

Margaret G. Davis

# Aspects of Adverbial Placement in English and Slovene

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ASPECTS OF ADVERBIAL PLACEMENT  
IN ENGLISH AND SLOVENE



VERLAG OTTO SAGNER · MÜNCHEN

1989

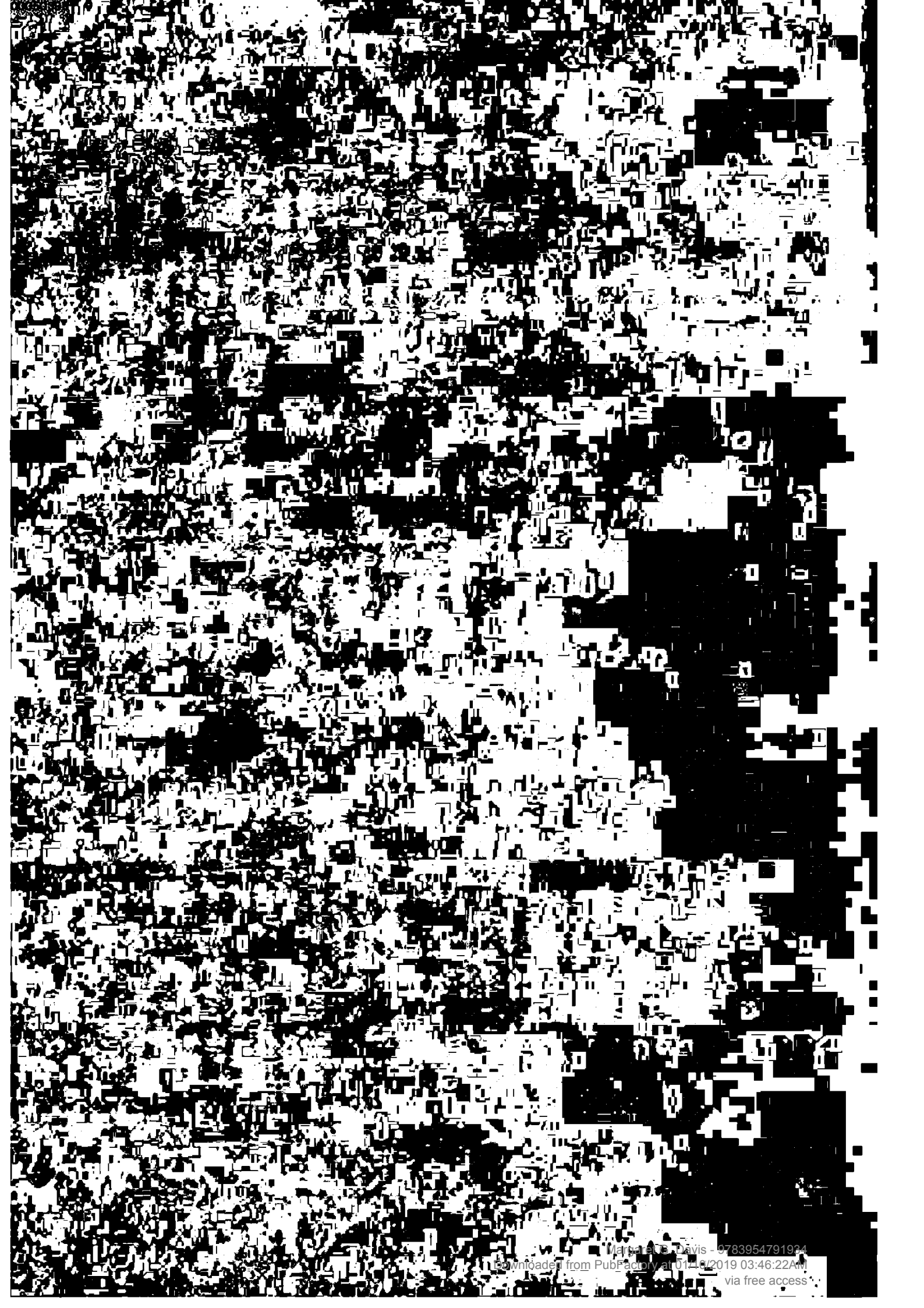


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**To my father and mother**



## PREFACE

The motivation for this study is explained at the beginning of chapter 1, and an outline of the contents together with the main findings is provided in the Slovene summary (*Povzetek*, pp. 330-32). Although of course there still remain "aspects of adverbial placement" to be investigated contrastively, it is hoped that the material presented here both provides some useful and interesting results and clarifies directions for further research.

The work was started with virtually no prior knowledge of modern linguistics, nor any direct experience of contrastive analysis, and the first three chapters, which constitute a fairly full theoretical background, also represent my own gradual education and orientation in this field. Nevertheless, the actual contrastive analysis called for a certain amount of pioneer effort, with problems to be solved for which the literature often afforded no help. (The brief studies of adverbial placement in the Zagreb-based Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian - English Contrastive Project, for example, done at an early stage in that work, seemed too elementary and superficial to serve in any way as a model.) In fact, the initial attempts at analysis were organized according to the familiar semantic classification of adverbials, found in grammars (both English and Slovene) and many other studies, which in a sense justified the attention paid to the semantic aspect in the theoretical part of the thesis. Yet it proved necessary to leave this more trodden territory and tackle the comparison essentially from the viewpoint of adverbial positions, and as these relate to the theme and rheme concepts of the "functional sentence perspective" (*Šlenker po aktualnosti*) theory.

For various reasons, the preparation of this dissertation has spanned a considerable period of time, and the theoretical part depends mostly on the literature of some years ago. It should be mentioned, however, that chapters 1-4

were reworked to take account of the 1985 publication of *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* by R. Quirk, S. Greenbaum, G. Leech and J. Svartvik, and the treatment of adverbials here, both improved and more extensive than in these authors' 1972 grammar, contributed to a more effective analysis and actually made comparison with Slovene grammar, as treated in the fundamental reference works *Slovenska slovnica* 1984 and *Nova slovenska skladnja* 1982 by J. Toporišič, somewhat easier.

A number of debts must be acknowledged with pleasure. The willingness of Prof. Jože Toporišič to accept this contrastive linguistics topic was deeply appreciated right from the beginning, since without a mentor for Slovene having a good knowledge of English, this study could never have been undertaken in Ljubljana. His critical responses in the earlier stages helped to give direction and remained throughout a formative influence on my work, while the final details benefited from his judgment. For any weaknesses resulting from a more independent way of working I must bear responsibility. To Prof. Janez Orešnik, who with his unfailingly patient interest and care has watched over each stage of the slow (and at times painful!) coming into being of this study and has given help at critical moments, I owe a special debt.

All the years of my study I have constantly turned to Stanko Klinar with innumerable questions about Slovene and with him and also Katarina Bogataj-Gradišnik as ever-willing informants, I have felt on much safer ground. Mr. Klinar is also to be warmly thanked for his efficient proofreading of the Slovene material throughout the thesis. As the contrastive analysis in its present form began to get under way, mag. Velemir Gjurin gave generously of his time for helpful discussions on the problems I was encountering, though not all the ideas touched on could be represented here. Somewhat similarly, a long and



thought-provoking discussion with Dr. David Bennett of London University, who kindly read and made perceptive comments on chapters 2, 4 and 5, produced more than could be done full justice to within the established framework. Nevertheless, it was reassuring to have my judgments on English adverbial placement, based on native speaker intuition, confirmed in specific instances.

On the practical side, my grateful thanks are due to Nada Šabec, M.A., who over the last year and a half allowed me the regular use of her computer. Those familiar with the advantages of typing and developing text on a word processor will be able to understand all that her generosity has meant. I have also valued the assistance given with access to library material, in particular by Dr. Tatjana Srebot of Pedagoška akademija, Ljubljana and Dr. Thomas Krisch of the Institut für Sprachwissenschaft, Salzburg University. Lastly, I wish to record my appreciation of a Yugoslav government scholarship, made available through the Zavod SRS za mednarodno znanstveno, tehnično in prosvetno kulturno sodelovanje, which enabled me to study in the late 1970's and again during the academic year 1986-87.

Ljubljana, February 1988.

The thesis was submitted for a Doctor of Philosophy degree at the Edvard Kardelj University of Ljubljana. I am most grateful to Prof. Peter Rehder of Munich University for accepting the work for publication.

Ljubljana, September 1989.

M. G. D.

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## ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

- Eng** - English  
**Slov** - Slovene  
**L<sub>1</sub>** - source language  
**L<sub>2</sub>** - target language  
**adv** - adverb  
**advbl** - adverbial  
  
**WO** - word order  
**FSP** - functional sentence perspective  
**CD** - communicative dynamism  
**DRQ** - diagnostic rheme question  
**|T |, |Tr |, |R |** - that part of a clause/sentence enclosed within the upright bars represents theme, transition and rheme respectively  
**| BILL gave it to me |** - tone unit, with the nucleus indicated by capitals and/or an accent indicating the nuclear tone  
  
**S** - sentence  
**NP** - noun phrase  
**VP** - verb phrase  
**aux** - auxiliary  
  
**S** - subject  
**V** - verb  
**O** - object  
**A** - adverbial      **A-p, A-t, A-m** - adverbials of place, time and manner

**SC** - subject complement

**OC** - object complement

**Pov. d.** - povedkovo določilo (predicative adjunct)

**iM, mM, eM, iE** - initial medial, medial medial, end medial and initial end  
adverbial positions in English (cf. pp. 136-37)

**P, T, M** - place, time and manner semantic classes of adverbial

**P-loc** - location

**P-dir** - direction

**T-dur** - duration

**T-freq** - frequency

**T-rel** - relationship

**M-man** - manner

**M-instr** - instrument

**/** - beginning of a paragraph

**//** - beginning of a text or new section of a text

} used in citing

} corpus examples

**•** - preceding a sentence, etc. indicates that it is unacceptable

**?** - preceding a sentence, etc. indicates that it is of doubtful acceptability

**lit.** - literally

**Note:** Abbreviations/symbols occurring in the discussion of the linguistic literature which are relevant only for a page or two are not included above (e.g. IC analysis - immediate constituent analysis, see pp. 6-7, 9).

## CHAPTER 1

**Word Order in Linguistic Theory**

This study was undertaken in an attempt to come to grips with a problem that repeatedly occurs in the English (Eng) produced by Slovene (Slov) users of the language - a problem often encountered in my teaching experience and in correcting Eng texts written or translated by Slovenes - the placement of adverbials (advbls) in the clause or sentence. Not only are mistakes with advbls common,<sup>1</sup> but I was at a loss to explain in particular cases why such and such a position for such and such an advbl was correct or preferable, e.g. when do manner advbls precede and when do they follow the verb? when is an advbl possible/acceptable/preferable in initial position and when not? etc. It is generally recognised that within the fairly fixed word order (WO) of Eng, advbls have the greatest mobility of all clause elements. Thus within the dominant subject - verb - object (SVO) order, advbls of one kind or another may occupy any position indicated by (A): (A)S(A)V(A)O(A). Questions then arise: which type of advbl occupies which position(s)? and under what conditions? If more than one position is possible, what governs the selection of a particular position? etc. In learning Slov, one observes how advbl placement can differ from as well as resemble that in Eng, e.g. in parallel Slov and Eng sentences, advbls are not necessarily in the same position, and indeed an advbl - in particular an adverb (adv) - in one sentence need not be rendered (or perhaps even cannot be rendered) by an advbl/adv in its translation equivalent. The following sentence illustrates both identity of position and the differences mentioned (the correspondences are indicated by subscript numbers):

- (1) Iz hišice<sub>1</sub> mu prijazno<sub>2</sub> mežika luč, a za vojašnico<sub>3</sub> nekje<sub>4</sub> presunljivo<sub>5</sub>  
laja pes.

That friendly<sub>2</sub> light winks at him from the little house<sub>1</sub> while  $\emptyset$ <sub>4</sub>  
behind the barracks<sub>3</sub> a dog barks piercingly<sub>5</sub>.<sup>2</sup>

It is clear, then, that here is a topic affording much scope for investigation. Eng advbls have been the object of considerable study already, but the situation is quite different with Slov advbls, as we shall see in chapter 3. A topic such as advbl placement cannot, however, be considered in isolation. It belongs to the sphere of WO<sup>3</sup> and the problems in this area facing learners of both Slov and Eng can be expected to arise from the fact that Slov has a fairly free WO while Eng has a fairly fixed - grammaticalized<sup>4</sup> - order. In Eng, that is, WO frequently serves as an important indicator of grammatical relations, e.g. S and O being identifiable by relative position in the clause, whereas this distinction is often marked by inflections in Slov:

(2) The tortoise outruns the hare - *Želva prehiti zajca.* / *Zajca prehiti želva.*

The hare outruns the tortoise - *Zajec prehiti želvo.* / *Želvo prehiti zajec.*

Where inflections fail to indicate it, a sentence in isolation is assumed to have SVO order, as in *Žene so pogostile tekmovalke* (The wives entertained the women competitors).<sup>5</sup> In other cases, the meaning and/or the context provides sufficient indication:

(3) *Dober okus daje sol.* (OVS in Slov)

It is (the) salt that gives a good flavour.

(4) *Če skupnost zavozi gospodarstvo, to niti zdaleč ni tako hudo, kot če zavozi šolstvo. Gospodarstvo je namreč mogoče spraviti na noge, če pa skupnost zavozi šolstvo, potem zelo dolgo ni nobene pomoči.*<sup>6</sup>

If the community leads the economy astray, that is far from being so bad as it is if it leads education astray. After all, the economy can be put on its feet, but if the community leads education astray, then for a long time there is no help.



There is nothing novel about investigating a problem as it occurs in two different languages, an activity which relates to contrastive linguistics or contrastive analysis. This area of linguistic study has fluctuated over the years in popularity and acceptability,<sup>7</sup> but it remains of interest to those involved in teaching foreign languages, and various large-scale contrastive analysis projects have been launched. Among these may be mentioned two which compare Slavonic languages with Eng:

The Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian - English Contrastive Project (started in 1968) and the Zagreb English - Serbo-Croatian Contrastive Project (started in 1972), directed by Rudolf Filipović. The material (for the former) is published in a series of *Reports, Studies and Pedagogical Materials*.

The Polish - English Contrastive Project (started in 1965) at the Poznań Institute of Linguistics, directed by Jacek Fisiak. The material is published in *Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics* (1973 onwards).

A fundamental problem facing contrastive analysts at the outset of their work is which theoretical framework, shaped by which linguistic theory, to adopt, and this applies with equal cogency to my intended consideration of WO and advbl placement. For such a study one needs a workable frame within which the structure and organization of these two languages, Eng and Slov, can be examined and compared.

We shall come back again later to contrastive analysis with its principles and methods, but first it will be useful to review how WO is treated by different grammatical schools. In what follows, a rough distinction needs to be kept in mind between the treatment of WO in a particular language and the treatment of WO in general. Many linguists in shaping their theories work specifically with Eng<sup>8</sup> (and might be overinfluenced by the structure of this language), while others are concerned with "universal grammar".

### Traditional grammar

In Eng traditional grammar, the most fundamental division of the sentence is that into the subject and the predicate. Using V as a convenient designation for the verbal part of the predicate, we can observe that the alternative orders S - V (regarded as the norm) and V - S (inverted order)<sup>9</sup> are related to the basic sentence types: declarative, interrogative, exclamatory and imperative.<sup>10</sup>

Since Eng WO is fairly fixed, traditional grammarians regularly observe exceptions to the normal SVO sequence. For example, O may be placed initially for anaphoric reasons:

- (5) ... and then he'd describe the curious animals and birds he saw - otters, badgers, polecats, ... and no end of other strange creatures. All this he described so vividly and in such a fascinating style, that he became the great oracle of the school on all the wonders of the country.<sup>11</sup>

but if non-anaphoric in declarative sentences it is felt to be emotional and emphatic:

- (6) He would do a music-hall or a musical comedy now and then; he thought little of them, but they were a respectable man's entertainment. The "pictures" he could not tolerate.

while it is fairly common in exclamatory sentences:

- (7) And a lot of principle Barbara has, too - she gets that from her mother.

Another common concern, often dealt with in much detail, is the position of advbls. with a discussion of the factors determining this, e.g. the type of advbl according to its form, meaning and modifying function, considerations of balance and rhythm in the sentence, etc. Fuller information on this will be given in chapter 3.

In general, a distinction can be drawn between (a) WO sequences as set patterns and (b) principles or tendencies that influence WO within the limits to which "shiftability" of clause elements is possible. Concerning (a), H. E. Palmer, for example, lists the order of all possible items in a sentence and then provides tables which exemplify different combinations (since normal sentences do not have all the possible component elements listed here). The order is as follows:

1. Connectives (joining the sentence to the preceding one)
- 2a. Interrogative words or
- 2b. Front-shifted advbls of time
3. Front-shifted anomalous finites
4. Subject
5. Unstressed anomalous finites (including negatives)
6. Advs in preverbal position
7. Finites (including stressed anomalous finites and their negatives)
8. Verbals (infinitives, past participles and *ing*-forms)
9. Indirect object
- 10a. Direct object or
- 10b. Subject-complement
11. Object-complement
12. and 13. Prepositional phrases
14. Advbls of place
15. Advbls of manner, etc.
16. Advbls of duration
17. Advbls of time. <sup>12</sup>

Concerning (b), O. Jespersen gives the following list, commenting that the principles "are of a more or less universal character, though by no means

strictly logical; these may in certain cases be in conflict with one another, but in others they concur": 13

- (a) actuality - what is uppermost in the speaker's mind tends to be expressed first
- (b) precedence of a modifier - i.e. a modifying word generally precedes what is modified
- (c) cohesion - closely connected ideas tend to be placed together, also what is closely related to the verbal idea is placed as near as possible to the verb
- (d) relative weight - lighter elements are near the centre, heavier ones in peripheral position
- (e) stress and rhythm - stress may be intimately connected with actuality
- (f) the placing of words from the speaker's and hearer's point of view
- (g) tradition - WO often becomes fixed, though patterns can change. 14

### Structural grammar

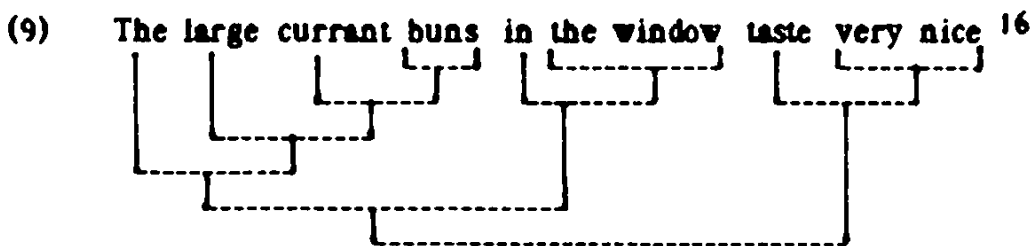
The leading idea in this school, as the term "structuralism" implies, is that language is composed hierarchically of systems and structures on the levels of phonetics and phonology, morphology and syntax - a kind of vast network of paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations. These terms might be viewed as referring to vertical and horizontal planes:

(8)	He	— can —	go —	tomorrow	—	syntagmatic relationships
	she	may	come	soon		paradigmatic relationships
	I	will	ask	next		
	you	could	sleep	now 15		
	:	:	:	:		
	:	:	:	:		

Structuralism is concerned with identifying and classifying:

- (a) word classes - on the basis of what slots they fill in a frame (the use of meaning is excluded, in contradistinction to traditional grammar)
- (b) phrase and sentence constituents - using a method known as "immediate

constituent analysis" (IC analysis):



A little reflection shows, however, that sentences cannot always be so neatly segmented in their linear order as this. Some sentence constituents are discontinuous:

(10) I saw a girl last Tuesday who was wearing a red hat.<sup>17</sup>

(although B. Strang, for instance, would simply use a brace to link discontinuous elements, as in *Don't you think it would be interesting?*<sup>18</sup> Moreover, IC analysis can resolve some but not all grammatical ambiguities, for instance:

(11) He doesn't listen to you on purpose. He doesn't listen to you on purpose.<sup>19</sup>

compared with Chomsky's well-known phrase, *the shooting of the hunters*: did the hunters shoot or were they shot? And such analysis cannot show important grammatical relationships, e.g. between active and passive sentences. Structuralism, in fact, seems to offer little if any insight into how flexibility in WO or in choice of sentence structure operates, and involves a static rather than dynamic view of language.

The main ideas in structuralism originated with Saussure, and have had considerable influence on subsequent linguistic theory. In its American development, especially what is known as post-Bloomfieldian linguistics, its classifying (taxonomic) methods were so rigorously applied that meaning was either excluded as being "extra-linguistic" or was at least regarded as secondary.<sup>20</sup> In Europe, structuralist ideas (e.g. about syntagmatic relationships) underlay developments in various linguistic circles, e.g. Prague, Copenhagen.

More recently, structuralism has been significantly linked with functionalism. This is true, for example, of the Prague school, whose linguists have, among other things, devoted considerable attention to the organization of sentences for communicative (functional) purposes. This approach involves the specific examination of WO (it has also been studied contrastively for Czech and other languages, including Eng), and has given rise to a theory of "functional sentence perspective" (FSP). According to this, sentences may be divided into two main parts, the so-called theme and rheme, so that the new/important information is generally presented in the latter part of the sentence. The manner in which this theme - rheme division operates and techniques of analyzing it have been much discussed. The WO of Slavonic languages in particular is said to be clearly sensitive to this principle. The bearing the theory has on the present study deserves considerable elaboration, but since the detail would detract from the broad outline aimed at here, it will be reserved for the following chapter, where it will also be more appropriate to consider Slov WO more fully (but see pp. 26-29).

### **Transformational grammar**

Since this has become an extremely complex field, the treatment here selects relevant aspects from the earlier period and does not attempt to follow developments up to the present time. Transformational grammar is inseparably linked with the name of Noam Chomsky, and his two early works, *Syntactic Structures* (1957) and *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (1965) (the second showing considerable divergences from the first), are pillars of the "standard" theory, which Chomsky developed in contrast to other "taxonomic" theories.

Whatever arguments are brought against transformational grammar and its developments, it does represent a far-reaching attempt to systematize linguistic analysis, and that in such a way as to produce or generate "all and only" the

grammatical sentences of a language. This goes beyond a speaker's mere performance (represented by the sentences he may actually produce, i.e. utterances) and is the potential output of his "competence".<sup>21</sup> This means a native speaker is able through intuition to recognize what sentences can be produced and then be regarded as acceptable. Chomsky regards intuition as a reliable guide, whereas certain other linguists point out, rightly I believe, that intuition can vary from one speaker to another.<sup>22</sup>

Since transformational grammar has become such a "growth industry" within linguistics and because it seems formidable to the uninitiated, it will be necessary to engage in rather more detail than previously before being able to explain its view of WO. To start at the beginning - the rules in Chomsky's 1957 model start out from a kind of IC analysis but are ordered systematically to generate with increasing specificity a great many possible sentences:

Sentence ---> NP + VP

NP ---> T + N

VP ---> Verb + NP

T ---> *the*

N ---> (*man, ball, ...*)

V ---> (*hit, took, ...*)<sup>23</sup>

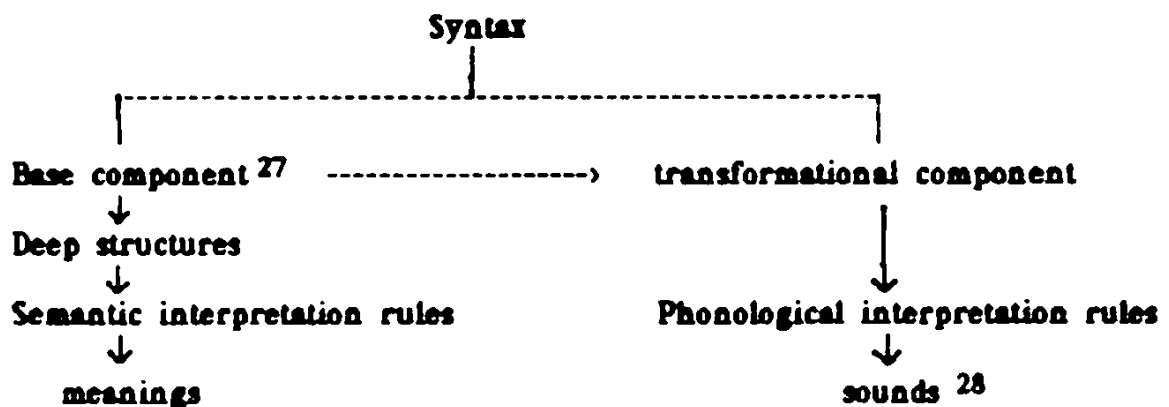
Such rules (specifying the internal make-up of a syntactic category) will produce a "string" of "terminal symbols" representing the syntactic sequence of a sentence, e.g. T + N + V + T + N, into which words from the lexicon can be slotted.<sup>24</sup> As was later realized, "selection restrictions" also need to be specified and applied to block the production of such sentences as Chomsky's classic example: *Sincerity admires the boy.*

These terminal strings which can then be given lexical embodiment represent the phrase structure (PS) component. There follows the transform-

ational component, which shows how one string can be transformed by the sequenced operation of certain rules into another related string, yet still preserving the meaning, e.g. active into passive.<sup>25</sup> The third component consists of morphophonemic rules which indicate how the sentences should be pronounced.

The changes in the *Aspects* model (1965) arise partly from Chomsky's later realization that meaning is an integral part of grammatical analysis<sup>26</sup> (as in explaining the difference between the pair: *John is eager to please/John is easy to please*), but he still regards syntax as basic.

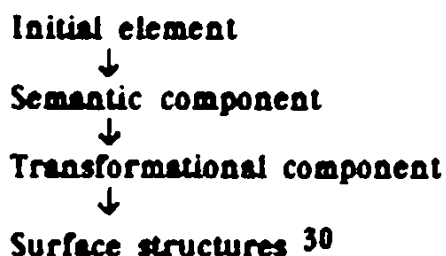
The model has been diagrammed as follows:



The controversial notion here is the "asymmetrical" deep structure level which is the output of the base component. Different linguists seem to have different notions of "depth" (so one finds such comments as "at a very deep level", "fairly near the surface", or "in the shallow structure"); and some argue that deep structure is not deep enough, while others say it is too deep. Further confusion may arise from the fact that the "deep structure" for a particular sentence or part of a sentence may itself be a sentence at surface level: e.g. *John is easy to please* is derived from *It is easy to please John*. *John's sleep* is derived from *John sleeps*. There is also the question of what or how much belongs to deep structure, e.g. the verb *to be* is generally regarded as not belonging to deep structure; it is simply a surface structure "dummy" element indicating tense, number, person, etc.



The concept requires clarification, especially since the "deep structure - surface structure" dichotomy has passed into popular linguistic jargon, although subsequent linguistic theory has suggested discarding the deep structure level (in its Chomskyan sense) altogether. There are, in fact, two major opposing developments of the *Aspects* model, the names of which emphasize the significance accorded nowadays to meaning. One is "interpretive semantics", so called because the semantic and phonological components "interpret" the output of the central syntactic component into meaningful, pronounceable utterances. Here, however, the work of the syntactic rules has been increasingly transferred to the semantic component and deep structure has gradually moved nearer to surface structure. The other, "generative semantics", regards semantic information as prior to the syntactic. According to this school, syntactic-semantic rules yield surface structures with no intervening deep structure level. This model<sup>29</sup> may be diagrammed as follows:



(Note: the "initial element" is a sentence in whatever branch of transformational grammar theory.)

The dissatisfaction with a syntactically based theory and the search for a semantically based one has led, for example, to C. J. Fillmore's case grammar, where he posits six "cases": agentive, instrumental, dative, factitive, (i.e. "the case of the object or being resulting from the action or state identified by the verb, or understood as a part of the meaning of the verb" <sup>31</sup>), locative and objective. Fillmore was sure additional cases would be needed, and they have been suggested by others working along these lines. <sup>32</sup> The base component would then consist of

a "configuration" of cases around a verb. To put it another way, using the terminology of such semanticists as W. L. Chafe and G. Leech, the underlying form is a predication consisting of a predicate expressing events, states, actions, etc. (often realized in surface structure by a verb, but also by conjunctions) and one or more related arguments (equivalent to Fillmore's cases).<sup>33</sup>

Fillmore also divides clauses into two main constituents termed "Proposition" and "Modality". The former contains the predicate and arguments while the latter includes such categories as negation, tense, mood and aspect.

It is an open question whether syntactic-based or semantic-based transformational grammars are truly conflicting approaches, as the abundant controversy between the two camps might suggest, or whether they actually have much in common.<sup>34</sup> In general, the basic transformational (and dynamic) view that surface structure is only the final stage produced by various processes from some underlying shape or form is perfectly acceptable but since the latter is not observable (although believed to be empirically discoverable) it is to be expected that conflicting ideas as to "what it looks like" will arise. In an interesting article, R. Langacker (1974) presents some of the basic differences between the schools as to how they regard underlying representations of sentences.

He presents a notion of "objective content" (implicit in much transformational theory and similar to what others have called the "propositional content"), roughly characterized as "the basic situation which the sentence describes and which the remainder of the sentence takes a position on" (643), e.g. *Could Peter perhaps have finished?* The proposition (objective content) here is: *Peter finish*. Non-objective content, on the other hand, includes the illocutionary force of a sentence,<sup>35</sup> specifications of tense, aspect, modality, negation, topic, focus, emphasis, honorifics, indication of speaker doubt, estimations of reality or veracity, and markers of emotional reaction. He considers there is probably a

continuum and thus no sharp demarcation between objective and non-objective content,<sup>36</sup> nor are there necessarily any syntactic correlates.

The generative semantics school regards objective content as residing in predicates at or near the bottom of the tree, while the non-objective content occurs in "higher predicates" (i.e. higher in the overall tree) in the semantic structure. (By means of various movement rules, however, the objective content surfaces mostly in the main clauses of sentences.) Langacker suggests it would be attractive to try and incorporate all these aspects of meaning into a single, integrated semantic representation - a huge tree of some kind - and preliminary attempts at this have been made.

The interpretive semantics school considers objective content as residing in deep structure nominals and predicates and their grammatical relations, as specified in PS rules, while negation, auxiliary verbs, complementizers, topic, focus, scope and coreference, etc. belong to semantic interpretation rules.

An interesting point to notice is Langacker's concern with "functionalism", as exemplified in his comment: "Many different functional considerations may come into play in determining the surface form of sentences, and there is no reason to suppose they cannot partially conflict." (662) So far it has seemed that transformational grammarians were engaged primarily in exploring underlying structure and establishing transformations without much thought for why they occur or in what situations, other than in the sense of a grammatical context. (Note the distinction, for instance, between context-free and context-bound rules.) In other words, they were concerned with sentences as potential sentence forms rather than with the fact that transformations might apply to render the sentences into utterances with a communicative purpose. So one finds a comment, or rather complaint, like the following: "traditionalists seem to be compelled to state reasons why the language is as it is".<sup>37</sup> We have seen, however, that some struc-

turalist models are concerned with the functional aspects of language (p. 8), and rightly so. In this article Langacker attempts to account for the existence of such movement rules as raising, lowering and fronting<sup>38</sup> on the grounds that they render the objective content of a sentence more "prominent".<sup>39</sup> Backing rules,<sup>40</sup> on the other hand, have a primarily stylistic function. Significantly, Langacker states that the rules discussed have, nevertheless, only a tendency to fulfil the function suggested.

### **Universal grammar**

Both syntactically and semantically based theories lay claim to having interesting implications for universal grammar. One of Chomsky's aims, for instance, was to establish linguistic universals. Yet intuitively it seems more appropriate to hypothesize a common semantic base component (which may be realized in widely differing syntactic structures) than a common syntactic base component.

The term universal grammar is often connected with J. Greenberg, and others following him. Greenberg himself is not a transformationalist but has been mainly concerned with dividing the languages of the world into certain basic WO types, e.g. SVO, SOV, VSO (later simplified by others to a basic distinction between VO and OV languages), and with establishing their major characteristics. In other words, the concern is with language typology. The universals proposed by this school often give statistical correlations between the basic WO of a language and other features of its grammar, e.g. in VO languages, nominal-modifier constructions follow the noun, as in the sequence: antecedent - relative clause. (The adjective - noun sequence in Eng is regarded as inconsistent, whereas the noun - adjective sequence in French is consistent.)<sup>41</sup>

This raises an important question, which was deliberately omitted from the previous section to avoid clogging the description of linguistic theory there. It is obvious that surface structure manifests WO in all its potential variety (through which a "basic" WO, such as SVO, may nevertheless be perceived), but what about the underlying levels? Where does WO take shape?

Before investigating this question, it seems advisable to comment on the term "word order" which, strictly speaking, should refer merely to the order (i.e. linear sequence) of individual words, and applies most relevantly to surface structure. However, "word order" is generally used to refer to the sequence of clause elements (constituents) making up a clause/sentence, and it is this sense rather than the above that we are mainly concerned with. As we shall see in more detail shortly, the notion of "constituent ordering" has also been investigated by contemporary linguists, whether the constituents are the NP's and VP's of deep structure syntax or the predicate and arguments of underlying semantic structure.

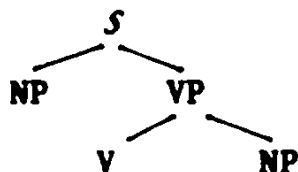
Some linguistic studies confuse these points but the distinction needs to be stressed: WO in the classic sense is simply linear sequence; the concept of "ordering" denotes position within the structure of the sentence - as defined by structural (dependency) relationships. For instance, an advbl can be movable with regard to its linear position in the sentence but fixed with regard to its structural position, i.e. according to what it modifies or whether it modifies the whole sentence.<sup>42</sup> A pertinent question which has been raised<sup>43</sup> and which represents a fundamental and far-reaching problem, is to what extent "sequence" is a realization of "order".

To return to universal grammar: Greenberg, together with others working on these lines, perhaps assume too easily that a significant typology, with attendant universals, can be based on a consideration of only declarative sentences containing nominal S and O, when in surface structure, different orders can appear

between various sentence types, between main and subordinate clauses, between different types of constituents functioning as S and O, etc. <sup>44</sup>

Linguists in this school have also pointed out that processes of diachronic language change can affect WO. If the typological characteristics so far established are reliable, then some languages may seem to be shifting from one WO type to another, showing mixed WO patterns. For example, it is claimed that Eng has shifted to SVO from an earlier SOV order, <sup>45</sup> or - a more "exotic" instance - it is said that Mandarin Chinese has been shifting for nearly the last two millennia from SVO to SOV but that the rise of the use of WO to signal definiteness has impeded the shift. <sup>46</sup>

In early transformational grammar, Chomsky stated that the NP which is dominated by *S* [-sentence] and precedes VP is the subject, while the NP following VP is the object, viz:



The deep structure order NP - V - NP will thus produce (unless altered by transformations) the surface structure SVO, but this belief of Chomsky's is probably too much influenced by the state of affairs in Eng, which regularly has SVO order.

Later it was pointed out that since base structures cannot be directly observed or intuited, whether they manifest linear order or not remains an open question. E. Bach (1975) raises this problem but thinks the balance of evidence favours the "ordered" view. W.P. Lehmann, on the other hand, is of the opinion that if the base component reflects universal properties, the characteristically differing VO and OV orders cannot be determined here but only in the transformational component. <sup>47</sup>

If the view of "deep" syntactic ordering is accepted, there is the further problem of whether a language has only one basic underlying order. It has been said that such an assumption may lead to some rather questionable transformation rules, yet to allow more than one basic order would mean such a weak hypothesis as to render the notion of underlying order almost vacuous.<sup>48</sup>

In semantically based theories, order is usually not realized at the semantic component level. As mentioned earlier, the cases or arguments cluster around a predicate, and the structure, it is suggested, resembles a mobile in contrast to the fixed structure implied by classical tree diagrams. For instance, a semantic structure containing an agentive and objective may be realized in surface structure by an active or passive construction, or - to quote one of Fillmore's examples - an underlying instrumental may be realized at surface level in the following ways:

(12) The key opened the door.

John opened the door with the key.

John used the key to open the door.<sup>49</sup>

(*The key* is the lexical item representing the instrumental case.)

In the light of such examples, it is understandable that semanticists consider subject and object to be only "superficial" (not "deep") categories,<sup>50</sup> while Fillmore implies that languages may differ in their "subjectivalization" and "objectivalization" processes.<sup>51</sup> Thus it is clear that one and the same semantic structure can be realized by quite different syntactic structures at surface level, but these need not be related to each other merely by positional differences (i.e. differences in W0) but by differences in the choice of sentence construction.

However, some consider that constituent ordering may exist at the semantic level, at least to some extent. For example, W. L. Chafe points out that the patient relation (verb + patient) seems more "internal" than the agent relation (verb + agent). This is indicated by the pronominalization *do it* (as in *Harriet broke*

*the dish, but she did it accidentally*) for the former relation compared with the absence of any equivalent pronominalization for the latter, by the fact that the adv *accidentally* here modifies *broke the dish* as a unit, not the verb alone, and by the existence of idioms consisting of the verb + patient configuration (e.g. *break the ice*) compared with a seeming absence of any verb + agent idioms.<sup>52</sup> (The possible existence of a significant link of this kind between verb and patient might also fit in with the reduction in language typology to VO and OV orders mentioned above.)

### Functional grammar

Functional considerations have been mentioned before but this specific model deserves separate mention since it devotes quite some attention to constituent order and WO, and is also interesting as a recently and consciously developed alternative to transformational models.<sup>53</sup> Started by S.C. Dik in the Netherlands, it has attracted attention, and its principles and methods are currently being developed and applied to a variety of the world's languages, since it also aims at typological adequacy.<sup>54</sup>

Functional grammar is so called because functional (as opposed to categorical) notions are central. Three levels are recognized: those of (a) pragmatic, (b) semantic and (c) syntactic functions. Pragmatics,<sup>55</sup> however, "is the all-encompassing framework within which semantics and syntax must be studied ... the priorities run from pragmatics via semantics to syntax"<sup>56</sup> (and not in the reverse order, as in classical transformational grammar).

(a) The pragmatic functions consist of theme and tail, topic and focus. The latter two belong to a predication, the topic being the constituent about which the predication predicates something while the focus marks "the relatively most important or



salient information" as presented by the speaker. Theme and tail, however, here denote elements which stand outside the predication proper as in:

(13) As for Paris, the Eiffel Tower is really spectacular. (theme) (p. 141)

He's a nice chap, your brother. (tail) (p. 153)

(b) The semantic functions are similar to the cases of Fillmore's grammar,<sup>57</sup> and are arranged into a hierarchy as follows: agent, goal, recipient, beneficiary, instrument, location, time.

(c) The syntactic functions are simply subject and object, each of which can be assigned to one or more of the semantic functions. (The hierarchy given above indicates the increasing markedness of S or O assignment.)<sup>58</sup> Languages differ in how they assign these two syntactic functions, and indeed, in languages where S can be assigned only to agent and/or O only to goal, the assignment is not significant. This observation has important implications for language typology in terms of SVO, SOV, VSO, etc. Serbo-Croat is cited as a language without distinctive assignment, e.g. in a sentence with direct object and indirect object, the formal expression of the semantic functions goal and recipient remains unchanged - the variety of possible surface positions for the two objects is due to pragmatic factors. Serbo-Croat thus does not validly fit any of the above typologies.

Functional grammar, too, recognizes an underlying level, in terms of predications consisting of a predicate plus arguments, with the optional addition of "satellites". The latter are realized particularly by optional advbls. (Advbls necessary to complete the meaning of a sentence are regarded as arguments.<sup>59</sup>) These predications (as relational structures) are then realized as sentences by means of "expression rules", which also include linear ordering.<sup>60</sup>

As regards "linearization", Dik gives the following cross-linguistic pattern:

Theme, P1 (V) S (V) O (V), Tail

P1 represents initial position within the clause itself<sup>61</sup> and may take:

- (a) obligatorily initial constituents (e.g. question words, relative pronouns, subordinators)
- (b) constituents with topic or focus function
- (c) some other constituent.

If not already placed in P1, the constituents S, O and V then go to their respective pattern places. However, Dik does not assume that a language has only one basic order: this view can allow for differences between main and subordinate clauses. From the viewpoint of dealing with WO cross-linguistically, this model would seem to offer an attractive approach.

### **Text grammar**

All the grammatical schools considered so far take the sentence (or clause) as the basic unit. But language in actual use does not normally consist of self-contained sentences standing in isolation or merely strung together, but of stretches of "utterance" (whether spoken or written) with some unifying connectedness - an area of investigation that has been attracting more attention in recent years under such terms as text grammar and discourse analysis. This is concerned with suprasegmental units, cohesive devices, pragmatics (the extra-linguistic factors affecting the use of language in communication), etc.

Text grammar, which started in Europe in the early 1960's,<sup>62</sup> is a diverse and uneven field, with linguists relating their analyses to interpretive semantics, generative semantics, philosophical logic, etc. Partly because of the larger scope, the extra-linguistic factors, and the diversity of the texts themselves, it is especially difficult to systematize, though there is a "wealth of intuitively well-known empirical parameters".<sup>63</sup>

Text grammar usually seems to be language-specific; although general, cohesive, contextualizing principles presumably apply cross-linguistically, their

realization can be expected to differ from language to language. Studies relating to Eng do not often deal specifically with WO,<sup>64</sup> but in languages with fairly free WO, clearly the organization of linear sequence can be more sensitive to the demands of sentence connectedness.

WO was, however, the specific concern of a symposium organized in Finland in 1975, the papers being published under the title *Reports on Text Linguistics: Approaches to Word Order*, 1976. In his prolegomena, N. E. Enkvist lists the following parameters as having a bearing on linear order:

- (a) the expression of modalities (statement, question, etc.)
- (b) the difference between clause types (main, subordinate)
- (c) the expression of basic syntactic functions such as S, O, etc., and of the scope of modifiers and operators
- (d) the expression of thematic ordering (FSP; the dichotomy between given and new information)
- (e) the expression of focus, motivated by propositional presuppositions - this is linked with emphasis and special structures such as the cleft sentence
- (f) the weight of constituents - the principle of end-weight
- (g) the expression of iconic cohesion (this refers to stylistic devices involving the repetition of patterns, common in artistic prose and poetry). (p. 12)

Most of these parameters have already been mentioned in this chapter, but what is interesting here is the potential interaction of different areas of language, and the recognition of a variety of factors which vary in importance and productivity in different languages. This is also a strong indication that WO cannot be considered in a narrow, isolative fashion. Although not explicitly stated, it seems that more than merely surface structure is relevant here; in order to understand why a sentence is expressed the way it is, we need to look both "beneath" it (to underlying structure) and "beyond" it (to the context and situation).

### **Comparison of Eng and Slov**

The preceding sections have surveyed the linguistic theories having some bearing on WO - with primary reference to Eng. and although studies relating specifically to advbls have yet to be taken into consideration, we may comment again on the need for establishing an appropriate framework within which to carry out the contrastive analysis of advbl placement. The contrastive projects mentioned earlier (p. 3) have, in terms of their overall working framework, adopted different solutions: the Serbo-Croatian - Eng project decided on a compromise generative/structural framework for the final synthesis, though separate topics could first be treated according to the analysts' chosen approach. The studies make use of a corpus of texts.<sup>65</sup> The Polish - Eng project started with analyses based on either structural or transformational models but later a transformational grammar model alone was adopted.<sup>66</sup>

Comments made in connection with the Polish project are of particular interest here. D. R. Preston, discussing the contemporary status of contrastive analysis, considers that although generative grammar is the best available model, it does not follow that it is the best for framing contrastive statements. He recommends rather an eclectic approach, selecting whatever aspects of whatever model are most appropriate for pedagogical purposes, since notions of utility are more relevant than considerations of theoretical adequacy.<sup>67</sup> Such a view is also expressed by M. Sharwood-Smith (1973) of the same project:

"Whereas for the linguist it is usually a matter of working within one theory rather than another, for the pedagogical linguist it may be a matter of selecting from different grammars reflecting different theories since two separate theories may offer equally useful insights into the language, useful, that is, from a teaching point of view." (9)

However, such an eclectic approach should not simply take easy models - taxonomical models, for instance, may be powerful pedagogical devices but they lack semantic sophistication. Preston views the learner as a meaning-perceiving organism with semantic needs and he thus seems most drawn to a semantics-based approach.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the model to be selected here needs to be one appropriate for comparing Slov and Eng, which represent "free" and "fixed" W0 languages respectively (see p. 2). Any specialized, highly technical model is not recommendable, not only because it involves commitment to one particular linguistic theory but also because my concern is not narrowly theoretical. Rather the treatment throughout is meant to be intelligible and useful to the more general reader (student, teacher, translator) who is nevertheless interested in the finer points of linguistic problems.

