, jak se jmenuje.

(GALSWORTHY, 24.34)⁷⁰

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

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

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

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

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

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

S. 123

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

(GALSWORTHY, 20.5)

S. 124

		T_p^0			
		Jeho nazlátle hnědé oči			
		R_p^2	R^2	T^2	
		T^1	R^1		
Tr^0	R^0	R^0	R_p^0		
byly	někdy	tak nepozorné, že to uvádělo do rozpaků. ⁷³			
		(i ¹) co-indic.	i ¹ T^1 Tr^1/R^1	R_p^1	

(GALSWORTHY, 23.10)

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

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

* * *

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

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

APPENDIX

Explanation of symbols and abbreviations

Base-type letters:

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

Subscripts:

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

Superscripts:

–1, 0, 1, 2, 3, ... indicating rank

Signs:

=	equality
→	dependence (arrow pointing to the dependent member)
⇒	reference (arrow pointing to the member referred to in the referential act)
↔	interrelation

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

Graphic marks:

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

NOTES

- ¹ The paper was presented as a State Examination Thesis and may be found in the library of the German Department of Brno University.
- ² Cf. F. DANĚŠ, *A Three-Level Approach to Syntax*
- ³ "As for the grammatical level, it can be characterized by the fact that it is autonomous, and not onesidedly dependent on the semantic content; consequently, it is a rather self-contained and determining component. Thus the grammatical categories such as subject etc. are not based on the semantic content, but on the syntactic form only; they are bearers of a linguistic function in the given system." (F. DANĚŠ, *A Three-Level Approach to Syntax*, p. 227.) Following this conception, we shall always employ the adjective 'grammatical' in the sense of 'formal', 'deprived of semantic content', 'viewed from the purely formal stand-point'.
- ⁴ For the explanation of symbols employed in the present paper see Appendix, p. 92.
- ⁵ See F. DANĚŠ, *A Three-Level Approach to Syntax*, p. 227.
- ⁶ J. BAUER—M. GREPL, *Skladba spisovné češtiny*, p. 44. The original wording is: "Predikace je aktuální vztahení nějakého sdělovaného příznaku, tj. činnosti, stavu nebo vlastnosti na jistý úsek promluvové skutečnosti."
- ⁷ See O. THOMAS, *Transformational Grammar*, p. 90 f
- ⁸ Cf. V. HRABĚ, *Polovětňné vazby*, pp. 16—19. It has to be noted that we employ the terms 'implicit', 'implicitly' in the sense of 'non-explicit', 'non-explicitly'.
- ⁹ J. VACHEK—J. FIRBAS, *Lingvistická charakteristika*, p. 92 The original wording is: "Věta je elementární slovní zaujetí stanoviska k nějaké skutečnosti."
- ¹⁰ See J. VACHEK—J. FIRBAS, *ibid.*
- ¹¹ S. 8 represents a simplified version of G. O. CURME's sentence "Out of the double determinative construction with indefinite *who*, in its original form *sva hwa swa*, i.e., *so who so*, literally, *that somebody that one*, has developed our common relative pronoun *who*, which in accord with its original meaning refers only to persons: . ." (*Grammar III*, p. 208)
- ¹² See J. FIRBAS, *Communicative Function*, esp. pp. 42—44, and also other works by the same author, quoted in the Bibliography.
- ¹³ It has to be stressed here that CD is a concept belonging to the level of the organization of utterance, and must not be confused with the concepts of semantic information or even subjective information, which at the present stage of linguistic research seem to be rather obscure. This confusion sometimes leads to the objection that the amount of CD is determined by intuition. Considering that the leading word-order principle in nearly all Slavonic languages manifests itself in ordering elements according to the amounts of CD carried, we do not find it any more difficult to ascertain which of the elements in the sentences *Jenda přišel včera* [*John came yesterday*], *Včera přišel Jenda* [*Yesterday came John*], *Jedna včera přišel* [*John yesterday came*] carries a lower or a higher amount of CD in regard to its neighbouring elements than to state, also on the basis of word order, which of the members in the English sentences *Boys beat girls*, *Girls beat boys*, *I gave Peter a book*, represents the subject, predicate, or object, direct or indirect, because the leading word-order principle in English is that of grammatical relations. In both cases the result of our investigation is based not on intuition, but on conventionality of usage. The only difference is that English conventional usage was codified by

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

¹⁴ J. FIRBAS, *Transition Proper*.