With this practical aim in mind, we may finally look at current grammars of the two languages to see, first of all, how they deal with the matter of W0, in the perspective of the linguistic theories already explained. Undoubtedly the most comprehensive and authoritative treatment of Eng grammar now available is the collaborative work of R. Quirk, S. Greenbaum, G. Leech and J. Svartvik. Their *Grammar of Contemporary English*, 1972, is already familiar to Slov students of Eng; the more recent volume, *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*, 1985, is described by the authors as "considerably larger and richer" than the former grammar and incorporates not only the authors' own further research but also that of scholars worldwide.

For Slov, we may consider the older, traditional grammars of A. Breznik, *Slovenska slovnica za srednje šole*, 1916, 4th. ed. 1934, and of A. Bajec, R. Kolarič and M. Rupel, *Slovenska slovnica*, 1947, latest rev. ed. 1973.<sup>68</sup> There is, however, only one comprehensive grammar, which is also conversant with current linguistic theory: J. Toporišič's *Slovenska slovnica*, 1976, 2nd. ed. 1984 -

with an appendix on communication (*sporočanje*) and a historical survey of Slov.<sup>69</sup> We may also add Toporišič's *Nova slovenska skladnja*, 1982, an anthology of previous articles, lectures, etc., partly updated, together with a long opening chapter on syntax, which builds on and extends the treatment in his *Slovenska slovnica*. These grammars also have the advantage of a "middle of the road" character.<sup>70</sup> They will henceforth be abbreviated Quirk *et al* 1972 and Quirk *et al* 1985 (for Eng), *Ss* and *Nss* (for Slov).

The two Quirk *et al* grammars are alike in maintaining the traditional division into subject and predicate, the latter being divided into the auxiliary as "operator"<sup>71</sup> and the predication. (This allows a more precise statement of the correspondence noted in traditional grammar between the relative order of subject and operator and the basic sentence types - see p. 4.) There are four elements belonging to the predicate: the verb (V), object (O), complement (C) (comprising subject complement (SC) and object complement (OC)), and advbl (A). These elements are distinguished not only by form, syntactic function and semantic roles but also by linear position.<sup>72</sup> Seven basic clause types (containing only obligatory elements) are given, these being determined by the class of verb (intransitive, intensive or copular, transitive): SV, SVC, SVA, SVO, SVOC, SVOA, SVOO.

Certain general factors can affect the fairly fixed order represented by these clause patterns: (a) optional advbls (the most mobile of the clause elements) can occur between clause elements,<sup>73</sup> (b) the syntactic form of the clause (e.g. interrogative, relative, exclamatory clauses) causes variations in order, (c) informational highlighting and emphasis may cause elements to move from their usual position (see chapter 2, p. 65 for details), (d) a longer element occurring in the predication, especially if a clause, tends to be placed after a shorter element, (e) stylistically it is preferable to have the postverbal part of the clause longer than the preverbal.<sup>74</sup>



Furthermore, both grammars devote a complete chapter to presenting various aspects of "information processing" considered at the clause/sentence level, but as this is connected with the notion of FSP (see p.8), it will be more appropriate to defer discussion of it until chapter 2. The 1985 grammar adds a new final chapter on the creation of text, where grammatical processes treated earlier, together with semantic and pragmatic features, are presented and then illustrated through analysis of selected texts.

Slov WO will be particularly considered with reference to FSP, but some basic observations can be given here. Two types of WO are distinguished in Breznik's grammar: (a) fixed WO (*stalna stava*), which governs the position of clitics (*naslonice*), modifiers, etc., and (b) free WO (*prosta stava*), when words are arranged according to the meaning of a sentence and whole sentences are contextually influenced by those that precede. (Breznik's concept of the "speech paragraph" - *govorni odstavek* - would pertain to text grammar.) The organization of free WO is further related to a distinction between independent sentence stress (at or towards the end of a sentence) and dependent sentence stress (usually at the beginning), with unstressed or less stressed words then arranged around the word bearing sentence stress according to the order in which they depend on it.<sup>76</sup> The Bajec *et al* grammar, in its section on WO, merely repeats verbatim a considerable part of Breznik's text.

Turning now to Toporišič's grammar, let us note that clause elements are for the first time systematically defined - on the basis of meaning, a question marker (*vprašalnica*), form and structural position - but there is no enumeration of basic clause patterns. In that Slov is a free WO language, obviously we should not expect fixed sequences as in Eng (SVC, SVOA, etc.), though the structural patterns can certainly exist. At this point it will be convenient to explain briefly



the system of Slov clause elements, as the similarities and differences compared with Eng grammar need to be clear from the outset.

Toporišič recognizes four main clause elements, which are independent:

subject (*osebek* - *Os*)                      verb phrase (*povedek* - *Pov.*)

object (*predmet* - *Pr.*)                      advbl adjunct (*prislovno določilo* - *P.d.*)

and two dependent elements, so called because they form part of another clause element:

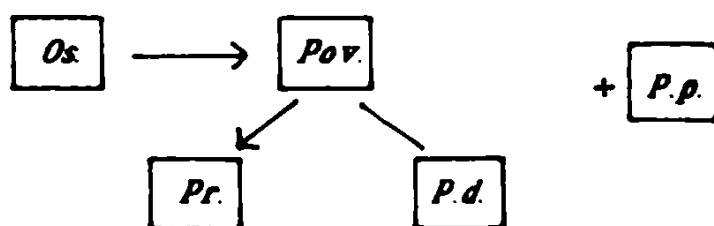
modifier (*prilastek*) - this includes the predicative modifier (*povedkov prilastek* - *P.p.*)

predicative adjunct (*povedkovo določilo* - *Pov. d.*)

The independent elements have exact counterparts in Eng grammar. Regarding the dependent elements, the *povedkov prilastek* modifies either the subject (as in *Domov je prišel ves blaten* - *He came home all muddy* <sup>77</sup>) or the object <sup>78</sup> - in the latter case it corresponds to the object complement in Eng - while the *povedkovo določilo* <sup>79</sup> corresponds to the subject complement in Eng but is also realized by the infinitive following various verbs of incomplete meaning, including modal verbs (as in *Moram iti* - *I must go*) and phasal verbs (as in *Začelo je deževati* - *It began to rain*).<sup>80</sup> In the Quirk *et al* grammars, the clause elements are all on the same level, but there is precedent for Toporišič's distinction between independent and dependent elements in older Slov grammar. (Because of the lack of true correspondence, the Slov term *povedkovo določilo* will be used when necessary to denote this element. The *povedkov prilastek* does not figure in this study. Otherwise the abbreviations S, V, O and A will be used for elements in both languages to avoid undue multiplication of symbols.)

Toporišič diagrams the structural relations holding between the various clause elements as in:

- (17) Sosed (Os) je včeraj (P.d) obrezoval (Pov.) drevje (Pr.) razpoložen (P.p).  
 Yesterday the neighbour was pruning the trees in a good mood.



(*Ss*, p. 462)

Economically the diagram helps to illustrate the following points: (a) S and V, which form a predicational syntagma, are of higher rank than the other elements, (b) there are dependency relations, indicated by the arrows (V agrees with S, the case of O is determined by V), (c) A is generally not governed by V (this non-dependence, *primik*, is symbolized by the straight line) but it is connected with V and through this, can be connected with the whole predication, (d) O and A together with V form the predicate, as distinct from S, (e) P.p. is part of the predicate but on a somewhat different rank, (f) V holds a central position in the structure of the clause. (*Ss*, pp. 462-63)

Toporišič gives considerable attention to underlying semantic structure and its realization at surface level. The semantic base is viewed as a proposition (*propozicija*), consisting of a predicate (*predikat/povedje*) and participants or arguments (*participanti/udeleženci*), the latter being divided into "actants" (*aktanti/dejovalniki*)<sup>81</sup> and "circumstants" (*cirkumstanti/okolščine*). At the surface, syntactic level, there are the following realizations:

*predikat* ---> *povedek* (V)

*aktanti* ---> *osebek, predmet* (S, O)

*cirkumstanti* ---> *prislovna določila* (A) (*Ss*, p. 423)

For the process whereby a semantic base gets realized as an utterance (termed *upovedovanje*) Toporišič enumerates 11 types of modification in *Ss*, expanded to 13 in *Nss*, where they are treated at length.<sup>82</sup> The last mentioned

modification, *aktualnost* ("topicality"), is connected with the FSP theory and has a direct bearing on WO. Under this heading Toporišič also refers to sentence intonation, though he considers the choice of focus (*intonacijska glava*) pertains to emotional modification and not to *aktualnost*.<sup>83</sup> (See further in chapter 2, pp. 63-64.)

Although various broad aspects of WO have been dealt with in this chapter, it is this FSP theory which promises the greatest relevance for the comparison of Eng and Slov WO, and to this we now turn.

## Footnotes to Chapter 1

1. The problem is by no means peculiar to Slov students. See Šević (1973) and Carlbom 1973. The latter analyzes short Swedish texts translated into Eng by first-year university students; approximately 41% of the word order errors involve adverbs or adverbial expressions.
2. B. Zupančič, 'Stražarska', *Veter in costa*, Ljubljana, 1954, p. 83 and 'Sentry's song', transl. T. Ložar, *Le livre slovène*, No. 1/2, XVII (1979), 36. Note that (a) *friendly* is, of course, an adjective; there is no adv \**friendlyly* and (b) *nekje* has been omitted in the translation though *somewhere behind the barracks* (only in this sequence) would be possible.
3. For the time being, I will assume that "word order" is a self-explanatory term, but see the comments on p. 15.
4. For the use of this term see Daneš (1967), 500-1.
5. Toporišič, *Ss*, p. 541. (For the abbreviation *Ss* see p. 24 of this chapter.)
6. 'Problemi z dna neke reforme', *Naši razgledi*, 8. 2. 1985, p. 72.
7. See, for example, Fisiak in Fisiak, ed. 1981. It has frequently been observed that "error analysis" is more effective than contrastive analysis in determining differences between languages and areas of difficulty for learners of a foreign language. My opening remarks indicate that the motivation for this research actually arose from a kind of error analysis.
8. Not knowing other Slavonic languages apart from Slov, I do not consider the work of other Slav linguists, with the exception of some studies published mostly in Eng. This applies particularly to the work of the Prague school on "functional sentence perspective", dealt with primarily in chapter 2, and in a section of chapter 3 (pp. 95-100).

9. Krusinga and Erades state that whichever of these two orders is used, it is the more important element that receives end-position, or relative end-position. 1953, p. 69.

10. For example, declarative sentences usually have S - V; interrogative sentences may be S - V: *How many warloans have been issued since the beginning of the war?* or V - S: *Is the poor man dead?* exclamatory sentences may have S - V: *They've made away with my stick now!* or an initial pronominal word forming part of the predicate: *What doesn't life give you if you trust to it!* while imperative sentences may begin with the V: *Be careful/Do be careful, Don't you ask questions* or with the S: *You be careful.* Krusinga and Erades 1953, pp. 68-72.

11. Examples (5) - (7) are from Krusinga and Erades 1953, p. 74. For the sake of consistency, I use underlining throughout to indicate the point being illustrated. Spaced dots in quotations represent those used by an author/authors (throughout).

12. 1939, p. 220. The following is Palmer's Table 7, p. 225, showing typical examples of advbl order:

Subject, Verb and Direct Object	Prepositional phrases	Place	Manner	Duration	Time
I waited	for him	hère			
I gave it	to him		at ònce		
I saw them		hère			last yéar
I stayed		there		for 3 wèeks	last yéar
He works			very wèll		in the mórning
He worked			very wèll	for 3 wèeks	
You played it			too quìckly		lást time

Note: Conventional orthography here replaces Palmer's phonetic notation and conventional stress marks replace his curved arrows indicating nuclear rises and falls.

13. 1909-49, part VII, p. 53.
14. *ibid.*, pp. 54-59.
15. Crystal 1971, p. 166.
16. *ibid.*, p. 205.
17. Smith and Wilson 1979, p. 234.
18. *Modern English Structure*, London, 1962, p. 80.
19. Leech 1974, pp. 266-67. The negative may apply to the whole of the sentence, giving the meaning 'It is not true that he listens to you on purpose' or the advbl may be excluded from the scope of the negation, giving the meaning 'On purpose, he doesn't listen to you'.
20. Saussure himself, however, devoted considerable attention to meaning, regarding it as arising out of a relationship (which he termed a "sign") between the thing signified (*signifié*) and that which signifies (*signifiant*).
21. The distinction between performance and competence, producing "utterances" as opposed to "sentences", is similar to Saussure's distinction between *parole* and *langue*.
22. See, for example, Langacker (1974), 640 and E. L. Keenan, 'Towards a universal definition of subject', in Li, ed. 1976, p. 305.
23. Lyons 1970, p. 59.
24. The lexicon here denotes all the lexical items of a language. At a simpler stage of the theory, a lexical item might be listed with just its word-class but later more information was assigned here so that semantic features, which are important for compatibility, are given, e.g. boy  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{ HUMAN} \\ + \text{ MALE} \\ - \text{ ADULT} \end{array} \right]$
25. Other such transformations are: (a) Tough movement as in: *To catch poltergeists is tough* ---> *Poltergeists are tough to catch*, (b) WH movement as in: *Tell me which elephant you said Joyce believes Helen tried to*

*tickle*. *Which elephant* originates as the object of *tickle*. Such elements can be moved across several clause boundaries. (c) Y movement or topicalization as in: *Lobster my eat will eat*. The examples are from Langacker (1974), 635, 639.

26. Chomsky was at first influenced by the Bloomfieldian view that semantics was secondary to and dependent on syntax and outside linguistics proper, but later he abandoned many of these earlier assumptions. Lyons 1970, pp. 34-35.

27. The base component approximates to the PS component.

28. Crystal 1971, p. 234.

29. It arose from G. Lakoff's attempt to take to its logical conclusion the proposal (by Katz and Postal and by Chomsky) that transformations should preserve meaning. Problems with quantifiers, advs, etc. showed the difficulty of treating scope phenomena within the standard theory and led to the postulation of predicates in "higher sentences", which led to "abstract syntax", and thus generative semantics. This recognizes an underlying logical structure which is itself the semantic representation. Chomsky in his "extended standard theory" later allowed transformations to alter meaning to a restricted extent, e.g. as regards scope. See Traugott (1974), 161-63.

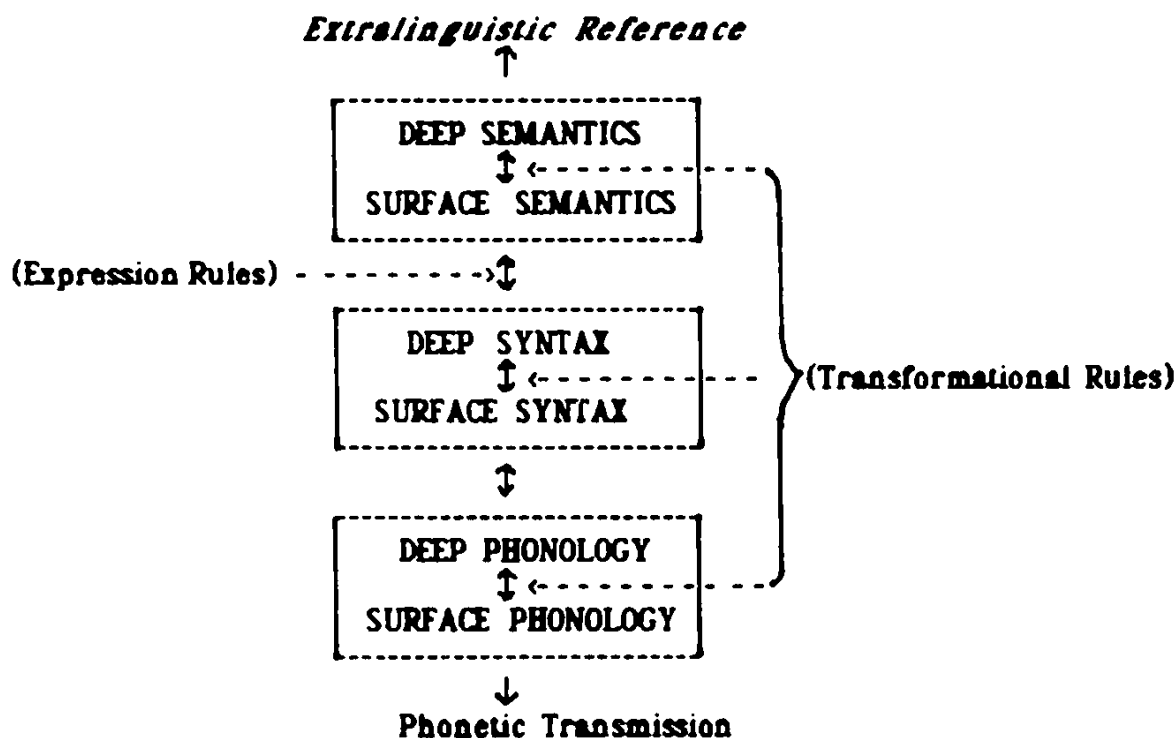
30. Crystal 1971, p. 238.

31. (1970), p. 25

32. But cf. J. Anderson, who has considerably developed the theory of case grammar; he recognizes only four cases: absolutive, locative, ergative and ablative. See *On Case Grammar: Prolegomena to a Theory of Grammatical Relations*, London, 1977.

33. These ideas are by no means new! In the ancient Indian grammar ascribed to Pāṇini, there is a base component consisting of verbs and abstract nominal categories called *kāraka*. The terms for the nominal categories are equivalent to "agent" and "target" (-objective), etc. See Lehmann (1972), 268.

34. Note the attempt by G. Leech 1974, for example, to synthesize somewhat the two approaches; he presents generative semantics with deep structure. Instead of espousing either semantics  $\rightarrow$  syntax or syntax  $\rightarrow$  semantics, he suggests a directionally neutral semantics  $\leftrightarrow$  syntax model, with "many-to-one" mappings in both directions, e.g. an NP can be an argument or an embedded predication (as in *She regrets his failure to find a job*-cf. *She regrets that he failed to find a job*, p. 185) while a predicate may underlie a verb phrase, preposition or conjunction, p. 341). Leech would then distinguish between expression rules (semantics  $\leftrightarrow$  syntax mapping) and transformational rules, which operate on syntactic representations only. His model (p. 335) is as follows:



35. This refers to the theory of speech acts (see especially Austin 1962 and Searle, ed. 1971), according to which sentences can be preceded by a clause indicating what function the following sentence performs, e.g. *I tell you that, I promise you that, I warn you that, etc.*

36. The distinction is recognized as being roughly equivalent to Fillmore's between proposition and modality.



37. Nilsen 1972, p. 23. But compare Langacker's comment on recent developments:

"During the brief history of transformational grammar, the concerns of this school of linguistic thought have broadened dramatically. The perspective of Chomsky 1957 and other early transformational works was narrowly syntactic and formalistic, though one can hardly deny the insightful character of this research. Today, however, generative grammarians are concerned with phonological, intonational, lexical, semantic, contextual, and functional matters to such an extent that syntactic questions *per se* have largely been overshadowed. Indeed, in view of what we have learned in the last few years, it is difficult to conceive of any further substantial progress in syntactic theory and description being made in isolation from these other domains." (1974), 630

38. Raising and lowering move a constituent from a lower to a higher clause and from a higher to a lower clause respectively (e.g. *That Malcolm will like Switzerland is certain - Malcolm is certain to like Switzerland*), while fronting moves a constituent to clause-initial position.

39. Other means of doing this are, e.g. the lexicalization of complex predicates, as in *obliterate < cause to cease to exist*, the reduction of relative clauses (into postmodifier phrases or attributive adjectives), the use of auxiliary verbs (which Langacker assumes are derived from higher predicates but are then incorporated into the same clause as the main verb), etc.

40. Backing rules involve the shifting of a "heavy" and thus awkward constituent to clause-final position, as in: *They presented an antique bed to my sister which had been slept in by seven kings, including Louis XIV* (relative clause extraposition) or *They presented to my sister an antique bed which had been slept in by seven kings, including Louis XIV* (complex NP shift). Such sentences exemplify grammatical structures which may have been dealt with earlier by traditional grammarians but now they are christened with formal names as transformations and incorporated into an overall scheme. The same is true of adv fronting, another of Langacker's movement rules.

41. The example is from Lehmann (1972), 268. Note also the comment by Vennemann (1975), pp. 286-87, that the syntactic constructions of a language "are all statistically correlated to the relative position of the verb, V, and its complement,

the most prominent representative of which is the nominal direct object, O." A reservation has been voiced, however, by Smith and Wilson. They say that although there seems strong evidence that certain bundles of linguistic properties go together, correlations among linguistic properties are not always dependent on the basic WO of a language (e.g. differences among languages in the rules for question formation correlate with differences in the rules for interpreting pronouns as co-referring with other noun-phrases in the sentence). 1979, pp. 203-7.

42. L. Antal makes this point with examples from French and German:

*hier, il est arrivé* } ----> *son arrivée d'hier* (i.e. movable position of the advbl  
*il est arrivé hier* } in linear sequence)

Since both sentences have the same transform they are identical at the structural level. Compare:

*Peter ist schnell angekommen* ----> *Das schnelle Ankommen von Peter*  
*Peter ist vielleicht angekommen* ----> *Das vielleicht(e) Ankommen von P.*

Here the sentences have taxonomically identical structure but the second transform is considered "absurd". (1964), 33-35.

43. F. R. Palmer (1964). He comments: "The basic difficulty is that sequential and non-sequential features of language are often exponents of closely related formal categories" (p. 128), e.g. negation and interrogation both involve auxiliary verbs, but only the latter involves contrastive variations in sequence. He considers that transformational grammar disguises the problem of the relation between sequence and order.

44. For example, the position of S and O can differ according to whether the elements are nominal, pronominal or clausal. Further relevant factors omitted in Greenberg's approach and enumerated in Dik 1978, pp. 172-74, are: (a) the difference between marked and unmarked WO, (b) the difference between finite and infinite verb forms - an undifferentiated V is not adequate for ordering rules.

(c) the relevance of constituents other than S, V and O - if these are designated X, then an SVO language could primarily be SVOX or SVXO.

45. Vennemann (1975), p. 275.

46. Li and Thompson (1975).

47. (1972), 268. Discussion of linear order in the base is also found in Meisl and Pam, ed. 1979 and criticism of such a concept is to be found in H. U. Boas, *Syntactic Generalizations and Linear Order in Generative Transformational Grammar*, Tübingen, 1975.

48. Heinämäki (1976).

49. (1970), p. 25. Jespersen 1924, p. 91 has an extreme example of permutations representing the same "semantic base":

*He moved astonishingly fast*  
*He moved with astonishing rapidity*  
*His movements were astonishingly rapid*  
*His rapid movements astonished us*  
*His movements astonished us by their rapidity*  
*The rapidity of his movements was astonishing*  
*He astonished us by moving rapidly*  
*He astonished us by his rapid movements*  
*He astonished us by the rapidity of his movements.*

50. Note that traditional grammarians long ago drew a distinction between, e.g. the grammatical, psychological and logical subject. Jespersen 1924, pp. 147ff.

51. (1970), pp. 47ff.

52. The examples are cited in Langacker's review (1972), 143 of Chafe's *Meaning and the Structure of Language*, Chicago, 1970. "Patient" is here a semantic case typically realized by the direct object.

53. Dik explains his constraints, which limit the "abstractions" of the linguistic description. Functional grammar (FG): (a) does not allow transformations as structure-changing rules, hence there is no deleting, permuting or substituting of the specified elements of such structures, (b) aims to define "construction rules which directly generate the target set of well-formed expressions, and avoids the

use of filtering devices wherever possible", (c) "avoids the decomposition of lexical items in terms of any sort of meta-language. Even at the deepest level of description, constructions in FG are built up from predicates which occur as lexical items of the object language." 1980, pp. 2-3.

34. For further details, see Dik 1978, Dik 1980 and Hoekstra *et al.*, ed. 1981.

35. Pragmatics is here defined as "the system of rules governing the use of linguistic expressions", Dik 1978, p. 1. See also p. 20 of this chapter.

36. *ibid.*, p. 5.

37. The similarities and differences between functional grammar and case grammar (the latter mostly as developed by J. Anderson) are noted in Mackenzie (1981).

38. S and O assignment as regards the semantic function hierarchy is as follows:

	Ag	Go	Rec	Ben	Instr	Loc	Temp[-time]	
S	X	> X	> X	> X	> X	> X	> X	
O		X	> X	> X	> X	> X	> X	Dik 1980, p. 14

It is not clear how such a hierarchy is arrived at. Quirk *et al.* have the following hierarchy for S realization: agentive > instrument > affected > temporal/locative > prop word *it*. 1972, p. 357, cf. 1985, p. 753.

39. But see Mackenzie (1981) on the problem of distinguishing between arguments and satellites. The distinction between obligatory and optional advbls will be dealt with in more detail in chapter 3.

60. The fact that underlying predications do not have linear order but rather a language-independent structure makes for typological adequacy. The expression rules cover the following points:

- ~(i) the form in which terms are realized, in particular by
  - (a) case marking
  - (b) adpositions, i.e. prepositions and postpositions;
- (ii) the form in which the predicate is realized, in particular with respect to
  - (a) voice differences in the verb
  - (b) auxiliary elements

- (c) agreement and cross-reference;
- (iii) the order of the constituents;
- (iv) stress and intonation."

Dik 1980, p. 17

61. "The assumption of a universal initial P1 position has considerable explanatory power with respect to a number of diverse phenomena which otherwise would be difficult to account for." Dik 1978, p. 180.
62. It is most highly developed in Soviet linguistics, but the work done here is not widely known abroad.
63. Rieser (1978), p. 14.
64. For example, Hasan (1978) lists reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction and lexical organization as relevant factors. See also Hasan and Halliday 1976.
65. Filipović in Filipović, ed. 1971, pp. 35-36.
66. Fisiak (1973), 8.
67. Note also his comments on W0: "a significantly different word order might make useful an early introduction of rather complex case notions, while languages with basic similarities in word order probably require no more than phrase structure compartments, at least in the beginning stages of instruction." (1974 a), 70-71. And a further comment: "traditional statements still serve best for larger verb and sentence modification structures (i.e. complex adverbial elements)." (1974 b), 76.
68. Grammars earlier than the twentieth century are not considered here. For a brief survey of Slov grammars and other linguistic works from the sixteenth century to the present day see F. Jakopin, 'Pogled na starejše in novejše obravnave slovenskega jezika', T. Logar, ed. *Slovenski jezik, literatura in kultura: Informativni zbornik*, Ljubljana, 1974, pp. 115-28. A recent and detailed study of individual grammarians can be found in J. Toporišič, *Portreti, razgledi, presoje: k zgodovini slovenskega jezikoslovja*, Maribor, 1987.
69. Toporišič's earlier 4-volume work, *Slovenski knjižni jezik (Skj)*, 1963-70, will not be separately considered in this chapter as the later grammar is based

on it and also succeeds it in its coverage of all aspects of the modern Slov standard language.

70. The preface to Quirk *et al* 1972 states: "we subscribe to no specific one of the current or recently formulated linguistic theories ... . None ... seems yet adequate to account for all linguistic phenomena, and recent trends suggest that our own compromise position is a fair reflection of the way in which the major theories are responding to influence from others." p. vi. Note also the objective of the 1985 grammar: "what we aim to achieve here is a description which combines breadth of coverage and depth of detail, and in which observation of particularities goes hand in hand with the search for general and systematic explanations." p. 91.

71. The verb phrase may contain several auxiliaries - when the first is the operator - or none. In the latter case, *do* is employed when an operator is required, e.g. to form interrogative and negative sentences. 1972, p. 35.

72. 1985, p. 724.

73. Note the simplified formula for the Eng clause which is given, the symbols in brackets representing optional elements: (A) S (A) V (O) (O) (C) (A . . .). 1985, p. 50.

74. 1985, pp. 739-40. Point (e) seems to me less reliable, as acceptable instances where a lengthy S exceeds the length of the postverbal part of a clause can easily be found.

75. The authors also comment: "Analysis of participant roles has not achieved a general consensus, nor has it fully explored all distinctions. Our description must therefore be considered tentative." 1985, p. 741.

76. This explanation, repeated from an earlier article of 1908, is found faulty by Toporišič - see chapter 2, p. 51.

77. *Ss*, p. 487. Quirk *et al* interpret such elements as verbless advbl clauses, though they recognize a gradient from complement to advbl status. 1985, pp. 737-38. (For the treatment in Eng traditional grammar see chapter 3, example (13) on p. 82 and n. 15, p. 168.)

78. Note the interesting distinction, indicated by W0, between *Ima elegantno ženo* (He has an elegant wife), with *elegantno* as premodifier, and *Ženo ima elegantno* (That wife of his is elegant), where *elegantno* is a *povedkov prilastek*. *Ss*, p. 541.

79. The *povedkovo določilo* is not represented in the diagram of structural relations (it does not occur in the sentence being illustrated - see p. 28), but it should be noted that in Slov grammar the verb plus the *povedkovo določilo* are subsumed under the *povedek*.

80. *Ss*, pp. 481-82.

81. The actants can be further divided into (1) agent of an action/bearer of a state - realized as S in an active sentence, (2) affected (or patient) - realized as O in an active sentence and (3) an actant realized by additional objects. *Nss*, p. 225.

82. See 'Upovedovanje', *Ss*, pp. 422-37 and *Nss*, pp. 225-95. Some of these modifications are given on p. 13 of this chapter (mentioned under non-objective content). Toporišič's detailed treatment goes considerably further than the enumeration in the Quirk *et al* grammars of semantic roles realized by clause elements.

83. *Nss*, p. 294.

## CHAPTER 2

**Functional Sentence Perspective**

Functional sentence perspective (FSP) is probably the best known term used in Eng to denote the organizing of information within sentences. As previously mentioned, it was developed particularly by the Prague school of linguistics as part of its structuralist, functional approach to language. Czech was seen to be highly sensitive to such a principle but it operates in other Slavonic languages, and Toporišič has also applied it to Slov. Within the Prague school, comparison was made with non-Slavonic languages as well, notably Eng (and to a lesser extent, German) to investigate how far and in what ways FSP was realized there. Over the past years, linguists of various persuasions have increasingly given attention to the factors influencing the presentation of information, and the basic FSP notions of "theme" and "rheme" have become generally familiar. Because of its special relevance to WO studies, the theory of FSP and its application to Slov and Eng will be investigated in some detail.

**The Prague school**

Here the earliest formulation of the FSP theory was made by Vilém Mathesius, who was himself influenced by the ideas of the Frenchman Henri Weil, set forth in his book *De l'ordre des mots dans les langues anciennes comparées aux langues modernes*, published in 1844<sup>1</sup>. For Weil, WO reflects the order of ideas as presented in discourse and he believed this applied not only to the classical languages with their relatively free WO, but to modern European languages as well. He viewed the sentence as consisting of two parts: a departure point (or initial notion) and a goal of discourse. (The inverse order of goal/



departure point, termed *l'ordre pathétique*, indicates emotionally heightened expression.)

Mathesius similarly makes a bipartite division of the sentence: into the theme - what the sentence is about - and the rheme - what is said about the theme. He views the theme as that which represents known information:

"In a simple connected narrative the theme usually conveys facts that are known or can be gathered from the preceding sentence. No theme can be established within a sentence if none of the sentence elements conveys a piece of information that is either known or at least obvious in the given situation." <sup>2</sup>

Jan Firbas, who has written numerous and somewhat repetitive articles to develop various aspects of the FSP theory (especially in its application to Eng), objects to this approach since it would result in classifying some sentences as themeless (because they contain only new information), whereas the theme ought to have a kind of universal validity. He also objects to another definition offered by Trávníček in discussing Mathesius's ideas, because it automatically restricts the theme to the sentence beginning. Trávníček sees the theme as "the sentence element that links up directly with the object of thought, proceeds from it and opens the sentence thereby". <sup>3</sup>

Firbas declares that each element in a sentence contributes something to the development of the communication, but some elements are in this respect more "dynamic" than others in pushing the communication forward.<sup>4</sup> This quality of an element he terms "communicative dynamism" (CD), and redefines the theme as "the sentence element (or elements) carrying the lowest degree(s) of CD within the sentence". <sup>5</sup> A clear improvement is claimed in that this definition applies equally to contextually dependent and independent sentences.

A sentence in neutral style is considered to have a "basic distribution of CD", beginning with the lowest degree and ending with the highest or, in other words, starting with the theme and ending with the rheme. Firbas also recognizes

a third section termed transition<sup>6</sup> which, if present, stands between theme and rheme. Within these three divisions, (which he admits are not always easy to demarcate precisely), degrees of CD may vary. The following sentence<sup>7</sup> will illustrate his style of analysis:

- (1) On the grass beside her,<sup>11</sup> lying between two pillows,<sup>12</sup> was<sup>20</sup> *the boy*.<sup>30</sup>  
 Mezi dvěma polštáři<sup>11</sup> ležel<sup>21</sup> vedle ní na trávě<sup>22</sup> její chlapec<sup>30</sup>  
 (Between two pillows<sup>11</sup> lay<sup>21</sup> beside her on grass<sup>22</sup> her boy<sup>30</sup>)

(In each case the first digit represents: 1 - the theme, 2 - the transition, 3 - the rheme and the second digit varying degrees of CD. Italics are used for the Eng rheme.)

But naturally not all Firbas's examples show such a basic distribution of CD, nor are the degrees of CD assigned to equivalent words and phrases the same for Eng and Czech in each pair of sentences.

Further, he observes that the sentence must have some linear arrangement, which may well reflect the normal order of phenomena in extra-linguistic reality, e.g. the actor exists before any action he initiates, and the action must occur before it produces an object or reaches its goal. The grammaticalized SVO order is thus said to harmonize with the basic distribution of CD. In fact, Firbas declares:

"If not interfered with by other means, WORD-ORDER creates what we call the basic distribution of CD."<sup>8</sup>

This statement seems to mean that even in Czech (as in Eng) it is SVO that is believed to show the basic distribution of CD. But in fact in a free WO language like Czech, any permitted unmarked sequence of elements could show a "basic distribution of CD" in a given context. Moreover, the Eng/Czech sentences quoted above have a different sentence pattern (based on AVS) yet the numbers Firbas gives still show a gradual increase in CD through the sentence. However, if a

sentence has a different arrangement of elements (e.g. with *O*, or goal, in initial position) it is then regarded as having a different distribution of CD. For it is not true, says Firbas, that a particular sentence position automatically has a certain degree of CD, even though in Eng. for example, the element in initial position is frequently the subject, which is often also thematic. These different arrangements may be due to the rules of grammatical structure in a particular language, the desire for emotive effect, the demands of rhythm, etc., but the fact that they deviate from the norm will be made clear by the context and semantic structure of the sentence. The latter, which operates chiefly in the contextually independent part of a sentence, is explained several times as being the semantic content plus the semantic relations this content may enter into. What Firbas calls semantic-contextual means of FSP include (partly with reference to Eng) verbs of 'emergence (or existence) on the scene', the passive, negation, the articles, and pronouns.<sup>9</sup>

As an example: in

(2a) . . . . so ha**b**e<sup>21</sup> ich<sup>10</sup> *ein Bildchen*<sup>30</sup> gezeich**n**et<sup>22</sup>

(Spaced type indicates the transition.)

the use of the pronoun marks out *ich* as theme while the use of the non-generic indefinite article marks out *ein Bildchen* as rheme (so *ich* and *ein* are said to be semantic-contextual means of FSP). The past participle is in final position because of the grammatical rules of German *WO*, and not because it is rheme. The translation equivalents in Eng and Czech:

(2b) I<sup>10</sup> will<sup>21</sup> draw<sup>22</sup> a little picture<sup>30</sup> [sic with future tense]

tedy nakreslil<sup>22</sup> jsem<sup>21</sup> vám<sup>12</sup> obrázek<sup>30</sup>

are more in accordance with the basic distribution of CD, having the rheme final.<sup>10</sup> Further, compare:

(3) The door opened, and the young girl came in

The door opened, and a young girl came in  
 where the selection of the definite or indefinite article makes the subject thematic or rhematic respectively. In the example *A girl came into the room* the subject is the rheme if the remainder of the sentence conveys known information or merely states the scene, but in *A girl broke a vase*, the goal of action is communicatively more dynamic than the agent, and the object is therefore the rheme.<sup>11</sup>

So FSP is

"the outcome of an interplay (tension) between the basic distribution on the one hand, and the context and the semantic structure of the sentence on the other. Full understanding of this interplay, or co-operation of FSP means, however, cannot be reached without constant regard to the possibilities and requirements offered by the grammatical structure."<sup>12</sup>

Firbas rebuts Mathesius's view that Eng with its fixed WO shows little susceptibility to FSP on the grounds that FSP does not depend on WO alone but is realized by this cooperation of various means.

Another Czech scholar, E. Beneš, distinguishes between theme, which he understands in Firbas's sense as the element(s) with the lowest CD, and "basis". This is the opening element of the sentence, which links the utterance with the context and situation, "selecting from several possible connexions one that becomes the starting point, from which the entire further utterance unfolds and in regard to which it is orientated."<sup>13</sup>

In the literature that has developed on FSP, not only is the term theme used with these different meanings (something about which information is presented; known/old/given information as distinct from new information; the starting-point of the communication) but different terms are employed to indicate a bipartite division: e.g. theme - rheme, topic - comment, with some overlap with presupposition - focus.<sup>14</sup> It is also perfectly possible for the meanings of theme as distinguished here to coincide, which can add to confusion. For example, the

subject in a contextualized Eng sentence may well be what the sentence is about, represent known information, have the lowest CD, and as initial element serve as the starting point for the communication.

The notion of rheme would seem to be clearer, as this presents the new, communicatively important information and, in terms of sentence intonation, will contain the nucleus. F. Daneš has suggested a technique for eliciting rhemes, based on the fact that any sentence can have a set of *wh*-questions assigned to it "representing all possible types of context in which the given sentence is applicable".<sup>15</sup> Selecting the appropriate *wh*-question according to a given context and situation will identify the rheme, and the theme can then be ascertained indirectly - this he claims is an objective and purely linguistic procedure.<sup>16</sup> Daneš illustrates his method by variations on a German sentence<sup>17</sup>:

(4) **Unsere Mutter schreibt ihre Briefe mit der Feder.**

**Semantic sentence structure (SSS): Agent-Action-Result-Instrument**

**Phonological shape (PS):** unmarked, centre of intonation (CI) on  
the terminal word *Feder*

**Diagnostic rheme question (DRQ):** **Womit schreibt unsere Mutter ihre Briefe?**

**Rheme (R):** mit der Feder<sup>18</sup>

**Communicative sense of the utterance (CUS):** assignment of an instrument to an  
agentive resultative action

(5) **Mit der Feder schreibt ihre Briefe unsere Mutter.**

**SSS:** as in (4)

**PS:** unmarked, CI on *Mutter*

**DRQ:** **Wer schreibt seine Briefe mit der Feder?**

**R:** unsere Mutter

**CUS:** assignment of an agent (to an instrument  
used in a resultative action)

(6) Mit der Feder schreibt unsere Mutter ihre Briefe.

SSS:	as in (4)
PS:	unmarked, CI on <i>Briefe</i>
DRQ:	Was schreibt unsere Mutter mit der Feder?
R:	ihre Briefe
CUS:	assignment of result (achieved with an instrument in an agentive action)

The technique is indeed simple - the placement of the "centre of intonation" (nucleus) points to the rhematic section of the sentence, and from this it is deduced which rheme question to ask. The author's contribution is to ascertain the "communicative sense of the utterance" in terms of the semantic structure underlying the utterance.

In another article (1967), Daneš concentrates on the role of sentence intonation, pointing out that although in Czech the nucleus normally falls on the last stressed syllable of a tone unit, this is not necessarily so in Eng. When the rheme occurs earlier in the sentence (e.g. *There were some pictures on the walls* (508)), it is sentence stress and not the W0 sequence that indicates the rheme (*on the walls* is assumed to be given).<sup>19</sup>

There are further aspects of the FSP theory as developed by Czech scholars which will be outlined here before we investigate the application of the theory to Slov and Eng

A fairly early article by Daneš, 'A three-level approach to syntax' (1964), was welcomed and frequently cited in its time.<sup>20</sup> The three levels to be distinguished in analyzing sentences are:

(a) the semantic structure of the sentence - consisting of generalizations or abstract categories and relations between them, e.g. actor + action, bearer of quality or state + the quality or state, action + object resulting from or touched by the

action, circumstantial determinations (e.g. place, time), relations of cause and consequence, etc. These semantic relations are expressed differently in different languages and should not be confused with grammatical categories such as S or O.

(b) the grammatical structure of the sentence - consisting of grammatical categories, which are "bearers of a linguistic function within the given system" (227), and grammatical relations, e.g. dependence (indicated by morphological devices, WO, etc.) and adjoining.<sup>21</sup>

(c) the organization of utterance - relevant factors here are the linear perception of utterance, the extra-linguistic content of the message, context, situation, and the speaker's attitude towards his message and the listener(s). Extra-grammatical devices such as rhythm, intonation, order of words and clauses also operate on this level. This organization of utterance (or functional perspective) uses different means in different languages; e.g. generally WO and intonation in the Slavonic languages.

Daneš concludes this part of his article with the stipulation that any syntactic problem should be analyzed on all three levels.

Some have considered the possible connections between the semantic level and that of communicative organization. Beneš (1968), for example, distinguishes between contextually independent and contextually dependent sentences in Czech, the former (although rather infrequent) constituting the basic type. He suggests that here the WO is determined by the particular combinations of semantic categories, e.g.:

(a) agent + action: *Sestra vaří* (My sister cooks)

(b) event + its bearer: *Ozval se hvizd* (lit. Sounded a whistle)

(c) situational determination of time and place + action occurring in it: *V Praze se včera udála dopravní nehoda* (lit. In Prague yesterday happened a traffic accident)

(d) action or event + its localization in time or space: *Chelčický žil v 15.*

*století* (Ch. lived in the 15th. century)

(e) action + its aim: *Bratr jel na výlet* (My brother went on a trip)<sup>22</sup> (268)

Note also such sentences as *Nastala zima*, *Přišel den* (Winter came, The day came), where in Russian and Czech the usual WO is V - S, a sequence probably governed by the semantics of the verb, which expresses the general meaning 'to appear on the scene' (267).

Contextually dependent sentences may be entirely dependent, i.e. linked to the context both to the left and right, or semi-dependent, as in introductory sentences, which must introduce something as given, the rheme then pointing to the further development of the communication; or as in questions where, however, question and answer together form a relatively self-contained unit. Using tentative terminology, Benes views the basic sentence type as manifesting semantic WO and dependent sentences as manifesting contextual WO, and they require separate analysis. These observations are, of course, language specific, for as he points out, "a simultaneously and multidimensionally existing extra-lingual reality" (270) must be converted in language into a linear sequence - some languages do this by grammatical WO, others by semantic WO. In the latter ("semantic") type of language, the basic, ready-made sentence pattern can be used as it is, or be adapted to the demands of the context, thus producing a dynamic "utterance" as distinct from a static "sentence", as in:

(7a) *Praha je hlavní město ČSSR.*

Prague is the capital of CSSR.

(7b) *Hlavní město ČSSR je Praha.*

The capital of CSSR is Prague.

(271)



Here the sentence relationship of subject and predicate remains unchanged, but utterance-wise, (7a) assigns a particular quality to its bearer while (7b) assigns a bearer to a quality.

To illustrate variation between different languages: whereas the Czech pair *Pavel je venku / Venku je Pavel* can be paralleled in German: *Paul ist draussen / Draussen ist Paul*, the same is not true of Eng. WO variation is possible in *Das Buch liegt (ist) auf dem Tisch / Auf dem Tisch liegt (ist) ein Buch* but Eng and French convey this distinction by lexico-grammatical means: *The book is on the table / There is a book on the table* and *Le livre est sur la table / Il y a un livre sur la table* (270-72).

### Comparison of Slov and Eng

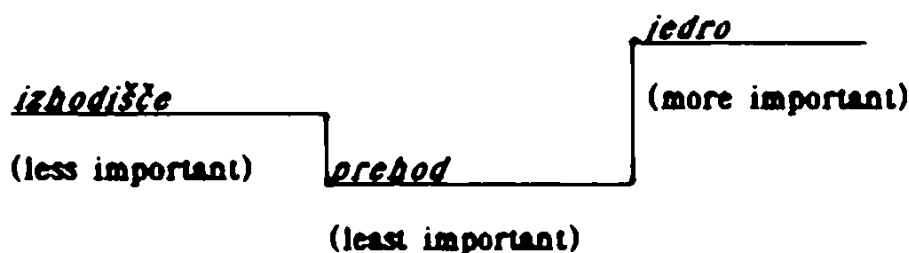
The application of FSP to Slov has been carried out by J. Toporišič in two articles<sup>23</sup> and his *Ss* (following *Sk/ 4*) and *Nss*, and the main outlines of his treatment will be considered below. Toporišič himself notes, however, that the problem of WO had been recognized by A. Breznik in his article 'Besedni red v govoru' (1908), and comments that Breznik was, in fact, one of the first Slavs to discuss the principles underlying WO.<sup>24</sup> Since the ideas presented in this article are explained again in Breznik's grammar, we have already met them in chapter I (p. 26). Toporišič rejects Breznik's linkage of WO in a connected text to the distinction between expected and unexpected sentence stress.<sup>25</sup> Still older Slov grammarians had observed a difference between unmarked and marked WO, which they termed "natural" (*naravni*) and "artificial" (*umetni*) WO, as in the 1911 edition of the Janežič-Sket grammar.<sup>26</sup>

In his treatment of WO, Toporišič also notes the unmarked/marked distinction. Unmarked or neutral WO manifests both fixed and free WO. The former concerns the order of words within a phrase unit, and clitics, which typically

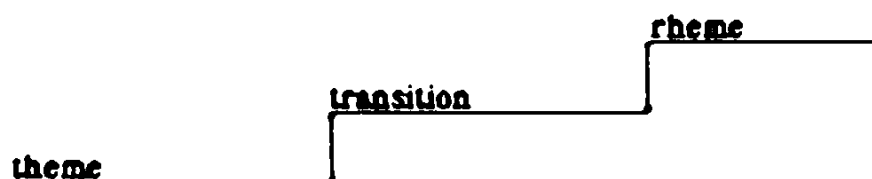
occupy second position in the clause and follow a certain sequence; prepositions and conjunctions also have their fixed position.

It is free WO that is governed by the principles of FSP; Toporišič uses the term *členitev po aktualnosti*, denoting the segmentation of individual parts of the sentence according to their communicative importance.<sup>27</sup> The sequence observed in unmarked WO is *izhodišče - jedro* (departure point - kernel; <sup>28</sup> cf. Mathesius: *východiště výpovědi - jádro výpovědi*), terms which Toporišič equates with theme - rheme<sup>29</sup> and defines in one of the main senses already explained, viz. the *izhodišče* denotes what is spoken about while the *jedro* says something (implying new information) about the *izhodišče*. From the point of view of communication, the less important part of the message (often what is already known) thus precedes the more important. In interrogative sentences, on the other hand, this sequence is reversed, for the initial question word normally represents the rheme, as in *Kaj počnete tukaj?* (What are you doing here?) *Zakaj si tako poreden?* (Why are you so naughty?) *Kje si bil vso noč?* (Where've you been all night?)<sup>30</sup>

Especially in longer clauses, a transitional section (*prehod*) can be distinguished as part of the kernel/rheme. This is the least important part of the message and can be omitted (as in *Mi o volku, volk iz gozda*, based on *mi govorimo o volku, volk pa pride iz gozda* (we ('re talking) about the wolf and the wolf (comes) out of the forest)). These three parts of the clause are normally expressed by the four main clause elements: S, V, O and A (see chapter 1, p. 27 for Toporišič's treatment of clause elements). Firbas's idea of a basic distribution of CD clearly has no part in Toporišič's system and the latter's characterization of the parts of a message could be symbolized as in the following diagram.



compared with:



(basic distribution of CD)

These WO principles are illustrated in their simplest form by a short quotation adapted from F. S. Finžgar:

1. *Može sta prišla sred vasi.* 2. *Tam je ob cesti sedel zbor beguncev: nekaj moških, sicer ženske in otroci.* 3. *Nekateri so imeli svežnje obleke in posteljnine, večina pa ničesar.* 4. *Krog njih so bili zbrani otroci iz vse vasi.* 5. *Nekaj gospodinj je že prineslo težke hlebe kruha.* 6. *V velikih kosih so ga rezale beguncem.* 7. *Druge so delile mleko /:/: ena je prihitela z opranimi plenjami.* 8. *Za njimi so previle dojenčke;* 9. *tiso bili vsi mokri in se jokali.*<sup>31</sup>

Finžgar's actual text is also provided, and a comparison shows that Toporišič has shortened some sentences (e.g. 3 and 4 are one sentence in the original) and altered others in order to show an uncomplicated division into theme - transition - rheme. For example:

1. cf. *Prišla sta sred vasi*

Toporišič has added the subject, which is obviously recoverable from the preceding text and this serves as theme. This raises the question (answered later -

see p. 55) whether in such cases an unexpressed S (which is common in Slov if expressing known information) should be considered the theme<sup>32</sup> and the clause-initial verb phrase as transition. Such an interpretation would seem to be justified if the theme is understood to be that which the clause says something about.

2. cf. *Zbor beguncev je sedel na cesti: nekaj moških, sicer ženske in otroci.*

Toporišič considers this marked sequence of rheme - theme inappropriate.

6. cf. *[... težke hlebe kruha] in so ga v velikih kosih rezale beguncem.*

This raises the question whether the advbl *v velikih kosih* in this position should still be assigned to the theme, as with *ob cesti* in Toporišič's version of sentence 2, or to the transition.<sup>33</sup> (See further *za devetimi gorami* on p. 56 of this chapter.)

8-9. cf. *[... z opranimi plenicami.] da so previle dojenčke, ki so bili...*

These subordinate clauses Toporišič has changed into main clauses, but a significant principle is involved here, which is mentioned and illustrated in a later section: a subordinate clause (or clauses) may represent the theme or rheme in a complex sentence just as on the syntactic level it may represent a clause element within the complex sentence, e.g. *Ko je doma potrkal na vrata in se je v veži posvetila Lojzina luč, je vse izginilo in ga zapustilo.*<sup>34</sup> (The subordinate advbl clause is the theme, the main clause the rheme.) One might also ask whether conjunctions (either linking main clauses or introducing subordinate ones) should be included in the theme - rheme structure (see the comment on p. 56 of this chapter). The differing analysis of verb phrases is rather puzzling but may be due to lack of consistency in the printing,<sup>35</sup> viz. 2. *je ... sedel*, 5. *je že prineslo*, 6. *so ga rezale*, 7. *so delile, je prihitela*, 8. *so*

previle. (Sentences 4 and 9 involve the verb *bili + povedkovo določilo*, the complement being analyzed as part of the verb phrase, see *Ss*, pp. 333, 464).

Toporišič deals briefly with marked W0, which arises not only out of the inversion of the theme - rheme sequence (as in *Okoli sonca* [rheme] *se vrti zemlja*, *Petero nas je bilo*),<sup>36</sup> but also from changing the sequence of the individual words in a phrase, or changing the sequence of clitics or their position in the clause. The examples given are almost without exception from literary texts, including poems. (For the latter it should be added that considerations of rhythm, metre and rhyme will at least partly explain the inversion.) He comments that the inverted part is thus given more emphasis and an emotional colouring; if it is suitably important then the marked W0 is justified (*Ss*, p. 342).

In *Nss* the application of the principles of *členitev po aktualnosti* is explained in more detail. Here a short text from *Trdina*, first discussed by Breznik and requoted by Toporišič in his two articles and *Skj* 4, is further scrutinized (pp. 287ff). We may note that a clause functioning as rheme within a complex sentence can have its own internal theme - rheme structure: e.g. *in grof vidi, da se nahaja v neznanem kraju, po katerem še nikoli ni hodil*. - the subordinate clauses are further analyzed as: *in grof vidi, da* / (*se nahaja v neznanem kraju*) (*po katerem . . . še nikoli*<sup>37</sup> *ni hodil*) / (p. 288). (The printing types have the same values as before, except that the transition is now put in spaced type.)

Moreover, there can be a zero theme, as in the opening sentence of this text: *Bil je imeniten grof*, where we may suppose some introductory element such as *nekoč / v davnih časih / nekje visoko gori na Gorjancih* has been omitted, or when a pronominalized subject is not expressed at surface level as in [*Grof ugleda medveda*] *in skoči za njim*. (See my earlier

comment on pp. 53-54.) In general, pronominalization plays an important part in FSP, as is shown in some detail (pp. 289-91). The following sentence in the text provides an additional example of the fact that the transition, too, can be omitted in surface structure: [*Medved žine v goščavo*] *in grof za njim*. (Incidentally, note from the above how conjunctions are viewed as part of the theme or rheme.)

Toporišič also suggests some guidelines for the practical problem of determining the boundaries of the three FSP elements: <sup>38</sup> the theme generally expresses what is known or most known of all, the transition can be omitted, while the rheme stands as answer to the kind of questions used to identify any of the clause elements. Moreover, theme and rheme may be inverted (in marked W0) while the transition remains in the middle (as in *Resnice se boji lažnik / Lažnik se boji resnice* - Truth is feared by a liar/A liar fears the truth). In clauses with three participants (see chapter 1, p. 28), e.g. *V davnih časih je za devetimi gorami živel mož, ki ni poznal miru* (In distant times there lived far away a man who did not know peace), the advbils of time and place could both belong to the theme, leading to the suggestion that whatever precedes the verb could be considered the theme, while what follows is the rheme (in independent sentences or those at the beginning of a text).

In the above, FSP analysis is carried out on individual sentences, but since theme - rheme structure underlies the composition of texts (seen clearly in the symbolization used for the Trdina text, *Nss*, pp. 288-89), it belongs also to text grammar. However, as Toporišič points out, to treat this would require a whole book, if not books

Concerning the application of the FSP theory to Eng, it is appropriate to start with the work of M. A. K. Halliday, who was early conversant with Prague

linguistic theory in this field and has himself contributed significantly to the study of textual organization. Some of his ideas evidently underlie the treatment in Quirk *et al* 1972.

In a number of articles,<sup>39</sup> Halliday views the clause as the domain where three areas of syntactic choice converge, termed transitivity, mood and theme.

Transitivity (perhaps a misleading expression as it is not concerned with the traditional classification of verbs into transitive and intransitive) corresponds to the notion of semantic structure treated by other linguists. It is a system consisting of types of processes (expressed by verbs), participants in those processes (e.g. actor, initiator, goal, beneficiary, attribuant) and circumstances surrounding the processes (usually expressed by advbls).

Mood concerns the speaker - hearer relation and covers statement, question and answer, command, and explanation, as well as the speaker's attitudes and opinions. Mood is also referred to as the "interpersonal" level,<sup>40</sup> which replaces Daneš's grammatical level (in his three-level approach to syntax, see pp. 48-49 of this chapter), as Halliday objects to this on the grounds that it is a level of structure the only function of which is to be a level of structure.<sup>41</sup>

The term theme is used with different meanings:

(a) in its broadest sense, theme is "the grammar of discourse" (as transitivity is "the grammar of experience" and mood "the grammar of speech function").<sup>42</sup> So the term can include "information structure", i.e. the presentation of a message in "information units", which are tone units. (These may, but need not be co-terminous with clauses). The essential feature here is the placing of the information focus (signalled by the nucleus), for this indicates the new information as distinct from what is already known or given. Halliday makes the point that what is focal need not be new in the sense of not mentioned before but it is

presented as "not recoverable from the preceding discourse".<sup>43</sup> This use of the term theme differs, of course, from any previously explained in this chapter.

(b) more narrowly, theme is what is chosen to stand as the initial element in the clause<sup>44</sup> (obligatorily initial elements, e.g. conjunctions, are thus not thematic<sup>45</sup>). The sequence is therefore always theme followed by rheme. Any clause element can be selected as theme, though a distinction is made between unmarked and marked themes. The former are: the surface subject in declarative clauses (whether active or passive constructions), the finite element of the verb phrase in *yes/no* questions or the *wh*-element in *wh*-questions,<sup>46</sup> and the verb in imperative and non-finite dependent clauses. Using Firbas's terminology, Halliday comments that an unmarked theme in a declarative clause is often an anaphoric or deictic element having the lowest degree of CD. Marked themes include adjuncts<sup>47</sup> (the most frequent type) and the surface object when placed initially. One can observe that such a concept (and enumeration) of unmarked and marked themes issues from the fact that Eng is a fixed WO language with a small set of clause patterns.

An important observation is that the given - new and the theme - rheme dichotomies are not identical though they may coincide. Halliday makes the distinction:

theme	given
what I am talking about	what you were talking about
(or what I am talking about now)	(or what I was talking about before) <sup>48</sup>

The theme is independent of the preceding discourse, being defined within the clause; it is the information structure (realized through intonation) which makes the link with what precedes. Moreover, although there is a tendency to have the sequence given - new, this is not automatic as it is with the theme - rheme sequence:



- (8) // <sup>4</sup> **this** gazebo // <sup>1</sup> **can't** have been built by Wren  
 theme ..... rheme .....  
 new ..... new given .....

(bold type - main stress; superscript <sup>4</sup> and <sup>1</sup> - fall-rise and falling tones) <sup>49</sup>

(c) theme is also used in a third sense - somewhat reminiscent of its function in literature or music - as an underlying idea. So, for instance, subordinate clauses have as underlying theme the relation of dependence, and interrogative sentences express the theme of question.

Of these three meanings, (b) is obviously the most relevant to the present discussion. Some aspects of Halliday's system differ significantly from Toporišič's, but comments on this will be left until later.

It is interesting that Halliday makes a firm connection between theme and transitivity. Thus whatever clause element functions as theme, it will also fulfil some role in the transitivity system - actor and theme are often combined in the subject of a clause, less often goal and theme are combined. By choosing the passive construction as a transitivity option, the speaker can dissociate actor and theme, yet still keep the latter unmarked. In other words, marked voice (passive) is selected instead of marked theme:

- (9) **My grandfather** built these houses.  
 (actor (S) process goal)  
 (unmarked theme)
- These houses** were built by my grandfather.  
 (goal (S) process actor)  
 (unmarked theme)
- These houses** my grandfather built <sup>50</sup>  
 (goal (O) actor process)  
 (marked theme)

In the Quirk *et al* grammars of 1972 and 1985, the chapter on "information processing" presents theme and focus as two fundamental notions. As in Halliday's treatment, the theme is automatically the initial element in the clause, (though note the comments on initial advbhs below), selected to be its "communicative point of departure" (1972, p 945). There is again a distinction between unmarked and marked themes, the former being at first the same as those enumerated by Halliday.<sup>51</sup> Additionally, thematic elements are identified specifically for subordinate clauses, viz: subordinators, *wh*-elements and the relative pronoun *that* (Other thematic elements occurring in certain idiomatic and literary constructions are considered only of minor importance, e.g. *Were he alive ... Keen though I am ... Do what one may ...* 1972, p 950.) In the 1985 volume, the additional observation is made that a clause with initial S as theme is the least marked of all, while other unmarked themes have more prosodic prominence and are thus called "onset themes", because the first prominent syllable in a tone unit is called the onset (p. 1599).

The fact of Eng being a fixed WO language still influences the theory since marked themes are often fronted elements.<sup>52</sup> They may occur in informal speech as in:

(10) JOE his NÁME is

RelaxÁtion you call it

Really good COCKtails they make at that hoTÉL (1972, pp 945-46, cf. 1985,

p 1377 See chapter 1, p. 25 concerning the use of capitals and accents.)

or in written Eng as in

(11) Most of these problems a computer could take in its stride

To this list may be added ten further items of importance. (1972, p. 947)

Sitting at her desk in deep concentration was my sister Flora ... (1985, p. 1378)

Marked themes may also occur in rhetorical or heightened language as part of a contrasting parallelism as in:

- (12) His FÀCE I'm not FÒND of but his CHÀRacter I desPÌSE.  
LEAVE him I COULDn't (but at least I could make his life a misery).  
WILLingly he'll NÈVer do it (he'll have to be forced). (1972, p. 946)

In the 1972 volume, the authors have reservations about the thematicity of clause-initial advbls. Some (especially disjuncts and conjuncts - for an explanation of these terms see chapter 3, pp. 133-34) are characteristically initial, which would then render them unmarked themes. But since a clause may open with an advbl followed by the subject (S itself being eligible as unmarked theme) or with two advbls (as in *Often in summer we would go bathing*) and Quirk *et al* imply that only one element may be the theme, advbls are not regarded as themes except for those which are clearly fronted. This may be for the sake of rhetorical parallelism:

- (13) In LÒNdon I was BÒRN and in LÒNdon I'll DÌE. (p. 948)

(In (10), (12) and (13) sentence intonation is indicated as in the grammars.)

In general it concerns adjuncts (especially those of place) closely associated (like objects and complements) with postverbal position:

- (14) Into the thick of the smoke plunged the intrepid cavalry. (p. 948)

(In such cases fronting also causes inversion if the S is a noun and not a pronoun.)

In the 1985 volume, on the other hand, advbls (in statements and imperative sentences) and also conjunctions are added to the list of themes but without any explanatory comment:

- (15) Yet she studied the instructions.  
Usually she studies the instructions.

Please study the instructions!

... although she studied the instructions.

(p. 1362)

The authors note that the amount of prosodic prominence given to initial advbls varies, and this reference to prosody may lead us on to their treatment of focus.

Instead of the term rheme they use focus, which is essentially tied to sentence intonation. The focus is signalled by the nucleus in a tone unit, and though the nuclear stress falls only on a syllable, it nevertheless indicates where the new information lies. It seems that focus should be understood as the essential piece of information presented but the constant association with the nucleus may lead to too narrow an understanding of the term. Though the theme is the initial element in a clause (generally speaking), the focus is assigned within a tone unit, which can be shorter than a clause (see e.g. 1985, pp. 1357-60). Nevertheless, such units do also often coincide with clause divisions, and so the examples throughout the discussion are mostly clausal tone units (and all those selected for quotation here are clauses).

The most neutral position of focus is end-focus, i.e. the nucleus falls on (the stressed syllable of) the last open-class item:

(16) Dylan Thomas was born in SWAN<sup>ˈ</sup>sea. (1972, p. 938)

End-focus itself cannot show how much of the information in the clause is new; only the context can indicate this:

(17) (What's on today?) We're going to the RACes.

(What are we doing today?) We're going to the RACes.

(Where are we going today?) We're going to the RACes.

(1972, p. 940; 1985, p. 1364)

However, if the nucleus falls earlier (or occasionally later) in the clause, then it does unambiguously mark the new information:

- (18) (Who's going to the races?)  $\overbrace{\text{WE'RE}}^{\text{NEW}}$  going to the races. (1972, p. 941; 1985, p. 1364)

Such a shifted nucleus represents marked focus, which is treated in considerable detail in the 1985 grammar. It may be used for contrast or correction as in:

- (19) (I am|painting my 'bathroom BLUE|) I am|painting my LIVING room 'blue|  
 (|Are you 'painting 'John's 'living room BLUE|) I am|painting MY 'living room 'blue| (p. 1365)  
 He was|speaking to ME| (not you) (p. 1369)

(Thin vertical bar - onset; heavy vertical bar - end of tone unit)

or may simply show that the most important information is not in clause final position:

- (20) The|TELEphone's 'ringing|  
 (relatively predictable predicate, typically found with S + intransitive V)  
 Joan has a PLANE to 'catch|  
 She's a |BRILLiant 'person| (pp. 1366-68)

Cf. also: Have you|been to the BAcon exhibition| or|don't you LIKE that kind of painting| (p. 1361)

It follows that such a marked focus may fall on the theme as initial element, and Quirk *et al* regard this as the extreme form of marked theme:

- (21) (Who gave you that magazine?) |BILL gave it to me| (p. 1375; 1972, p. 945)

In this analysis, theme and focus inevitably coincide in one word utterances:

- (22) |COFFee| |THANKS| (p. 1375)

For the sake of comparison it may be noted that Toporišič also considers sentence intonation (treated separately in *Ss*) under the heading of *členitev po*

*aktualnosti* in *Nss*. He distinguishes the head (*glava*) in a tone unit, the first stressed syllable of which bears the nucleus (*težišče*). His analysis of a short text from Cankar shows the possibility of differing placement of the nucleus:

(23) Poročêna sta bila šest MÊSECEV / ŠÊST MÊSECEV.

in sta se ljubîLA KÂKOR PRVI DÁN / PRVI DÁN (p. 293)

(Capital letters represent the head, and the accents show vowel quality.)

But to quote his own words:

"Izbira različnih intonacijskih glav ni stvar členitve po aktualnosti, ampak čustvene določitve" (p. 294)  
(The choice of different intonational heads is not a question of FSP but of emotional decision.)

Quirk *et al* accept the notion of CD as indicating "the variation in communicative value as between different parts of an utterance" (1985, p. 1356), and comment that it is common, though not essential, for the increase of CD from low to high to correspond to the linear progression of the information unit, with the verb being usually at the transition point between low and high CD:

(24) She will de|cide 'next WEEK] (1985, p. 1356)

where *she* has low, *will decide* medium and *next week* high CD. (Though this terminology is not used, the segmentation here, of course, corresponds to theme - transition - rheme.) Information may well be arranged precisely to achieve end-focus so that the new information (and highest CD) comes at the end of the clause/tone unit (i.e. the principle of end-focus).

The new information often needs to be stated more fully than the given and thus may be longer and "heavier". This is called the principle of end-weight.<sup>53</sup> These two principles of end-focus and end-weight not infrequently work together in the construction of Eng clauses/sentences.

Considerable attention is paid in both grammars to the grammatical aspects of information processing, i.e. to the range of sentence constructions available for presenting information from a particular standpoint. In addition to

fronting, which may be accompanied by S - V inversion, these constructions include the following (the examples are cited from the 1985 volume):

(a) cleft sentences: *It was a |white SUIT (that) 'John'wore at the DANCE  
'last 'night|* (p. 1385)

(b) pseudo-cleft sentences: *What you need most is a good rest.* (p. 1388)

(c) types of postponement:

extraposition of a clausal S: *It is a pleasure to teach her.* (p. 1392)

extraposition of a clausal O: *You must find it exciting working here.*  
(p. 1393)

(d) existential sentences (7 clause types are exemplified): *There are |many  
STÚdents|in financial TROÙBLE|* (p. 1402)

(e) have-existential sentences: *The porter has a taxi ready.* (p. 1411)

(f) lexical devices, termed converses, which permit the reversal of the order of participants: *An uncle, three cousins and two brothers benefited from the will / The will benefited an uncle, three cousins and two brothers.*

*An unidentified blue liquid was in the bottle / The bottle contained an unidentified blue liquid.*

*A red sports car was behind the bus / The bus was in front of a red sports car.* (p. 1390)

Though not explicitly mentioned, the existence of such devices is once more characteristic of a fixed WO language, which requires other means than the possibility of reordering the linear sequence of elements so as to present information as thematic or rhematic/focal.

In conclusion we may comment on the main concepts of the FSP theory together with points of difference that have emerged between the approaches used for analyzing Slov and Eng.

The FSP theory seeks to investigate how information is presented so that the hearer/reader can recognize what is communicatively important. That sentences as pieces of information can be internally segmented is clear - but the actual demarcation of the individual parts is not always easy in practice. Firstly, the concept of theme has been understood in different ways, and we may briefly reconsider these.

(a) theme as departure point, i.e. whatever stands at the beginning of the clause. Insofar as the initial element is open to choice, its selection may be conditioned by the preceding context or existing situation, and also by what the speaker wishes to present as new information.

(b) theme as denoting what the clause/sentence is about. This definition is unsatisfactory because it is imprecise. It could denote an abstraction from the content of the clause rather than a particular linear segment of it.<sup>54</sup>

(c) theme as known or old information. Although sentences can contain nothing but new information, it is usual for some of the information in a sequence of sentences forming a text to be carried on from one sentence to another and thus to constitute known information. However, what is known (i) may be more than one element; subject to the WO rules affecting surface structure in an individual language (ii) it need not represent one continuous section of the clause and (iii) it need not be restricted to the first part of the clause:

(25) She scolded him for being late. (i) and (ii)

(26) Grof ugleda medveda in skoči za njim. (iii)

(The count catches sight of the bear and leaps after it.)



Toporišič uses the term *izhodišče* for theme, which literally means 'departure point', but does not limit it only to the initial element; he also attributes to the term senses (b) and (c) above. Halliday and Quirk *et al.* however, basically accept the first element/item in the clause as theme,<sup>55</sup> and distinguish between theme and the feature of "givenness" (i.e. what is known information). This latter approach seems to me justified.

The rheme, the other main concept, is taken to be that segment of the clause/sentence which expresses the communicatively most important information, but there may be some difficulty in longer clauses (especially if a transitional section is recognized) in identifying how much should be regarded as rheme proper.

In neutral Slov WO, the rheme occupies clause-final position, whereas in Eng with its grammatical WO, the rheme is said to be indicated by the position of the nuclear stress. However, a practical difficulty can be foreseen in that division into tone units for a written text depends partly on the individual's interpretation. Longer clauses can be segmented into two or more tone units, each having its own nucleus, while two short clauses need form only one tone unit. From this standpoint, then, it may be less clear what the clause rheme is. In general, it seems a weakness in Quirk *et al.*'s approach that theme is identified at clause level (leaving aside the analysis of noun phrases, 1985, p. 1361), but rheme, as represented by "focus", is identified at tone unit level, and the two levels need not coincide. (Some consequences of this will be noted in the corpus analysis, e.g. chapter 4, pp. 207-10.)

A significant difference between the two languages as representing free and fixed WO languages is that neutral WO in Slov is that which observes the theme - rheme sequence, while marked WO results from transposing this. (Other transpositions - of normal grammatical sequences - are more characteristic of

poetry than of prose.) Neutral **VO** in Eng. however, is what is grammatically unmarked, e.g. the **SVO** sequence, while marked **VO** results from transposing the usual clause patterns, e.g. **OSV**.

## Footnotes to Chapter 2

1. Revised editions were published in 1869 and 1879 and an Eng translation in Boston in 1877.
2. Explained by Firbas in (1964), 268. The relevant paper by Mathesius is 'O tak zvaném aktuálním členění větěném', *Slovo a slovesnost*, 5 (1939), 171-74.
3. Firbas (1964), 269. The relevant paper by Trávníček is also entitled 'O tak zvaném aktuálním členění větěném', *Slovo a slovesnost*, 22 (1961), 163-71.
4. (1964), 270.
5. *ibid.*, 272.
6. The idea of transition has been discounted by some scholars but Firbas devotes considerable attention to it. See e.g. (1961), (1966), (1968), (1969) and (1976). Daneš (1966), 18-19 also finds it necessary since a rigorous dichotomy of theme and rheme proves unpracticable.
7. (1961), 81.
8. (1959), 42. Note the examples:  
 Father<sup>10</sup> has<sup>21</sup> gone<sup>22</sup> for a walk<sup>31</sup> with John.<sup>32</sup>  
 Father<sup>10</sup> has<sup>21</sup> gone<sup>22</sup> with John<sup>31</sup> for a walk.<sup>32</sup>  
 John<sup>10</sup> has been<sup>21</sup> taken<sup>22</sup> out<sup>23</sup> for a walk<sup>31</sup> by Father.<sup>32</sup>  
 where the two prepositional phrases are considered the rheme, the second being more "dynamic".
9. (1957), 85-87; (1959), 43, 46.
10. (1959), 45, 47-48.
11. (1966), 240-43.
12. *ibid.*, 241. Note also the emphasis on cooperation: "FSP arises through a co-operation of means, none of which can be studied in isolation, but in its relation to the others". *ibid.*, 244.

13. Firbas (1974), p. 24, translating from Beneš's article in *Časopis pro moderní filologii*, 41 (1959), 216. Firbas does not object to this notion of basis since it is separate from theme in his sense (cf. his objection to Trávníček's notion of theme mentioned on p. 43 of this chapter) but he makes no use of "basis" in his own analyses.
14. The opposition topic - focus, for example, is used by S. C. Dik in his functional grammar; see chapter 1, p. 19.
15. Daneš in Daneš, ed. 1974, p. 115.
16. Note the objections raised by some to the subjectivity implicit in Firbas's approach of assigning degrees of CD to individual parts of an utterance, e.g. Francis (1963), 335 and (1966), 149.
17. Daneš in Daneš, ed. 1974, p. 124. He points out that not all languages permit such WO variations.
18. Daneš understands theme as something spoken about and rheme as what is said about the theme, yet *mit der Feder*, here interpreted as rheme, does not adequately "say something about" *unsere Mutter* - only transition plus rheme do this. However, in bipartite terms, rheme encompasses transition.
19. In Daneš (1960), 45 there are examples showing that while stress may shift in Eng. in Russian both stress and WO sequence can be changed:
- |                                    |                                    |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| The train (theme) has come (rheme) | The train (rheme) has come (theme) |
| Poezd (theme) prišol (rheme)       | Pòezd (rheme) prišol (theme)       |
| Prišol (rheme) poezd (theme)       | Prišol (theme) pòezd (rheme)       |
20. Novák (1966) regards it as "among the most remarkable achievements of Czechoslovak post-war activities in the field of linguistics" (219), clearing away the misleading terminology of grammatical, logical and psychological subject and predicate. Yet Novák (1974), 177-78 considers the approach unsatisfactory as a language universal; the "detachment" of FSP from other aspects of so-called

"overall sentence meaning" may be applicable to Slavonic languages but is not warranted by the universal features of language structure. He cites two non-European languages (Yukaghir and Tagalog) where rheme and theme respectively are obligatorily expressed, e.g. by morphological means. FSP, therefore, does not belong only on the level of organization of utterance. Since I am not concerned with non-European languages, nor with the attempt to find language universals, I shall ignore this observation.

Similar FSP marking in other non-European languages has been noted, e.g. Levinson (1975) and Edwards (1979).

21. Dependence and adjoining are said to approximate to subordination and coordination. n. 4, 237.

22. At an early stage in this research an experiment was carried out to try to establish whether evidence of semantic WO exists in Slov. A large set of individual sentences was given to students and staff (mostly in the English department at the Faculty of Arts, Ljubljana) to translate from Eng into Slov. The sentences were formulated according to basic clause patterns in Eng (see chapter 1, p. 24); in some the advbl was obligatory, the others had from one to three optional advbls added. For such an experiment to be effective, the sentences would need to be based on semantic patterns, but no exhaustive list (comparable to that for syntactic patterns) was available. The translations of all but the shortest sentences (2 or 3 elements) varied in WO - the more the elements, the greater the variety - and seemed to show that the Slov translators imagined a context or a certain interpretation and translated accordingly.

Nevertheless, Beneš's sentences to illustrate semantic WO in Czech have Slov translation equivalents with the same WO and the same interpretation: *Sestra kuha; Oglasila se je piščalka; V Pragi se je včeraj pripetila nesreča; Chelčický je živel v petnajstem stoletju; Brat je šel na izlet.*

23. (1965) and (1967). The information on W0 and clause order in *Ss*, pp. 532-34 and 536-43 follows *Skj* 4, pp. 170-73 and 177-85 practically verbatim.
24. *Nss*, p. 287.
25. (1965), p. 181.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 177 and (1967), 282.
27. *Ss*, pp. 332-33.
28. I translate *jedro* as 'kernel' to distinguish it from 'nucleus' (*težišče*), as used in connection with sentence intonation.
29. *Ss*, p. 437; cf. also the comment in *Nss*, p. 286 and n. 134.
30. *Ss*, p. 533. In some cases, the sentence stress (on the spaced words) may indicate that the rheme is elsewhere: cf. *Kaj veš o odkritju Amerike?* (What do you know about the discovery of America?) and *Kaj več[sic] o odkritju A m e - r i k e (ne Avstralije)?* (What do you know about the discovery of America (not Australia)?) (1967), 254.
31. Printed as in *Ss*, p. 533 with italics for the theme, ordinary type for the transition and bold type for the rheme. Words in spaced type indicate an original rheme becoming a theme in the following sentence. The text may be translated as follows: The two men came into the centre of the village. There by the road sat a crowd of fugitives: a few men, otherwise women and children. Some had bundles of clothes and bed linen, but most had nothing. Around them had gathered children from the entire village. Some housewives had brought substantial loaves of bread. They sliced them up in big pieces for the fugitives. Others shared out milk././ one came hurrying along with clean nappies. With these they wrapped up the babies; these were all wet and crying.
32. This interpretation could be deduced from Firbas's examples, e.g. the verb form *Plavula* (they burned), constituting a sentence-initial clause, is given the CD values *Plavu*<sup>30</sup> /<sup>20</sup> *a* <sup>10</sup>, (1961), 93.

33. In *Skj* 4, p. 172, where the same text from Finžgar is used, Toporišič's version of sentence 6 is: *Rezale so [transition] ga [theme] v velikih kosih beguncem [rheme]*. Here the status of the advbl is significantly different and the sentence itself less usual than that in *Ss*

34. *Ss*, p. 536, *Skj* 4, p. 177. (When he knocked on the door at home and Lojza's light shone in the lobby, everything disappeared and left him.)

35. Cf. *Skj* 4, p. 177 where in *Vse je šlo z njim: Franca, otroci, vsa hiša*, (Everything went with him: Franca, the children, the whole house) what is interpreted as rheme is printed as if it were theme.

36. *Ss*, p. 542; *Skj* 4, p. 184. (lit. Around the sun revolves the earth. Five we were.)

37. Note that the marked (non-final) position of the rheme is here felt to be appropriate as it stresses something exceptional. (1967), 254. Trdina's text may be translated as follows: There was an eminent count. This count went to the Gorjanci hunting. A great company of friends and hunters accompanied him. The count catches sight of a bear and leaps after it. The bear shoots into a thicket, and the count after him. The bear disappears, and the count sees that he is in an unknown part, where he had never gone before.

38. *Nss*, pp. 291-92.

39. (1967), (1968), (1969), (1970) and (1974).

40. (1974), pp. 47, 49, 50.

41. *ibid.*, p. 46. Note the sentences:

Tigers can climb trees.                      Can tigers climb trees?

They can climb trees, can't they? No, they can't.

*Tigers can* expresses mood throughout, and typically carries the positive/negative option, (1970), p. 160. Mood is thus a meaningful function in the clause, since it defines the communication role of the speaker.

42. (1967), 199.

43. (1967), 204.

44. Halliday says (1974), p. 53 that he understands "theme" in Trávníček's sense - see p. 43 of this chapter. He says, moreover, that FSP deals with intrasentential structural relations; the textual component of language is a broader category, encompassing intersentential relations as well.

45. As regards subordinating conjunctions, Halliday considers that there is "a slight thematic flavour about their occurrence in initial position" (1967), 220, but comments that probably only main clauses show the theme in its fullest sense. The theme in dependent clauses is secondary to the underlying theme of such clauses (see Halliday's sense (c)), that is, the relation of dependence.

46. This analysis differs, of course, from that of Toporišič and others, who look on the question word as rheme because it requests information which will be the rheme in the answer. Halliday's view is that since in questions the theme (sense (c)) is the request for information, the element containing this request is put first. (1970), pp. 161-62.

47. See chapter 3, p. 133 together with n. 88, pp. 180-81. Advbls such as *however, nevertheless, in that case, therefore* and *perhaps, probably, frankly, apparently* are thematic when occurring initially (since they are not obligatorily initial elements) but they may also permit the presence of another, so-called "cognitive" theme such as a complement or advbl of time or manner, as in *Perhaps after dinner we'll go to the theatre.* (1967), 221.

48. (1967), 212.

49. (1970), p. 163.

50. (1967), 216.

51. See p. 58 of this chapter. Examples in Quirk *et al* 1972 are:

S in a statement *He bought a new house.*



operator in a *yes/no* question: *Did he buy a new house?*

*wh*-element in a *wh*-question: *Which house did he buy?*

main verb in a command: *Buy a new house.* (p. 943)

52. Note the comment: "Fronting is the term we apply to the achievement of marked theme by moving into initial position an item which is otherwise unusual there." 1985, p. 1377.

53. One application of this principle of end-weight is "structural compensation" (1972, p. 968; 1985, pp. 1401-2). Since the predicate of the clause is normally expected to be longer than the S, and since the V usually occupies a transitional position between thematic low CD and focal high CD, the clause pattern S-V where V is realized by a simple form sounds incomplete. Various means are used to provide structural compensation: e.g. instead of *[Mary SANG]: Mary sang for hours* or at least *Mary was singing* (1985, p. 1401); instead of *He ate: He had a meal* (1972, p. 968).

54. Note Dik's examples to illustrate his notion of topic and the fact that it does not always correlate with the subject: *The Eiffel Tower is really spectacular/I rather like the Eiffel Tower/On the Eiffel Tower I once had lunch/We were going to make a trip to the Eiffel Tower but we lost our way and never arrived there* (1978, p. 143). One could say that the last sentence is not so much "about" the Eiffel Tower as "about" an unsuccessful attempt to visit it.

55. The list of themes given in Quirk *et al* 1985, p. 1362 does not exhaust all the possible clause-initial items in Eng. It does not even include an initial object. The subject complement can also be clause-initial and theme as in *Also extent are some fragments which....*

## CHAPTER 3

**Adverbials in Linguistic Theory**

The aim of this chapter is to show how advbls have been treated within different grammatical schools, relying on the appropriate material in chapter 1 to serve as a general background. My concern is not so much a consistent evaluation of these studies from any one assumed theoretical standpoint but rather a presentation of how the various aspects of advbls, and especially their placement in the clause/sentence, have been discussed and analyzed. Certain problems naturally recur, and insofar as lines of "development" can be discerned, I shall try to trace them. The first and major part of the chapter will be taken up with the treatment of advbls relating to Eng; the remaining part will investigate and compare the treatment of advbls relating to Slov.

It is a commonplace that advs, as (mostly) one word expressions, represent the most heterogeneous word class, or that advbls constitute a heterogeneous clause element, and consequently a recurrent concern of grammarians and linguists has been how to classify and analyze them.

Because of this heterogeneity it is difficult to define precisely what an adv/advbl is, and writers other than Eng traditional grammarians on the whole simply assume a recognition of what constitutes this class.<sup>1</sup>

Authors also differ as to how they use the terms adv and advbl. In this chapter I shall, where necessary, follow the usage of individual writers as their work is summarized, but as a general principle I shall use the term "adverbial" to denote any expression consisting of an adv (i.e. a single word), an advbl phrase or advbl clause. The term "adverb" will be used whenever it is necessary to specify a one-word expression.

One further introductory point should be mentioned. For the comparative

study of Eng and Slov advbls which is to follow, I have limited attention to advbls of place, time and manner. These three types were chosen at the outset as being among the most common modifying advbls (see pp. 78ff.), whether occurring singly or together. They also, as we shall see later, differ in their placement and their scope of modification within the clause. It is hoped that investigating these three types will provide enough material for a useful and illuminating exploratory study without resulting in an unwieldy mass of data, as could be expected from investigating all advbls. So within this broad survey of the literature, place, time and manner advbls will receive special attention.

### **Traditional grammar**

Since the traditional grammarians<sup>2</sup> devoted considerable attention to advbls (which they generally termed "adverbial adjuncts"), the basic aspects can be conveniently set out in some detail here. Their treatment is not, however, "monolithic", and the variations will be noted where appropriate. In brief, advbls are traditionally classified according to their form, function, meaning and position, of which the last three are the most relevant for this study. These classifications are partly interconnected.

**Form** Advbls consist of advs (which morphologically may be simple, compound or derived), advbl phrases (including modified advs, prepositional phrases and noun phrases) and advbl clauses.<sup>3</sup>

Certain simple and compound advs belong to a particular group labelled "pronominal adverbs". Jespersen subdivides these, like pronouns, into:

(a) demonstrative: *here, there, now, then, thus, so, therefore*

(b) interrogative and relative: *where, when, why, how*

(c) indefinite: *somewhere, anywhere, everywhere, nowhere, ever, never,*

*always, somehow, anyhow.*

(1933, p. 68)

Another group of advs consists of "adverbial particles", most of which can also be used as prepositions.<sup>4</sup> Examples include *about, across, along, around, away, back, in, off, on, out, over, past, through, under, up*. They are closely linked with verbs, often forming a unit with idiomatic meaning (phrasal verbs):

*put across* - communicate something successfully; deceive

*put away* - put in the usual place of storage; save; eat or drink (to excess);  
give up, renounce; put into confinement; put to death (of pets)

*put back* - replace; move backwards; check the advance of, cause delay to

*put off* - leave (of a boat or crew); postpone; make excuses and try to  
avoid; hinder or dissuade

*put on* - clothe oneself with; assume, pretend to have; increase, add to;  
arrange for, make available; advance<sup>5</sup>

There are other advs also indistinguishable in form from other word classes. A special group is comprised of advs identical with adjectives, e.g. *hard, fair, clear, fast*. Quite a number of these are used with verbs in particular combinations, e.g. *drink deep, work hard, speak fair, play false, smell sweet, ring true*.<sup>7</sup> Some advs are homonymous with conjunctions, e.g. *since, after, where*; in fact Sweet considers it "most practical" to class all sentence-connecting advs as conjunctions,<sup>8</sup> whereas Jespersen regards conjunctions as advs in a special function, i.e. having a clause as their object.<sup>9</sup>

**Function** The main function recognized by traditional grammarians is that of modification.<sup>10</sup> Advbs (specifically advs) modify single words (hence the term word modifiers), which can be adjectives, advs, nouns and noun-equivalents, numerals, verbs, etc.<sup>11</sup> Sweet points out that adjectives and advs are modified by advs of degree (quantity), most of which cannot be used with verbs. Advs that modify verbs have the same relation to them as adjectives to nouns:

(1) he walks quickly / he is a quick walker / he has a quick step (1891, p. 124)

describes accurately / accurate description

judges severely / severe judge

visits frequently / frequent visits

reads carefully / careful reader

(Jespersen 1933, p. 79)

Advbls can also modify the predicate (predicate modifiers) or the whole sentence (sentence modifiers). Krusinga and Erades and, with less emphasis, H. E. Palmer, make an interesting distinction between advbl adjuncts which modify a sentence - Poutsma 1928 (p. 440) adds that this function is especially typical of advbls of attendant circumstances - and sentence advs, which in some respects function as independent sentences:

(2) Somehow he always fails to hit the nail on the head

*somehow* - 'I do not know how it is, but ...'

That is, no doubt, why they are kept in seclusion

*no doubt* - 'I have no doubt about that.'<sup>12</sup>

Krusinga and Erades state that sentence advs are not advbl adjuncts, but that when they occur in mid-position, the character of an advbl adjunct may be attributed to them:

(3) we can easily arrange that.

(1953, p. 45)

The terminology on this point is rather confusing, however. Traditional as well as later grammarians use the expression "sentence adverb" for advs which apply to the sentence as a whole, including the group sometimes called "modal adverbs" (e.g. *probably*, *possibly* - see also p. 83 of this chapter).

Traditional grammarians confess to difficulty in distinguishing between word modification and sentence modification and still more so in distinguishing between predicate and sentence modification. On the first point Sweet writes:

"... there is often great difficulty in distinguishing between word-modification and sentence-modification generally. This is especially the case when a verb is the word that seems to be modified. If the verb has no meaning of its own, it cannot of course be logically - though it may be grammati-

cally - modified by the adverb. But if the verb has a distinct meaning of its own, its importance in the sentence makes any modification of it almost logically equivalent to modification of the whole sentence. Thus there can be no doubt that an adverb of motion such as *home* in its regular position after a verb of motion such as *go* must be regarded as specially modifying that verb, and yet in such a sentence as *John came home yesterday*, *home* practically modifies not *came* only, but the whole sentence, for it is not any one at any time that came home, but it is *John* that came home, and he came home *yesterday*.

In grammar we are, of course, bound to consider such questions as much as possible from a purely grammatical point of view, and from the grammatical point of view there can be no doubt that *home* in *John came home* modifies *came* and *came* only." (1891, pp. 126-27)

Some sentence modifiers additionally single out one word:

- (4) Even Homer sometimes nods. (*ibid.*, p. 127)

Western (1906) pointed out long ago that some advs apparently functioning as word modifiers (modifying an adjective in a noun phrase) are actually sentence modifiers:

- (5) He knew the possibly fatal effects of visions like Camilla's. (79)

According to Western's argument, the related adjective *possible* modifies *fatality of effects* and not just the word *fatality*. Such modification can be regarded as sentence modification on the following grounds: "An adverb, which formally belongs to an adjective, is sentence-modifying, if it corresponds to an adjective modifying a group consisting of a logical subject and a logical predicate." (79-80)

Kruisinga and Erades and Zandvoort give a few examples illustrating the borderline nature of predicate (6) versus sentence modification (7):

- (6) A bathe always makes me sleepy.

She quietly sat down.

I didn't wake up till nine o'clock.

- (7) After some time they saw a light.

Fortunately I had plenty of food with me.

The trip was quite enjoyable after all. (Zandvoort 1972, p. 204)

Zandvoort comments that in clear cases of sentence modification, the advbl tends to be dissociated from the sentence, taking up a semi-independent position. In writing, this may be indicated by a comma, e.g. *Fortunately, I had plenty of food with me.*

An overlap in modification is noted with certain advs of manner, which besides modifying the verb also characterize the subject. Western points out this phenomenon with verbs of utterance, looking, movement and attitude:

(8) Chandos looked at him regretfully.