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

¹⁶ Cf. J. VACHEK, *System of Systems*, esp. pp. 94-95.

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

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

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

²⁰ See esp. *Communicative Function*, pp. 42-43.

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

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

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

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

²⁵ See V. MATHESIUS, *Funkce podmětu*.

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

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

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

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

³⁰ J. FIRBAS, *Transition Proper*.

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

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

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

The actual correspondence is as follows:

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

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

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

The results of the mentioned statistic examination are contained in the present author's *Attributive Elements*.

- ⁴⁴ See J. FIRBAS's interpretation of this sentence in *Communicative Function*, p. 51, and in the present volume, p. 22.
⁴⁵ In S. 64 and S. 65, also the indefinite articles play an important role in indicating the communicative position of the respective CU⁰. In S. 60–S. 63, this role was obscured by the fact that both *girl* and *vase* were contextually quite independent, and hence both of them were used with the indefinite article.
⁴⁶ J. FIRBAS, *Communicative Value*, p. 84. See also his *Poznámky*, p. 100.
⁴⁷ Cf. G. O. CURME, *Grammar III*, p. 175: "As each subordinate clause which is not merely a modifier of some word within one of the component elements of the sentence has a definite function as if it were a simple word, its position in the sentence is regulated by the same principle that determines the position of a single word with the same function and logical force."
⁴⁸ Cf. G. O. CURME, *Grammar III*, p. 174.
⁴⁹ See G. O. CURME, *Grammar III*, p. 171.
⁵⁰ Cf. G. O. CURME, *Grammar III*, p. 243.
⁵¹ The terms 'primary communication' and 'secondary communication' are closely connected with the conception of hypotactic expression of ideas. Roughly speaking, primary communication conveys an idea that may be regarded as semantically in-

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

- ⁵² It is worth mentioning that even prepositional constructions may have developed out of appositional constructions consisting of an adverb (as headword) and a substantive (as an appositive). Hence these constructions could originally be regarded as CF's, with the adverb functioning as a thematic and the substantive as a rhematic CU. The prepositional phrase could be regarded as an appositional construction even if we followed G O CURME's conception (*Grammar III*, p. 561), according to which the adverbs were employed to strengthen the meaning of the grammatical case of a substantive (e.g., the locative). In regard to the first interpretation, the communicative positions of the CUs would be reversed. Anyhow, the appositional character of the above constructions has gradually disappeared, and we no longer feel the necessity of regarding them as CF's.
- ⁵³ It is to be borne in mind that the indication of communicative positions as given in the examples always represents only one of more possible solutions.
- ⁵⁴ To clarify the semantic relations within these two sentences, we can transform the verbal predication of each into determination, and the supersentence predication into verbal predication, without changing the hypotactic relations. Hence the sentence *The question that often comes up in my mind is what I shall say to him when he comes* expresses semantic relations that are very similar to those in S. 84 (Cf. Chapter Eight, p. 87).
- ⁵⁵ However absurd it may seem, we hold that the impersonal *it* is semantically a far stronger element than the anticipatory *it*. The impersonal *it* names, or refers to, a certain phenomenon of the extra-linguistic reality, i.e. a 'non person'. Though abstract, the phenomenon of 'non person' is always represented by one and the same definite section of the extra-linguistic reality. The impersonal *it* may therefore be regarded as one naming element, as one carrier of CD, that is able to perform the function of a CU. Thus the functional character of the sentence

T ⁰	T _r ⁰	R ⁰
It	is	cold

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

- ⁵⁶ For an explanation of a similar example, see Chapter V, p. 73.
- ⁵⁷ The following examples are to be approached from a purely synchronic standpoint. Even though the diachronic explanation may be rather similar, it cannot be identified with the synchronic interpretation offered.
- ⁵⁸ Cf. the explanation of the sentence *The question often comes up in my mind what I shall say to him when he comes*, pp. 80-81.
- ⁵⁹ Strictly speaking, owing to its formal position, *that*, together with the absence of the anaphoric pronoun, also indicates the double function of the antecedent (Cf. *the idea that is supporting my suggestion* in contrast with *that the idea is supporting my suggestion*, where *that* functions only as indicator of inferiority.) We might, therefore, regard *that* as a co-indicator of the double function of the antecedent. As from the two indicators *that* is the only one indicating inferiority, and as the absence of the anaphoric pronoun only indicates the double function of the antecedent, we simply denote *that* as a mere indicator of inferiority, and the absence of the pronoun as an indicator of the double function (the latter not being symbolized in our examples).