In the street Dora saw two children lazily going to school.

Lucy trotted at his side, timidly enjoying the rare treat of doing something naughty.<sup>13</sup>

(*op. cit.*, 87-89)

Kruisinga and Erades, who comment in some detail on their examples of this type of adv, call them semi-predicative adjuncts, but it will be useful to anticipate by introducing here Quirk *et al.*'s original expression "subject adjunct" (see p. 160 of this chapter), as other writers to be referred to later deal with them too.

A different function of advbls is to be a complement following a copula:

(9) It's here      He must be out<sup>14</sup>

This function is considered to be observable too in the verb + adv/adjective combinations mentioned previously, e.g. *grasp tight, burn clear, ring true* (see p. 78). Poutsma says such verbs approach copulas whereas Jespersen characterizes such expressions by saying the predicative approaches the status of an adv.

Sweet has a distinction of his own - between "dependent" and "independent" advbls - which in fact points to the conjunctive use of certain advbls. "Independent" advbls we have already met, under the designation word modifiers and sentence modifiers. "Dependent" advbls are those which introduce: (a) a word, and usually need complementation, correlative advs being a special class, as in:

(10) he is nearly as tall as you (are)

or (b) a clause, as in:

(11) we went on to Rome, where we stopped a week (relative adv)

(12) I know where he is (conjunctive adv) (1891, pp. 128-29)

Finally, there is a fairly common construction in Eng sentence structure, termed "free adjunct" by Kruisinga and Erades, who consider it to be "partly attributive, partly advbl in function".<sup>15</sup> They illustrate such adjuncts when related or unrelated to the subject of the sentence, or having a subject of their own:

(13) Kendle disappeared into the trench and sauntered back to me, puffing a surreptitious Woodbine. (related free adjunct)

(14) ais, aus, ois are, strictly speaking, triphthongs, which in slow speech are disyllabic. (unrelated free adjunct)

(15) It being Sunday, we had service on deck. (absolute free adjunct) (pp. 51-54)

Such adjuncts are separated from the rest of the sentence by a clear break<sup>16</sup> (a pause or comma(s)) and mainly express the circumstances attending the activity or occurrence referred to in the sentence, although their logical relation to the rest of the sentence is not always made clear:

(16) It occurred to me, in the Army and Navy Stores, that if we were going over the top we might want to cut our own wire first.

Compare:

(17) But hoisted against the pale horizon the five gibbets showed black and skeletal ... (ibid., p. 58)

In (16), the clear break is said to signify a free adjunct, not an advbl of place. There is no clear break in (17), this is an adjunct of attendant circumstances, with an undersuggestion of cause.<sup>17</sup>

**Meaning** In subdividing advbls according to their meaning, traditional grammarians repeat more or less the same classes, with varying degrees of detail, at the same time fully realizing that the categories are not watertight. Within the



universally recognized categories of place, time and manner, place may have a subdivision of position (e.g. Palmer), time may be further subdivided into definite and indefinite time (e.g. Zandvoort), and frequency or repetition (e.g. Palmer), while manner may be distinguished from means and agents (e.g. Zandvoort).<sup>18</sup> Other "self-explanatory" categories include degree, quantity, cause, etc.<sup>19</sup> Palmer notes the questions that characterize the various semantic categories, e.g. *when?/at what time?* (time), *how often?* (frequency), *for how long?* (duration), *where?* (place), *how far?* (distance), *how?* (manner), but does not carry this through exhaustively; for his categories of cause, purpose, effect, condition, supposition, contingency, reservation and concession no questions are given. In any case he considers this use of questions as a means of classification rough and arbitrary, since different classes shade into each other, and many advs can have two or more meanings according to the context and their position in the sentence (1939, p. 173).

There are still other categories, where there is some overlapping of terminological labels. For instance, the term "sentence adverb" (which really relates more to function than to meaning) denotes for Sweet advs of affirmation and denial (*yes, no, not*), for Zandvoort advs which express an opinion on the rest of the sentence (*fortunately, honestly, apparently, admittedly, allegedly, presumably*). Then there are "modality adverbs", exemplified by Zandvoort with such items as *possibly, probably, surely, certainly, really*, and characterized by him as expressing the degree of reality belonging to a statement.

A particular group of advs consists of homonyms which can function as advs of manner and as sentence advs, e.g. *simply, naturally, clearly*:

- (18) When the poor fellow recovered, she spoke kindly to him ... (manner adv)  
 Mrs. Jones has kindly promised to bring her gramophone and a supply of records. (sentence adv) (Zandvoort 1972, p. 250)

(19) He was treated hardly. (manner adv)

I hardly think so. (sentence adv) (Kruisinga and Erades 1953, p. 46)

**Position** This aspect of advbls can give rise to lengthy and detailed treatment in traditional grammar because of the considerable surface variation; position is also quite often linked with function and meaning.

There are two ways of tackling the matter: (a) stating the various positions and then explaining which advbl types occur in these positions - sometimes with comments on the reason for such placement, its frequency and its stylistic effect; (b) enumerating the advbl types and indicating which positions they occupy. An amalgam of both methods is quite often used, and the treatment is partly a listing of highly specific "mini-rules" and partly the tracing of more general principles.

In Eng there are three basic positions for advbls: front (initial), mid (medial) and end (final) position, more precisely designated (e.g. by Palmer) as pre-subject, pre-verbal and post-verbal.

Just as function and meaning cannot be arbitrarily classified, so the placement of advbls does not operate according to watertight rules. Jespersen 1909-49 (Part VII, pp. 83-84) comments:

"The position of tertiaries [i.e. advbls] forms a very difficult chapter of English grammar ... Many advs can, according to circumstances, be placed now here, now there. Though there are certain strict rules, much depends on the speaker's or writer's individual fancy; he may desire to emphasize one element or to avoid crowding together several tertiaries."

As a general principle, position is partly linked with modification. Word modifiers generally immediately precede the adjectives, advs, numerals, pronouns, etc. modified, though the adv *enough* follows: *very quiet*, *really well*, *hardly anyone*, *warm enough*, *oddly enough*. (Zandvoort 1972, pp. 203-4, 246). Advb modifying nouns may precede or follow them: *quite the gentleman*; *the man there* (Sweet 1898, p. 19). Word modifiers of this type will be omitted

from further consideration in this study, since their placement is not problematic. (See also pp. 143-46 of this chapter.)

Verb modifiers are generally observed to follow the main verb. Sentence modifiers are regarded as having considerable freedom of position:

"From the fact that these adjuncts do not belong to any particular element of the sentence, it follows that they are not tied to anything like a fixed position. They admit, indeed, of being shifted about according to the promptings of convenience, metre or rhythm, or other circumstances difficult to define or to ascertain, so that the place in which they are actually found not seldom appears to be dependent on mere chance. This being so, any account of the varied practice is bound to be based on the individual linguistic instinct of the writer, and can hardly fail to be of a tentative nature."  
(Poutsma 1928, p. 434)

Nevertheless, these advbs are often placed early in the sentence over which their modification extends. This is partly explained by the notion that an item can show a gradation of meaning from more general to more specific according to shifts in its sentence position from initial through medial to final.<sup>20</sup>

Secondly, position is partly linked with meaning. As we have already noted, some homonymous advs can function as sentence advs or manner advs and position helps to disambiguate them:

- (20) I gladly acceded to his request / I acceded to his request gladly.  
he generally failed to explain his meaning / he failed to explain his  
meaning generally (Sweet 1898, p. 21)

In fact, there are a number of polysemantic advs in Eng where the (shade of) meaning intended is at least partly deduced from the position in the sentence, e.g. *altogether* as a sentence modifier meaning 'in every respect' has free order:

- (21) Altogether, she had made the holiday for Ransome.  
while as an adv of degree, in the sense 'entirely', it mostly precedes the word(-group) modified, though it may also have end position:

- (22) We altogether differ from this opinion.  
My lord was speechless altogether. (Poutsma 1928, pp. 432.)

(See also (18) *kindly* and (19) *hardly*.)

Thirdly, advbl position is also relative to other elements in the sentence and the "importance" they are all judged to have in conveying the message of the sentence.<sup>21</sup> Poutsma suggests, for instance, that advbls are placed within a complex predicate if considered less important than the other sentence elements (1928, p. 415). Also, when "less attention is claimed for the adverbial adjunct than for the verb, the former is placed before the latter":

(23) Mr. Winkle, thus admonished, abruptly altered its position.

Little Theo slowly recovered.

(*ibid.*, p. 433)

This observation may be compared with that in an article by Bolinger, 'The position of the adverb in English' (1943), which states clearly a principle that some traditional grammarians point to in explanation of a few highly specific examples. Namely, that advs denoting an action which can be expected or taken for granted tend to precede the verb while those that really give information generally follow.<sup>22</sup>

(24) He angrily refused. (anger expected)

He refused angrily. (anger not expected)

(191)

Later (1952) Bolinger adds that an adv following the verb implies a contrast with other types of the action in question.<sup>23</sup> This distinction is also similar to Palmer's between preverbal "incidental" advs (i.e. the presence or absence of the adv does not appreciably alter the meaning of the modified word or sentence) and postverbal "essential" advs (i.e. they are an integral part of the sentence, stating explicitly in what manner/degree the action is performed):<sup>24</sup>

(25) incidental

essential

He suddenly discovered the mistake.

He discovered the mistake suddenly.

We quietly went away.

We went away quietly.

I naturally read the letter.

I read the letter naturally.

He simply wrote the letter.                      He wrote the letter simply.     (p. 178)

The last two examples in fact illustrate the contrast between sentence and manner advs referred to earlier (pp. 83-84, 85), but Palmer fails to notice this.

In sentences containing an object, the consensus is that advbls follow objects. Poutsma explains this on the grounds that objects are usually more intimately connected with the verb than advbl adjuncts are, and therefore must stand closer to it. However, advbls may precede prepositional objects, which are usually less closely connected with the verb:

(26) Miss March turned abruptly to John.

Lord Oxford listened carefully to the three statements.                      (1928, 433)

Curme, on the other hand, gives the reason that an advbl is usually more important than a direct object and thus "like important elements in general, gravitates towards the end" (1931, p. 130). In any case, it is unusual in Eng for an advbl to stand between the main verb and its direct object, though this is possible if the object is lengthy or emphatic (27), or to avoid an advbl placed finally being misinterpreted as an attributive adjunct to the object (28), or if added parenthetically (29):

(27) I looked down and read idly the destinations shown in the postmarks of some bales on a lorry which rolled past us ...

(28) ... representing in their condition just now at least two hundred more.

(29) ... and were eating, with various degrees of gusto, bread and goat's cheese.

(Kruisinga and Erades 1953, pp. 84, 81)

The following observations are made about the characteristics of the three positions:

(a) front position. This is appropriate for advbls having a connective function:

(30) He went to the hedge - a gap had been broken through it, and in the gap were the footprints of the sheep.                      (*ibid.*, p. 82)

Demonstrative advs are usually initial for this reason:

(31) Here he could observe the slow movement of Arcturus. (*ibid.*, p. 82)

and similarly with conjunctive advs (though Poutsma considers they have free position, 1928, p. 443). Such anaphoric advbls are normally weakly stressed.

On the other hand, front position may be employed for emphasis, when the advbl is strongly stressed:

(32) Back he comes, weary but indefatigable in the Cause . . .

(Kruisinga and Erades 1953, p. 83)

or simply to represent what first enters the speaker's thoughts:

(33) Calmly and gently she lifted her lips to mine (Poutsma 1928, p. 433)

Kruisinga and Erades consider that advbls placed initially in sentences with subject - predicate order must modify the sentence as a whole, not just the verbal predicate. This link between position and modification has a special bearing on manner advbls, often stated in traditional grammar to be verb modifiers only. Kruisinga and Erades, in fact, comment that such advbls in front position additionally modify the subject<sup>25</sup> - a phenomenon already referred to in the section on modification (see p. 81).

(b) mid position. Some characteristics of medially placed advbls have already been mentioned (see pp. 86-87). Certain advs (e.g. those of degree, such as *almost*, *utterly*, *quite*, and often advs of indefinite time, such as *still*, *just*) are virtually fixed in this position. Kruisinga and Erades regard mid-position as being characteristic for advs of modality modifying the whole sentence (1953, p. 90).

(c) end position. This is typical for verb and predicate modifiers, and is also common in interrogative, imperative and exclamatory sentences. However, it can be an emphatic position.

(34) He was a man who having once desired a thing, would desire it always.

(Poutsma 1928, p. 437)

As for the typical positions of those advbls under special consideration in this study, advbls of place are generally final, whereas time advbls vary according to type. Those of indefinite time and frequency occur mostly in mid position<sup>26</sup> (they generally immediately follow a weak-stressed finite auxiliary but precede it if it is emphatic). Reasons of emphasis or connective function, however, may cause advbls of indefinite time to be placed initially; end position is only occasionally used, and then for emphasis. Time advbls answering the question *when?* are initial or final (they can modify part or all of the sentence). The implications of the different placements of manner advbls have already been mentioned: instances of "pure" manner characteristically follow the verb, but where the scope of modification is broader, manner advbls occupy initial or medial position, the latter being preferred when the adv denotes a typical, expected way of performing an action. In passive sentences, the usual position is immediately preceding the past participle of the main verb.

An interesting problem is the relative position of advbls co-occurring in the same clause for it is obvious that advbls of different semantic classes can potentially occupy the same sentence positions.<sup>27</sup> Comments by traditional grammarians on this matter are almost entirely limited to time and place advbls although Palmer gives a very small table illustrating some advbl combinations where the sequence is place - manner - duration - time (see chapter 1, n. 12, p. 31).

Where two advbls of either time or place co-occur, the more specific (restricted) reference precedes:

(35) They did not reach Kensington until 5 o'clock in the morning.

They lie on the table in the library.<sup>28</sup> (Poutsma 1928, p. 459)

Advbls of frequency seem to precede other advbls of time:

(36) The two places nearest to me ... which I had always hitherto avoided on account of their being the favourite haunt of tourists. (*ibid.*)

There is a tendency for an advbl sequence of place - time to occur "when neither can be said to be subservient to the other":

(37) He remained standing in the same place for a few moments.

He had resided in China for some years previously.<sup>29</sup> (*ibid.*)

but it is not difficult to find counter-examples:

(38) She comes every day into the kitchen.<sup>30</sup> (*ibid.*)

Poutsma also points out that the relative weight of the advbl is important, if there is no real distinction concerning closeness to the verb:

(39) I met him last night at a party at Mrs. Carter's

I met him there last night. (*ibid.*, p. 390)

but often the arrangement seems "arbitrary":

(40) Such were the circumstances under which Clive sailed for the third and last time to India.

The same sort of thing might be the result of living for an equal space of time in one of these dreadful streets (*ibid.*)

As a general principle, Krusinga and Erades declare that the relative order of two or more advbls depends on the nature of their connection, but end position is given to the advbl considered most important:

(41) We passed the hikers very early on our journey.

... cutting tangles of barbed wire in the dark in a desperate hurry is a job that requires ingenuity

We had no doctor there in those times. ... (1953, p. 81)

And finally, a quote from Zandvoort:

"The order of two or more adverbial adjuncts in cases not covered by the above remarks is usually determined by the closeness of their connection with the predicate, and, to some extent, by conscious or unconscious considerations of sentence rhythm.<sup>31</sup> It would hardly be feasible to give examples of all the various possible combinations; the best way to acquire an insight into this matter is for the student to pay attention to it in his reading of modern prose." (1972, p. 251)



## Structural grammar

The Swedish linguist, S. Jacobson, has devoted much painstaking study to advbls, and his various works, which will be dealt with at appropriate points in this chapter, reflect his progression from one grammatical school to another. His earliest work, *Adverbial Positions in English*, 1964, will provide a fair exemplar for the structural treatment of advbls.

It is characteristic of structural grammar to identify word classes by the slots they occupy in sentence frames. Thus Jacobson constructs eleven substitution frames, in which particular positions within the structure of a sentence are filled by advs, though he admits the difficulty of making the frames truly watertight: 32

(42) He gave her the money immediately/somehow/back/nevertheless. (frame 1)

(And) neither/nor/so did he. (frame 11) (p. 19)

Beyond the word class is the "constituent class" of advbl, which also includes: (a) advbl phrases - divided into four groups: prepositional phrases; structures of modification or reference with advs as heads, e.g. *much more often*, *only then*; coordinated advs; and various nominal phrases, e.g. *that evening*, *all the same* - and (b) advbl clauses - divided into full and elliptical clauses, e.g. *if possible* (p. 21).

As in traditional grammar, advbls are classified according to form (advs, advbl phrases and advbl clauses), meaning and function, though the latter two, he admits, can hardly be made clearcut. Jacobson also offers a definition of advs, without claiming it to be entirely satisfactory, which is expressed essentially in terms of function:

"Adverbs are words used as *modifiers* of sentences and clauses, *adjectivals*, *verbals*, *adverbials*, and, in certain cases, *nominals* and *functionals*, as *complements* of the copula *be* and verbals, and as *referents* calling attention to all kinds of words and word-groups. In addition, many adverbs are used as *sequence-signals*. This last function is always mixed with other functions, whereas the first three can be either pure or mixed." (p. 18)

The definition thus embodies four functional classes: (a) modifying advbls, (b) complementary advbls, (c) referential advbls, and (d) conjunctive advbls. (Traditional grammarians were aware of these different types, but they are more systematically delineated by Jacobson.)

Jacobson repeats the problem of how to distinguish between word, word group and sentence modification, quoting traditional grammarians (see pp. 79-80 of this chapter) but considers that the distinction between word and sentence modification is not always essential for determining advbl position. However, the attempt to make reliable distinctions is taken a step further by structural grammar with its emphasis on formal means in place of subjective feelings or philosophical notions. Such formal markers of modification are W0, juncture and intonation. For instance, advbls at the beginning of a sentence are usually sentence modifiers unless specially marked as word modifiers while sentence modifiers in the middle or at the end of sentences (these being less common positions) are usually marked off by special intonation contours and terminal junctures. However, as Jacobson points out, such formal markers do not constitute an infallible guide; terminal junctures, for instance, apply more readily to spoken than to written material, and they may also set off word or word group modifiers:

- (43) His characterization and, indeed, all his effects are more subtle than in  
Dickens 33 (p. 32)

*Indeed* here modifies *all his effects*.

Among verbal modifying advbls, Jacobson makes a distinction between verb modifiers and verbal group modifiers. For example, if the clauses

- (44) Peter Postmaster's expedition never <<sailed>>

Yes, I quite <<understand>>

are extended to include a compound auxiliary

- (45) Peter Postmaster's expedition <<would>> never <<have sailed>> if ...

I should have quite <<understood>> if ... (p. 34)

then the WO shows that *never* is a verbal group modifier whereas *quite* is a verb modifier. (Jacobson's « » brackets indicate what is modified by the advbl.)

As for the semantic aspect, Jacobson gives a more comprehensive classification than any of the traditional grammarians, frequently noting how meanings overlap. (Typical advbl identifying questions *how? when?* etc. are also given):

- (a) Time                                definite; indefinite
- (b) Manner                            comparison; association (*with ... , together*); lack, separation, means, instrument, material, agent; origin
- (c) Aspect or viewpoint (*aesthetically, in theory; to you*)
- (d) Degree                              intensity; amount, quantity, measure
- (e) Restriction                        (*only, alone*)
- (f) Particularization                (*especially, precisely*)
- (g) Exemplification                 (*thus, for instance*)
- (h) Place                                position; direction
- (i) Mood                                certainty, conviction, affirmation, underlining of a fact; supposition (*probably*); opinion (*unfortunately*).

Conjunctive meanings are similar to those expressed by coordinating conjunctions:

- (a) copulative advbls    (cf. *and, nor*) 13 subgroups are given, based on notions of addition, combination, enumeration, etc.
- (b) disjunctive advbls    (cf. *or*)
- (c) adversative advbls    (cf. *but, only*)
- (d) illative advbls        (here there is no coordinating conjunction expressing an equivalent meaning) - these introduce an inference, conclusion or consequence, e.g. *then, therefore, consequently*.

Some additional meanings are given for certain advbl classes or their phrase equivalents, viz: concession, contrast, cause, condition, exception, purpose and result (pp. 21-28).

The analysis of position is detailed, taking into account not only the considerable variation that exists in surface structure but also the fact that the nature of position varies according to the type of advbl:

group A. sentence and verbal modifiers, complementary advbls, and those which combine modification with conjunctiveness and/or reference have:

front, mid and end position

group B advbls which modify other advbls, adjectivals, nominals and functionals, and those that combine such modification with reference and/or conjunctiveness have.

pre- and post-position (e.g. ... *to ensure that it is thoroughly «dry»*; *I came in here «earlier» today*)

group C: advbls of pure reference and those combining reference with conjunctiveness and/or modification have:

adjacent position, anticipation and postponement

(e.g. ... *even «he» was once a subaltern*; *«That» at least was spared him ...*; *I only touched down «ten minutes ago»*; *I didn't know «where» you were exactly ...*) (pp. 68-69)

(What is modified by purely referential advbls is put in < > brackets.)

To concentrate on the type of advbl represented by Group A, the three basic positions are explained as follows:

(F) front position - A - S - Predicate or A - aux - S - Predicate

(M) mid position - S - A - Predicate or S - (A) - aux - (A) - Predicate

(E) end position - S - Predicate - A or *there* - Predicate - S - A

But depending on what the verb phrase consists of, whether the verb is *to be* or some other, and on the presence of other elements or word-classes, further subdivisions are possible: 3 in F, 8 in M and 5 in E (pp. 60-66).

The most significant part of the book is the lengthy chapter dealing with the factors which influence the placement of advbls, of which function is considered the most important. For this reason advbls are divided again, this time into the two major groups of (a) non-referential (sentence and verbal modifying advbls with/without conjunctiveness) and (b) referential advbls. The factors influencing the former (especially the "pure" modifiers) are:

- (a) the type of modification
- (b) the meaning of the advbl
- (c) the prominence of the advbl (stress, pitch, juncture, length, weight and balance, form, emphasis and parenthesis, contextual importance)
- (d) the type of sentence or clause
- (e) the prominence and form of various other sentence elements
- (f) the stylistic stratum.

Throughout this section, examples from the corpus are discussed and compared, with the full realization that advbl placement "is usually the result of several factors in combination and that there is a great deal of interrelationship between them." (p. 71)

### **The Prague school**

At this point it seems appropriate to examine some advbl studies made within the framework of the FSP theory treated in chapter 2. The material consists of a number of articles presenting the results of contrastive studies (comparing Czech, Eng and sometimes German) for a few advbl types only (all modifiers), based on small corpora of individual sentences. The authors all closely follow

Firbas's development of the theory, especially his notion of "communicative dynamism" (CD) and his view that, particularly in languages where the WO is subject to grammatical rules, the context and the semantic structure must also be taken into account in understanding the distribution of CD, so that there is said to be an interplay of means in achieving FSP.

To investigate this supposed interplay of FSP means and the different ways it operates in Czech and Eng (and German), attention is focussed in these studies on the correlation between the position of advbls (whether grammatically determined or not) and the degree of CD they are assumed to possess, and other factors that might influence placement are by and large ignored.

Horová (1976) examines advbls of place (P) and time (T) co-occurring in 677 Eng sentences and their Czech translations and in 444 Czech sentences and their Eng translations and constructs from this material an overall table of 16 WO types, of which some are preferred in Eng (here the advbls usually stand outside SVO) and others are preferred in Czech (here the SVO sequence may easily be "interrupted" by the advbls). The verb is considered decisive in determining the type of advbl and its indispensability or otherwise. The following types are established:

- (a) intransitive verbs
  - (i) of motion
  - (ii) of existence or appearance on the scene
  - (iii) others
- (b) transitive verbs

She finds that the sequence P - T is preferred in Eng,<sup>34</sup> while Czech may have either P - T or T - P, though the factor of length is evidently influential in Eng, since T - P often occurs in postverbal position if P is: (a) represented by a subordinate clause or (b) amplified by an attribute, subordinate advbl or clause.

An important distinction concerns whether P and T advbls function as "setting" or as "specification of an action". The former represents a non-essential element and can be regarded as thematic even when conveying new information, while the latter is essential; if contextually independent, it has considerable CD and may even function as rheme proper. P advbls which accompany verbs of motion or existence/appearance function as specification far more often than T advbls, although advbls of definite time are semantically appropriate for this function too. However, position is significant here: an initial definite time advbl is more likely to express setting (this being an explicit tendency in Czech), a final one to express specification. In general, P advbls, which tend to postverbal position, are the sentence element most likely of all to represent the rheme.

Horová briefly considers advbls of other semantic categories occurring in her corpus and suggests that the amount of CD they carry is more dependent on their position in the sentence than is the case with P and T advbls. At least, this is her impression regarding advbls of manner and cause but she admits a larger corpus is necessary to test the hypothesis.<sup>35</sup>

A similar point was earlier made by Dvořáková (1964), in studying what Mathesius termed "situational adverbs", i.e. those of place, time and cause.<sup>36</sup> She comments that the basic semantic content of advbls of cause is not purely "situational" and that their degree of CD is much more conditioned by sentence position than is the case with P and T advbls:

(46) ... for, thanks to that prescription of Blight's, he found himself extremely well. (thematic advbl)

(47) Her shoulders were shaking with sobs. (rhematic advbl) (137)

(Dvořáková fails to note that in (47) the advbl occupies the only possible position.)

P and T advbls, on the other hand, may well occupy final position in Eng (the grammatically preferred position after SVO) also when they evidently have little

CD, either because they express something already known from the context or something communicatively less important than the content of other sentence elements.

The placement of advbls of manner (M) is investigated by Chládková (1979). The material<sup>37</sup> again provides a table of sentence patterns (7 each for Czech and Eng. and 14 for German, the number of subtypes here being influenced by whether or not the clause has a "frame" and the consequent effect on verb position), while the frequency of the individual sentence positions and the factors influencing sentence position are summarized in further tables. In Czech, M advbls most commonly occur in medial position; if they are contextually independent and amplify the verb, this means that the semantic structure indicates a higher CD despite their preverbal position. (In other words, semantic structure outweighs the effect of WO.) Final position is prominent; M advbls stand here in particular if:

- (a) the advbl is a phrase rather than a one-word adv
- (b) contrast is implied, e.g. with comparatives or superlatives, or in clauses introducing direct speech
- (c) there is a loosened connection with the verb
- (d) there is a syntactic connection with a following modifier, e.g. an advbl clause of comparison.

Initial position is rarer, but an M advbl occurring here seems more dynamic than in medial position, such a deviation from the basic distribution of CD creates marked WO

In Eng. medial or final position is most common, but the choice depends partly on the grammatical nature of the element(s) following the verb, partly on the semantic content of the M advbl. A problem touched on is that of distinguishing whether a medial M advbl is a process (i.e. manner) adjunct or a



subject adjunct (these terms are taken from Quirk *et al* 1972). Chládková suggests there is probably a scale of types:

- |                                                                           |         |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| (48) Perhaps he was <u>happily</u> making money out of girls              | subject |
| in Cholon.                                                                | adjunct |
| "That is not strong enough", he said, and took it and tasted it           | ↑<br>↓  |
| himself, <u>carefully</u> rinsed it and refilled it from a second teapot. |         |
| ... and I <u>distinctly</u> heard a woman behind me sniffing back         | process |
| her tears.                                                                |         |
| (86)                                                                      | adjunct |

Summarizing the findings in the three languages, she notes that advbl position ranges from being the most free in Czech to being grammatically fixed in German. A process adjunct is contextually independent, so surpasses the verb in CD, regardless of its position, but does not, however, surpass a contextually independent subject. (Cf. Firbas for similar blanket assertions concerning the relative amounts of CD attributable to different syntactic/semantic elements.) Beyond this, CD is determined by position, initial position for M advbls being marked and emotive in all three languages.

Finally, a few observations on Czech advs from an article by Uhlířová (1974) which examines statistically<sup>38</sup> which communicative function (i.e. theme, transition or rheme) is expressed most often by a given syntactic element and, conversely, which syntactic element most often expresses a given communicative function. She finds that the rheme is most often (55%) object or advbl. Advbls are divided into:

- (a) inherent - these qualify the verbal predicate
- (b) non-inherent - these are often optional complements to the predicate and express time, place, manner, circumstances, etc.

Type (a) are approximately 50% transitional, 50% rhematic, rhematic advbls occurring mostly in short clauses,<sup>39</sup> while type (b) can be thematic or rhematic. The

lack of a clear preference is said to point to the semantic complexity of the advbl category. In terms of position, inherent advbls prefer medial position (and more so as clause length increases), whereas non-inherent advbls prefer initial (35%) or final (37%) position.

### **Transformational grammar**

This is a considerably more complex area, where the background of information given in the first chapter should particularly serve as a framework to which the following transformational advbl studies can be related.

A full-length study of advbls, employing fairly early transformational grammar theory, is to be found in Nilsen's *English Adverbials*, 1972.<sup>40</sup> In an extensive opening chapter he reviews the literature on advbls in traditional, structural, tagmemic and transformational grammar and then aims to include the findings of the earlier grammarians within a generative-transformational framework.

Nilsen is especially concerned with the classification and derivation of advbls. He claims to subdivide advbls not on the basis of meaning (as in the past) but according to relativization (i.e. "the relative reduction transformation"), which gives 18 major classes; these can then be further subdivided according to their potential for undergoing certain transformations, and their distribution.

Adverb type	Relativization of adverbial	Relativization of object of preposition [prep], etc
Sentence modifier	---	---
Affirmation	---	---
Negation	---	---
Addition	---	---
Restatement	---	---
Reference	---	Prep <sub>ref</sub> what
Instrumental	how	with what
Accompaniment	how	(along) with what
Manner	how	in what manner/like what
Extent + Adjective]	how + Adj	---

Duration	when	how long	
Frequency	when	how often	
Time	when	---	
Sequence	when	---	
Location	where	Prep <sub>loc</sub> what	
Accusative	where	to where	
Ablative	---	from where	
Cause	why	for what (reason)	(pp. 180-81)

This table is said to show a fundamental dichotomy between advbls which can and cannot be relativized, but the advbl types are already familiar and the "relativization" is no different from the traditional and structural grammarians' recognition of the questions representative of different advbl subgroups.

Regarding derivation, Nilsen first cites the work of other authors, including, of course, Chomsky. (What follows, however, is my own presentation of Chomsky's discussion in *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*, 1965, and is not "filtered" through Nilsen.)

Chomsky's brief and necessarily selective treatment of advbls <sup>41</sup> is linked with the notion of the "strict subcategorization" of the verb, i.e. the various categories that form its immediate context. Different types of prepositional phrase have different degrees of cohesion with the verb: e.g. *he decided on the boat* (p. 101) can be interpreted as (a) 'he chose the boat' - close cohesion with the verb, or (b) 'he made his decision while on the boat' <sup>42</sup> - *on the boat* is then a place advbl which modifies the verb phrase (or perhaps the whole sentence) and can be preposed (Time advbls may similarly modify the verb phrase.) These points are embodied within the following base-rules:

(i)  $S \rightarrow NP \widehat{\text{Predicate-Phrase}}$

(ii)  $\text{Predicate-Phrase} \rightarrow \text{Aux} \widehat{VP} (\text{Place}) (\text{Time})$

(iii) 
$$VP \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{be Predicate} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (NP) (\text{Prep-Phrase}) (\text{Prep-Phrase}) (\text{Manner}) \\ \text{Adj} \\ S \\ (like) \text{Predicate-Nominal} \end{array} \right. \end{array} \right\}$$

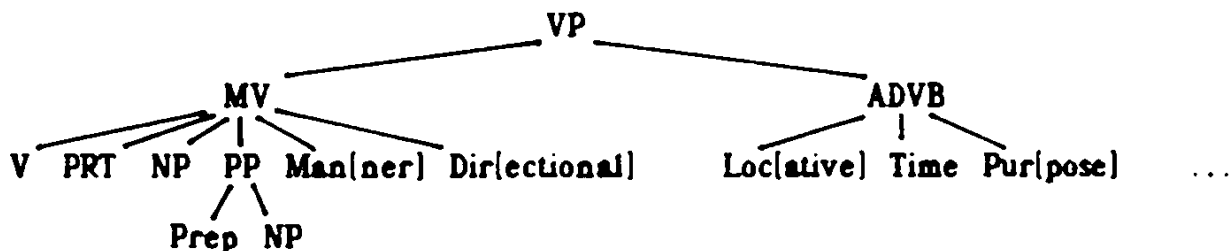
(iv) Prep-Phrase ----> { Direction  
Duration  
Place  
Frequency 43  
etc. }

(v) V ----> CS

(p. 102) [CS = complex symbol]

It is important in Chomsky's system to note that verbs are subcategorized with respect to verbal complements (rule (iii)) but not with respect to the verb phrase (rule (ii)). Thus place and time advbls are distinguished from other advbls (here over-narrowly specified as prepositional phrases).<sup>44</sup> Chomsky goes into further detail about manner advbls as subcategorizing the verb, namely that verbs which freely take a manner advbl are those that can undergo passivization. In a further note, however, he recognizes "marginal exceptions" such as *a good time was had by all, recourse was had to a new plan* (n. 28, p. 218) - pseudo-passives which do not accept a manner advbl.<sup>45</sup>

Nilsen additionally quotes observations on advbl derivation from B. Fraser's unpublished Ph.D thesis, *An Examination of Verb-Particle Constructions in English*, MIT, 1965, without specifically drawing the parallel that seems to exist between Fraser's distinction between advbls dominated by MV [main verb] and those dominated by ADVB<sup>46</sup> and Chomsky's distinction between verb complements and verbal phrase complements, outlined above. Thus:



One might add that the distinction corresponds to the traditional grammarians' distinction between verb and predicate modifiers

In Nilsen's own work considerable attention is devoted to manner advbls, which he considers the most heterogeneous advbl subclass. Twelve paraphrases

and transformations form a matrix<sup>47</sup> showing the profile of 190 such advbls. His transforms (8a) and (9a) (see n. 47, pp. 172-73 of this chapter) relate to the position and movability of manner advbls:

(8a) NP VP Adv ---> NP Adv VP

(9a) NP VP Adv ---> Adv NP VP (p. 75)

These he considers can probably be collapsed into: NP VP Adv --->  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP Adv VP} \\ \text{Adv NP VP} \end{array} \right\}$

although this can give rise to some doubtful cases when extended to time and place advbls, e.g. ? *John, in the house, found some money.* (p. 85). Nilsen also comments that the final position for Adv given in the base may seem arbitrary for time and place advbls but is justified for manner advbls in the light of the following examples:

(49) I read the letter naturally./I naturally read the letter.

He wrote the letter simply./He simply wrote the letter. (p. 85)

where the second sentence of each pair is not transformationally related to the first. He later points out that sentence advbls, in spite of their structural similarity to manner advbls, can be distinguished by the fact that they do not answer the question *how*. Moreover, the adjectival form of a sentence advbl can be equated to a *that*-clause and, as a supplementary test, this construction can be transformed into a cleft sentence:

(50) Mary destroyed the evidence yesterday/quickly/fortunately.

That Mary destroyed the evidence was \*yesterday/\*quick/fortunate.

It was yesterday/\*quick/fortunate that Mary destroyed the evidence. (p. 97)

Among many possible derivations for manner advbls, Nilsen gives 12, each resulting in a different type of advbl.<sup>48</sup>

He then returns to what is basically the problem of advbl position and claims that most of these differently derived advbl types can be written into the two "inversion transformations" <sup>49</sup> (8a and 9a of the matrix) thus:

$S$  [8 derivational types specified] ---> [the 8 types]  $S$

NP VP [the 8 types] ---> NP [the 8 types] VP (p. 95)

But one has only to apply some of Nilsen's own examples from the derivation to see that these inversion transformations do not apply for all lexical items:

(51) John carried the piano frontwards (type 4)

cf. \*Frontwards John carried the piano/\*John frontwards carried the piano

John sculptured the statue creatively (type 5)

cf. ?Creatively John sculptured the statue/?John creatively sculptured the statue

and with an advbl phrase

(52) He kept his country safe by preventing war

cf. By preventing war he kept his country safe

\*He by preventing war kept his country safe <sup>50</sup> (pp. 93, 84)

This transformational treatment of Nilsen's seems therefore less adequate - in the face of the great surface variety of individual sentences - than the considerably less generalizing treatment of the traditional grammarians.

Another transformational grammar study, which is mentioned by Nilsen as well as by other writers, is G. Lakoff's *Irregularity in Syntax*. Published unrevised in 1970, it is Lakoff's doctoral thesis (entitled *On the Nature of Syntactic Irregularity*) which first appeared as a report in 1965; its circulation in the following years played quite a part in the controversial development of transformational grammar theories, as Lakoff seriously challenged certain of Chomsky's fundamental ideas and helped to open the way for the development of the generative semantics school (see chapter 1, p. 11). The book contains several appendices, which the author considers largely self-contained; one of these (Appendix F)

deals with passives, advs and quantifiers. The section on advbls is mainly concerned with derivation, about which opposing theories have developed in transformational grammar. The wider background will be sketched here, although it touches only partially on the question of advbl placement.

The controversial point is that Lakoff rejects the existence of a "deep" Adverb category. In the case of manner advbls, he considers that many of them are derived from adjectives that take predicate complements:

(53) John hangs from trees recklessly.

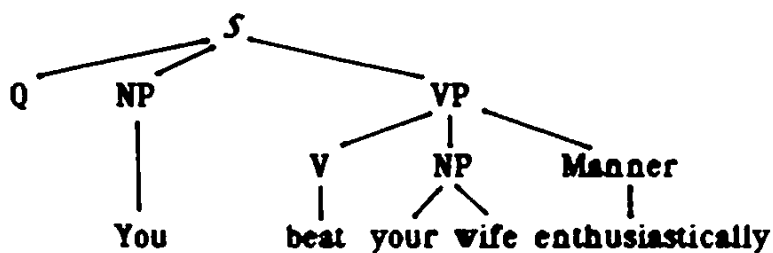
John is reckless in hanging from trees. (p. 157)

Further evidence for this is seen in the interrogative and negative versions of sentences containing a manner advbl:

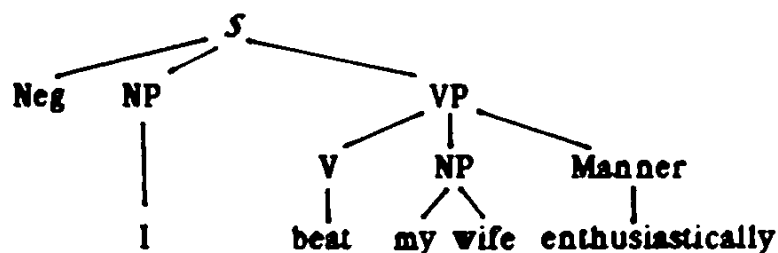
(54) Do you beat your wife enthusiastically?

I don't beat my wife enthusiastically. (p. 165)

Both of these assume the wife beating and question or deny the enthusiasm with which it is done. Since it is the highest VP that is usually questioned or negated and in these sentences the advs are questioned or negated, the advs must therefore be derived from higher sentences. Consequently Lakoff rejects the "traditional" underlying structures:



(p. 165)

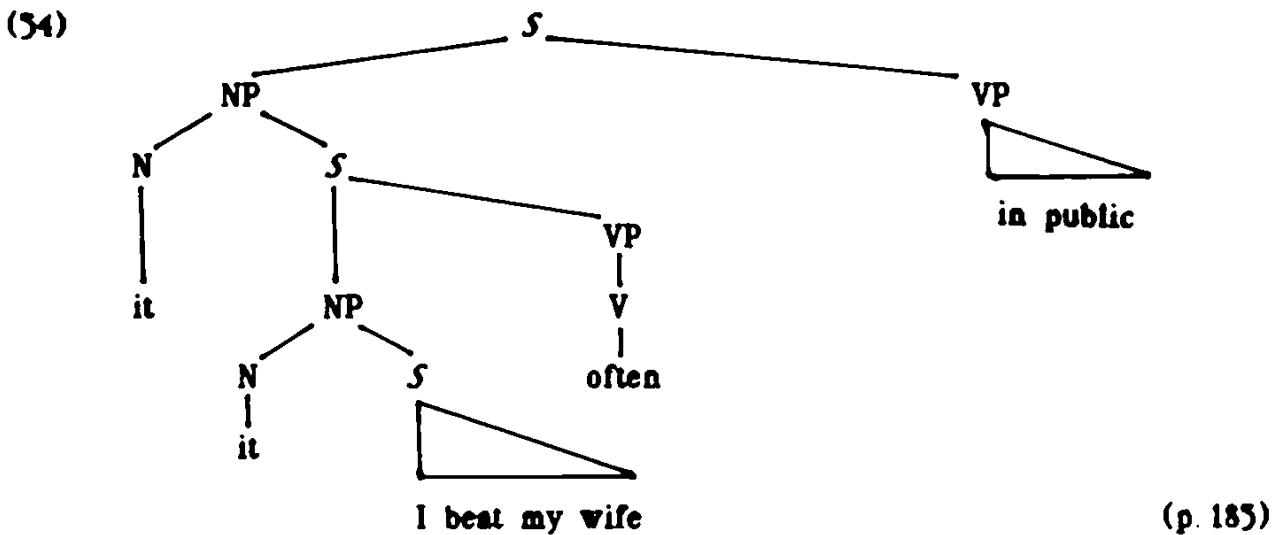


(p. 166)

and proposes the following (for the negative sentence):<sup>51</sup>







In (53a) and (54) the linear order of the advbls reflects their relative height in the underlying phrase-markers. Lakoff adds the comment that only when *often* is the highest VP in the tree can it be moved to a position following the surface subject, as in (53b). (The transformation shifting *often* to this position is said to be post-cyclical.) Similarly, the deep structure given (p. 187) for what is indeed an artificial sentence: *Do you often beat your wife enthusiastically in the yard because she serves red wine with fish?* (p. 186) shows that the linear order of the advbls is exactly reflected in the relative depth of embedding. The treatment here, which aims at explanation, contrasts strikingly with that in traditional grammar, where observation of relative order would be linked with the semantic type of the advbl.

Lakoff's interpretation of advbls and the school of generative semantics to which it belongs is emphatically rejected by R. S. Jackendoff, whose book *Semantic Interpretation in Generative Grammar*, 1972, discusses a number of problem areas, including advbls,<sup>52</sup> that he feels cannot be adequately (or "insightfully") handled in Chomsky's 1965 theory, and tries to set them within the framework of a reasonably well-outlined though, as he admits, not completely formulated grammar. It will be useful to sketch this theoretical outline first.

Jackendoff is sufficiently Chomskyan to want to keep the syntactic component "intact" and aims to develop rules of semantic interpretation to deal separately with semantic phenomena. The semantic representation consists of four aspects, which need to be differently analyzed (the first two are hierarchical structures):

(a) the functional structure, i.e. relations in the sentence induced by verbs,

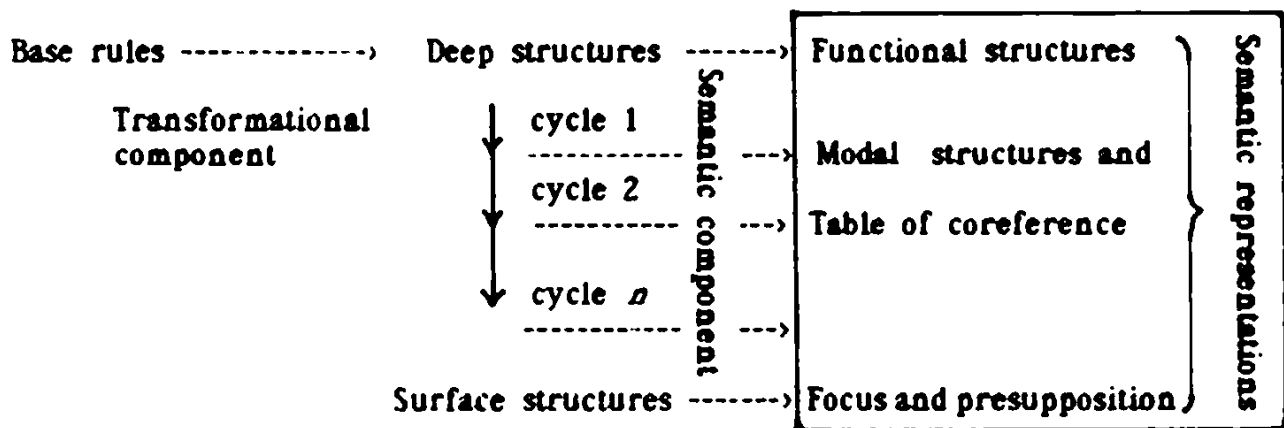
including such notions as agency, motion and direction (This is the most important for what follows)

(b) the modal structure, which specifies the conditions under which a sentence purports to correspond to situations in the real world

(c) the table of coreference, which indicates whether pairs of NPs in a sentence are meant to be coreferential or not

(d) focus and presupposition, which designate what is intended to be new and what old

The model he gives (p. 4) for his theory is as follows:



The notion of "thematic relations" (derived from J.S. Gruber) constitutes an important element in the semantic theory. Typical relations are those of Motion (the "theme" is the NP which undergoes the motion), Location (the "theme" is the NP whose location is asserted), Source, Goal, Agent, etc. Superficially, these may seem like Fillmore's cases, but there is a difference in that in Jackendoff's

theory one NP can have two different semantic functions: *Harry gave the book away* (p. 29) - *Harry* is both Source and Agent. In sentences with the verbs *buy* and *sell*, the subject is Agent and also Goal with *buy*, Source with *sell*. These thematic relations are derived from the deep structure by the semantic component, and it is the verb of the sentence which clearly determines the relationship.

Furthermore, the thematic relations are defined in terms of the following semantic functions (p. 39):

- (a) CAUSE, which has two arguments: an individual (- Agent) and an event
- (b) CHANGE, which has three arguments: an individual (- Theme), an initial state (- Source) and a final state (- Goal)
- (c) BE, which has two arguments: an individual (- Theme) and a state (- Location).

At this point, Jackendoff suggests that manner advs can presumably be attached as additional specifications of some semantic function, without disturbing the embedding of functions and arguments, hence the semantic similarity between e.g. *smash* and *break violently*. Instrumental phrases are perhaps incorporated as modifications of CAUSE, hence their relationship to Agent phrases. Jackendoff states that it is unnecessary to divide advs into what he calls syntactic categories (i.e. the meaning classification of earlier - and later - grammarians), just as adjectives are not divided into classes expressing colour, size, quality, degree, frequency, etc. Terms such as "manner" are just semantic markings on the base category and it is fortuitous whether a paraphrase with an adjective construction exists or not.

Jackendoff's treatment of advbls is founded on the conviction that there is an Adverb category in the base component; this differs fundamentally from the view of Lakoff and others that advbls belong to surface structure, being transformationally derived.<sup>53</sup> In developing his own view, Jackendoff considers it necessary to decide which surface positions are generated in the base, which positions

are transformationally derived, and what transformations are needed. Advs can be divided into six groups according to which position(s) they occupy and whether or not a difference of meaning correlates with a change of position. The positions are initial, auxiliary (i.e. medial) and final with/without an intervening pause.<sup>54</sup>

He concludes that auxiliary position is the underlying one for *-ly* advs, since all of them can occur here, while some are restricted to this position. Final position is typical of non *-ly* advs (e.g. *hard, before, early*). These can be analyzed as intransitive prepositions.<sup>55</sup> They are generated by the base in the same position as prepositional phrases, e.g. *Johnny ran home/ into the house./ downstairs/down the stairs*. (p 63). Initial position, however, is a transformational one, it is occupied by advs that have undergone a preposing rule.

Since some advs can occupy two or three positions, the notion of "transportability" is important. Jackendoff quotes S. J. Keyser's proposal for a "transportability convention", whereby a constituent marked [ $\pm$  transportable] can occupy any position in a derived tree so long as it is dominated by the same node.<sup>56</sup> Thus advs dominated by *S* can occur initially, before the auxiliary and finally (this is presumed to be the position with a pause), while those dominated by *VP* occur preverbally, finally (without a pause) and at various places in between.

Jackendoff then outlines types of semantic structures containing advs (those which are not strictly subcategorized), each of which has an associated "projection rule" as follows:<sup>57</sup>

- |                                                                                    |   |                                           |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------------------|
| (a) $P_{\text{speaker}}$ (e.g. <i>certainly, happily</i> ) - speaker-oriented advs | } | advs in initial and<br>auxiliary position |
| (b) $P_{\text{subject}}$ (e.g. <i>carefully</i> ) - subject-oriented advs          |   |                                           |
| (c) $P_{\text{manner}}$ (e.g. <i>eloquently, frequently, happily</i> )             | } | advs in auxiliary<br>and final position   |
| (d) $P_{\text{merely}}$ <sup>58</sup>                                              |   |                                           |
|                                                                                    |   | advs in auxiliary position only           |

The classification is thus on the grounds of semantic properties, and the only syntactic classification necessary is the distinction between "true" advs (which

can occur in the auxiliary) and "intransitive prepositions" (which cannot occur there).

Jackendoff makes a strong link between advbl position and his projection rules. For example, the advs that occur in all three positions allow more than one projection rule to apply. "The fact that many adverbs that occur in all three positions have two distinct meanings and are ambiguous precisely in auxiliary position is thus predicted by this analysis." (pp. 72-73). Moreover, the first three projection rules can be defined simply in terms of the node to which the adv is attached. Thus, initial position, final position with pause and auxiliary position are attached to *S*, while final position without pause and auxiliary position are attached to *VP*. This shows that the ambiguity in auxiliary position is due to a structural ambiguity.

In the light of the difficulties earlier grammarians perceived in distinguishing differences in the scope of advbl modification, Jackendoff's presentation seems to clarify these problems by working out a more systematic theoretical framework, so it is worth taking stock at this point. To summarize his most specific detail on the positional differences between *S* and *VP* advs: both types occupy initial position, the latter, however, only through preposing; both types occupy final position, but *S* advs, specifically  $P_{\text{speaker}}$  advs, here follow a pause

Auxiliary position is the most significant:

*S* adv only - aux - verb

aux - { *S* adv  
          { or *VP* adv } - verb

- here is the crux of the above-mentioned structural ambiguity

aux - *S* adv - aux - verb  
(*VP* adv is possible but less common)

aux - aux - *VP* advs only - verb 59

There is no conflict with traditional observations here, except that Jackendoff's *VP* advs, when preposed to initial position, remain *VP* advs, whereas in

traditional grammar the tendency is to regard an initial advbl as modifying the whole sentence.<sup>60</sup> This point particularly concerns time and place expressions, which Jackendoff refers to only very briefly. And here another point is significant, namely, that he strictly distinguishes between advs and prepositional phrases as syntactic units, though semantically they may be interchangeable. There is thus not the same overall notion of "adverbial" as so far presented in this chapter. Nevertheless, prepositional phrases, which may be paraphrasable as *in wh-some manner*, *at wh-some time* and *to wh-some extent* (and presumably one might add *in wh-some place*?) are said to undergo  $P_{\text{manner}}$  just as advs do. At first there seems to be a contradiction here, for  $P_{\text{manner}}$  advs, being the VP type, can also occupy auxiliary position but Jackendoff states explicitly that time and locative expressions, also denoted as the VP type, can be preposed only to initial and not to auxiliary position:

(55) At 6:00./In the garden, John will lose his wallet.

\*John, at 6:00./in the garden, will lose his wallet

\*John will, at 6:00./in the garden, lose his wallet (p. 94)

The explanation is that prepositional phrases are generated in final position and can be preposed only to initial position.<sup>61</sup>

No detail whatever is given about place and time advs, which as non *-ly* advs are also typically final, like prepositional phrases (see p. 110 above), and thus according to Jackendoff cannot be preposed to auxiliary position. It should be noted that advs of "frequency" (to use the traditional term), e.g. *frequently*, *often*, *usually*, appear in examples as  $P_{\text{speaker}}$ , i.e. sentence advs (Actually, *frequently* appears as  $P_{\text{speaker}}$  (p. 87) and  $P_{\text{manner}}$  (p. 72), as does *happily* (pp 71-72), illustrating the familiar principle that the same item may function differently in different sentences.)

There is some lack of clarity about the transposability of P<sub>manner</sub> advs too. As VP advs they should be capable of undergoing preposing to initial position, yet here they might well seem to be P<sub>subject</sub> advs, i.e. sentence advs

An interesting difference between P<sub>subject</sub> and P<sub>manner</sub> advs shows that the interpretation of advs is partly dependent on surface structure, since P<sub>subject</sub> advs show a difference in orientation according to whether the sentence is active or passive:

(56) The police carelessly have arrested Fred.

Fred carelessly has been arrested by the police.

The doctor cleverly has examined John.

John cleverly has been examined by the doctor. (p. 82)

In these examples the preferred (and perhaps only) interpretation attributes carelessness/cleverness to whoever is the surface subject. But this distinction is not apparent with P<sub>manner</sub> advs, which therefore apply at the deep structure level:

(57) The doctor examined John carefully.

John was examined carefully by the doctor. (p. 83)

Yet ambiguity can arise (not surprisingly) in auxiliary position:

(58) John was carefully examined by the doctor. (p. 83)

- was John or the doctor careful?

Another and considerably more difficult area of advbl investigation is that worked in by logicians concerned with linguistic problems. It would be too great a digression to go into this in detail and would entail too much complication, not least because of the different schools of logic involved, but one full-length representative study will be considered here: R. Bartsch's *The Grammar of Adverbials*, 1976.<sup>62</sup> (She compares Lakoff's and Jackendoff's work with her own, and this book of hers is referred to by a number of linguists.) To summarize:





These two nominalizations correspond to (a) *wie*-paraphrase and (b) *dass*-paraphrase in German (cf. *Sein Lesen ist erfreulich - Wie er erliest, ist erfreulich /Dass er erliest, ist erfreulich*, p. 9).

These four main classes (sentence advbls, relational advbls, manner advbls and grading advbls) are based on the following criteria (p. 13):

- (a) nominalization without *of*, *dass*-clause paraphrases
- (b) obligatory tense identity between the matrix sentence and the embedded sentence; the possibility of having Pro-forms in the sentence; the possibility of forming imperatives
- (c) the possibility of *wie*-clause paraphrases
- (d)  $\Phi_c$ -constructions
- (e)  $\Phi_n$ -operation, the adv cannot be applied as predicate to a nominalized sentence.

A more detailed subdivision is achieved by submitting advbls to a battery of 42 tests <sup>65</sup> (mostly transformations); where a paraphrase transformation changes the meaning of the transformandum in such a way that the truth conditions are changed, the test is said to have failed. <sup>66</sup>

Bartsch devotes great attention to sentence advbls but here we will consider primarily the usual three advbl types. But first, Bartsch makes much use of the notion in logic of variables and distinguishes between:

- (a) *r* variables, i.e. process or state variables, which cannot be described by a negative verb. Manner advbls can be predicated. (The point here is that manner advbls can be negated themselves but they cannot apply to a negated verb.)
- (b) *v* variables, i.e. event and circumstance <sup>67</sup> variables, which can be described by a negative sentence. Relational advbls can be predicated of the event described by the main clause (tests 1-31 only). (These are so called because they establish a relation between one event or circumstance and another. The content of the relation can be causative, final, concessive, adversative, tem-

poral, showing relations of analogy or parallelism, etc.) (p. 102)

In the light of the above distinctions (e.g. *Peter's driving of the car* (r) compared with *Peter's driving the car* (v)), Bartsch also makes a distinction between "acting" (r variable) and "act" (v variable). Thus:

- (64) His acting is careful - \*His act is careful  
 \*This acting took place yesterday - This act took place yesterday.  
 (cf. German *Handeln*) (cf. German *Handlung*)

Manner advbls characterize behaviour, an action, process or state and can be distinguished from sentence advbls (when morphologically identical in Eng) in that they undergo *wie*-paraphrase but not *das*-paraphrase.<sup>68</sup> (Bartsch criticizes Lakoff's approach<sup>69</sup> in that he does not account for the difference between sentence and manner advbls. Lakoff regards manner advbls as "sentential operators" (i.e. predicates taking sentential complements) and thus fails to distinguish between such pairs as:

- (65) Sam sliced all the bagels carefully (manner advbl)  
 Sam carefully sliced all the bagels (sentence advbl) (pp. 173, 175)

With regard to place advbls, Bartsch comments that the fact that only one analysis is possible for direction advbls as against any one of three underlying structures for locative advbls explains Fillmore's observation that a directional expression stands closer to the verb than a locative one.

Grading advbls include frequency advbls<sup>70</sup> - these quantify over the domain of circumstances and events - and locative quantifications.<sup>71</sup> Durative and iterative advbls are regarded as mixed constructions whose analysis involves temporal relations, general ordering relations, logical quantifiers and operators and cardinality quantifiers.

An important part of the book deals with the combinability of advbls in three different ways:

- (a) coordination
- (b) adjunction (defined by Steinitz as "the combination of several advbls modifying the sentence or its components")<sup>72</sup>
- (c) subordination (i.e. one advbl modifies another).

The difference between the latter two is further explained by Bartsch in that in adjoined structures hierarchical relations hold between adverb; and adverb; + verb, whereas subordination involves a relation only between adverbial; and adverbial; (p. 232).

To study combinability a corpus of c. 7000 short sentences containing several advbls was produced by computer. The grammaticality of the various types of advbl combinations should depend on the possibility of their logico-semantic representations, and acceptability should coincide as far as possible with the grammaticality of the logico-semantic structures. Some basic principles relating to the different methods of combination are as follows:

- (a) advbls of the same type can be coordinated if their semantic components are not contradictory
- (b) advbls of different types might be coordinated if they have a common paraphrase type
- (c) adjunction is possible if the underlying logico-semantic structures can be generated according to the formation rules
- (d) restrictions on adjunction and coordination are explained by restrictions on predications over entities of different sorts and the relations between these sorts. Thus predications over processes, states, and acting-processes may be embedded in descriptions of events, circumstances and action-events, but not vice versa. This explains why relational advbls can be applied to verbs con-

taining manner advbls but the opposite is not possible. (pp. 234, 372-73)

Steinitz (whose work is discussed in detail by Bartsch) suggests distinguishing between adjunction and subordination in that each adjoined advbl can be moved to the front of the sentence but a subordinate construction can only be moved in its entirety. Bartsch adds that if an adjoined construction contains a sentence advbl, only this can be moved to initial position:

(66) **Wahrscheinlich kommt Peter oft** [Probably Peter comes often]

but not.

(67) **Oft kommt Peter wahrscheinlich** [\*Often Peter comes probably] (p. 229)

In adjoined structures, not all advbls affect the verb in the same way and different orderings can result in different meanings of the sentence since "Depending on its position in the sentence, the adverbial bears different relations to the other adverbials of the sentence". (p. 231) This is illustrated by the three-way ambiguous sentence:

(68) **Peter kommt wegen der Verabredung während der Vorstellung**

Peter is coming because of the appointment during the performance (p. 231) containing two relational advbls. They could be read as (a) a subordinated construction or as two different adjoined constructions meaning (b) 'because of the appointment he is coming during the performance' or (c) 'during the performance he is coming because of the appointment'. Similarly, if a sentence advbl and a quantifying advbl are adjoined, different orderings affect the meaning of the sentence:

(69a) **Peter kommt oft vergeblich / Oft kommt Peter vergeblich**

Peter comes often in vain

(69b) **Peter kommt vergeblich oft / Vergeblich kommt Peter oft**

lit Peter comes in vain often - It is in vain that Peter comes often (p. 230)

In (69a) *vergeblich* is applied to *Peter kommt* and in (69b) *vergeblich* is applied to *Peter kommt oft*.

In the following chapters Bartsch gives details of the permutational possibilities, i.e. how the different advbs can be combined in different ways, with accompanying logico-semantic representations. To give some of the more simple examples - directional and locative advbs undergo adjunction (70) and subordination (71) as follows:

(70a) Peter lebt in Afrika auf dem Lande.  $A^i_{loc} [A^i_{loc} [F]]$  (F - verb)

Peter lives in Africa in the countryside.

<--> In Afrika lebt Peter auf dem Lande.

In Africa Peter lives in the countryside.

(70b) Mariechen lief im Garten auf das Tor zu.  $A_{loc} [A_{dir} [F]]$

In the garden little Mary was running towards the gate

but not  $A_{dir} [A_{loc} [F]]$  or  $A_{dir} [A_{dir} [F]]$  for there is no logico-semantic representation that would correspond to these forms.

(71a) Peter geht in das Lokal am Fluss.  $[A_{loc} [A_{dir}]] [F]$

Peter is going to the bar by the river.

(71b) Peter sitzt in dem Lokal am Fluss.  $[A_{loc} [A_{loc}]] [F]$

Peter is sitting in the bar by the river. (pp. 283-84)

In discussing the work of other authors and comparing their approaches with (the perceived advantages of) her own, Bartsch deals with various topics, including:

(a) Lakoff's notion of advs as predicates in higher sentences (see pp. 105-6 of this chapter). Counterexamples are given to his claim that in negative sentences with instrumental, locative, causative and frequency advs, the negation refers to the adv and not the verb:

(72) In seiner Heimatstadt stahl Hans nicht, wohl aber auswärts.

Hans didn't steal in his home town; he did, however, away from his home town<sup>73</sup>

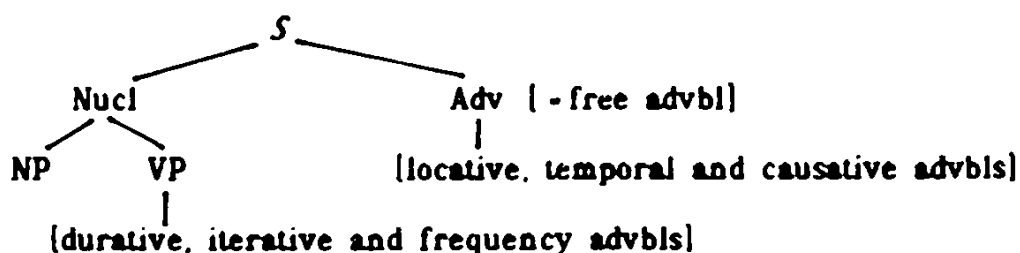
Peter isst oft seine Suppe nicht.

Peter often does not eat his soup.

(p. 348)

Lakoff's argument fails because he does not distinguish between advs predicated of v and of r (see pp. 115-16 above) and thus cannot explain the different behaviour of these two groups under negation.

(b) the attribution of different advbl types to different nodes and also the distinction between obligatory and optional advbls. The logico-semantic representations Bartsch herself uses, as already mentioned (p. 114 above), are not based on the traditional subject - predicate (NP - VP) dichotomy, and she does not find it necessary to introduce an obligatory Adverb category into the deep structure. Appropriately subcategorized verbs show, in their logico-semantic analysis, locative and directional expressions, for instance Her approach has an advantage in that supposedly obligatory advbls can be absent in surface structure. Some authors whom she discusses do, however, deal with advbl assignment in deep structure. For example, a doctoral thesis by J.C. McKay, *The Free Adverbial in a Generative Grammar of German* (UCLA, Los Angeles, 1969) (based on Chomsky's *Aspects*), distinguishes between free and non-free advbls (only the latter requiring subcategorization of the verb):



Bartsch sees his free advbls as generally corresponding to those she predicts of v. It seems contradictory that she accepts McKay's notion of durative, iterative and frequency advbls as quantifiers applicable to "Nucl" [- sentence nucleus node] while at the same time pointing out that if they are placed there, they cannot

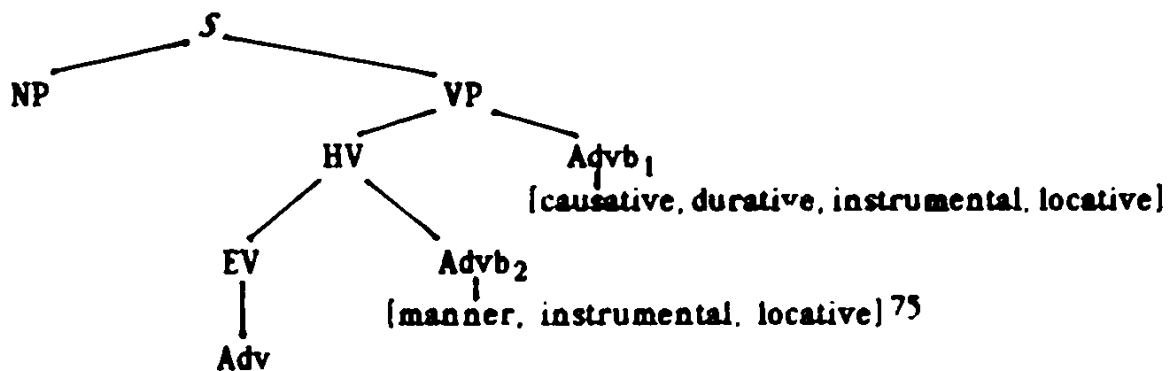
apply to sentences containing locative, temporal or causative advbls, which is belied by:

(73) Oft wohnt Hans während der Feiertage in seinem Wochenendhaus.

Often Hans lives during the holidays in his weekend house. (p. 351)

i.e. the frequency advbl is applied to the whole sentence, including the locative and temporal advbls.

Steinitz's analysis seems to be as follows:<sup>74</sup>



[obligatory constituent contributing to subcategorization of verbs]

[HV - Haupt-Verbalgruppe, EV - engere Verbgruppe]

The Advb<sub>1</sub> and Advb<sub>2</sub> types (optional advbls) are seen by Bartsch as similar to her distinction between variable v and variable r advbls. With the latter the verb is not negated, thus Bartsch agrees with Steinitz that these advbls stand closer to the verb than Advb<sub>1</sub> advbls.

(c) an area of investigation popular with linguistic logicians but not so far treated in this chapter (except for example (69a-b)) concerning advbls and quantifiers. Differing orderings of frequency, universal and existential quantifiers in the underlying logico-semantic representation can give rise to quantifier scope ambiguity:

(74) Selten trinken alle Gäste. -f-> Selten trinkt Gast a.

It is seldom that all guests drink. It is seldom that guest a drinks.

(75) Gast a trinkt selten. -f-> Selten trinkt ein Gast.

The guest a drinks seldom. It is seldom that a guest drinks.

but.

- (76) Alle Gäste trinken selten.      ->>>      Gast a trinkt selten  
 All the guests drink seldom.      Guest a drinks seldom.
- (77) Gast a trinkt selten.      ->>>      Es gibt einen Gast, der selten trinkt.  
 Guest a drinks seldom.      There is a guest who drinks seldom

(pp. 335-36. Here the symbol -/> = 'does not imply' and ->>> = 'does imply'.)

Disagreeing with Thomason and Stalnaker (1973), Bartsch argues that advbls other than sentence advbls can have quantifiers in underlying sentence subject position in their scope, though this applies only to the universal quantifier when the whole group is interpreted as if it were one individual:

- (78) Laut dröhnten alle Glocken.  
 All the bells rang loudly (p. 337)

The manner advbl here refers to all the bells together. However, quantification of a variable in the underlying object position causes ambiguity (in German and Eng) in the case of manner advbls:

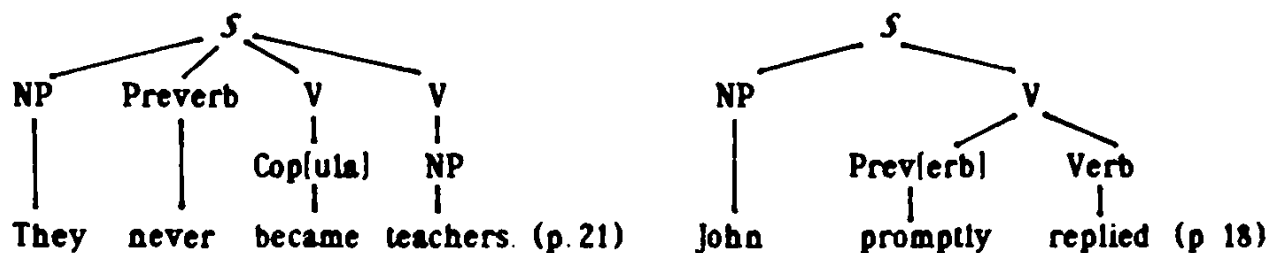
- (79) Reluctantly Charles cut all the onions.  
 Charles cut all the onions reluctantly (p. 338)

We turn now to the second work in S. Jakobson's trilogy *Factors Influencing the Placement of English Adverbs in Relation to Auxiliaries*, 1975. Combining quantitative linguistics and transformational grammar, it deals specifically with (one-word) preverbal advs (abbreviated to "preverbs") and what determines their precise placement in medial position (Jakobson's concentrated interest in medial position may be compared with Jackendoff's awareness that it is precisely auxiliary position that holds structural ambiguities.) Extensive data are assembled, much of it computer processed; corpus A (24,194 examples) consists of preverbs which potentially occupy M2 position (taken from his 1964 material)



while corpus B (4,608 examples) is divided into three parts, investigating positions M3-M5.<sup>76</sup>

Dealing this time in terms of generative semantics, Jacobson also distinguishes between advs dominated by the nodes *S* and *V*, thus between *S*-operation and *V*-operation:



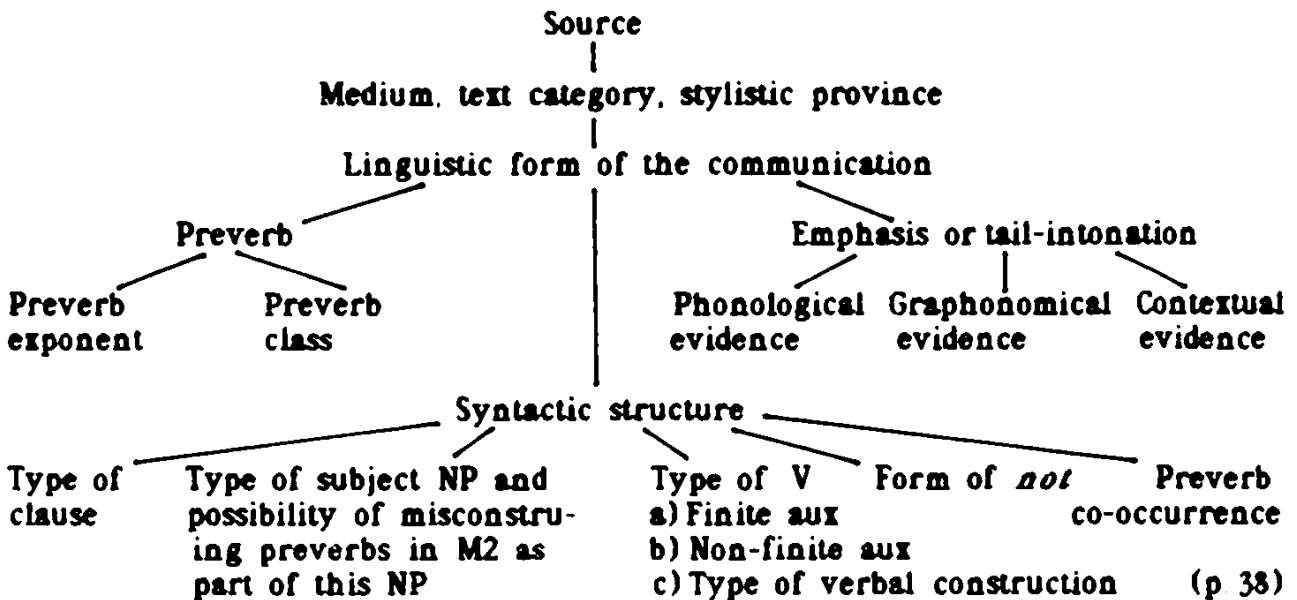
Preverbs which are exclusively or mainly *V*-operators in surface structure are excluded from his study. Following Barsch, he points out that semantically, preverbs characterize:

- |                                                                         |                        |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|
| (a) propositions, i.e. the semantic content of the sentences or clauses | } - sentence operation |
| (b) acts of communication                                               |                        |
| (c) events or circumstances and their relations                         |                        |
| (d) processes or states.                                                | - verb operation       |

These characterizations may overlap.<sup>77</sup> The different characterizations for *S*-operating preverbs lies in with their derivation at different levels, and this means that their surface structure is not free, as in *John, understandably, has seldom come*. Syntactically, the main division is into inter-clausal (usually with anaphoric function) and intra-clausal (i.e. functioning only within the clause) preverbs, though Jacobson admits that it is often difficult to distinguish between these two types of *S*-operators and *V*-operators. The chief criterion, though not an infallible one, is M2 potentiality:

- (80) Peter probably now has completely forgotten it.<sup>78</sup> (p. 51)
- *completely* cannot stand in M2.

Jacobson here considers more factors that influence placement than in his 1964 material - these variables can be arranged in a hierarchical structure and treated with differing degrees of "delicacy":



The investigation of these variables in relation to 12 classes of preverbs results in a highly detailed mass of information based on statistics and tables, interspersed with more general observations. The use of M2 position usually depends on the combined influence of various factors and by using the percentage figures for variables obtained from the data, Jacobson shows how to predict the probability of M2 position for a particular preverb occurring in a sentence other than those in his corpus (but admits at a later stage that this does involve a lot of guesswork).

Jacobson claims that his material can be used to formulate "variable rules" in transformational grammar. For instance, the rule

$$\emptyset \rightarrow \langle \textit{probably} \rangle / \textit{s} [ U \textit{ NP } W \textit{ } \textit{---} X \textit{ Aux}_{\textit{finite}} Y \textit{ V } Z ] \textit{s}$$

can be read as: "*Probably* is variably inserted after NP and before the finite auxiliary in a sentence consisting of the constituents NP - Aux<sub>finite</sub> - V and the unspecified null or non-null constituents (or sequences of constituents) U, W, X, Y, Z, which precede or follow them" (p. 495). Yet the sentence given in exemplification sounds awkward to my ears as a British speaker:

(81) However (U), John, in spite of what you say (W), probably never (X) will completely (Y) recover again from this second heart attack (Z). (p. 495)

(It seems that *probably* preceding an unnegated finite auxiliary is quite common in American English (cf. also example (80)), but I would express the above sentence as ... *will probably never completely recover from* ... and omit *again* as tautologous.) Such a variable rule is said to be the last stage in the derivation of a preverb, since prior transformational rules produce contextual variables such as a personal pronoun NP or the passive voice.

### Semantic and pragmatic studies

This is not really a "school" but rather a further area of linguistic study (though some would claim that pragmatics does not belong to linguistics). The insights afforded by these approaches are also interesting for advbls.

#### (a) Semantics

An article by Thomason and Stalnaker, 'A semantic theory of adverbs', (1973) could be considered as an additional example of the application of logic in this field, the formal semantic theory here being a special case of R. Montague's. But my main purpose is to select from it certain observations on advbl scope that link up with previous comments. It is true, however, that logical representations (for the initiated) can distinguish between different scope readings of an Eng sentence whether these result in observable distinctions (82), or significant ambiguities (83), or are hardly reflected in any difference in meaning (84):

(82) He slowly tested all the bulbs.  $(\xi \hat{x}(y) P x y)(a)$

He tested each bulb slowly.  $(y)(\xi \hat{x} P x y)(a)$

(83) Harry was willingly sacrificed by the tribe. <sup>79</sup>  $(\xi \hat{x} P x a)(b)$  or  $\xi \hat{x} P b x(a)$

(84) John took all his friends to the ballgame  $(x)\xi \hat{y} P y x(a)$

$(\xi \hat{y}(x) P y x)(a)$  (200)



(d) A sentence containing a Q-ly adv can be paraphrased by deleting the adv and prefacing the resulting sentence with *It is Q-ly true that...*

(90) Sam frequently sucks lemons.

It is frequently true that Sam sucks lemons. (205)

(Note: Sam sucks lemons happily./It is happily true that Sam sucks lemons.

*Happily* is ambiguous: with the meaning 'fortunately' it is a sentence modifier, with the meaning 'gladly' it is a predicate modifier.)

As a general conclusion it is stated that the placement of an advbl in Eng is not usually a very reliable guide to its scope. The following sentence:

(91) John carefully carried the eggs to the wrong house. (217)

is ambiguous since *carefully* may modify *carried the eggs* or *carried the eggs to the wrong house*.

One of the main ideas in S. C. Dik's (1975) paper starts off from the inadequacy of Lakoff's distinction between stative and non-stative verbs. Dik makes his own four-fold distinction in which a "Situation" (or "state of affairs" - "Sachverhalt") can be designated  $\pm$  Change and  $\pm$  Control. The four subtypes are labelled:

Activity: +Control, +Change	Position: +Control, -Change
Process: -Control, +Change	State: -Control, -Change (pp. 100-1)

Manner advbls are compatible with +Control and +Change situations and can be subcategorized as follows:

- |                                               |                                    |
|-----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (a) compatible with +Control, +Change         | e.g. <i>peacefully</i>             |
| (b) compatible only with +Control             | e.g. <i>recklessly</i>             |
| (c) compatible only with +Change              | e.g. <i>rhythmically</i>           |
| (d) compatible only with +Control and +Change | e.g. <i>energetically</i> (p. 103) |

but the exemplification seems subjective. <sup>82</sup>

Further, Dik deals with the difference between manner and sentence advbls and between manner advbls and subject adjuncts, but has little really new con-

cerning the first distinction. Manner advbls and subject adjuncts like *willingly* not only differ between themselves but also differ from sentence advbls. For instance, several of the paraphrases for *wisely* sentences will not fit *willingly*:

(92a) Wisely. John answered the question. - J. was wise to answer the question

(92b) Willingly. J. answered the question. - J. was willing to answer the question

The paraphrase in (a) implies that John answered the question but that in (b) does not. Moreover, since the subject of a passive sentence is never a controlling subject, *wisely* cannot normally apply to it. *Willingly*, however, does not require a controlling subject and thus can apply to the subject of a passive sentence <sup>83</sup> (One could point out that *wisely* as a speaker-oriented adv may occur in such a passive sentence as Wisely, no decision was taken.)

#### (b) Pragmatics

The last book in S. Jakobson's trilogy, *On the Use, Meaning and Syntax of English Preverbal Adverbs*, 1978, shows a further shifting in his theoretical stance. The characteristic feature now is the classification of advbls according to pragmatic, semantic and syntactic functions, all of which are highly integrated. Again he deals with preverbs (see p. 122 above), which constitute a heterogeneous group function-wise, whereas initial and final advs he considers usually easy to describe functionally.

To alter Jakobson's order a little the semantic function is to convey the "inherent content" of an adv (p. 16). The major semantic divisions given here are quality, category (e.g. *biologically*), relationship (e.g. *similarly*, *soon*, etc.), degree, position (in space or time - the single example is *here*), space and time.

The pragmatic function is the communicative function, which may be to present the inherent content of the adv:

(93) This country economically is in a very awkward situation (p. 16)

In other cases, however, the pragmatic function differs considerably from the semantic, e.g. a Finance Minister's comment at a press conference shortly before devaluation: *We are certainly not going to devalue* (p. 16) is pragmatically meant to increase the possibility of the lie being taken as the truth.

Of the many pragmatic functions<sup>84</sup> (and even Jacobson's fairly detailed treatment is said to contain only a selection), a major one is clearly characterization. This includes characterization of utterances, of occurrences or circumstances and of relations between them (leading to various logical relations such as addition; cause, consequence, result; premise and inference - to mention but a few) as well as of events, processes and states. Fundamental to the distinctions here and in what follows is the notion that sentences describe occurrences and circumstances (i.e. non-occurrences), and verbs describe only a part of these, viz. states (e.g. *know*), events (e.g. *win*) and processes (e.g. *run*).<sup>85</sup>

Under syntactic function there are three formal operations: modification, focalization and connection. (Thus preverbs can be grouped into modifiers, focalizers and conjuncts - some belong to more than one class.) Jacobson comments: "Just as all preverbs perform some kind of characterization ..., so all of them are modifiers from a syntactic point of view". (p. 82). Again, the major distinction is that between sentence modifiers and verb modifiers, and a few additional points are made, mainly concerned with sentence intonation.

Sentence modifiers (which usually characterize utterances, occurrences and circumstances) are normally placed contiguous to the finite part of a complex auxiliary. If placed after its non-finite part, they are usually distinguishable from verb modifiers by the possibility of having relatively weak prominence, whereas verb modifiers always have relatively strong prominence:

- (94) The problem has been practically solved. (sentence modifier)  
 The problem has been practically solved. (verb modifier) (p. 83)

Some sentence modifiers can be pronounced with tail-intonation (usually marked in writing by commas) as in *This, fortunately, was not done.* (p. 83). But if a sentence modifier is pronounced with relatively strong prominence, then a slight pause can be made after the preverb, compared with a slight pause before it for a verb modifier:

(95) The waiter carefully aired the wine (sentence modifier)

The waiter carefully aired the wine (verb modifier) (p. 84)

Sentence modifiers can be placed in pre-auxiliary position but verb modifiers are possible here only if they modify the auxiliary itself:

(96) The tank probably was completely filled.

\*The tank completely was probably filled. (p. 84)

Much later in the book another test for sentence modifiers is indirectly given, namely, that the restrictive preverb *only* cannot focus a postverbal constituent across a sentence-modifying preverb:

(97) I often/now/gladly only have one meal a day

\*I only often/now/gladly have one meal a day (p. 150)

Verb modifiers (characterizing states, events and processes) always immediately precede the main verb when they modify it but usually immediately follow a finite auxiliary when they modify that, as in:

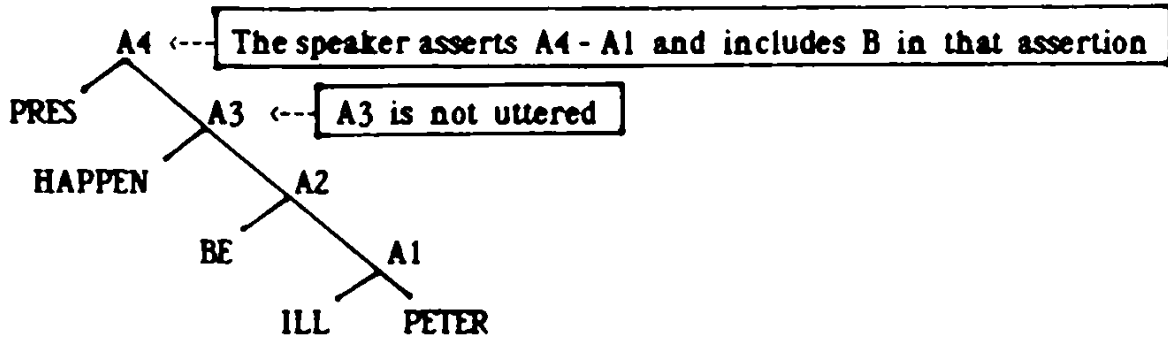
(98) This is a question which can best be answered accurately and scientifically by one who speaks British English. (p. 84)

Almost half the book discusses the generation of preverbs. Jakobson is aware of and does not find fault with Jackendoff's work but adopts the opposite approach of generating advs by transformational rules that relate semantic representations to surface structure. A few representative advs from the various categories are selected and their generation is described in detail.

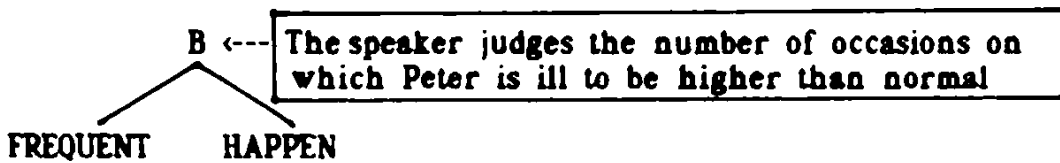


Preverbs characterizing occurrences and circumstances form a heterogeneous group and differ considerably in their generation. The most satisfactory solution seems to be to assume an underlying predicate HAPPEN. To exemplify Jacobson's tree configurations and their interpretation, let us take the preverb *frequently*. The semantic representation of *Peter is frequently ill* is:

A: Main configuration



B: Associated configuration



(pp. 116-17)

(Note: The propositions are numbered, beginning with 1 for the lowest, and pragmatic information is given in the boxes.)

Jacobson claims to apply only well-known transformations, in cyclical order. Some transformations, however, apply post-cyclically and are often triggered by pragmatic information. A cyclic series of transformations applied to the above tree produces the surface sentence *Peter is frequently ill*. The preverbs *always*, *often* and *seldom* are similarly derived, with B configurations of

ALL [COVER HAPPEN TIME] [COVER - extend temporally or spatially over]

MANY [COVER HAPPEN OCCASIONS]

FEW [COVER HAPPEN OCCASIONS]

respectively, while *never* is derived in the same way as *always* with the addition of NEG (p. 118).

As regards the co-occurrence of preverbs, Jacobson follows the transformationalists' usual claim that the relative surface position is generally dependent on the level at which the preverbs are generated:

(99) Your brother probably never saw it.

\*Your brother never probably saw it. (p. 147)

In this example, *probably* is generated above the finite tense predicate while *never* is generated below it. However, the normal order can be altered by post-cyclic rules

(100) Your brother never saw it, probably (p. 147)

In general, preverbs characterizing processes, events or states are generated low in the tree and therefore follow other preverbs. Jacobson also makes the point we have seen earlier that co-occurring preverbs involving quantification cannot change their position without altering the meaning of the sentence.

### Comparison of Eng and Slov

To round off this wide spread of advbl studies relating to Eng and by way of transition to considering and comparing the advbl category in Slov, we should now examine how advbls are dealt with by Quirk *et al* in the two grammars (1972 and 1985) already referred to in the previous chapters

In keeping with the overall grammatical system, Quirk *et al* make a very clear distinction between advs as a word class, with hazy boundaries,<sup>86</sup> and advbls as a clause element on the same level as subject, verb, object and complement. This concept of the advbl purely as clause element is not to be found in the older traditional grammar. Advs (as one word items) have two separate functions that of clause element and that of modifier of other advs, adjectives, prepositions, nouns, etc. Among advbls the authors include non-finite clauses and

verbless clauses along with the usual advs, advbl phrases, prepositional phrases and advbl clauses:

- |       |                                                                     |   |                    |
|-------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|---|--------------------|
| (101) | Peter was playing <u>to win</u>                                     | } | non-finite clauses |
|       | <u>Making a lot of noise</u> they praised Tom                       |   |                    |
|       | <u>If urged by our friends</u> , we'll stay                         |   |                    |
| (102) | Peter was playing, <u>unaware that his wife was in the audience</u> | } | verbless clauses   |
|       | <u>Grateful for his help</u> , they praised Tom                     |   |                    |
|       | <u>While in London</u> , we'll stay at a hotel <sup>87</sup>        |   |                    |

(1972, p. 420)

In the 1972 volume, advbls are divided on the basis of syntactic criteria into three classes: adjuncts,<sup>88</sup> disjuncts and conjuncts. (These distinctions can be traced to the work of S. Greenbaum 1969, one of the co-authors of these grammars). Adjuncts are those which fulfil one or more of three conditions, called "diagnostic criteria" by Greenbaum (see below) - criteria which apply in reverse to disjuncts and conjuncts. An additional nine syntactic features of adjuncts, some applying mostly to advs, are also listed.

This analysis has been reworked in the 1985 volume with advbls divided into four classes,<sup>89</sup> as some of what were previously regarded as adjuncts now form a separate class of subjuncts (see pp. 154 and 158-60 of this chapter). As far as a characterization of the four classes is concerned, Quirk *et al* observe that adjuncts are on a similar level to other clause elements, subjuncts have a lesser role, being subordinated to the clause as a whole or to (part of) a clause element, while disjuncts have a superior role, are syntactically more detached, and in some ways 'superordinate'<sup>90</sup>. Furthermore, disjuncts are said to semantically "express an evaluation of what is being said either with respect to the form of the communication or to its meaning" as in *Frankly, I'm tired* (p. 440; cf. 1972, p. 269 and the example *Briefly, there is nothing more I can do about it*) and conjuncts are said to "express the speaker's assessment of the relation between

two linguistic units" as in *We have complained several times about the noise, and yet he does nothing about it* (pp. 440-41; cf. 1972, p. 270).

Adjuncts are seen to resemble the other clause elements of subject, complement and object in that they share the following syntactic features:

- (a) they can be the focus of a cleft sentence
- (b) they can contrast in alternative interrogation or negation
- (c) they can be the focus of focusing subjuncts
- (d) irrespective of their position in the clause, they come within the scope of predication ellipsis or pro-forms
- (e) they can be elicited by question forms.<sup>91</sup> (1985, p. 304)

Of these features, (b) combines two of the three diagnostic criteria<sup>92</sup> originally given for adjuncts, while (a), (c) and (d) are taken from the additional nine syntactic features mentioned on p. 133 above. Elicitation by question forms (e) was commented on at appropriate points in the treatment of adjuncts in the 1972 volume. This set of five features is considered to mark adjuncts off in general from the other three classes of advbl. (1985, pp. 366, 612 and 631).

In fact, syntactic features of most subtypes of adjuncts, subjuncts, disjuncts and conjuncts are discussed (as in the earlier treatment), but for each subtype independently, without reference to a total list of features. The material illustrates in more detail than ever the great heterogeneity of advbls, defying any neat classification.