- ⁶⁰ The restricted scope of this chapter prevents us from dealing with antecedents corresponding to other elements than the subject and the object of the relative clause. Such antecedents (corresponding, e.g., to an adverbial modifier, or even an attribute of some element), however, may be explained in a similar way.
- ⁶¹ I. POLDAUF, *Vztažné věty v angličtině a v češtině*, esp. p. 176 f.
- ⁶² Cf. I. POLDAUF, *Vztažné věty v angličtině a v češtině*, esp. p. 174.
- ⁶³ Cf. the PNE's of the finite verb, functioning as a co-conveyer and together with the subject, representing one CU (p. 61); or cf. the PNE's of the Czech adjective (p. 67).
- ⁶⁴ The explanation of the other relative pronouns is rather complicated. For the purposes of the present paper, however, it is not necessary to attempt it here.
- ⁶⁵ See I. POLDAUF, *Vztažné věty v angličtině a v češtině*, p. 174, note³³.
- ⁶⁶ The relations within the following pairs of examples may also be regarded as transformations: S. 1—S. 2, S. 1—S. 3, S. 4—S. 6, S. 5—S. 6, S. 26—S. 27, S. 26—S. 28, S. 26—S. 29, S. 30—S. 31, S. 30—S. 32, S. 30—S. 33, S. 30—S. 34, the CF's of *he was* in error of S. 66 and S. 70, or of S. 79 and S. 81.
- ⁶⁷ The symbol 'e', employed in some of the following examples, denotes an indicator of equality of rank.
- ⁶⁸ An auxiliary accompanying *vysvětlil*. *Vysvětlil jsem* corresponds to *I explained*.
- ⁶⁹ A demonstrative pronoun relating to *judge*.
- ⁷⁰ J. GALSWORTHY, *Sága rodu Forsytů, Bohatec* (Praha 1957), translated by ZDENĚK URBÁNEK.
- ⁷¹ S. 121 occurs in the following context:
 "A tall woman, with a beautiful figure, which some member of the family had once compared to a heathen goddess, stood looking at these two (Bosinney and his fiancée, June — A.S.) with a shadowy smile... The engaged couple thus scrutinised were unconscious of the passive goddess. It was Bosinney who first noticed her, and asked her name. June took her lover up to the woman with the beautiful figure. 'Irene is my greatest chum,' she said: 'Please be good friends, you two!'"
- ⁷² Transformations of the above type also give evidence of the fact that English adjectives display a greater ability to express action than their Czech counterparts. Cf. J. VACHEK—J. FIRBAS, *Lingvistická charakteristika*, p. 73 ff.
- ⁷³ *Jeho* [his] in S. 124 is thematized by the preceding context. The situation here is the same as that in the example illustrating the marked distribution of CD within attributive junctions (p. 66).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- J. BAR-HILLEL—R. CARNAP, *Sémantická informace*, TIJ, pp. 165—175 [a Czech translation of *Semantic Information*, Communication Theory, pp. 503—512, (London 1953)].
- J. BAUER—M. GREPL, *Skladba spisovné češtiny* [*Syntax of Standard Czech*] (Prague 1964).
- BSE — Brno Studies in English (Prague).
- ČMF — Časopis pro moderní filologii (Prague).
- G. O. CURME, *Grammar II — A Grammar of the English Language II* (Boston 1935).
- G. O. CURME, *Grammar III — A Grammar of the English Language III* (Boston 1931).
- F. DANEŠ, *A Three-Level Approach to Syntax*, TLP 1, pp. 225—240 (Prague 1964).
- M. DOKULIL, *Zum wechselseitigen Verhältnis zwischen Wortbildung und Syntax*, TLP 1, pp. 215—224 (Prague 1964).
- E. DVORÁKOVÁ, *Adverbs — On the English and Czech Situational Adverbs in Functional Sentence Perspective*, BSE 4, pp. 129—142 (Prague 1964).
- J. FIRBAS, *Bemerkungen über einen deutschen Beitrag zum Problem der Satzperspektive*, PP 1, pp. 49—54 (Prague 1958).
- J. FIRBAS, *Communicative Function — Thoughts on the Communicative Function of the Verb in English, German and Czech*, BSE 1, pp. 39—68 (Prague 1959).
- J. FIRBAS, *Communicative Value — On the Communicative Value of the Modern English Finite Verb*, BSE 3, pp. 79—104 (Prague 1961).
- J. FIRBAS, *More Thoughts — More Thoughts on the Communicative Function of the English Verb*, SPFFBU A7, pp. 74—98 (Brno 1959).
- J. FIRBAS, *Nezákladové podmíněti — K otázce nezákladových podmětů v současné angličtině* [*On the Problem of Non-Thematic Subjects in Contemporary English*], ČMF 39, pp. 22—42 and 165—173 (Prague 1957).

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

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

SOUHRN

HIERARCHIE SDĚLNÝCH JEDNOTEK A POLÍ VE SVĚTLE ANGLICKÝCH PŘÍVLASTKOVÝCH KONSTRUKCÍ

I Uvod

Samostatná věta slovesná, věta vedlejší, polovětná vazba přívlásková a jednoduché přívláskové spojení jsou zkoumány z hlediska tří syntaktických rovin: 1. roviny (formálně) gramatické, 2. roviny sémantické a 3. roviny funkční (zvané též rovina funkční perspektivy větné či rovina organizace výpovědi). V každé z těchto rovin se zkoumané formace jeví jako pole určitých vztahů mezi danými prvky (jednotkami). V gramatické rovině jde o pole formálně syntaktických vztahů — v samostatné větě je to syntaktické pole nultého řádu (SF⁰)* —, kde důležitou ulohu hraje vztah syntaktické závislosti. Syntaktickými jednotkami nultého řádu (SU⁰) jsou podmět, přísudek, předmět a příslovecně určené, vyskytují-li se v rámci samostatné věty. V sémantické rovině jde o pole sémantických vztahů, kde hlavní ulohu hraje vztah predikace (nebo determinace jako její převrácené hodnoty). Autor rozlišuje tři základní typy predikace: 1. predikaci větnou (u vět samostatných i vedlejších), 2. predikaci nevětnou (u polovětných vazeb) a 3. predikaci prmitivní (u jednoduchých přívláskových spojení). Vztah predikace v sémantické rovině odpovídá vztahu syntaktické závislosti v rovině gramatické, neznamena to však, že by tyto dva vztahy byly totožné. Pro jednoduchost vykladu nejsou sémantické jednotky (jako např. čímel děje, trpítel dějem zasaženy, děj samotny, atd.) brány v úvahu. Ve funkční rovině se jedná o pole vztahů funkčních nebo o sdělné pole (CF), kde hlavní ulohu hraje interrelace mezi jeho částí tematickou a rematickou. Tato interrelace odpovídá sémantickému vztahu predikace a gramatickému vztahu závislosti. Autor dochází k závěru, že existence vztahu závislosti a predikace v dané syntaktické formaci podmiňuje vznik interrelace mezi dvěma základními částmi jejího CF. Sdělné pole samostatné věty slovesné je označováno jako CF nultého řádu (CF⁰) a jeho prvky (v práci definované) se nazývají sdělné jednotky nultého řádu (CU⁰).