To concentrate attention now on adjuncts: the 1972 grammar has a noticeable and even strange omission; nothing is said about the function of adjuncts. The 1985 grammar takes the familiar distinction between sentence and predication adjuncts (the latter divided into obligatory and optional) and applies it in some detail to the various semantic subtypes. There is no hint of any possible difficulty in distinguishing between sentence and predicate modification, as

in traditional grammar. However, the term "modification", which would point clearly to the notion of advbl function, is never actually used.

In the 1985 semantic classification of adjuncts, more subtypes are recognised. The central classes of space (previously termed place), time and process are dealt with in detail; adjuncts of respect (not mentioned at all in the 1972 volume) and of contingency (expressing reason, purpose, cause and concession) receive only brief treatment. The more detailed subdivision of the three main classes is as follows (p. 479):

Space: position  
 direction  
 goal  
 source  
 distance

In 1972 only position and direction are identified; as a broad distinction this remains useful, and is employed in the later volume.

Time: position  
 duration  
 forward span  
 backward span  
 frequency  
 relationship

Process: manner  
 means  
 instrument  
 agentive

Agentive is not mentioned in 1972 but the process class is there left open.

Further discussion of these subtypes will be postponed until comparison is made with semantic classes in Slov (see pp. 151ff.).

The treatment of advbl position also differs somewhat in the two works, the later one having, as might be expected, more detail. Initial (I) and final (termed end (E) by Quirk *et al*) position remain the same; they straightforwardly represent the two outermost positions of the clause. (In subordinate and coordinate clauses, initial position is that following the conjunction.<sup>93</sup>) Medial (M) position is always the most complex in Eng because of the variants related to the presence and number of auxiliaries. In the 1985 volume these variants are as follows:

iM (fronted or initial medial - preceding the operator, i.e. the first or only auxiliary):

(103) The book by then must have been placed on the shelf. (p. 490)

(Note: This sentence is used throughout to illustrate all seven positions from I to E; however, where a variant of it sounds rather artificial, I have selected another of their examples. Of course, not every advbl is capable of occupying all the possible positions.)

M (the "central" kind of medial position):

(104) The book must by then have been placed on the shelf. (p. 490)

This position also includes that between S and V as in *The driver suddenly started the engine* (p. 491) and between *to be* (regarded as an operator) and its complement as in *The expression on her face was seldom disgust* (p. 492).

mM (medial medial - of rare occurrence as it depends on the presence of three or more auxiliaries):

(105) They must have often been listening at the door. (p. 495)

eM (end medial - following two or more auxiliaries and immediately preceding the main verb):

(106) The room must have been quite carefully searched by the police. (p. 495)

A variant of E (which can take two or three advbls in succession) is also specified, namely iE (initial or fronted end position), for advbls following the verb but preceding another final element.

(107) She kept writing in feverish rage long, violent letters of complaint.

(advbl precedes a lengthy object)

(108) She placed the book offhandedly on the table.

(advbl precedes an obligatory advbl)

(109) She herself interviewed with hurtful disdain the student I had turned  
down. (p. 499)

(In (109) the iE placement is necessary as the advbl, if put in E position, would modify the clausal postmodifier *I had turned down*.)

Advbl position in Eng is influenced by several factors of which the information structure of the sentence is considered the most important. Other factors include the semantic type, the grammatical distinction between adjuncts, subjuncts, disjuncts and conjuncts, and the formal aspect in that single advs and short phrases are the most mobile, and also most easily occupy medial position, while prepositional phrases and clauses are usually final, though may be initial.

The distinction made between sentence and predication adjuncts is significant for position too. The latter occupy final position and require special motivation (as for the sake of parallelism or contrast) to be fronted:

(110) In Chicago he <sup>/'</sup>LIVED (and in Chicago ...) (1985, p. 512)

The fact that predication adjuncts often relate to the object is another reason for their placement following this clause element.

Sentence adjuncts, however, are more peripheral in clause structure and thus in addition to final position (where they follow any predication adjunct), they can occupy initial position, which appropriately indicates the adjunct's

relation to the whole clause, or can be medial. (I would say that medial position is much less common, except for those advs which can readily stand there.)

(111) She had lived in poverty (obligatory predication adjunct) for thirty years. (sentence adjunct)

For thirty years, she had lived in poverty.

She had for thirty years lived in poverty. (1985, pp. 513-14)

An initial sentence adjunct can be separated from the rest of the clause by a comma in writing (note For thirty years, above) or a tone-unit in speech, which then clearly marks the adjunct's "scene-setting" function. Quirk *et al* state that a sentence adjunct can be moved between final and initial position "with relatively little consequence for its stylistic or semantic effect" (1985, p. 505) but that the difference in position is significant in thematic terms, i.e. in textual organization.

For the various semantic subtypes it is noted whether they are essentially (e.g. direction, goal, obligatory position) or typically (e.g. manner<sup>94</sup> and other process subtypes, definite frequency - occasion as in *once*, *twice*) predication adjuncts or whether they may function either as predication or sentence adjuncts (e.g. space - position, time).

There is considerable detail in both volumes on the preferred and potential positions for the various semantic (sub)classes, and this will be summarized here for the sake of later reference. Space adjuncts occur most commonly in final position, though position adjuncts, especially if prepositional phrases, may stand initially in their "scene-setting" function (newly mentioned in 1985), to avoid end-focus,<sup>95</sup> to avoid ambiguity or to avoid overweighting at the end of the clause. Position adjuncts may occasionally be medial - seen, for instance, with the advs *here*, *there* and *-where* compounds. Source adjuncts can occur initially (and occasionally, less acceptably, in medial position) but



direction and goal adjuncts are not normally medial. Some direction adjuncts can occupy initial position (a usage mostly limited to literary style and children's literature, together with a few examples, mainly with *come*, *go* and *get*, found in informal speech), when they have "a dramatic impact and a rhetorical flavour and normally co-occur with a verb in the simple present or simple past" (1972, p. 478):

- (112) Down they flew                    On  
          Away he goes                        Under } you go <sup>96</sup>  
          On they marched                    Round } (1972, pp. 478-79; 1985, pp. 522-23)

Time position, duration and frequency adjuncts can all occur in final position. Duration advs, however, are normally medial, as are advs of indefinite frequency. Prepositional phrases denoting usual frequency are normally initial. Depending on the subtypes of frequency, the adjuncts can or cannot precede the clausal negative.

Process adjuncts are normally final; obligatory adjuncts are virtually restricted to this position (as in *They live frugally. They treated his friend badly*. (1972, p. 464; 1985, p. 562)). In passive constructions, however, manner (though not means or instrument) advs are often placed in eM rather than finally. Quirk *et al* now consider that fronted manner adjuncts tend to become subject-oriented subjuncts (in the 1972 grammar, these were classed as subject adjuncts) as in *Obligingly / Courteously, she replied to the listeners' questions*. (1985, p. 556). (See further on p. 160 of this chapter.)

The authors pay considerable attention to co-occurrence. Co-occurring advbls may be of the same or different semantic class; the details are as follows. Space adjuncts can co-occur in a hierarchical relationship of which the superordinate one (the sentence adjunct) can be transposed to initial position:

- (113) Many people eat in restaurants in London. / In London many people ...

We came to London from Rome.      From Rome we  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{came} \\ \text{went} \end{array} \right\}$  to London.  
 We went from Rome to London.<sup>97</sup>

(1985, pp. 519-20; cf. 1972, p. 476)

Juxtaposed direction advbls otherwise follow the chronological sequence of events:

(114) They drove downhill to the village

He flew over the city towards the airport (1972, p. 476)

An adv normally precedes a prepositional phrase:

(115) Many people eat here in restaurants<sup>98</sup>

He flew west over the city (1972, p. 476)

Direction and position adjuncts can co-occur, generally finally in that order:

(116) He fell overboard near the shore. (1985, p. 519)

but the position advbl can be moved to initial position to avoid giving it end-focus or to avoid ambiguity in the case of a prepositional phrase which could be interpreted as a postmodifier:

(117) In the suburbs, middle-class people move to a new house every few years.

cf. Middle-class people move to a new house in the suburbs every few years.

(1985, p. 519)

Time position adjuncts can be arranged in hierarchical order too, often with the superordinate one coming last:

(118) I'll see you at nine on Monday.

but this order may be reversed to have a shorter adjunct preceding a longer one:

(119) They became drunk today within a very short time. (1985, p. 533)

Observations on co-occurring frequency advbls are rather detailed, but involve similar principles. When different subtypes of time adjunct co-occur, they tend to do so in the sequence duration [d] - frequency [f] - position [p]:

(120) I was there for a short while [d] every day or so [f] in January [p].

I'm paying my rent monthly [f] this year [p].

Our electricity was cut off briefly [d] today [p].

He does exercises for several hours [d] every weekend [f]. (1985, p. 551)

Nothing is said about the co-occurrence of process adjuncts, but the coordination of space adjuncts and of time adjuncts is discussed and illustrated.

In the co-occurrence of adjuncts generally, two principles are observable:

"(i) The relative order, especially of sentence adjuncts, can be changed to suit the demands of information focus;<sup>99</sup>

(ii) Shorter adjuncts tend to precede longer ones, and in practice this often means that adverbs precede noun phrases, which precede prepositional phrases, which precede nonfinite clauses, which precede finite clauses". (1985, p. 565)

Subject to these general principles, adjuncts co-occurring in final position tend to do so in the sequence respect - process - space - time - contingency. Normally five such adjuncts would not co-occur even in the same clause, let alone together in final position, but an admittedly improbable and stylistically awkward sentence is offered purely to illustrate the sequence:

(121) John was working on his hobby [respect] with the new shears [process] in the rose garden [space] for the whole of his day off [time] to complete the season's pruning [contingency]. (1985, p. 566)

To avoid overweighting at the end of the clause, initial position can be occupied by appropriate adjuncts. Such initially placed adjuncts either have relatively little information value or have an inclusive "scene-setting" role:

(122) That whole morning, he devoted himself to his roses. (1985, p. 566)

(The time reference is typically scene-setting, and *that* has anaphoric reference.)

Initial position does not usually have more than one adjunct (unless one is realized by a pro-form, especially *then*), but an initial sequence of space - time or process - time may sometimes be observed:

(123) In America, after the election, trade began to improve.

Slowly during this period people were becoming more prosperous.

(1985, p. 566)

The final section on Slov advbls will be considerably shorter as to my knowledge there are no studies specifically of advbls apart from the material to be found in the standard grammars and Toporišič's *Nss*. In addition to those referred to in chapter 1 (pp. 23-24), we might briefly mention two grammars of Slov written by non-native speakers: Svane 1958 and Vincenot 1975 (the latter given an extensive and somewhat unfavourable review by Toporišič; see *Nss*, pp. 389-415). The former is a compilation based on earlier Slov grammars such as Breznik and Bajec *et al.* with help from native speakers. The section on advs mostly lists items (including a number of old-fashioned words) in the various semantic categories: place, time, manner, means, degree, etc. The section on syntax contains nothing on clause elements. Since the book makes no really distinctive contribution, it will not be discussed further. Vincenot's *Essai de Grammaire Slovène*, however, is a more serious work, written in the tradition of Tesnière's dependency grammar, so that the treatment differs from Toporišič's. Relevant sections will be noted later (p. 149, cf. pp. 163-64).

The Slov grammarians treat advs (*prislovi*)<sup>100</sup> separately from advbls (*prislovna določila*), although Toporišič complains that earlier grammars, especially that of Bajec *et al.* contain no proper theory of clause elements nor consistently applied criteria for distinguishing them.<sup>101</sup> Differences in concept and terminology are particularly apparent at the word-class level where, as in Eng. advs are seen to overlap with other classes. Breznik uses "particle" (*členek*) as a covering term for particles "in the narrower sense", advs, prepositions and conjunctions (p. 145).<sup>102</sup> The more narrowly defined particles seem to be a very limited group, which includes demonstrative particles such as *le*, as in *ta-le*

(this one), *le-ta* (the above-mentioned), and those used as a pronominal tag-ending (*navsezek zaimkov*), such as *-r* in *kako-r* (as), *kamo-r* (whence), *kje-r* (where) (pp. 145-46). Later, Bajec *et al* explain that such particles are indeclinable words of an advbl nature (or even just sounds) without independent meaning, which reinforce other words or give them a different shade of meaning. Some are component parts of set phrases, e.g. *kdor si bodi* (whoever), *gorje si ga človeku* (woo to the man), *lomiti ga* (to make a mess of something), *ubrali jo* (to make for), etc. (pp. 280-81).

Breznik's advs are particles which can stand as the answer to advbl questions and can consequently be subdivided into advs of place, time, manner and cause; each of these subgroups also has its pronominal advs.<sup>103</sup> Some items which have the form of advs can function syntactically as prepositions and are then termed "quasi prepositions" (*nepristni predlogi*), e.g. *blizu/bliže* (near/nearer), *mimo* (past), *poleg* (beside), *onastran* (beyond), to list some of those still commonly used today.<sup>104</sup> Finally, conjunctions are particles which indicate mutual relations between individual sentences and are divided into coordinating and subordinating subgroups.

For Bajec *et al* it is the term "adverb" that is all-embracing; it includes Breznik's "narrow" particles (as explained above), the traditional categories of place, time, manner and cause advs as well as the following categories:

- (a) quantitative (*količinski*) advs: *desetkrat* (ten times), *več* (more), *malo* (a little), *nekoliko* (somewhat), *mnogo* (many), etc. Degree advs may be included here or under manner advs: *močno* (strongly), *zelo* (very), etc.
- (b) emphatic (*poudarni*) advs: *prav*, *ravno* (just), *vsaj* (at least), *samo* (only), *predvsem* (above all), etc.

and the so-called logical (*miselni*) advs,<sup>105</sup> subdivided as follows:

- (c) affirmative advs (*pritrđilnice*): *seveda* (of course), *tudi* (also, even), *torej*



e.g. *Sam dolgo upal in se bal.* (For long I hoped and feared.)

(b) predicative adjunct (*povedkovo določilo*): e.g. *Temno je.* (It's dark.)

(c) modifier of a nominal or adv (*imenski ali prislovni prilastek*):

e.g. *pot navzgor* (the way up), *včeraj popoldne* (yesterday afternoon)

(d) degree advbl modifying an adjective or adv (*prislovno določilo mere ob pridevniku, prislovu*): e.g. *zelo hladno* (very cold), *precej zgodaj* (quite early).

This may be compared with the treatment in *Nss* (p. 329) where advs are presented as modifying:

(a) (i) a verb: e.g. *sedeli doma/včeraj* (to sit at home/yesterday)

(ii) the verb *biti*+adjective: e.g. *biti suh doma* (to be dry at home)

(iii) a predicative (*povedkovnik*): e.g. *(biti) tiho doma* ((to be) quiet at home)

(b) an adjective: e.g. *zelo lep* (very beautiful)

(c) an adv: e.g. *zelo veliko* (very much)

(d) a noun (i) derived from a verb: e.g. *hoja domov* (the walk home)

(ii) of a different type: e.g. *človek včeraj* (the man yesterday)

(a) - (c) of the *Nss* set are said to be advbl adjunct roles while only (d) is regarded as a modifier role (*priiastkovna vloga*). But advs modifying simply adjectives and other advs do not function as advbl adjunct, i.e. independent clause element, but are only a constituent part of adjectival and advbl phrases, the latter having the status of independent clause element.<sup>107</sup> Word-class and clause element levels thus appear confused. I would suggest that only (a) above represents a true advbl adjunct role. The same feature is reflected in terminology with role (d) of the *Ss* set (advbl of degree should rather be adv of degree) and later in *Ss* (p. 488) where Toporišič, in dealing specifically with advbl adjuncts, says that they place a verb, adjectival, adv or predicative in place and time, and in relations of manner and cause [my emphasis].

The syntactic roles outlined in *Ss* are basically the same as in Eng grammar (see, e.g. p. 91 of this chapter). Quirk *et al* do not stipulate role (b) right alongside (a) and (c) - (d), but in the 1972 volume it is mentioned elsewhere. In Eng, however, advs as predicative adjuncts are only those of place and time (see 1972, pp. 235, 473, 502 and 1983, p. 408), whereas it is not so restricted in Slov, as the example above indicates. In particular, Eng-speaking students of Slov should note the analysis of *temno* (in *Temno je*) as a predicative adv where the Eng equivalent *dark* can be nothing but a predicative adjective.<sup>108</sup>

Quirk *et al* do make a clear distinction between the advbl adjunct and the modifier roles exercised by advs. In connection with the latter role they state: "The most conspicuous example of an adverb that functions only as a modifier of adjectives and adverbs, and not as a clause element, is *very*" (1983, p. 441; cf. 1972, p. 271). Toporišič also uses *zelo* (very) several times to illustrate *Ss* role (d) and *Nss* roles (b) and (c), where according to his terminology it should be understood as an advbl adjunct.<sup>109</sup> I have commented on this difference in analysis because of the bearing it has on advbl placement. Advs as modifiers of nouns, adjectives, etc. are generally adjacent to the item modified in both Eng and Slov; it is advbls as clause elements that characteristically vary their position - in both languages - and it is only the latter that will be studied in the contrastive analysis.

As for particles,<sup>110</sup> Toporišič explains their distinctive syntactic role as being to substitute for a clause, thus condensing the meaning into a single word:<sup>111</sup>

(125) Na podstrešju je samo ena sobica. ---> ... je ena sobica; drugih ni.

There is only one little room in the attic. ... there is one little room; there are no others.

Pravda spet teče. ---> Pravda teče, prej je zastala.

The lawsuit is going on again. The lawsuit is going on, previously it had come to a halt.



Pravda že teče.

The lawsuit is under way now.

---> Pravda teče, prej ni bila v teku.

The lawsuit is under way now,  
previously it didn't exist.

(*Nss*, pp. 333-34. Cf. also *Ss*, p. 418)

Actually this might seem as much an explanation of the derivation of particles as a statement of their essential syntactic role. The syntactic roles of particles are given appropriately elsewhere as follows:

(a) to establish connections with the context

(b) to express shades of meaning of individual words,<sup>112</sup> parts of a clause, whole clauses and sentences<sup>113</sup>

(c) to create syntactic moods.<sup>114</sup>

(*Ss*, p. 384)

These functions are not directly illustrated; the particles listed are divided according to a semantic classification (see n. 116, p. 185 of this chapter), though one can assume there is some correlation between syntactic function and semantic subgroup(s). For example, connective (*navzovalni*) particles obviously have role (a):

(126) Zakaj potem ne greš?

Why then don't you go?

In kako je s tabo?

And how are things with you?

(*Ss*, p. 384)

Role (b) is difficult to characterize exactly but probably applies to several of the semantic subdivisions:

(127) Ravno ti bi to moral vedeti. - emphatic (*poudarni*)

You're precisely the one who ought to know that.

Pršli so le trije.

Only three came.

- "exceptive" (*izvzemačni*)

Je tudi pametna.

She's sensible as well.

- additive (*dodajalni*)

Pravzaprav je res.

As a matter of fact, it's true.

- qualifying (*zadržke*)

(*Ss*, p. 384)

Role (c) presumably covers items expressing possibility/probability and opinion/supposition (*možnosti, verjetnosti* and *mnenja, domneve* subgroups, *Ss*, p. 385). The reference to "syntactic moods" ("... tvorimo skladenjske nakloae", *Ss*, p. 384), however, might lead one to think of *naj*, used to express the imperative mood in reported speech (e.g. *Rekel je, naj pridem* - he said I should come) or the optative mood (e.g. *Naj počiva v miru!* - May he rest in peace). Surprisingly, in the light of the question marker condition (see the following paragraph), *naj* is termed an adv (*Ss*, p. 298), not a particle.

Semantically, advs in the role of advbl adjunct are divided into those denoting circumstances - place, time and cause (cf. Mathesius's situational advs, p. 97 of this chapter) - and those denoting properties - manner (*Ss*, p. 343); subgroups which can be categorized by distinctive advbl questions. The capacity of advs to stand as answers to such questions as *kje?* (where?), *kdaj?* (when?), *zakaj?* (why?),  *kako?* (how?), etc. significantly distinguishes them from particles, although it is only in *Nss* that this point is made really clear.<sup>115</sup>

The semantic subgroups (thirteen altogether) into which Toporišič also divides particles are said to be based on Slovak Academy grammar.<sup>116</sup> Some of these subgroups correspond to Bajec *et al*'s emphatic and logical advs (see pp. 143-44 above) but, more importantly, there are clearly parallels between Toporišič's adv and particle categories and distinctions made between types of advbl in Eng. e.g. sentence/modality advs correspond to *členki*,<sup>117</sup> as do Quirk *et al*'s disjuncts, conjuncts, and some of their subjuncts,<sup>118</sup> while the adjuncts correspond (more or less) to *prislovi*. The dichotomy is also similar to Nilsen's between advbls which can and cannot be relativized (see pp. 100-1 of this chapter). However, Toporišič goes further for Slov than the English grammarians considered here in making such a sharp distinction.<sup>119</sup> They readily admit the pervasive presence of overlap in advbl categorization (e.g. Jacobson's modifying advbls can combine modification

with reference or conjunction, the latter two being particle-type functions - see p. 94 of this chapter).

Vincenot's treatment of advs is rather difficult to relate to the Slov grammars presented here, since his overall framework is so different. Advs are included with nouns and adjectives under various grammatical/semantic concepts such as interrogation, negation, definite versus indefinite, space, time, etc. Particles are distinguished, however, as part of a larger, heterogeneous category termed *mots-phrases* (word-clauses), not too helpfully explained as structurally unanalyzable items which constitute "the most elementary expression of thought" (p. 234). Those that are equivalent to a whole clause (cf. Toporišič) can be interjections (treated as a separate word-class by Toporišič) or anaphoric expressions (e.g. *Da/Ne* (Yes/No) in answer to a question). Others constitute only part of a clause, e.g. items (here called advs) that introduce *yes/no* interrogation need to be complemented, as in *Mar veš, da...?* (Do you know that ...?). Semantically, particles are divided into onomatopoeic, expressive (interjections) and logical items, the latter two types mostly shading into each other. The logical expressions (which correspond to Toporišič's particles) have either positive or negative force (pp. 234-40). 128

It is also noticeable from the examples that these items are not integrated into clause structure. As well as exclamations and short responses to questions, other particles, too, are intonationally and graphically marked off from the rest of the clause. Thus a distinction is drawn between the independent *mot-phras*e and the *adverb subordinné* (subordinate adv) as in:

- |                                           |                                      |          |
|-------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------|
| (128) <u>Seveda</u> , tega ti ni povedal. | Tega ti <u>seveda</u> ni povedal.    |          |
| Of course, he didn't tell you that.       | That, of course, he didn't tell you. |          |
| Bo prišel? <u>Morda</u> .                 | <u>Morda</u> bo prišel.              | (p. 239) |
| Will he come? Perhaps.                    | Perhaps he will come.                |          |

To turn now to the advbl as clause element, in form it can consist, as in Eng. of advs, advbl phrases and advbl clauses.<sup>121</sup> Slov also has a supine (*name-nilnik*), which functions as an advbl, as clearly explained by Breznik (p. 226) and mentioned incidentally by Toporišič (*Nss*, p. 409; cf. *Ss*, p. 503). The supine is used after verbs of movement, e.g. *iti*, *hoditi* (to go) (129) or after other verbs, e.g. *dati* (to give), *poslati* (to send), to express the goal of the action (130):

(129) Hotel sem iti laborit.

I wanted to go camping.

(130) Poslal je dekleta pomolst.

(*Ss*, p. 338)

He sent the girls to do the milking.

Slov grammarians describe advbl function very briefly and without any reference to the problem of the scope of modification which so troubled traditional grammarians of Eng and which recurs, as we have seen, throughout later advbl studies relating to Eng. Breznik states that advbls "modify the verbal predicate more exactly as regards place, time, manner and cause" ("S prislovnim določilom (adverbiale) se natančneje določa povedek glede na kraj, čas, način in vzrok". p. 226), while Bajec *et al* mention that place and time advbls "clarify the content of the clause as regards place/time" ("... pojasnjujejo vsebino stavka glede na kraj/čas". p. 315).

Slov grammarians do, however, give considerable detail on the semantic classification of advbls. The four primary classes are always place, time, manner and cause, though the latter two in particular are differently divided.<sup>122</sup> The semantic aspect lends itself far more to comparison between Slov and Eng and therefore with a view to the corpus analysis which follows, Toporišič's full-length treatment of the three classes place, time and manner will here be set side by side with that in the Quirk *et al* grammars.

**Place** Toporišič divides advbls of place on the basis of specific questions into the following subgroups:

(a) mesto dogajanja: *kje? na katerem mestu?*

(location where something takes place: *where? in what place?*)

(b) cilj dogajanja: *kam?*

(goal of something taking place: *where (to)?*)

(c) izhodišče glagolskega dejanja: *odkod?*<sup>123</sup>

(departure point of a verbal action: *where from?*)

(d) pot: *kod? po kateri poti?* + povedek premikanja

(route: *where? which way?* + verb of movement)

(e) razmeščenost: *kod?* + povedek mirovanja

(areal dispersion: *where(abouts)?* + verb of non-movement)

(f) količina prostora oz. poti: *kako daleč?*

(*See*, pp. 489-90)

(lit. quantity of place or route: *how far?*)

It is interesting that Toporišič makes finer distinctions for Slov than have generally been recognized in Eng.<sup>124</sup> Quirk *et al* 1972 (pp. 429, 471 ff.) as well as other grammarians distinguish only two subdivisions: (a) position or location - *where?* and (b) direction - *where (to)?/where from?* the latter occurring with verbs of movement and other dynamic verbs that can have a directional meaning.<sup>125</sup>

But the 1985 Quirk *et al* grammar (pp. 479-80) has subdivisions equivalent to all those of Toporišič except for his *razmeščenost*, viz:

(i) position:	where?	- (a)	} Toporišič's subdivisions
(ii) direction:	which way? where?	- (d)	
(iii) goal:	where to?	- (b)	
(iv) source: <sup>126</sup>	where from?	- (c)	
(v) distance:	how far? <sup>127</sup>	- (f)	

The term "direction" is also used (as before) in a broader sense to include goal and source since these three (direction, goal and source) belong to the same basic grammatical category, as evidenced by their ability to be coordinated.

To elucidate the *razmeščenost* subgroup: *kod?* with verbs denoting static position asks about the area within which a certain phenomenon is found: 128

(131) Dobrih ljudi je povsod.

There are good people everywhere.

Narcise rastejo po vseh teh pobočjih.

(Ss, p. 490)

Narcissi grow all over these slopes.

(The Slov preposition *po* implying dispersion over an area is especially pertinent in this connection.)

In Toporišič's system, advbls of distance as in:

(132) Spremljaj me vsaj do velikega ovinka.

(Ss, p. 490)

Accompany me at least as far as the big bend.

seem to be regarded as slightly separate, presumably because the notion of quantity is involved. 129

In the 1985 Quirk *et al* grammar it is noticeable that although elicitation by question forms is given as one of the syntactic criteria distinguishing adjuncts from other advbls (point (e) on p. 134 of this chapter), scarcely any further comments on "elicitability" are made, and in this it contrasts with the earlier grammar. Since Toporišič regards advbl question forms as an essential indicator for advbls in Slov, some attention is here devoted to this matter.

In the 1972 volume, Quirk *et al* show for place adjuncts (as for other types) that not all the items intuitively felt to belong to a particular semantic subgroup can stand as answer to the appropriate advbl question. They comment, "The direction particle as adjunct is more likely to serve as a response to a *where* question if a destination is implied" (p. 474) and exemplify with:

(133) A: Where are you going? B: {Out(side) / In(side) / Back / Ahead /  
 {?Away / ?Off / \* About / \* By / \* Round

One might add that some particles become acceptable as responses if modified: e.g. *away from all this noise; off to bed; round by the shops*. The Slov equivalents of the particles marked with ? or \* (*stran/proč* - away/off, *naokoli* - about/round, *mimo* - by/past) can stand alone as a response to an advbl question (except that *mimo* needs to refer to a context/situation), and seem to belong to Toporišič's *kod* subgroup. If they answer *kod?* rather than *kam?* this throws interesting light on Quirk *et al*'s observation quoted above. <sup>130</sup>

**Time** Toporišič has three main subdivisions which correspond to those in the Quirk *et al* grammars; in addition the latter have a fourth subdivision, to be discussed in more detail below. Table 1 shows the correspondences. <sup>131</sup>

**Table 1 - Time**

P. d. časa	a) trenutak ali obdobje časa ali katera njegovih mej <sup>133</sup> - kdaj? npr. <i>danes, po listem</i>	time position <sup>132</sup> point or period of time - when? e.g. <i>today, afterwards</i>
		forward span - till when? e.g. <i>until X</i> backward span - since when? e.g. <i>since X</i> } how long?
P. d. količine časa - trajanja	b) dolžina trajanja - kako dolgo? npr. <i>le kratko</i>	time duration - how long? e.g. <i>briefly</i>
	c) pogostnost - na koliko časa? obdobnost npr. <i>daevno</i> kratnost npr. <i>enkrat</i> navada npr. <i>običajno</i> nepretrganost npr. <i>zmeraj</i>  velika pogostnost npr. <i>pogosto</i> majhna pogostnost npr. <i>priložnostno</i>	time frequency - how often? definite { period e.g. <i>daily</i> frequency { occasion e.g. <i>once</i> { usual occurrence e.g. <i>usually</i> { continuous/continual/universal occurrence e.g. <i>always</i> { high frequency e.g. <i>often</i> { low freq. e.g. <i>occasionally,</i> <i>never</i>
	( <i>Sx</i> pp. 490-91)	(Quirk <i>et al</i> , 1985, pp. 481-82, 529-44; cf. 1972, p. 482; ) <sup>134</sup>

Quirk *et al*'s fourth subdivision (to my knowledge not found in any traditional grammar) is termed "time relationship", since these adjuncts express "a relationship between two time positions that are both being considered in an utterance" (1985, p. 550). The adjuncts are subdivided as follows:

(a) many adjuncts denoting temporal sequence and also used for time position:

*afterwards, eventually, first, later, next, previously, then, etc.*

(b) adjuncts implying a partly concessive relation: *(even) by /before/ up to that time*

(c) adjuncts which tend to compare one time with another: *again, once more, afresh.*

(1985, pp. 550-51)

The items *already, yet* and *still* which were formerly included here (although it was pointed out that they had few of the syntactic features of adjuncts) are reclassified in the 1985 grammar as time subjuncts. They correspond to *že* and *še* in Slov. which are clearly to be regarded as particles.<sup>135</sup>

There is no standard question comparable to *when? how long?* etc. that elicits time relationship adjuncts and with this absence of an appropriate question it is natural that Toporišič has no equivalent subgroup.<sup>136</sup> Although once again nothing is said in the 1985 grammar about "questionability", it is, I think, still relevant. For instance, in the sentences (1985, p. 550) illustrating the (a) items above:

(134) Did she first see him when he was a child?

I've been considering what to do since he last discussed his problems with me.

These techniques were originally used in the Second World War.

It wasn't until the end of the party that I was finally introduced to her.<sup>137</sup> one can only use these adjuncts within a *when?* question, which of course elicits the complementary time when reference in the sentence:

e.g. When were these techniques originally used? - in the Second World War.



When were you finally introduced to her? - not until the end of the party.  
(The second sentence in (134) is an apparent exception because the time relationship item *last* occurs within the time when adjunct and not separately from it.)

This matter of "questionability" may be considered for other time subtypes, too, as it relates to the comparison of the two languages. (i) In 1972, Quirk *et al* make the observation that single advs expressing backward span cannot answer the typical time duration question (*for*) *how long?*

(135) A: (For) How long have you been collecting stamps? B: \*Since/\*Recently.

(p. 487)

But if we compare the Slov equivalents, *zadnje čase* (recently)<sup>138</sup> can stand alone as answer to *kako dolgo?* (how long?), and so can *odlej* (since then), provided it is understood what point in the past it refers to. In fact, though Quirk *et al* do not point this out, *since* is a condensation of *since then* and the past point of time needs to be mentioned or else to be recoverable from the (extra-)linguistic context:

(136) He insulted me last year and I haven't spoken to him since.<sup>139</sup> (1972, p. 488)

It is, of course, possible to formulate questions with *since when?*

e.g. Since when haven't you been speaking to him?<sup>140</sup> - Since last year. / Since he insulted me (last year).

(ii) Under advs of time Toporišič lists items answering the questions (a) *odlej?* (since when?) and (b) *doklej?* (till when?):<sup>141</sup>

(a) *odslej* (from now on), *odlej* (since then), *poslej* (from this time),  
*potlej* (afterwards), *odsihmal* (henceforth), etc.

(b) *doslej* (until now), *dotlej* (until then), *dokler* (as long as), etc.

He terms these *časovnokoličinski* advs (i.e. expressing quantity of time), but considers the question *kdej?* (when?) as also applicable to them (*Ss*, p. 344).

A problem arises with an adv like *doslej* which can be translated into Eng as 'until now', 'up to now', 'so far', 'as yet', expressions which cannot all be elicited by an advbl question. Moreover, *so far* figures along with *by now* in examples illustrating Quirk *et al*'s time relationship adjuncts:

(137) I have so far bought two shirts and a pair of shoes.

Doslej sem kupil že dve srajci in par čevljev.

They have finished their work by now. (1972, p. 498; 1985, p. 551)

So že končali.

Regarding the time category as a whole, it should be pointed out that Quirk *et al*'s four subgroups are all equally regarded as time adjuncts, while Toporišič distinguishes between advbls of time and advbls of quantity of time<sup>142</sup> as separate types (see Table 1, p. 153 above). The difference is still more striking in *Nss* where advs of time belong together with those of place and cause to the major group expressing circumstances while advs of iterativity (*kratnost*) - and presumably duration (if included under *količina*, 'quantity') - are put into the other major group expressing properties (p. 329). Also under advbl phrases (*prislovne besedne zveze*), time when advbls are classed as the only time advbls (*Nss*, p. 110). However, there may be some inconsistency involved in Toporišič's treatment of advs as distinct from advbls, viz. iterativity advs answering:

- (a) *kolikokrat?* (how many times?): *nakajkrat* (several times), *vsakokrat* (every time), *enkrat* (once - one time), etc.
- (b) *kolikič/katerikrat?* (which time?): *prvikrat* (the first time), *zadnjikrat* (the last time)

are classed as those expressing properties (*Ss*, p. 345 and *Nss*, p. 329), but this is not so with frequency advbls, including those under *kratnost*:

(136) Pridi že kdaj

Come again some time.

Enkrat bom že prišel.

(*Ss.* p. 491)

I'll come again sometime.

The notion of a distinction between time when advbls and those expressing duration/frequency occurs in Chomsky 1965 (see pp. 101-2 of this chapter and also the diagram relating to J. C. MacKay's Ph.D. thesis on p. 120), but finds its clearest expression in Bartsch's work. Time when advbls belong to her "relational" group, whereas frequency advbls belong to the "grading" group - they are quantifiers over the domain of events and circumstances. But durative and iterative advbls are separate too - they are mixed constructions involving temporal relations, logical quantifiers and cardinality qualifiers, etc. On the other hand, there sometimes seems to be an overlap between time when and time duration expressions. Toporišič's comment that *kdsj?* can elicit quantity of time advbls points to this, as does also the overlap acknowledged in his examples of time when advbls:

(139) Do tistega trenutka je bilo vse mirno.

Up to that moment everything was quiet.

Po tistem se nisva več videla.

We didn't see each other any more after that.

Skozi vse življenje ga je spremljala smola.

(*Ss.* p. 490)

Misfortune dogged him all his life.

(i.e. he says that such time when advbls can also belong to the time duration subgroup.<sup>143</sup>) These two subgroups should therefore perhaps be regarded as forming a continuum. The above discussion serves to show that time expressions are potentially complex, which is not surprising since time itself is a complex notion (and verbal systems in language reflect that complexity too).

#### **Manner**

The class of manner advbls in Slov grammar is quite extensive, probably due to the fact that traditionally only four major advbl classes

are recognized altogether. The various grammars also show considerable diversity within the manner class, as can be seen from Table 2.

**Table 2 - Manner**

	Breznik (pp. 228-34)	Bajec <i>et al</i> (pp. 315-16)	Toporišič, <i>SS</i> <sup>144</sup> (pp. 491-94)
measure	mera	količina, mera	mera: do kake mere? kako zelo?
pure manner	način (v ožjem pomenu)	pravi način	pravi način: kako? na kak način?
means (+ instrument)	sredstvo	sredstvo	sredstvo + orodje: kako? s čim?
accompaniment	družitev	---	---
consequence	posledica	posledica	posledica: s kakšnim rezultatom oz. uspehom?
effect	učinek	učinek	---
outcome	izid	izid	izid: do česa pripelje kakšna sprememba ali preureditev?
consequence, result	nasledek	---	---
concession	dopustitev	dopustitev	---
comparison	---	primera	---
condition	---	pogoj	---
bearer or source of the verbal action	---	---	vršilec ali izvor od koga? + glagolskega dejanja: povedek
reference, viewpoint	---	---	ozir: glede na kaj? po čem?

Comparison between Slov and Eng is complicated not only by the extensiveness of this class in Slov grammar but also by the differences between the two Quirk *et al* grammars, for certain semantic classes treated as adjuncts in 1972 (viz. subject adjuncts, intensifiers and viewpoint adjuncts) are reclassified as sub-

juncts in 1985. Table 3 shows the correspondences primarily between Toporišič *Ss* and Quirk *et al* 1972. 145

**Table 3 - Manner**

a) pravi način - kako? na kak način? npr. <i>lepo, kot strokovnjak</i>	manner - how? e.g. <i>coldly, like an expert</i>	} process
b) sredstvo in orodje - s čim? npr. <i>kirurško, s pritiskom na gumb;</i>	means - how? e.g. <i>surgically, by pressing this button</i>	
<i>s škarijami</i>	instrument - how? 146 e.g. <i>with that knife</i>	
	[1985: agentive - see (g) below]	
included under (a) are advbls which can be changed into a predicative adjunct; some of them express volition npr. <i>z velikim ponosom, namerno</i>	c) subject - [no question marker] i) general e.g. <i>with great pride</i> ii) volitional e.g. <i>intentionally</i>	
d) mera - do kake mere? kako zelo? ---	intensifier - how much? 147 emphasizer e.g. <i>definitely</i>	
velika mera npr. <i>popolnoma, grozno</i> majhna { znosna npr. <i>kar</i> mera { skromna npr. <i>delema</i> { komaj zadostna npr. <i>komaj</i> ---	amplifier { maximizer e.g. <i>completely</i> { booster e.g. <i>terribly</i> down- { compromiser e.g. <i>quite/rather</i> toner { diminisher e.g. <i>partly</i> { minimizer e.g. <i>scarcely</i> { approximator e.g. <i>almost</i>	
e) posledica - s kakšnim rezultatom oz. uspehom? npr. <i>do onemoglosti</i>	---	
f) izid - do česa pripelje kakšna sprememba ali preureditev? npr. <i>Grad je razpadel v prah in pepel.</i>	---	
g) vršilec ali izvor glagolskega dejanja - od koga? + povedek npr. <i>Nisi preganjan od vseh</i>	agentive - who/what? + active who(m)/what? + passive + by by who(m)/what? + passive e.g. <i>It was heard by millions</i>	
h) ozir - glede na kaj? po čem? npr. <i>politično</i>	viewpoint [no question marker] 148) e.g. <i>politically</i>	

(*Ss*, pp. 491-94)

(Quirk *et al.* pp. 459-69 - types a-c

1972

pp. 438-59 - type d

pp. 429-30 - type h

1985

pp. 556, 559-60 - type g)

In the corpus analysis, "manner" advbls will be restricted to Quirk *et al.*'s process type, so that it is not necessary to discuss in detail all the differences here (e.g. for the *mera* 'measure' subtype).

However, subject adjuncts may deserve some attention as they have been mentioned at several points earlier in this chapter. Their function is to characterize "the referent of the subject with respect to the process or state denoted by the verb" (1972, p. 465; 1985, p. 574). It is because the application of these advbls is narrowed so that they refer only to the subject that they are reclassified in the 1985 grammar as subjuncts. (But even in the 1972 grammar, the authors explain in some detail that they have few of the syntactic features characterizing adjuncts.) To illustrate the two subgroups - general (140) and volitional (141):

(140) With great pride, he accepted the reward. (He was very proud to accept...)

For once, they have frankly admitted their mistakes. (It was frank of them...)

Sadly, he roamed the streets. (He was sad when he...)

(141) Intentionally,<sup>149</sup> they said nothing to him about the matter. (It was their intention not to...)

With great reluctance, she called the police to arrest her guest.

(Though she was very reluctant to do so...) (1972, p. 466; cf. 1985, pp. 574-75)

Toporišič mentions such advbls briefly at the end of the section on "pure manner" but without giving them an individual name. Presumably they are considered to answer the manner question *kako?* (how?) and thus would not merit being classed separately. Like Quirk *et al.*,<sup>150</sup> he notes the paraphrase with a predicative adjunct. Examples for the general (142) and volitional (143) subgroups are:

(142) To je povedal z velikim ponosom. (Pritej je bil ponosen.)

He said this with great pride. (In this he was proud.)

Ogorčeno je protestiral.

Indignantly he protested./He protested indignantly.

(143) To je storil namerno (nehote, z dobrim namenom, omahovaje). (Ss, p. 492)

He did this deliberately (involuntarily, with good intentions, hesitantly).

In spite of the extended lists of advbl phrases in *Nss* and the comment that the full number of semantic subgroups is still not known, these advs receive no further mention. In fact the distinction between manner adjuncts and subject adjuncts (to use the familiar designation as a matter of convenience; in the 1985 grammar they are item subjuncts with subject orientation) seems to me less clear in Slov. It is true (in both languages) that a number of manner advbls have a cognate adjective which can be predicated of a personal subject. But whereas initial (pre-subject) position is less usual for a true manner adv in Eng. clause position does not have that kind of significance in Slov., where the subject need not be expressed at surface level. For instance, in *Ogorčeno je protestiral* (with no surface subject), the adv is naturally initial in a short clause which may as well mean 'He protested in an indignant manner' as 'Indignantly, he protested' (i.e. He was indignant when he protested).

The final aspect to be considered, advbl position, receives but little attention in Slov grammar. In the section on *stalna stava* (fixed word order - see chapter 1, p. 26), Breznik states that advbls sometimes precede and sometimes follow the word modified but that manner advbls in affirmative sentences precede the verb:

(144) Bratje in sestre se daleč narazen najbolj ljubijo.

Brothers and sisters love each other most when far apart.

Lahko je prisluzil, lahko razrušil.

(p. 243)

With him it was easy won, easy spent.

The point is hardly proved with only two examples, and the second has short clauses with no surface subject (cf. the comment on *ogorčeno* (142) above). Bajec *et al.* who merely repeat the above statement about the position of manner advbls, include within their fairly long list of instances some sentences which contain other than manner advbls.<sup>151</sup> Among the relevant examples are:

(145) Polnočni zvon je krepko zaklenkal.

The midnight bell tolled loudly.

Kaj se zmerom v dve gube držiš?

Why are you always bent double?

Tudi mi nismo rok križem držali.

(p. 348)

We didn't remain idle either.

where the word order, including the placing of the advbl, is unmarked.

Toporišič (1967) states that it can easily be shown from the work of any writer that manner advbls can either precede or follow the verb, and his quotes (from Cankar) are the more useful for being mostly longer passages which show the advbls in context.

(146) Mirno teče govorica našim starim (pisateljem); tako mi je, kadar jih poslušam, kakor da bi mi žumeli od daleč notranjski gozdovi. Šele zdaj, od tujih zvokov pokvarjen, sem opazil, kako bogat je njih jezik. To bogastvo izvira iz slovenskega mišljenja in čustvovanja, ne iz Pleteršnika. Rodila se jim je beseda tako naravno, kakor jo izgovori jezik v prijetni družbi. In pripovedovali so tako naravno: izobraženi ljudje, ki so mnogo doživeli in mnogo izkusili in ki jim je Bog bil dal lepo govorico. [...] Že Jurčič sam, dasi komaj mlajši, ne stoji več tako krepko z obema nogama na slovenski grudi.

Speech flows calmly for our old (writers); whenever I listen to them, it is for me as if the Inner Carniola forests were rustling in the distance. Only



now, spoilt by foreign sounds, have I noticed how rich their language is. This richness finds its origin in Slovene thought and feeling, not in Pletteršnik. Their words are born as naturally as the tongue articulates them in pleasant company. And they told tales in such a natural way: educated people, who had been through much and learnt much from experience, and to whom God had given fine speech. (...) Even Jurčič, though scarcely any younger, no longer stands so firmly with both feet on Slovene soil. Kakor je v "Verskih bajkah" očitno, da je Trdina natančno spoštoval ustno izročilo, tako in še bolj očitno je, da mu je bila v "Bajkah in povestih" tradicija narodova le snov, ki jo je porabil in obdelal po svoje. (257-58)

Just as it is obvious in "Verske bajke" that Trdina exactly observed oral tradition, so it is obvious and even more so that in "Bajke in povesti" national tradition was merely material which he used and treated in his own way.

Toporišič comments on *mirno* and *tako*<sup>152</sup> in the first sentence above, but otherwise there is adequate evidence for postverbal manner advbls, and the placing is said to obey the general principle of the *izhodišče - jedro* sequence. Nevertheless, he considers that manner advs formed from adjectives usually precede the verb. Actually, the quotes above exemplify both positions - see *natančno* and *naravno, krepko*, though the latter two are modified.

In *Ss* (p. 463) Toporišič also describes the structural as distinct from the linear position of the advbl in the clause (see chapter 1, p. 28); this structural position could point to the advbl function of modifying the verb, and also part or all of the predicate. Advbls are generally only optional elements of the verb phrase; examples of "bound" advbls are very few: e.g. vstopiti v hišo (to go into/enter the house), oditi iz hiše/od prijatelja (to go out of the house/from a friend), though Toporišič declares that neither optional nor obligatory advbls as such have been treated theoretically in Slov grammar (*Nss*, p. 110). Vincenot, who

does discuss the valency of the verb, takes into account only *actants* and not *circumstants* (i.e. advbls). In fact, the obligatoriness of the advbls cited above belongs rather to underlying structure, for if the place advbl is retrievable from the context, then *Vstopil je* and *Odšel je*, for instance, can suffice in surface structure. The full set of surface level obligatory advbls still needs to be determined, e.g. \**Proslava je trajala* (\*The celebration lasted), \**Brat je sekiro položil* (\*The brother put the axe) (cf. Dular 1982, p. 38). These verbs require complementation with an advbl in Eng. too.

In concluding this survey of how advbls are treated by Eng and Slov grammarians/linguists, it is necessary to take stock of whatever insights and approaches seem most relevant and promising for further investigation. Although it is not my intention to work narrowly within one particular "school" (the examination of different schools in these introductory chapters has been for the sake of building up the overall linguistic background), there needs to be some theoretical framework for the contrastive analysis, and some delineation of working principles. The primary concern, of course, is the factors that govern or influence the placement of advbls (recognizing that a certain surface position may result from a combination of differently weighted factors) - with special interest in Slov advbl placement, as a topic so far almost entirely unexplored.

The most suitable approach to handling the WO aspect contrastively in both languages seems that embodied in the FSP theory, and the task will be to investigate how FSP principles operate in concrete examples, how applicable they are to Eng as compared with Slov (especially as in Eng, advbls have greater mobility than other clause elements), and also to see whether other factors are involved in Slov, including those considered relevant in Eng. For the practical application: if Slov students are made aware of the operative principles in their own language,

and how far these correspond to and differ from Eng principles, it might also produce a greater awareness of the very real pitfalls connected with advbl placement in Eng. Such potentially relevant factors (selected from the above survey but not listed in any strict order of presumed significance) appearing worthy of examination are: the semantic subtype; obligatory versus optional advbls; the form of the advbl (single adv or advbl phrases; any special characteristics of pronominal advs); the type of clause (main or subordinate, the clause pattern) and the "length/weight" of the clause; advbl scope - verb, predicate, clause modification (closeness to the verb); the relative position of co-occurring advbls - subordination and adjunction; sentence intonation, especially sentence stress as indicating the focus of a sentence; the influence of grammatical W0 rules in Eng.

As already stated at the beginning, the three main classes to be considered are place, time and manner, the last-mentioned in the sense of Quirk *et al*'s process adjuncts and not the much broader manner class of Slov grammar.<sup>153</sup> It will be assumed that within these central classes it is not essential to go further into theoretical detail as to what constitutes an advbl as clause element.

The general approach will be to explore the above suggested advbl placement factors for the chosen three semantic classes in examples drawn from a corpus of parallel Slov - Eng and Eng - Slov texts (see chapter 4, pp. 192-93). Only written prose will be examined, for reasons of convenience, and because this represents a certain kind of standard language. It might be surmised that the spoken, especially colloquial language would reveal still greater flexibility in advbl placement, since the spoken language tends to be less "considered". (Note, for example, how sentence advbls can be added as an afterthought in final position in Eng: *He'll come tomorrow, probably*.) The following two chapters present the results of this contrastive investigation.

## Footnotes to Chapter 3

1 As a sample of a "traditional" definition, the following may be quoted: "Words qualifying any other word than a noun are called *adverb adjuncts* and the single words used in this function are said to be *adverbs*."

Kruisinga and Erades 1953, p. 41. See also p. 91 of this chapter.

2. The following representative grammars are cited: Curme 1931 and 1935; Jespersen 1909-49 and 1933; Kruisinga and Erades 1953; H. E. Palmer 1939; Poutsma 1928 and 1926; Sweet 1891 and 1898; Zandvoort 1972.

3. Advbl clauses, however, are not always treated under advbls, either by traditional or other grammarians. When dealt with as a particular type of subordinate clause, they are subdivided, like other advbls, according to a semantic classification. Since the placing of advbl clauses in a sentence is not my particular concern, such clauses will not be given consideration in this chapter.

4. Jespersen points out that in such pairs of sentences as:

Mary was in / Mary was in the house

Jill came tumbling after / Jill came tumbling after Jack

the relationship is "exactly the same" as that between intransitive and transitive verbs (1909-49, Part II, pp. 10-11). Nilsen 1972 (p. 25), in referring to this, suggests distinguishing between transitive, intransitive and pseudo-intransitive advs. In the above examples, *in* and *after* would be pseudo-intransitive advs, because the object is deletable.

5. The meanings are cited from the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*, 3rd. ed., 1974.

Such verb + advbl particle combinations can be equivalent to verbs with various prefixes in Slov and verbs with separable prefixes in German:

give in - popustiti - nachlassen      play off - odigrati - abspielen

give up - opustiti - aufgeben                      switch on - priklopiti - aufschalten  
 jump up - poskočiti - aufspringen                switch off - odklopiti - abschalten

6. Sweet 1891, p. 131.

7. Jespersen 1909-49, Part VII, p. 47.

8. 1891, p. 131.

9. 1909-49, Part II, p. 13.

10. H. E. Palmer comments: "The only general statement that can be made concerning adverbs is that they are used as modifiers." But: "To describe with any degree of precision what they modify or how they modify is more difficult." 1939, p. 171.

11. Traditional grammarians do not treat adverbial modification of the verb (alone or with part or all of the clause) as specifically a clause element function, distinct from modification of other words and phrases.

12. Kruisinga and Erades 1953, p. 45. Cf. Toporišič *Ss* p. 418 and *Nss* pp. 333-34, referred to on pp. 146-47 of this chapter.

13. Western comments that "an adjective would suggest the quality to belong naturally to the subject, while an adverb implies that the quality is only of a passing nature or that it is revealed accidentally by the action expressed by the verb." *ibid.*, 89.

14. Palmer 1939, p. 181. (Palmer's phonetic transcription is replaced here and elsewhere with conventional orthography.) The complement is generally a subject complement but Palmer also interprets adverbs in certain constructions as object complements: *I joined the two pieces together. I called John back. I took my hat off. I put the book on the table. These are distinguished from adverbs of place in that they state the result, not the place of the action: *John works upstairs* (adv of place), *I took John upstairs* (adv of result functioning as object complement) *ibid.*, p. 233.*

15. 1933, pp. 51-52. Curme calls it a predicate appositive construction with advbl force, 1933, p. 77. Jespersen also discusses the construction; he finds the terms "absolute participle" and "absolute nominative" used by some grammarians inadequate, 1909-49, Part V, p. 45.

16. Kruisinga and Erades say that the character of free adjuncts is very similar to that of sentence advs in that both are somewhat loosely connected with the rest of the sentence. Moreover, free adjuncts refer to the sentence as a whole. In fact, other grammarians class *strictly speaking*, for instance, (see (14)), as a sentence adv.

17. For similar examples in Quirk *et al*'s treatment, see n. 87, p. 180.

18. The manner category in Poutsma's classification, however, is unusually diverse, including (a) quality, (b) attendant circumstances, (c) restriction or exception, (d) quantity, degree or proportion, (e) mood, 1928, p. 320. The examples given under (c) and (e) also cover a bewilderingly wide range.

19. One type which is rather difficult to pin down, however, is that of "attendant circumstances", illustrated by Curme 1933, p. 80 as follows:

He never passed people without greeting them.

The enemy devastated the country as he retreated.

He was drowned while he was bathing in the river/bathing in the river.

Poutsma uses the term, misleadingly, for an impossibly wide range of advs, which he describes as "sentence modifiers 'par excellence'", e.g. *wisely, gladly, unfortunately, perhaps, legally, proverbially*, and conjunctive advs like *conversely, so, however, accordingly, also, etc.*, 1928, pp. 440-47.

20. Cf. Sweet: "the pre-adverb order tends to distribute the meaning of the adverb", 1898, p. 22. But see especially Bolinger (1952):

e.g. Slowly he backed away  
           1          2          3          4

The advb *slowly* can occupy any one of the four positions indicated; when preposed it colours all that follows (1125-26).

21. This notion is fundamentally not unlike that of Firbas's "communicative dynamism" (see chapter 2, pp. 43-44), though it is not part of a particular theory in Eng traditional grammar.

22. Cf. Sweet: "a verb-preceding adverb is often vaguer in meaning than a verb-following one". 1898, p. 22.

23. Cf. also the comment by Krusinga and Erades on the following example: *Mrs Dixon, who was malevolently smiling, with more pleasure than she had displayed since any of them had known her, said...* "The word-order of the [above] quotation ... clearly suggests that Mrs. Dixon was malevolent by temperament: if the author had wanted to convey that she was naturally kind-hearted and benevolent, but that something had occurred to enrage her, the word-order would have been *Mrs. Dixon was smiling malevolently.*" pp. 85-86.

24. The difference is also seen in the sentence intonation; incidental advs rarely have a nucleus tone, whereas essential advs usually do have one. Palmer 1939, pp. 177-78.

25. E.g. *Lezily she slipped her hand under her pillows.* - "the adverb obviously suggests that the lady was in a lazy mood and does not merely denote the manner in which she slipped her hand under the pillows", 1953, p. 86.

26. Palmer says that they function more often as "incidental components", hence the preverbal position, 1939, p. 175. Mid position for these advbs can be related to their sentence modifying function. Krusinga and Erades 1953, pp. 87-89.

27. To have two advbs in the same position is not uncommon; Poutsma suggests that it is stylistically weak to allow several advbs to accumulate in one position; they are better distributed throughout the sentence, e.g. *All eyes have*

*naturally been turned in expectancy during the week to Portsmouth* is rearranged as: *During the week all eyes ...* 1928, p. 459.

28. Traditional grammarians do not specifically consider the possibility of one advbl being subordinated to another, which would explain these two examples and also the first sentence in (41). See further on Bartsch, pp. 117-19 of this chapter.

29. Cf. also Palmer: *I went there yesterday. I saw him here last Sunday.* 1939, p. 185. There is no comment on the possible significance of the place reference being a pronominal adv.

30. I find the word order in this example somewhat marked because the direction advbl is displaced from its usual position immediately following the verb of movement.

31. The notion of sentence rhythm is dealt with specifically in von Draat (1926). He considers that advs are often placed where they suit the sentence rhythm (three basic rhythmic patterns are given), provided that their meaning is not affected by shifts in position. The point may have some validity but many of his examples, taken from older literature, sound artificial nowadays.

32. However, words from other classes which might also fit these positions can generally be excluded by formal criteria: e.g. *He did not come running. Running* cannot be an adv because *-ing* forms must have the ending *-ly* when used adverbially: e.g. *Peter grinned knowingly.* n. 1, p. 20. Nilsen 1972, pp. 37-38 points out that Jacobson's categories are not very homogeneous, e.g. frame 2 accepts *quietly, again, anywhere, either*, but it is difficult to see what these have in common.

33. Jacobson's examples are taken from his extensive corpus of 66 books (published mostly since 1945) plus additional material.

34. Cf. the comments made by traditional grammarians, pp 89-90 of this chapter



35. Some of these ideas probably originate with Firbas. He considers that the degree of CD pertaining to T and P advbls ("adverbs of situation") does not depend on sentence position, unlike advbls of purpose and manner:

e.g. (a) I met two friends in Prague. (c) He lives in Prague.

(b) I met two friends yesterday. (d) He left for Prague yesterday. (1962), 141

The advbls in (a) and (b) and *yesterday* in (d) merely give the situation and have low CD whereas the underlined advbls in (c) and (d) are considered as rheme.

36. Dvořáková's corpus consists of 842 advbls in c. 730 mostly declarative sentences and their Czech equivalents in two different translations, (the materials being taken from J. Galworthy's *The Forsythe Saga*, vol I).

37. The corpus consists of 400 sentences each for Czech, Eng and German, and their translations, i.e. each sentence is translated into the other two languages.

38. No information is given as to how the percentages are obtained.

39. In fact Uhlířová's statistics show that the likelihood of an advbl being rhematic decreases in inverse proportion to the number of syntactic elements a clause contains.

40. Nilson claims that his is the first attempt to deal with the complete Adverb category as regards "reductions, deletions, expansions and relationships between various expressions" (p. 10). But in trying to cover a lot of ground, the author seems superficial and at times careless, e.g. in his matrix of manner advbls (see pp. 102-3 - together with n. 47 - of this chapter).

41. Chomsky comments, "Adverbials are a rich and as yet relatively unexplored system, and therefore anything we say about them must be regarded as quite tentative." n. 28, p. 219.

42. The different meanings of *He decided on the boat* are clearly seen in the Slov translations: *Odložil se je za člou/trajekt* and *Na člou se je odložil*.

43. As illustration of the subcategorization here, Chomsky cites the following verbs with advbl prepositional phrases:

dash - into the room (V - Direction)

last - for three hours (V - Duration)

remain - in England (V - Place)

win - three times a week (V - Frequency)

which are not interchangeable, e.g. \*dash - in England, etc. (p. 102).

44. Nilsen says Chomsky's derivation has the disadvantage of permitting exactly two prepositional phrases and does not specify they must be of different kinds, hence it would allow \*He came on Tuesday on Monday (p. 42). In fact, there are other unsatisfactory details too. For instance, Chomsky does not specify what kind of place and time advbls belong to rule (ii) - both place and time advbls recur in rule (iv).

45. Chomsky is also aware of the need for further analysis of the distinction between manner advbls that qualify the verb and those that qualify rather the subject as in: *John laid his plans cleverly. - John, cleverly, stayed away yesterday.* n. 28, p. 218.

46. Fraser is quoted as drawing various contrasts between his two classes of advbls, but without more explanation and examples, the points are not very clear:

#### MV domination

These NPs can be the subject of Passive

These NPs cannot precede S:  
e.g. *They talked over the problem*  
\**Over the problem they talked*

These NPs must precede ADV and have less freedom of movement than those dominated by ADVB

#### ADVB domination

These NPs cannot be the subject of Passive:  
e.g. *the clock strikes on the hour*  
\**The hour is struck on (by the clock)*

These NPs can precede S

These NPs must follow MV

(Nilsen 1972, p. 57)

47. The matrix is as follows:



51. The tree diagram here is drawn according to the version in Bamgboje (1974), p. 509 because it shows more visually than in Lakoff's book what is meant by "higher sentences". (Bamgboje's article refutes Lakoff's arguments on derivation point by point.)

52. Jackendoff comments, "In the literature of generative grammar, perhaps the least studied and most maligned part of speech has been the adverb." (p. 47).

53. Jackendoff argues against the transformational derivation of advbls on the grounds that:

- (a) a large number of transformations is needed, one for each small group of advs, and each having an exception feature
- (b) each transformation would have the power to destroy the main clause and insert the adv from it into a lower clause, but no such transformation is known within the traditional repertoire. In general, the power of transformations has to be greatly increased
- (c) with all this additional machinery, there is no new insight into the nature of advs, nor can the diversity of transformations explain the surface similarities that do exist among advs
- (d) there is a significant difference between speaker-oriented and subject-oriented advs which cannot be well handled by this theory, since the orientation cannot be predicted by the exact form of the paraphrase. (pp. 53-59)

54. The groups are (pp. 49-51):

- (a) advs which can occupy all 3 positions, but with a change of meaning, e.g. *cleverly, clumsily*
- (b) advs which can occupy all 3 positions, with no discernible change of meaning, e.g. *quickly, sadly*
- (c) advs which can occur only in initial and auxiliary position (but can also be final if separated by a pause and drop in pitch), e.g. *evidently, probably*

(d) advs which can occur only in auxiliary and final position, e.g. *completely*,

*easily*

(e) advs which can occur only in final position - typically they are non-*ly* advs,

e.g. *hard, well*

(f) advs which can occur only in auxiliary position, e.g. *merely, truly, simply*.

\*55. Cf. the reference to intransitive and pseudo-transitive advs in n. 4, p. 166 of this chapter.

\*56. This is based on Keyser's observation that advbl positions correspond to major syntactic breaks in the derived structure. Jackendoff, p. 67.

\*57. The semantic structures are as follows:

(a) It is evident (to me) that Frank is avoiding us.

It is certain (\*to me) that Frank is avoiding us.

I am happy that Frank is avoiding us.

(b) John was careful to spill the beans.

It was clumsy of John to spill the beans.

John was clumsy in spilling the beans.

(c) The manner in which Dave speaks is eloquent.

The times at which Bob walks his pet giraffe are infrequent.

?The extent to which Ted ate his Wheaties was complete.

(d) No semantic structures have yet been found. (pp. 69-71)

Advs should be marked in the lexicon as to which semantic structure they enter into.

\*58. Jackendoff admits to being unable to explain this last type. In referring to the traditional intuition that advs are related to sentences or verb phrases as adjectives are to NPs (see pp. 78-79 of this chapter), he comments that adjectives that can occur only prenominal (e.g. *mere*) are paralleled by advs that can appear only preverbally (e.g. *merely*). (p. 60).

59. Cf. Jacobson on pp. 92-93 of this chapter; he says advs in this position modify only the verb.

60. Cf. Kruisinga and Erades's view, mentioned on p. 88 of this chapter. Note that Jackendoff does not concern himself with why one and not another potential position is selected, but only with what positions are possible.

61. Prepositional phrases functioning as sentence advs can, however, occupy any of the adv positions (as indicated by the arrows):

Of course, / In all probability, / In my opinion, John ↑ has ↑ lost the race ↑ (p. 94)

62. Originally written in German (*Adverbialsemantik*, 1972), its Eng translation was published in 1976 with some revision of the original text. Certain difficulties were encountered in the later version: advbl WO is different in German and Eng; Eng partly uses WO to differentiate between sentence and predicate advbls, whereas they are morphologically distinguished in German; some acceptable German adjuncts of advbls are unacceptable in Eng; and differences in negation made it difficult to illustrate the negation tests (see n. 66 below). Moreover, some German advs have no Eng equivalents and must be paraphrased.

Note: the Eng translations of German examples are taken from the book, with the exception of those in examples (66) - (67).

A review of the German book by Lang and Steinitz (1976) complains that it is superficial and confusing although it contains many interesting observations.

63. *Mathematical Structures of Language*. New York, 1968.

64. According to Harris, sentences which do not have *of*-nominalization do not allow manner advbls.

65. Lang and Steinitz (1976) criticize the formulation of these test frames, saying they make Bartsch's whole empirical basis suspect. "Precisely on account of the condensed nature of the adverbials, of their heterogeneity and their many idiosyncrasies, a classification oriented to surface structures is in itself problematic

enough. If it is furthermore so carelessly presented as in B[artsch]'s test battery, then the heuristic value of the whole procedure is even more limited." (145-46)

66. One problem here is that quite a few of the paraphrases are significantly affected by negation, which operates differently in German and Eng.

67. There are no negative events. *Peter is not running* (p. 74) is not an event but a circumstance.

68. Cf. Nilsen, p. 103 of this chapter.

69. 'Linguistics and natural logic', *Synthese* 22 (1970).

70. *Always, at least once* and *never* belong to a different subgroup from *sometimes, rarely, often, frequently* and *much*. Since *at least once* represents one meaning of *ever*, this distinct subgroup is identical with one of Jespersen's among indefinite pronominal advs - see p. 77 of this chapter.

71. E.g. *everywhere, somewhere, nowhere, in some/many places*. The first three again belong to indefinite pronominal advs.

72. Steinitz considers that advbls of the same subclass cannot be adjoined, but Bartsch gives as a counterexample: *Peter schreibt sorgfältig langsam - Peter writes slowly painstakingly* (n. 1, p. 228).

73. Bartsch comments that here it is the locative expression and not the verb that seems to be presupposed. (Elsewhere she explains the relation between predication and presupposition which can be represented in a hierarchy of embeddings. The highest sentence represents the predication and the other sentences the presuppositions. This is illustrated by the sentence *Mein Hund bellt - My dog is barking* (pp. 69-70):

(a) Mein Hund <sup>˘</sup>bellt (normal sentence stress on *bellt*) - 'barks' is the highest predicate

(b) <sup>˘</sup>Mein Hund bellt (stress on *Mein*) - 'belongs to me' is the highest predicate

(c) Mein <sup>˘</sup>Hund bellt (stress on *Hund*) - 'is a dog' is the highest predicate.

If these three variants are negated or questioned, there are three different negations or questions. It is the highest sentence that is negated or questioned. Hence Bartsch's claim that the verb is negated only under "normal" sentence intonation.)

74. The diagram is my own construction following the description given (Bartsch, p. 339). There is no mention of *S*-dominated advs.

75. No examples to illustrate locative and instrumental advbls in their function as both Advb<sub>1</sub> and Advb<sub>2</sub> types are given.

76. The following are considered out of a range of six mid-positions:

M2: pre-finite-auxiliary

M3: post-finite-auxiliary

M4: post-compound-auxiliary

M5: inter-non-finite-auxiliary

M6: post-copula (p. 22)

77. E.g. "The intervention in Nicaragua that took place in 1912 was followed by two others in the administration of Woodrow Wilson. It seems strange that this ardent apostle of democracy and self-determination should go act. ... (p. 50)

*So* is a *V*-operator characterizing a process, but it also links the event described in its clause to the event described in the previous sentence and such relating of events belongs to *S*-operation. It is significant that Jacobson considers "the syntactic and semantic criteria more often point in the direction of a continuum", but his quantitative approach requires a clear-cut, "although in many respects admittedly arbitrary system". (p. 49).

78. Jacobson's corpus is based on American texts, and advbl placement seems to me somewhat different in American Eng. In British Eng. *probably* and *now* sound much more natural in post-finite-auxiliary position (M3). To avoid the over-weighting of three advbls in one position, the sentence could be re-phrased:



Peter has probably completely forgotten it now.

Probably Peter has completely forgotten it now.

Probably Peter has now completely forgotten it.

The point is valid, however, that *completely* cannot stand earlier than M3.

79. With (82) compare example (79) on p. 122. (83) can mean that either the tribe or Harry was willing. Cf. Jackendoff's point about the ambiguity of subject-oriented advs in passive sentences, p. 113 of this chapter.

80. Note the authors' comment: "The distinction between the two parsings is no mere matter of convention since it influences logical relationships among sentences containing adverbs." (200). Differences in advbl scope are comparable with those in the scope of negation; negation may apply to the predicate or include the subject as well.

81. "Opacity" is a logical notion referring to a failure in substitution in either subject or object position. A classic example is:

Oedipus willingly married Jocasta. / Oedipus willingly married his mother.

82. For instance: *John answered the question peacefully* is characterized as +Control, +Change but *John climbed the mountain recklessly* as +Control, -Change, yet *climb* also indicates an activity involving change. And what change is involved in a process such as *The clock was ticking peacefully?* (p. 103)

83. On ambiguity in such passive sentences see pp. 113 and 125 of this chapter.

84. The others are: marking a conclusion, confirmation or correction, or a request for confirmation, marking sincerity, evaluation, combination and disjunction, emphasis and focusing, hedging, emotional outlet, marking a performative utterance, illocutionary force, or courtesy, achieving stylistic effect, manipulation, deception and irony. An interesting point one can observe here is that the "meanings" long ascribed to sentence advbls are now presented (more satisfactorily) as pragmatic functions.

85. The point about advbIs preceding the main verb after a complex auxiliary is now explained as follows: this position signals that the event, process or state described by that verb is characterized, and not the occurrence or circumstance: In 1960 they had been constantly attacked - a constant process of attacking  
 In 1960 they had constantly been attacked - there were constant attacks in 1960: a specific temporal reference.

86. The adv/adjective overlap and that with prepositions and conjunctions (see p. 78 of this chapter) are noted. Quirk *et al* comment, "Because of its great heterogeneity, the adverb class is the most nebulous and puzzling of the traditional word classes. Indeed, it is tempting to say simply that the adverb is an item that does not fit the definitions for other word classes. As a consequence, some grammarians have removed certain types of items from the class entirely, and established several additional classes rather than retain these as subsets within a single adverb class." 1985, p. 438. (A similar comment is to be found in 1972, p. 267.)

87. For all but the first sentence of (101) compare Kruisinga and Erades's "related free adjunct" (see p. 82 of this chapter). It is not clear to me what the difference is between such examples here as Grateful for his help, they praised Tom and what Quirk *et al* term "supplementive adjective clauses", as in: Glad to accept, the boy nodded his agreement.

Anxious for a quick decision, the chairman called for a vote. (1985, p. 425)

They explain that such adjective clauses are "related to the predication as well as to the subject" (1972, p. 254; 1985, p. 425) but this feature can be true of advbIs too. Other examples of the type come very close to advbIs, as the authors note:

Rather nervous, the man opened the letter.

cf. Nervously, the man opened the letter. (1985, p. 425)

88. In both grammars the term "adjunct" refers to what I have throughout termed advbIs, while "adverbial" is a superordinate term encompassing three and

then four subclasses. While discussing Quirk *et al* 1 therefore follow their use of the terms *adjunct* and *advbl*.

89. The four classes are established on the grammatical grounds of "propensity to cooccur in noncoordinate and nonappositive structures without tautology, contradiction or unacceptability" (p. 487), and position in clause structure.

90. pp. 613; 566-67. Under *adv*s, Quirk *et al* note that adjuncts and subjuncts are "relatively integrated within the structure of the clause" whereas disjuncts and conjuncts "have a more peripheral relation in the sentence" (p. 440).

91. For simplicity sake these features can be illustrated with variants of the same short simple sentence: *John arrived yesterday* (Quirk *et al* have a more complicated sentence, and change to different sentences for feature (d).)

(a) It was yesterday that John arrived.

(b) Did John arrive yesterday or this morning?

John arrived yesterday, not this morning.

(c) John arrived only yesterday.

(d) John arrived yesterday and so did Peter.

(e) When did John arrive?

92. The first criterion in the 1972 treatment - adjuncts cannot appear initially in a negative declarative clause marked off from the rest of the clause by a comma or its intonational equivalent, as in \**Quickly they didn't leave for home* (p. 422) - has been omitted altogether. After all, counterexamples can be found: *In some countries, foreigners can't travel freely.*

93. Compare the 1972 volume (p. 335), where the position between conjunction and subject is regarded as medial since *advbl*s placed there are said to be parenthetical. This is true in some cases but not necessarily so.

94. There seems some contradiction when Quirk *et al* class *casually* / *in an offhand way* in the sentences *Leslie greeted the stranger casually / in an offhand way* as sentence adjuncts (1985, p. 573).

95. End-focus is the neutral position of information focus, indicated by the nucleus of a tone-unit occurring on the last open-class item in a clause:

e.g. Dylan Thomas was born in SWANsea. (1972, p. 938)

96. If a position or direction adjunct occupies initial position and the subject is a noun, S - V inversion is common:

e.g. In the doorway stood my brother

Over the bridge marched the soldiers (1972, p. 478; 1985, p. 522)

97. The fact that *from Rome* can be preposed to initial position shows that it is a sentence adjunct. In the variant *We went from Rome to London* the principle that a sentence adjunct normally follows a predication adjunct in final position is overruled in the interests of rhematic organization.

98. Another example of the reversal of the sequence: predication adjunct - sentence adjunct. *Here* is said to precede because it is relatively 'given' (1985, p. 519).

99. See chapter 2, pp. 62-63.

100. Bajec *et al* go into detail about the derivation of advs (pp. 270ff.), but the morphology need not concern us here.

101. *Nss*, pp. 149-52. For Toporišič's treatment of clause elements see chapter 1, pp. 26-27.

102. Cf. Jespersen, who uses the overall term "particle" for advs, prepositions and conjunctions. 1933, pp. 68-69.

103. Bajec *et al* (p. 276) give a more complete table of pronominal advs (for place, time, cause, manner and degree) which, although having the same four

basic types as in Eng (interrogative, demonstrative, relative and indefinite - see p. 77 of this chapter), contains more items.

104. Bajec *et al* have the same examples in the category of quasi prepositions (*nepravni predlogi*) (p. 290) and Toporišič recognizes this category too. The phenomenon is paralleled in Eng, as noted earlier (see p. 78), though individual items are not necessarily the same in both languages. In *Nss* (pp. 71-72) Toporišič points out that true prepositions are always unstressed (see also *Ss*, p. 348), whereas quasi prepositions are not, and true prepositions which end in an obstruent observe the voiced/unvoiced distinction according to the first sound of the following word, whereas quasi prepositions have only the unvoiced obstruent.

105. These items are presumably so called because they determine the relation to the entire thought of the sentence ("določajo razmerje do celotne misli v stavku", p. 270). The notion is evidently taken over from Breznik (p. 147). Cf. the comment in Curme 1935 on Eng sentence advs: they "refer to the thought of the sentence as a whole, but at the same time call especial attention to a particular part of it" (p. 74). Vincenot includes the same items in his "logical" semantic subgroup of particles - see p. 149 of this chapter.

106. Toporišič recognizes nine in standard Slov: nominal, adjectival, verb, adv, predicative, preposition, conjunction, particle and interjection (*Ss*, p. 192). The predicative, which is not distinguished as a word-class in Eng grammar, comprises words functioning as predicative adjunct, e.g. *všeč* (pleasing), *treba* (necessary), *tihó* (silent), *res, prav* (right, true), *zaman* (in vain), etc. *Ss*, pp. 193, 347.

107. Note also Toporišič's comment that independent clause elements are never part of any other clause element ("... niso nikoli del kaknega drugega stavčnega člana") *Nss*, p. 148.

108. Slov adjectives in *-o/-e* in the neuter singular form advs with the same termination, though the stress may differ:

e.g. *Temno je* - adjective (referring to an unexpressed neuter noun)

*Temno je* - adv (in the "meteorological" sense)

Similarly: *lépo/lepó* (beautiful/ly), *težko/težkó* (difficult/with difficulty), but cf. *dôbro* as adjective and adv (good/well).

109. It must be said, however, that *zelo* can be both a word modifier and a true advbl adjunct. The latter role is seen in *Zelo delaš*, *Ss*, p. 488 (You work very hard).

110. Toporišič does not deal with the items in Breznik's restricted particle category at this point in his grammar. The particles *-r*, *-koli*, *-le*, *-kaj* and *-s* are listed, but in the chapter on word-formation, dealing with the formation of advs (*Ss*, p. 172). *Ga* and *jo* with verbs (*naslonski tožilnik* - clitic accusative) are very briefly mentioned under personal pronouns (*Ss*, p. 243), but are given more attention in *Nss*, pp. 118-19.

111. Note "členek zamenjuje ves stavek" (a particle substitutes for a whole clause) *Ss*, p. 418 and "Skladenjska vloga [členka] je strnitev, tj. zamena kakoga stavka" (The syntactic role [of a particle] is condensation, i.e. replacement for some clause.) *Nss*, p. 333. This is not the same as the transformational grammar notion of sentence modifying advs being derived from higher predicates, e.g. *probably* <--- *it is probable that ...*, *obviously* <--- *it is obvious that ...*. Such a derivation does not fit items like *only*, *again*, *already*.

112. Another difference between particles and advs is that the former can be used with all word-classes, whereas the latter are linked with particular word-classes. *Nss*, pp. 70-71.

113. These two roles, (a) and (b), are comparable with Jacobson's 1964 conjunctive and referential advbl classes. See p. 92 of this chapter.

114. The syntactic role of particles is neatly summarized in *Nss*, p. 39: "... členek ima naklonske vloge ali opazarja na spremne okoliščine vsebine stavka ali njego-

vega dela." (... the particle has modal functions or points to the accompanying circumstances of the content of the clause or part of it).

115. In *Skj* 2, p. 164 there is a distinction between advs which can and cannot be questioned; the term "particle" is not used here. *Ss* distinguishes between advs and particles, but without mentioning this feature. In *Nss*, p. 334 it is specifically stated: "Lahko ugotovljiva razlika: prislov ima vprašalnico ... , členek je nima." (An easily ascertainable difference: an adv has a question marker ... , a particle does not.)

116. Omitting those already mentioned on pp. 147-48, they are as follows: emotive (*čustvovalec*), "estimative" (*presojevalec*), affirmative and agreeing (*potrjevalni in soglašalec*), interrogative (*vprašalec*), "exhortative" (*spodbujalec*), affirmative (*trdilalec*), and negative/denying and disagreeing (*nikalalec/zanikovalec in nesoglašalec*). *Nss*, n. 8, p. 146.

117. The comments of Kruisinga and Erades (p. 79 of this chapter) make an interesting comparison.

118. But Toporišič treats particles as a word-class (*Ss*, pp. 384-85), whereas Quirk *et al*'s subjuncts, disjuncts and conjuncts are regarded as advbls and thus as a clause element. According to Toporišič, particles (like prepositions and conjunctions) form part (or part of a part) of some other clause element (*Nss*, p. 39). However, a distinction could probably be drawn between particles modifying a word or phrase (including a clause element) and those modifying a whole clause/sentence.

119. Toporišič does not state explicitly that some particles are homonymous with advs (e.g. *kje* - where, *zakaj* - why) or with conjunctions (e.g. *ko* - when, *in* - and, *s*, *pa* - but), though this can be deduced from his examples.

120. For Toporišič's comments on Vincenot's treatment of advs and particles see *Nss*, pp. 400-3, 406-7.

121. "Oblikovno je prislovno določilo prislovna fraza ali odvisnik." *Ss*, p. 438. (In form the advbl adjunct is an advbl phrase or clause.) Advbl phrases can include single advs - cf. *Ss*, p. 471.

122. For example, Toporišič divides causality (*vzročnosť*) into cause, purpose, condition and concession (*Ss*, p. 494-96). Of these, Breznik includes concession under manner (pp. 231-33), while Bajec *et al* have both concession and condition under manner (p. 316). See also Table 2, p. 158 of this chapter.

123. The Slov question marker is perhaps inadvertently omitted here. *Odkod?* is my addition (but note *Ss*, p. 347). Between subgroups (b) and (c) Toporišič shifts from *dogajanje* (taking place) to *dejanje* (action), though the latter would be more appropriate for (b) as well. In dealing with advs of place he uses the term *dejanje* throughout (*Ss*, p. 343).

124. The distinctions are the more obvious in Slov because of the differences in case: e.g. *kje? kod?* - preposition + locative, *kam?* - (preposition) + accusative, *odkod?* - preposition + genitive. Note, too, such pairs of advs as *spodaj/(navz)-dol* (below/down); *zgoraj/(navz)gor* (above/up); *zunaj/ven* (outside/out); *notri/neter* (inside/in); etc. to express location and goal respectively.

125. Quirk *et al* give examples of verbs which can indicate directed movement: e.g. *He kicked the ball into the goal. She was whispering softly into the microphone.* (1972, p. 472; 1985, p. 317) (note the use of *into* rather than *in*). Nevertheless Eng learners of Slov should take due note of verbs there felt to express directed movement, which accordingly govern the accusative, whereas in Eng the advbl after such verbs is probably felt to indicate location: e.g. *postaviti* (to put), *dati* (in the sense 'to put'), *napisati* (to write, e.g. on a blackboard),  *vključiti v* (to include in), *spadati sem* (to belong here).

126. Quirk *et al* see a link between direction, goal and source and the notion of position (locational specification) in such examples as *She walked down the hill. She walked (down the hill) to the bus stop. She walked (down the hill) from the school* (p. 480). Similarly, under time advbis, span may be linked with the notion of time position (specific position on the linear time scale (p. 481)).



127. H. E. Palmer 1939 also has advbls of distance answering the question *how far?* (pp. 252-53).
128. Curme 1935 has advbls of "arrangement" as well as place and direction (pp. 77-78); but no clearcut examples to illustrate such a subgroup are given.
129. Compare the distinction between advbls of time and of quantity of time referred to on p. 156 of this chapter.
130. This might merit further attention also in relation to the distinction between true advs and those homophonous with prepositions, e.g. *okrog/okoli* are less likely to stand alone as answer to a question than *naokoli*.
131. The similarities in terminology between Quirk *et al* and Toporišič are closer here than for place and manner advbls. The examples selected are identical. (That is, the right-hand column is not a translation of the Slov, but independent material from Quirk *et al*.)
132. The new term "time position" has been chosen to parallel "space position", and an analogy is also seen between goal and source on the one hand, and forward span and backward span on the other. Span is linked with both time position and time duration.
133. *Katera njegovih mej* (any of its boundaries) covers the notion of forward and backward span.
134. In comparing the 1972 and 1985 grammars, a few points can be noted: (a) the earlier absence of the notion "period of time" under time when adjuncts has been rectified; (b) "universal occurrence" has been added to "continuous/continual occurrence", evidently to cover the adv *s/ways*, but on the other hand, "zero frequency" has been dropped from "low frequency", yet it should have remained to cover the adv *never*; (c) more importantly, where the 1972 duration subgroup included backward but not forward span, the 1985 version has both. One reason for the earlier omission of the forward span notion might be that

the primary concern was with advs, whereas forward span is realized by advbl phrases and clauses.

135. Apart from their temporal meanings, *že* and *še* have other shades of meaning or give an emotional colouring to the sentence (see, for instance, S. Klinar, *Vaje iz prevajanja*, Ljubljana, 1982, pp. 195-203), and in this respect have a wider range than their Eng equivalents, though *yet* and *still* can also function as conjuncts. In Toporišič's list of particles (*Ss*, pp. 384-85) *že* occurs only in the group expressing *zadržek* (reservation, qualification), *še* nowhere at all, and indeed there is no semantic subgroup to fit their temporal meanings. The two words are specifically identified as particles in Toporišič's review of Vincenot's grammar: "Med prislovi se mešajo členki, npr. *še, že*" (Particles, e.g. *še, že*, are mixed up with advs) (*Nss*, p. 401). *že* is also used to exemplify particle function: *Pravda že teče* (The law suit is under way now) (*Nss*, p. 334).

136. The individual items would be classed by Toporišič as time when advbls, but *again* (*spet*) would be a particle - see under (125), p. 146 of this chapter

137. Identical examples to 1972, p. 498, where it is said that such time relationship adjuncts tend to co-occur with a time when adjunct. If there is no such co-occurrence, I think the dividing line between time when and time relationship may be difficult to draw, at least in some instances. There also seems to me some overlap between time relationship and time span - cf. *so far, by now*, p. 156 of this chapter.

138. Note that *recently* has two meanings, conveyed by separate expressions in Slov: *zadnje čase*, 'lately, in recent times' (time duration) and *pred kratkim*, 'a short while ago' (time when).

139. Cf. *recently* and *lately*: \**He insulted me last year and I haven't been speaking to him recently/lately*.

140. In passing, note that the question technique for eliciting advbls applies primarily to positive statements: e.g. *How long have you lived in London? Five years.* But: *?How long haven't you lived in London?* This is an odd-sounding question to elicit a negative statement such as: *We haven't lived in London for twenty years* (i.e. It is twenty years since we moved from London.)

141. In *Nss* (p. 73) the same distinction is observed for advbl phrases, i.e. answering the questions *od kdaj?* (since when?) and *do kdaj?* (till when?).

142. Note the statement in *Ss* (p. 491): "Prislovno določilo količine časa. To določilo izraža trajanje; ločimo dve skupini: dolžino trajanja ... pogostnost." (Advbl of quantity of time. This adjunct expresses duration; two groups are distinguished: length of duration, frequency). However, it seems strange to regard frequency advbls as expressing duration; duration and frequency should rather be regarded as two separate concepts of equal standing, both involving the notion of quantity.

143. But regarding accusative prepositional phrases and how to know whether they answer *koliko časa?* or *kdaj?* Toporišič says later that quantity is marked by a quantity expression (e.g. *nad tri ure* - over three hours), whereas position on a time-line is not, or is marked with a double prepositional combination such as *od ... do* (from ... to) (*Nss*, pp. 73-74). But it seems to me precisely this latter type of expression that shows the overlap - in both languages:

e.g. <i>Kako dolgo je delal?</i>	}	Od 6.00 do 11.00.
<i>Kdaj je delal?</i>		
<i>How long did he work/was he working?</i>	}	From 6.00 till 11.00
<i>When did he work/was he working?</i>		

144. For Toporišič the list in *Ss* is taken as standard for in *Nss* three lists of subdivisions are given for advbl phrases and each one has variations. The list of advs expressing properties is shorter, which is natural in that there are not necessarily advs in each semantic subgroup. These subgroups are: manner, quantity,

measure, iterativity, reference (*Ss*, p. 344; *Nss*, p. 329). The advbl questions are given according to Toporišič, but Breznik and Bajec *et al* also cite the appropriate questions.

145. As with the table of time advbls, a number of terms and examples of advbls in Quirk *et al* and Toporišič are identical or very close.

146. In the 1985 grammar (p. 559), the additional question *what ...with?* is given for instrument adjuncts.

147. Details are given to show that the question marker *how much?* is not universally applicable to intensifiers (1972, p. 457). The authors also point out that the classification of intensifiers given here "is merely a rough guide to semantic distinctions. This is because (a) the varying effects of intensifiers represent a semantic gradient, which is obscured by a clear-cut division into classes; (b) some intensifiers are sometimes used for different effects; and (c) speakers vary in their use of intensifiers." (1972, p. 439).

148. It would be easy to supply *from what point of view?* as a question marker here.

149. It is illogical to include *unintentionally* among the volitional items (1985, p. 574; 1972, p. 466). In fact the items *unintentionally* and *accidentally* are said to be sentence adjuncts (i.e. not item subjuncts) in 1985, p. 573.

150. "Many of the subject adjuncts, particularly those in group A, show their relationship to the subject by the paraphrase they allow in which their adjective stem is in predicative relationship to the subject." (1972, p. 466). The statement in the 1985 volume: "To assume subject-orientation, an adverbial must be derived from an adjective that can be predicated of the subject concerned" (p. 573) is too dogmatic. Note the paraphrase given for the item *intentionally* or the example: *On purpose, he left his proposals vague* [It was his purpose to ...] (p. 575).

151. The list even includes a sentence which has no advbl at all! *To smo jim števno zmešali!* (We have upset their plans) (p. 348). The italicization in the examples is also inconsistent.

152. The first clause apparently has inverted WO and in the second, the presence of clitics make this the only possible order.

153. I have kept the traditional terms place, time and manner because of their familiarity rather than adopting Quirk *et al's* terms "space" and "process" for the first and third types. Their choice of "position" to denote a subtype of both place and time is apt, but the word itself occurs often enough in connection with advbl position, so I have used "location" (a reasonably familiar designation) for the place subtype and "when" for the time subtype. The abbreviations to be used in the following chapters (for the subtypes that are discussed in the analysis) are:

P: place, T: time, M: manner.

P-loc: location

T-when

M-man: manner

P-dir: direction

T-dur: duration

M-means

P-goal

T-freq: frequency

M-instr: instrument

P-source

T-rel: relationship

The abbreviations A-p, A-t and A-m for the three semantic types respectively will also be used in clause patterns, etc.

## CHAPTER 4

**Corpus Analysis A: Slov - Eng Texts****The corpus**

The corpus consists of scientific and non-fiction texts divided into two sections: (A) Slov texts with Eng translations (discussed in this chapter) and (B) Eng texts with Slov translations (discussed in chapter 5). Such texts were chosen partly because they can be expected to evidence a fairly neutral style, probably more homogeneous than that of literary texts, where the author's individual style is important. More translation into Eng is undertaken of such texts than of literary texts, and it was hoped that the results of this study would be of practical benefit to Slov students and translators concerned with Eng. The interest in non-literary texts also arises out of personal teaching experience.

It is, of course, essential to have the (A) and (B) sections so as to have original texts for investigation in each language. This can also help to counterbalance the factor of translators perhaps being influenced by the original text in the placement of adverbs as well as in other aspects of translation. Though the analysis is based on original texts and their translations, it must also be borne in mind that the translation of any sentence - including the constructions and word order used - need not be the only possible one.