II Nepřívlastkové prvky

Zkoumání vztahu mezi SF⁰ a CF⁰ ukazuje, že každá SU⁰ podmětu, předmětu nebo příslovecně určené se promítá do odpovídajícího CF⁰ jako jedna CU⁰, at už tematická či

rematická. SU⁰ slovesného nebo jmenného přísudku (který je chápán v užším slova smyslu, a nezahrnuje tedy předmět a příslovečné určení) se promítá jako dvě či více CU⁰. Jedna z těchto přísudkových CU⁰ odpovídá temporálnímu a modálnímu exponentu (nebo exponentům) určitého slovesa a podle zjištění J. FIRBASE zaujímá ve velké většině případů sdělnou pozici na předělu tematické a rematické části CF⁰, zbyvajících CU⁰ odpovídají lexikálně významovým složkám přísudku a mohou zaujímat různou sdělnou pozici v tematické nebo rematické části CF⁰. (Mluví-li se o sdělné pozici, nejde o termín slovosledný.) Autor se též dotýká problematiky jmenného přísudku v angličtině a vidových exponentů v češtině.

III. Přívlasktové konstrukce jako sdělná pole

Srovnání CF⁰ samostatných vět slovesných s CF polovětných vazeb a jednoduchých přívlasktových spojení ukazuje, že všechna CF mají z funkčního hlediska v podstatě ten-
týž charakter a jejich CU mohou být určovány podobně jako CU⁰. Rozdíl je pouze v tom, že v CF polovětných vazeb přívlasktových a jednoduchých přívlasktových spojení se nevyskytuje přechodová CU, která je v samostatných větách formálně vyjádřena tempo-
rálními a modálními exponenty určitého slovesa. Podle výsledků statistického zkoumání je ve většině případů řídicí člen přívlasktové konstrukce tematickou CU a přívlasktové
elementy odpovídají jednotkám rematickým. Takovéto rozložení výpovědní dynamičnosti
(OD) je nazýváno bezpříznakovým. Při rozložení příznakovém je přívlasktový element
tematickou a řídicí člen rematickou CU. Jelikož změny rozložení CD v rámci daného CF
neovlivňují celkovou hierarchii sdělných jednotek a sdělných polí, autor se jimi podrobněji
nezabývá.

IV. Přívlasktové konstrukce jako sdělné jednotky

CF polovětných vazeb a přívlasktových spojení jsou zkoumána z hlediska jejich funkce
v příslušných CF⁰. Promítá-li se některé z prve jmenovaných CF do příslušného CF⁰ jako
jeho CU⁰, jedná se o sdělné pole prvního řádu (CF¹), jehož jednotky jsou také prvního
řádu (CU¹). CF¹ je pak podřazeno příslušnému CF⁰ nebo, obráceně řečeno, CF⁰ je nadřa-
zeno danému CF¹. Podobně se též určují CF nižších řádů (např. CF², CF³, CF⁴, atd.)
a jejich jednotky. Důležitým poznatkem je, že CF daného řádu se do nejbližšího nadřaze-
ného CF promítá jako CU, která má též funkční charakter jako CU vyjádřená pouze
jedním slovem.

V. Nepřívlasktové věty vedlejší

CF vedlejších vět nepřívlasktových jsou nižších řádu než CF⁰ (tj. CF¹, CF², atd.). Na
rozdíl od CF dříve zkoumaných konstrukcí přívlasktových, kde podřazenost daného pole
byla indikována nepřítomností temporálních a modálních exponentů slovesa, je podřaze-
nost CF vedlejších vět nepřívlasktových indikována podřadícími spojkami nebo slovním
pořádkem. Autor doplňuje výklad několika historickými poznámkami, které se týkají
vývoje vedlejších vět a indikátorů podřazenosti z hlediska funkčního.

VI. Přívlasktové věty substantivní

CF přívlasktové věty substantivní vystupuje jako rematická OU v CF, které se vy-
tváří mezi touto větou a jejím řídicím členem, představujícím CU tematickou. Toto nad-
řazené CF vystupuje pak jako jedna CU v dalším nadřazeném CF (např. v CF⁰). Autor se
též pokouší o funkční výklad vět typu *It is essential that he was in error*. Jedno řešení je
založeno na poznatech získaných zkoumáním vět substantivních, druhé předpokládá
existenci CF mezi dvěma větami samostatnými. Podle předešlého určování řádů je pak
CF vznikající mezi samostatnými větami polem minus prvního řádu (CF⁻¹), jehož jed-
notkami (CU⁻¹) jsou CF⁰ jednotlivých vět.

VII. Přívlasktové věty vztažné

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

VIII. Transformace

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

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