Unfortunately, there is no already existing corpus of parallel texts available to be used in linguistic research and analysis (cf. the corpus prepared for the Serbo-Croatian - English project), and the texts chosen represent entirely my own selection. It would not be difficult to find published literary texts - and corpus analysis undertaken so far (mostly by Slov students for their undergraduate dissertations) has regularly used such literary texts. For compiling such a corpus as envisaged here, published Slov translations of Eng technical/scientific and non-fiction works are

available, though in practice the Eng originals are less easy to obtain; but finding Slov texts of this type with corresponding Eng translations presents quite a problem. Since an essential criterion is that translations are made only by native speakers of the language in question, I have had no option but to draw on a number of my own translations of scientific articles, but am also indebted to Alistair Wood, M.A., for a selection of his translations too. (N. Šumi's book on Ljubljana and its Eng translation are, exceptionally, published texts - see the list of texts below.) I hope that using my own translations does not undermine the objectivity of the material, especially since when making translations in recent years I have been increasingly aware of W0 problems. The Slov texts in this category are written by professional people, and the language is therefore regarded as "educated written Slov", though the style need not be of the highest order. <sup>1</sup>

Partly because of the difficulty of compiling a corpus with the (A) and (B) sections roughly equally balanced, this corpus is somewhat small, and lends itself to exploring tendencies and suggesting possible answers rather than substantiating definitive results.

I can hardly let this opportunity slip of mentioning the urgent need for a sufficiently large and representatively chosen corpus of parallel Slov - Eng and Eng - Slov texts in order to further comparative linguistic research. Such a corpus, preferably compiled by a team, should also be computer processed, thus facilitating detailed (statistical) analysis and the conclusions this can lead to.

In the analysis presented in these two chapters I shall be concerned with

- (a) the parameters of advbl placement in the original language
- (b) the comparison between advbl placement in  $L_1$  and  $L_2$ .

In order to avoid too much repetition, these two aspects will not be strictly segregated, though it is hoped that the fundamental characteristics under both (a) and (b) will become clear as the analysis proceeds.

The texts forming the (A) section of the corpus and their abbreviations are as follows:

- NŠ** N. Šumi, 'Srednji vek' [chapter 3], *Ljubljana*, Belgrade and Florence, (1st. ed. - no date), pp. 15-23.  
 'The Middle Ages', *Ljubljana*, transl. S. Bottaro and E. L. Cosgrove, Belgrade and Florence, (1st. ed. - no date), pp. 15-23.<sup>2</sup>
- FS** F. Sunčič, 'Pospeševalna služba v Sloveniji'.  
 'Agricultural extension in Slovenia'.
- AB** A. Barbič, (no Slov title)  
 'Sources of income for family farms in Slovenia'.
- IB** I. Brglez *et al.* (no Slov title)  
 'Phagetypes of *Str. agalactiae* on two big dairy farms in Slovenia'.
- JD** J. Drinovec *et al.*, 'Akutna odpoved ledvic pri leptospirozi - 12 letni pregled'.  
 'Acute renal failure in leptospirosis - a 12-year survey'.
- MM** M. Mikeln, (no Slov title)  
 'Report of the Writers for Peace Committee'.
- MB** M. Bizjak, Koledar: *Orgle na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana, 1986.  
 Calendar: *Organs in Slovenia*.
- AW** A selection of texts pertaining to the Zavod za rehabilitacijo invalidov, Ljubljana, translated by A. Wood. The authors are not always named; the titles of the texts are as follows:  
 'Integralna evaluacija implantibilnega podkolenskega peronealnega stimulatorja'  
 'Evaluation of the implantible below-knee peroneal stimulator'.  
 'Zdravniško poročilo'.  
 'Medical report'  
 'Izvoz znanja in storitev'.



'Export of knowledge and services'.

N. Gros, 'Samostojno gibanje hemiplegika po prostoru'.

'Independent locomotion by the hemiplegic'.

N. Gros and M. Stopar, 'Hemifes - ortoza za roko'.

'Hemifes - hand orthosis'.

The following practice is employed in the citation of examples:

(a) the advbls (or other clause elements) under discussion are underlined.

(b) upright bars are used, when required, to mark individual parts of the clause as theme (T), transition (Tr), or rheme (R):

|<sup>T</sup> V tej analizi |<sup>Tr</sup> upoštevamo |<sup>R</sup> samo aktivne vire dohodkov. | (AB)

|<sup>T</sup> In this analysis |<sup>Tr</sup> we take into account |<sup>R</sup> only active sources of income. |

### Principles of FSP analysis

The general theory of FSP has already been treated in chapter 2, together with its practical application to individual sentences or short texts in Slov and Eng. Since the WO of Slov is sensitive to FSP (like that of the Slavonic languages generally), and the assumption is found that Eng. too, can be analyzed in terms of the theme - rheme distinction, the comparison of advbl placement in the two languages will be made (as already proposed - see p. 164) with reference to the FSP theory. However, principles need to be formulated in some detail for analyzing the corpus, and those explained below represent an initial attempt at producing a working system suitable for both languages. They are shaped by material available in the corpus.

Firstly, to simplify matters, the analysis will be carried out at clause level, since the clause constitutes the most basic unit in which clause element patterns and theme - rheme sequences are simultaneously operative (e.g. in a clause that

has the SVA pattern, the S could be analyzed as theme, and the A as rheme). Secondly, Slov neutral W0 (see chapter 2, pp. 51ff.) will be taken as a constant. This excludes clauses manifesting marked W0 (in the Slov sense),<sup>3</sup> which in any case are infrequent in the corpus. Thirdly, only declarative clauses are considered, as these are by far the predominant type. (The A corpus contains only one interrogative clause and none of imperative type; the B corpus has only two or three instances of interrogative and imperative clauses.)

Within such declarative, neutral W0 clauses, the term "theme" as used here will principally denote the initial element or item in the clause, with the function of being "departure point" (*izhodišče*). (Cf. the concept of "basis" mentioned in chapter 2, p. 46.) This simple criterion avoids dependence on the notion that the theme is "what the sentence is about" or "what carries the lowest degree of CD" (see chapter 2, pp. 43, 66-67). The term "rheme" as used here will denote the element(s) expressing the communicatively most important information, which in neutral W0 stands at the end of the clause in Slov. This correlation of theme and rheme with initial and final clause position is, of course, primarily exemplified in Slov, but the concept of theme as clause-initial element is fully accepted by Quirk *et al* for Eng too. However, it remains to be seen how far the final element(s) in an Eng clause function(s) as rheme in the sense of "the communicatively most important information" and, if the final element is not the rheme, what criterion or criteria can be used to identify the rheme.

The concept of theme will require some amplification. The formulation "initial element or item" was used above on account of interlingual problems as to what constitutes a clause element. In Slov grammar a distinction is made between independent and dependent clause elements (see chapter 1, p. 27), whereas in Eng grammar the SC and OC, the nearest Eng equivalents to the *povedkovo določilo* and *povedkov prilastek*, have the same status as S, V, O and A.

Particles (*členki*) are considered by Toporišič to constitute only a word class but their Eng translation equivalents, typically disjuncts and conjuncts, belong in the grammars of Quirk *et al* to the advbl class, i.e. they are clause elements. Since items of lower rank than independent clause elements can occupy the distinctive initial (i.e. preclitic) position in Slov, they are equally regarded as themes. (In what follows, the term "element", used in connection with the theme (or rheme), should be understood to include dependent elements and other "items".)

The concept of theme as initial element applies most straightforwardly to main clauses, which constitute the basic type, but an important question is how the principle of initial element as theme applies to subordinate (finite) clauses, since these evidence their dependent status by being introduced by some grammatically necessary item (even though this may not appear at surface level in Eng, e.g. *He said (that) the letter still hadn't come. I don't like the picture (which) she chose*). The theme as initial element in main clauses is often a clause element; as regards the initial item in subordinate clauses, there is a distinction between relative pronouns (plus prepositions) and relative advbls on the one hand, which function as clause elements within the subordinate clause and so can be considered as themes, and subordinating conjunctions on the other hand, which serve to introduce the subordinate clause. Subordinating conjunctions will be regarded (like coordinating ones) as standing outside the theme-rheme sequence.<sup>4</sup>

There can be a zero theme, i.e. one not expressed at surface level but which is recoverable from the context. In Slov this is typically an unexpressed subject, and in Eng is typically a "gapped" S or unexpressed relative pronoun:

- (1) Družbena kmetijska gospodarstva proizvajajo na zemljiščih, ki so nacionalna (družbena) lastnina. [Ø theme] gospodarijo pa |<sup>R</sup> kot samostojne enote po principu samoupravljanja. | (FS)

The social farm estates produce on holdings owned by the state (social ownership), and [ $\emptyset$  theme] manage them [ $R$ ] as independent economic units according to the principle of self-management.

The zero theme interpretation is most clearly called for when there are no other surface elements (other than the verb - see below) capable of functioning as theme. As a further (Slov) illustration:

- (2a) [ $T$  Ogorčeno] je protestiral. (Ss, p. 492 - quoted and discussed in  
He protested indignantly. chapter 3, p. 161)

This has an unexpressed S but the initial adv would here be classed as theme. On the other hand, a zero theme would be proposed for the subordinate clause in:

- (2b) Pravijo, da je [ $R$  ogorčen.] [ $\emptyset$  theme - *oa*, 'he']  
They say he is indignant.

The rule in Slov grammar that clitics occupy second position in the clause has some surface-level consequences for the "initial element as theme" principle enunciated above. (a) In a subordinate clause introduced by a subordinating conjunction followed by clitics, except in the case of a zero theme, the first post-clitic (postverbal)<sup>5</sup> element is considered the theme. This could be termed a "shifted theme", as it is shifted rightwards from the initial position it could have if occurring in a main clause, on account of the subordinating conjunction which occupies the clause-initial position:

- (3) Tako je na primer sporočeno, da so v petnajstem stoletju zaradi turške nevarnosti morali večji del zlasti trdnejših predmestnih zgradb podreti.  
(NS, p. 23)

For example, documents state that in the 15th century, due to the danger from the Turks, many of the more solidly constructed suburban buildings had to be demolished.

cf. V petnajstem stoletju so morali zaradi turške nevarnosti večji del ... podreti.

(b) Where a main clause containing clitics is non-initial in the sentence, those clitics obligatorily stand at the beginning of their clause (i.e. in second position after the preceding clause viewed as a unit). Except in the case of a zero theme, the first postclitic (postverbal) element is analyzed as theme (the same notion of "shifted theme" as in (a)):

- (4) Da bi okrepil položaj svojih dežel v razmerju do oglejske cerkve (ki ...), je cesar Friderik III. leta 1461 ali 1462 ustanovil ljubljansko škofijo (NŠ, p. 19)  
Emperor Frederick III started the diocese of Ljubljana in 1461 or 1462 in order to strengthen the position of his dominions compared with Aquilea, ...  
(Here the theme is S, not A, but the principle is the same.)

In fact, a more general principle is probably involved here. If any verb (and not only clitics or other auxiliary items such as *morati* and similar verbs, *lahko*, etc.) is initial in a main clause or placed second in a subordinate clause, it seems it does not function as theme; either there is a zero theme or a shifted theme. The verb is typically transitional - or else rheme:

- (5) [Ø theme - S] |<sup>Tr</sup> Poškodoval se je |<sup>R</sup> 28. 1. 85. v prometni nesreči. | (AW)  
The injury was sustained on 28. 1. 85. in a traffic accident.
- (6) ... zato ni naključje, da |<sup>Tr</sup> prihaja |<sup>T</sup> k nam |<sup>R</sup> precej pacientov iz tujine, ... |  
(AW)

So it is not by chance that many patients come to us from abroad, ...

cf. K nam prihaja precej pacientov iz tujine.

- (7) Kaže, da |<sup>Tr-</sup> smemo |<sup>T</sup> ob koncu šestega stoletja |<sup>-Tr</sup> računati s takimi gibanji |<sup>R</sup> tudi v ljubljanskem prostoru. | (NŠ, p. 16)  
Towards the end of the 6th century we can presume that migration of this type was also taking place in the Ljubljana area ...

cf. Ob koncu šestega stoletja smemo računati s ...

Some support for this suggestion that the verb does not (normally) function as theme may be found in the fact that if the verb is placed initially in the clause and a non-rhematic S follows - i.e. the zero theme analysis is not possible - then the verb is stressed.<sup>6</sup> Compare *Peter je imel priložnost, da študira v tujini* (Peter had the opportunity to study abroad) - *Peter* as normal theme in both languages - with *Imel je Peter priložnost, da študira v tujini* - with stress on *Imel* (Peter did have the opportunity to study abroad).

Theme and rheme are the most important units of the clause in terms of FSP, but the intermediate section can be considered as the transition. Note that the rheme as above described is understood by some as the "rheme proper", as distinct from the rheme when understood as encompassing all the clause except the theme.

#### Advbl positions in Eng and Slov

Since the primary purpose of this study is to compare advbl placement in Eng and Slov but, as seen in chapter 3 (pp. 161-63), advbl position receives rather scant treatment in Slov grammar, it is necessary at the outset to have a scheme of advbl positions that is appropriate for both languages. In Eng, with its fairly fixed SVO order, the potentiality of advbls to occur at particular points in this sequence is reflected in the long-established notion of initial, medial and final (end) position. Thus:

A - S - A (aux) A (aux) A (aux) A - V - A - O - A  
 I        iM        M        mM        eM        iE        E

(positions as in Quirk *et al*/1985; see chapter 3, pp. 136-37 for exemplification)

Advbls may be inserted in one or more of the positions indicated, with certain preferences observable linked with the semantic type of the advbl, its scope of modification, and whether it is a single adv or a phrase (cf. chapter 3, pp. 137ff.).

Slov WO is much more free and though SVO may be the expected sequence in a simple, uncontextualized sentence (as in Toporišič's examples *Tele gleda Zrebe, Žene so pogostile tekmovalke*, *Ss*, p. 541), in texts the clauses and sentences exhibit a range of different permutations of clause elements. Moreover the subject, if already known and not requiring emphasis, is not expressed at surface level, and an unstressed pronominal object occupies clitic position. Advbl position, therefore, cannot be related simply to SVO as in Eng. In Slov, advbls may stand at the beginning of the clause - we may call this initial position, or at its end - we may call this final position, or between two clause elements (or between clitics and a clause element) at any point between initial and final position. We may class this last option as medial position, the difference being that medial position in Eng relates to the verb phrase, whereas in Slov it is not so limited.<sup>7</sup> (In the Slov texts of the Slov - Eng corpus, in sequences of three elements of which the middle one is A, the sequence in fact often includes part of the verb phrase (whether auxiliary or main verb), and some sequences having no verb element are not instanced, viz. OAS, AAS, and AAO, but this may only signify that they are (comparatively) rare, and not that they are impossible.) It should be clearly understood that in Slov, initial, medial and final positions as here defined are available for any of the main clause elements, not only for advbls, which of course is not true for Eng with its much less flexible WO.

Initial position in Slov is potentially marked off by the fact that second position in the clause is occupied by clitics, and only one element or item may occupy initial position. This rule can be extended by analogy to clauses which do not contain clitics. This differs from Eng where two advbls may stand in initial (pre-S) position. In Slov, initial position for advbls is formally unavailable in subordinate clauses except in cases where the initial element is itself a

relative adv/advbl phrase. In Eng, however, there can still be an initial (pre-S) position in subordinate clauses except in those introduced by a relative pronoun functioning as the subject:

- (8) Tisti hemiparetiiki, ki imajo vsaj delno ohranjeno hoteno kontrolo in prisotno le zmerne vzorčne odgovore, so že sposobni opravljati nekatere funkcije, ki pa jih z uporabo ortoze še izboljšajo ali celo na novo vzpostavijo. (AW)

Those hemiplegics who at least partly retain voluntary control and who have only moderate patterns of responses are already capable of carrying out certain functions, which by means of the orthosis they improve still further or even reestablish once more.

Final position in Slov as here defined also contains only one element - the last one in the clause - whereas final advbl position in Eng means postverbal position, and may be occupied by more than one advbl or by an advbl which, though postverbal, is not clause-final. Such differences in the theoretical apparatus must be allowed for, as forcing a complete match means violating the nature of the languages in question.

Because of the approach adopted in this study, a fundamental question is whether advbl initial, medial and final positions may be equated with the tripartite FSP division into theme, transition and rheme. As regards Slov neutral W0, we can say that the mapping of one set onto the other is certainly possible, as in examples (9) - (11) below, but is not universally evidenced (12):

e.g. initial advbl as theme:

- (9) |<sup>T</sup> V tej analizi |<sup>Tr</sup> upoštevamo |<sup>R</sup> samo aktivne vire dohodkov. | (AB)  
|<sup>T</sup> In this analysis |<sup>Tr</sup> we take into account |<sup>R</sup> only active sources of income. |

medial advbl in the transition:



- (10) |<sup>T</sup> Serotip II/X, ugotovljen na farmi PA, |<sup>Tr</sup> je bil doslej ugotovljen |<sup>R</sup> le pri govedu frizijske pasme na družbenih farmah. | (IB)  
 |<sup>T</sup> Serotype II/X, established on farm PA, |<sup>Tr</sup> had previously been established |<sup>R</sup> only in Frisian cattle on socially owned farms. |

final advbl as rheme:

- (11) |<sup>T</sup> Prve izolacije pri ljudeh |<sup>Tr</sup> datirajo |<sup>R</sup> iz leta 1966. | (IB)  
 |<sup>T</sup> The first isolations in humans |<sup>Tr</sup> date |<sup>R</sup> from 1966. |

But in the following:

- (12) Videti je, da |<sup>Tr-</sup> je |<sup>T</sup> za sedaj |<sup>-Tr</sup> adaptiran |<sup>R</sup> le na kravje vime ... | (IB)  
 It is clear that |<sup>T</sup> for the present |<sup>Tr</sup> it is adapted |<sup>R</sup> only to cows' udders |

the advbl as shifted theme is formally in medial position in Slov (occurring between a clitic and past participle) but in initial position in Eng (occurring before the subject). In Eng an instance of non-correspondence between advbl positions and FSP units would be a non-rhematic final advbl:

- (13) | There was a big table in the corner |  
 (V kotu je bila velika miza.)

Here *a big table* is the rheme, and bears nuclear stress. (See pp. 207-10 for a further discussion.)

### Corpus analysis

First some general comments will be made about the FSP analysis, carried out according to the principles explained and based on a comparison of Slov and Eng clauses containing advbls that occupy the "same" (parallel) clause position. These are the clauses which most resemble each other overall (see pp 217 and 222). (Only finite clauses are considered, here and throughout the corpus. This is primarily for the sake of having the full range of advbl positions, but also seems more appropriate for FSP analysis.) Observations are then made about the

advbls in (i) parallel position and (ii) non-parallel position. In quoting examples I include the clause/sentence preceding the one containing the advbl under consideration to provide minimal contextualization, partly as an aid to identifying the rheme.<sup>8</sup> This practice is not followed when the clause/sentence containing the advbl discussed stands at the beginning of a paragraph (symbolized by / at the beginning of the Slov example<sup>9</sup>) or at the beginning of the text or a new section of the text (symbolized by // ).

One would expect prose of this type to be characterized by neutral W0. In the Slov clauses under examination, the tripartite division into theme - transition - rheme seems justified, as it allows the element (or occasionally more than one) positioned last of all to have the significance of "rheme proper".<sup>10</sup>

In Slov, any clause element may be placed finally - and so function as rheme - but Eng W0 does not permit the same degree of flexibility nor are elements occurring finally necessarily the rheme. In Eng, elements which complement the verb are, of course, most easily final. O, A, SC, (O +) OC. The V itself can be final mostly with intransitive verbs or transitive verbs transformed into the passive (the exception would be transitive verbs in OSV), and the S can be final only in existential *there*-clauses or in cases where S - V inversion is possible.

The verb in the (185) Slov clauses considered here usually occupies medial position: only 5 instances of the verb as rheme occur, 3 of which are paralleled in Eng (where V is final in an ASV sequence). For example:

(14) Istočasno je imel bolnik neproduktiven kašelj. |<sup>T</sup> Po enem tednu |<sup>Tr</sup> so ti  
simptomi in znaki |<sup>R</sup> minili. | (JD)

At the same time the patient had a nonproductive cough. |<sup>T</sup> After one  
week |<sup>Tr</sup> these symptoms and signs |<sup>R</sup> disappeared. |

The transitional nature of the Slov verb and indeed of the sequence ... clitic(s) - one or more elements - V ..., sandwiched between theme and rheme, which is found in many clauses, seems typical of Slov.

The question arises: where Slov has a clause element placed finally as rheme which cannot (so easily) be thus placed in Eng because of its grammatical WO, does that element nevertheless have rhematic status in the Eng translation? The subject as rheme in Slov will serve as the most obvious type in the investigation of this question, since out of 22 instances of Slov final/rhematic S,<sup>11</sup> only 6 have a final S in Eng.

As mentioned above, the Eng constructions that permit the S to be final are existential *there*-clauses, as in:

- (15) Ta raven strokovno pospeševalnega dela ima najpogostejši in najbolj neposreden stik z organiziranimi kooperanti in pri njih izvaja strokovne, organizacijske in še mnogotere druge naloge in akcije. Prav na tej ravni bi moralo biti |<sup>R</sup> zadostno število usposobljenih pospeševalcev, | da bi zmogli opraviti vse zahtevne in številne naloge ... (FS)

This level of professional extension work has the most frequent and the most direct contact with organized co-operators and carries out professional, organizational and many other tasks and actions among them.

Precisely on this level there needs to be |<sup>R</sup> a sufficient number of qualified extension workers | who can implement all the many demanding tasks ...

and S - V inversion, as in

- (16) Leta 1144 je sporočena najpoprej nemška oblika Laibach, že dve leti kasneje 1146 pa je izpričano |<sup>R</sup> tudi slovensko ime, zapisano kot Luvigana. |

(NS, p. 17)

In 1144 it could be found in the German form of Laibach and two years later came |<sup>R</sup> the Slovene form, noted in this version as Luvigana. |

Occasionally a complex S may be divided into two parts, the first occupying its usual "grammatical" position early in the clause, the other placed finally. With such a "discontinuous" structure, a kind of compromise is achieved between the demands of grammatical W0 and of FSP: 12

(17) /Ob sprejemu 31. 3. 1985 v Sulaibikhat Hospital je perzistirala |<sup>R</sup> kompletna paraplegija obeh spodnjih ekstremitet, hipotonija in senzibilitetni izpad pod nivojem Th 10 navzdol ter kontinenca mehurja in črevesa. | (AW)

On admittance to Sulaibikhat Hospital on 31. 3. 85 complete paraplegia of both lower extremities persisted, as well as hypotonia and sensory loss below T 10 and bowel and bladder incontinence

In other instances, a rhematic S in Slov may be paralleled in final position in Eng by what is the same element of the semantic structure, only it is not realized by the grammatical S in Eng. This primarily concerns the active-passive correspondence, where, for instance, a final *by*-phrase corresponds to the Slov S as in:

(18) /V letih 1968 in 1969 je arheologe presenetila |<sup>R</sup> izredno bogata najdba grobišča v Dravljah pri Ljubljani. | (NŠ, p. 13)

In 1968 and 1969 archeologists were surprised |<sup>R</sup> by the discovery of an extremely rich necropolis at Dravtje, near Ljubljana. |

or a final O (Eng active construction) corresponds to a final S (Slov passive construction) as in:

(19) // Na dveh velikih družbenih farmah PA in RA je bilo preiskano |<sup>R</sup> mleko krav in brisi grla ter urin oseb, ki opravljajo te krave, ter njihovih družinskih članov. | (IB)

On two large socially owned farms PA and RA we tested |<sup>R</sup> the cows' milk together with throat smears and the urine of persons who handle the cows, and of their family members |

One further example of "semantic correspondence" does not concern the passive transformation:

- (20) In šele zdaj se po dolgih stoletjih molka o življenju na območju današnje Ljubljane prvič pojavi tudi v virih ime nove naselbine. Leta 1144 je sporočena najpoprej |<sup>R</sup> nemška oblika Laibach. | ... (NŠ, p. 17)

It is only in this period, after long centuries of silence on the life of the Ljubljanian territory, that documents finally reproduce the name of the new town. In 1144 it could be found |<sup>R</sup> in the German form of Laibach | ...

For the remaining examples we may justifiably ask whether the placement of nuclear stress in Eng serves to indicate rhematic status. Here we potentially encounter the difficulty that nuclear stress is assigned within tone units, which need not be co-extensive with clauses (cf. chapter 2, p. 62). Moreover, since we are dealing with written texts, the division into tone units is not something given, as clause units are, but must be imposed by the analyst, and can vary according to personal interpretation, the speed of reading and carefulness of enunciation, etc., to be imagined if the texts were presented orally. It may well be that especially an initial advbl (which is the theme in most of the clauses under consideration here) counts as a separate tone unit (see Quirk *et al* 1985, p. 1358).

If we take first those instances where the non-thematic part of the clause does consist of one tone unit - here the clause pattern is basically S - V, the nucleus could well fall on the V as containing the last stressed syllable, but this need not exclude the S from belonging to the focus:

- (21) /V skupini 92 bolnikov, pri katerih serogrupa ni bila določena, je umrl  
|<sup>R</sup> 1 bolnik. | (JD)

In a group of 92 patients, whose serogroup was not determined, | one  
patient died. |

In examples with an S-V sequence, followed by a "continuation" of the S, requiring a separate tone unit, we could consider the S to be rheme in Eng:

- (22) Najvidnejše izjeme v tlorisni zasnovi ... so samostani in nasploh cerkvena zemljišča v mestu. V srednjem veku, v trinajstem stoletju, sta se vgnezdila znotraj mestnega obzidja |<sup>R</sup> dva samostana, križevniški v jugozahodnem vogalu Novega trga in frančiškanski v severovzhodnem vogalu Mesta!

(NŠ, pp. 20, 22)

The most notable exceptions in the city plan of the 17th century were formed by convents and other types of ecclesiastical areas in the city ...

In the 13th century two convents were built within the city walls, that of the Order of Teutonic Knights on the southwestern corner of the New Village and the Franciscan convent on the northeastern corner of the city.

(p. 20)

The sequence *two convents were built within the city walls*, regarded as a tone unit, could have the nucleus on *CONventS* (i.e. the S is unambiguously the rheme) or possibly on *WALLS*, in which case the whole sequence could be considered as focus. In this latter case, nuclear stress as a guide to rhematic status appears less distinctive than final position in Slov. This is borne out still more when more than one tone unit is involved:

- (23) /V članku so nakazani |<sup>R</sup> kriteriji, ki igrajo pomembno vlogo pri evalvaciji hemiplegika, | ker je na podlagi analize testnih rezultatov mogoče postaviti realne funkcionalne cilje in izdelati programe terapije. (AW)

In this article the criteria which play an important role in the evaluation of the hemiplegic are demonstrated, since on the basis of an analysis of test results it is possible to set up real functional goals and carry out the therapy program.

Here a nuclear stress can fall on *DĚmonstrated* (a) as the last stressed syllable if S - V is regarded as belonging to one tone unit or (b) if the V belongs to a separate tone unit from the S. In the first case the S can also be, and in the second case the S is part of the focus of the clause, but once more sentence intonation alone does not mark out the S as rheme so unambiguously as final position does in Slov. (Apart from the matter of sentence intonation, it should be noted that the Slov version has been rendered into Eng with the passive construction (generally considered "appropriate" in technical/scientific writing), but the final *are demonstrated* has relatively empty semantic content compared with the S. If an active construction had been used ("In this article we present/demonstrate the criteria .../This article presents the criteria ..."), then the final O as rheme would correspond to the final S as rheme in Slov.)

The last, rather complex example is significant because a sentence-final advbl is also involved:

- (24) //Detajl iz srednje orgelske omare velikih stolnih orgel v Ljubljani prikazuje le del bogastva, ki ga premore čudovito baročno ohišje tega inštrumenta. Od leta 1733 dalje, ko so v stranskih dveh omarah prvič zapele Janečkove orgle, pa do danes so se v starih omarah izmenjali <sup>R</sup> številni inštrumenti mojstrov Janečka, Križmana, Eisla, Malachovskega in končno Milavca, čigar dispozicija je tudi navedena. | (MB)

This detail from the central case of the great cathedral organ in Ljubljana gives but a hint of the richness displayed by the wonderful baroque casing of this instrument. From 1733, when one of J's organs housed in the two side cases was first played, right up to the present day, numerous instruments constructed by the masters J, K, E, M and finally M, whose specification is quoted, have changed places within the old cases.

A plausible division into tone units for the non-thematic part of the clause would be: numerous instruments ... and finally M ( | ) whose specification is quoted | have changed places within the old cases | where the S, if interpreted as one focal unit, is nevertheless only one focus in the whole clause. But sentence intonation might even be a misleading guide in that in the last tone unit, the nucleus could fall on *C\A*Ses, leading to the interpretation that the advbl is another focus (or at least part of it) within the clause. If, however, the nucleus is read on *PL\A*Ces, then the advbl does not belong to the focus.

To put the problem simply, it is much easier to recognize a rhematic S indicated by nuclear stress in a short clause such as is preferred by grammarians (e.g. | *J\O*HN has arrived | ) than in the lengthy clauses that are by no means unusual in the type of prose analyzed here. It seems recommendable to look at the information value of the clause elements, and not to over-rely on the mere placement of the nucleus. For example, in my last but one sentence written here, the final advbl *in a short clause ... analyzed here* should be interpreted as rheme, regardless of the number of tone units the reading of such a sentence would require.

In long clauses, the technique of asking "diagnostic rheme questions" (see chapter 2, pp. 47-48) - adequate in relatively short clauses - may become artificial too, whether in Slov or Eng, as perhaps several items of information need to be presumed as known if only one element (or two) is to appear as rheme in the answer. Nor does the context necessarily show how much can be assumed as "given" in such a question. In fact, in the kind of sentence studied here, much or even all of the information may be "new" and that not only at the beginning of a text. Moreover, extra-linguistic factors are involved in that information can be "new" in the sense of "not mentioned before" yet can be understood as "given" in a particular context by readers of a scientific article who are familiar



with a particular area of professional knowledge. A non-specialist reader cannot presume to have such specialist knowledge:

(25) // Pri bolnikih, ki so preboleli cerebrovaskularni insult, skušamo z uporabo raznih propioceptivnih in eksteroceptivnih stimulansov doseči hoteno motorično kontrolo. (AW)

In patients who have experienced cerebrovascular insult we try by the use of various proprioceptive and exteroceptive stimuli to achieve voluntary motor control. <sup>13</sup>

Here one could ask - "Given the patients described in the theme, what do you try to do with them?" and the answer would then run from *z uporabo* to *kontrolo*, i.e. all of this is the rheme. Or perhaps one could ask (as a specialist) - "Given the patients described in the theme, and presuming you use the stimuli described, what do you try to do (or achieve) with them?" and the answer would be (*doseči*) *hoteno motorično kontrolo*.

An incidental observation is that it may be only part of the element functioning as rheme that is truly rhematic. More specifically, in a noun-phrase it may be the pre- or postmodifier that conveys the communicatively important information:

(26) Prve izolacije pri ljudeh datirajo iz leta 1966. Nekaj let zatem je bil ugotovljen |<sup>R</sup> kot povzročitelj perinatalnih okužb s 75% smrtnostjo novorojencev. | (1B)

The first isolations in humans date from 1966. Some years later it was established |<sup>R</sup> as a causer of perinatal infections with 75% mortality among newborns. |

Within the rheme, *povzročitelj* (*causer*) and *okužb* (*of infections*) actually represent known information (from a little further back in the text than shown here) and it is the pre- and postmodifiers of *okužb* that are truly rhematic.

The same phenomenon can occur with the theme. The theme can express entirely new information - this may particularly hold true when the theme is an advbl - or new information might be expressed by the pre- or postmodifier.

(27) /|<sup>T</sup> V skupini 92 bolnikov, pri katerih serogrupa ni bila določena,| je umrl 1 bolnik. (JD)

|<sup>T</sup> In a group of 92 patients whose serogroup was not determined,| one patient died.

The theme might express all new information, or a specialist might assume the likelihood/possibility that the serogroup was not determined for all the patients and ask how many were in this group. The numeral 92 then represents new information. The explanation for this phenomenon is that a complex sentence at surface level can be broken down into constituent (nuclear) sentences, which themselves can be analyzed into theme, transition and rheme. Through embedding, what was rheme at the level of an underlying constituent sentence becomes included in the sentence/clause theme at surface level. Similarly, surface level transitional elements may be derived from underlying rhemes, while underlying thematic items may appear in the surface rheme.

### (i) Parallel Slov and Eng advbls

The three advbl positions will be considered in the order final, initial and medial, i.e. from the most to the least frequent correspondence. Basic statistical data will be given for the three semantic types here and for the non-parallel Slov and Eng advbls. Taken as round figures, they can reveal some interesting features, but of course a larger corpus would be needed to ascertain how far they are representative. In general, it can be said that there is agreement with known characteristics of Eng advbl placement (as reviewed in chapter 3, e.g. pp. 84-90, 138-42).

A word must also be said on problems encountered in deciding (a) semantic type and (b) advbl status. (a) In these texts, there is an unexpectedly high frequency of advbls which at first sight seem to belong to "place" (at least in Eng) but are more appropriately assigned to "respect" (*ozir*).<sup>14</sup> This particularly applies to Slov advbl phrases with *pri* but other prepositions are occasionally involved too. For instance:

(28) Pri 14 bolnikih je bilo serološko ugotovljena serogrupa Icterohemorrhagiae ... pri ostalih bolnikih pa druge serogrupe. (JD)

The I. serogroup ... was established in 14 patients, while other serogroups were found in the remaining patients.

(29) Pasivna gibljivost sklepov neprizadete zgornje in spodnje ekstremitete mora biti v normalnem obsegu gibanja. V prizadeti spodnji ekstremiteti pa mora biti vsaj do 70° ohranjena pasivna fleksija kolka. (AW)

Passive movement of the joints of the unaffected upper and lower extremities must be within the normal range of movement. In the affected lower extremity passive flexion of the hip must be retained through at least 70°.

Some phrases are semantically on the borderline between place and respect:

(30) Omeniti velja še podatek, da je v anketirani populaciji 3,8 odstotka ali vsaka 26. kmetija brez aktivnega vira dohodka. (AB)

It is also worth mentioning that, in the population examined, 3,8% or one farm in 26 is without an active source of income.

The inclusion/exclusion in/from the statistics of such semantically mixed types (involving time and manner types too) is clearly a matter of subjective judgment. In general, if advbls of respect had been included, the percentage of parallel initial and final instances would have been greater.

(b) A practical problem, that of distinguishing between true advbls and postmodifiers, arises in some instances where a prepositional phrase (especially

denoting place) follows the O<sup>15</sup> (or the non-initial S in Slov - the status of a prepositional phrase immediately following the S is usually not problematic in Eng):

- (31) Ob sprejemu v našo ustanovo ugotavljamo nekoliko slabšo gibljivost  
v distalnih sklepih spodnjih ekstremitet, ... (AW)  
 On admittance to our institute somewhat weaker mobility in the distal  
joints of the lower extremities was established.

The underlined phrase could be interpreted as an advbl in Slov, though it is clearly a postmodifier in Eng. When the sense of the clause does not make possible an unambiguous analysis and the syntactic status of the phrase is neutralized by its position, inclusion/exclusion again depends on subjective judgment. The technique of asking questions is indecisive too, as in the above case one could ask simply *Kaj ugotavljate?* (What is established?): the prepositional phrase is then analyzable as postmodifier, or *Kaj ugotavljate? in kje?* (What is established? and where?): the same phrase is then analyzable as advbl.

### Final position

The concurrence of advbls in the two languages is noticeably most common in final position: c. 108 instances compared with c. 57 in initial and c. 20 in medial position. This is not a surprising result, since it is known that final position is the most preferred advbl position in Eng.<sup>16</sup> Of the semantic types, P advbls are best represented - even allowing for occasional doubts over semantic type or advbl status - with 59 instances,<sup>17</sup> followed by T: 28 and M: 21. Incidentally, it will be seen that manner advbls are a minority type in the corpus compared with place and time advbls, which overall (i.e. in all three positions, parallel and non-parallel instances) occur with roughly equal frequency. (Total occurrences: P: 123, T: 117, M: 48.)

Final advbls in Slov naturally function as the rheme. Although it is possible for advbls to be final in Eng without being the rheme (as in the type *There was a big table in the corner*),<sup>18</sup> a final advbl in Eng, when it corresponds to a final advbl in Slov, can be expected to be the rheme too:

- (32) Orgie v Braslovčah so že tretje, postavljene v isto baročno omaro. Prve so bile izdelane skupaj z ohišjem nekako ob koncu 18. stoletja in čeprav njihov izdelovalec ni znan, je zelo verjetno, da so prišle iz celjske delavnice (Scholz?). (T and P advbls) (MB)

The organ at Braslovče is the third to be housed in the same baroque case. The first one was built together with its case somewhere at the end of the 18th century and although its author is unknown, it is very likely that it originated from the Celje workshop (S?).

- (33) Identični bovini in humani sevi bi z veliko mero verjetnosti potrdili domnevo, da se okužba s *Str. agalactiae* prenaša s krave na človeka bodisi s kontaktom ali pa z uživanjem mleka. (M advbl) (IB)

Finding identical bovine and human strains would very likely confirm the supposition that infection with *Str. agalactiae* is transferred from cows to man either through contact or by drinking the milk.

There are some examples where more than one advbl occurs at the end of the clause; these may stand in a relation of subordination (see chapter 3, p. 117), each modifying the preceding one:

- (34) V srednjem veku, v trinajstem stoletju, sta se vgnezdila znotraj mestnega obzidja dva samostana ... Tretji srednjeveški samostan, samostan avguštincev, pa je nastal zunaj mestnega obzidja pred Špitalskim mostom na mestu današnjega frančiškanskega samostana. (NŠ, pp. 20, 22)

In the 13th century two convents were built within the city walls ... A third convent for the Augustinian friars was built outside the city walls,

in front of Hospital Bridge (Špitalski most), on the site of the present  
Franciscan convent.

(p. 20)

(Note the "logical" progression from more general to more specific.)

- (35) Čeprav klinični sindromi niso specifično vezani na serogrupo, smo tako kot drugi avtorji tudi mi ugotovili serogrupo icterohemorrhagiae pri večini najbolj prizadetih bolnikov, ki smo jih zdravili z hemodializo. Definitivno diagnozo smo potrdili serološko v skladu s priznanimi kriteriji. (JD)
- Although clinical syndromes are not specifically linked to a serogroup, we - like other authors - have established the Icterohemorrhagiae serogroup in the majority of the most affected patients whom we have treated with hemodialysis. The definitive diagnosis was confirmed serologically in agreement with acknowledged criteria

(Cf. also the two final manner advb's in (45): po udobni poti, brez plezanja ali stikanja med posameznimi registri - comfortably, without any need for climbing up or squeezing between individual stops.)

There are two instances where advb's of time and place co-occur at the end of a clause, each independently expressing communicatively important information, i.e. without subordination or adjunction. For this reason I suggest they be interpreted as a double rheme:

- (36) 23 letni pacient je bil 10. 2. 85. sprejet v tukajšno ustanovo na kompleksno rehabilitacijo stanja po poškodbi torakalne hrbtenice. Poškodoval se je 28. 1. 1985 v prometni nesreči. (AW)

On 10. 2. 85. the 23-year-old patient was admitted to this institute for complex rehabilitation after injury to the thoracic area of the spine. The injury was sustained on 28. 2. 85. in a traffic accident.

- (37) // Komite se je sestal 8. maja na Bledu, Jugoslavija. (MM)
- The committee held a session on 8th May at Bled, Yugoslavia.

The double rheme interpretation can depend on the context, however. Compare another sentence with final place and time advbls which, if read on its own, would merit this interpretation:

(38) Lovrenc na Pohorju [naslov] Igralniki na sliki pripada orglam Josipa Otoniča. Ta mariborski mojster jih je postavil v cerkvi sv. Lovrenca na Pohorju leta 1809. (MB)

Lovrenc on the Pohorje [title] The console in this picture belongs to one of J.O.'s organs. This Maribor master erected it in the church of sv. Lovrenc (St. Lawrence) on the Pohorje in 1809.

The presence of the title shows, however, that the place advbl expresses what is already known and thus only the time advbl is truly rheme. This is probably the reason for its final position in Eng. where the principle that a shorter phrase generally precedes a longer one (see chapter 3, p. 141) is here not followed.

It is interesting that by far the majority of Slov - Eng clauses having the same final advbl as rheme also have a common initial element as theme,<sup>19</sup> this being predominantly the S. (These S instances include Slov shifted and zero themes, the latter being an unexpressed S.) In some other cases, the theme in the two versions is semantically though not syntactically the same, e.g. a Slov O corresponds to an Eng S in a passive construction:

(39) /Bolnike smo hidrirali in hranili parenteralno. Antimikrobna zdravila ... so vsi bolniki dobivali od 4. do 8. dne bolezni dalje. (JD)

The patients were given parenteral hydration and feeding. Antimicrobial drugs ... were administered to all the patients from the 4th to the 8th day of the illness onwards.

There are, not surprisingly, only a few instances where a clause has both an initial thematic advbl (apart from relative advbls) and a final rhematic advbl in the two languages

- (40) Narejena je bila trakcija in po treh dneh je bil premeščen v Al-Razi Hospital. (AW)

He was put in traction and after three days was moved to Al-Razi Hospital.

### Initial position

Parallel initial position primarily concerns main clauses, where the advbl is both formally initial and the theme/departure point of the clause. This situation applies in subordinate clauses when they are introduced by a relative advbl, which is obligatorily initial in both languages. Three such subordinate clauses occur in the corpus, for example.

- (41) Spremenjena je dispozicija registrov, ohranjena pa celotna mehanska traktura s sapnicami, na katerih je še vedno precej starih registrov. (MB)

The specification of the stops has been altered, although the entire mechanical traction with the wind chests, where there are still quite a number of old stops, has been preserved.

There is also one instance of an obligatorily initial manner advbl which introduces an object clause expressing an indirect question:

- (42) Kljub velikosti inštrumenta lahko mehovje poganja en sam človek, kar povsem zadošča tudi v pleno igri - to pa dokazuje, kako mojstrsko in gospodarno je Ebner intoniral posamezne registre, saj rabijo relativno malo sapa. (MB)

In spite of the organ's size, the bellows can be operated by just one person, and this suffices as well when the instrument is played at full power - which goes to show how skilfully and economically Ebner treated the individual stops, for they need relatively little wind.

And lastly, there are two instances of a main clause in Slov where in the Eng translation the equivalent clause is introduced by a subordinating conjunction



(conveying the sense of the Slov particle *pa*) but the Eng advbl is still in initial (pre-S) position:

- (43) Te največje ohranjene Otoničeve orgle so imele prvotno 15 registrov, kasneje pa jih je neznan mojster (Horbiger?) povečal tako, da je ohranil prvotni koncept dispozicije registrov. (MB)

The largest of Otonič's preserved organs, it initially had 15 stops, though later an unknown master builder (H?) supplemented them, while keeping to the original concept of the stop specification.

There are c. 57 examples of parallel initial advbls, with T advbls being the most common semantic type: 31 instances, followed by P: 18<sup>20</sup> and M advbls again a decided minority: 8 instances. The higher number of time advbls may reflect the situation observed by Quirk *et al* for Eng that this semantic type is common in initial position.<sup>21</sup>

There are additionally some instances where a clause has the same theme in both languages but the initial advbl in Slov is rendered by what could be termed an "advbl subject" in Eng, i.e. grammatically the clause element is S, but it renders an item in the semantic base which is typically realized by advbls expressing place, time, means, etc.<sup>22</sup> Examples are:

Place advbl:

- (44) Kar četrtna (25,8%) kmetij, ki pridobivajo dohodek iz obeh virov, ima 10 ha obdelovalne zemlje ali več. |<sup>T</sup> V tej skupini | so večinoma hribovske kmetije, kjer ... (AB)

One quarter (25.8%) of the farms which gain their income from both sources have 10 or more ha of arable land |<sup>T</sup> This group | comprises mainly upland farms where

It is interesting to find an Eng advbl S expressing a Slov P-goal advbl, when such an advbl in initial position in Eng would result in marked WO:

- (45) Posnetek iz notranjščine velikih brestaniških orgel dokazuje, da je imel Josip Brandl, ki je ta instrument postavil, na voljo precej prostora. |<sup>T</sup> Prav do vsake piščali| je mogoče priti po udobni poti, brez plezanja ali stiskanja med posameznimi registri. (MB)

This photograph from the interior of the great Brestanica organ proves that J. B., who set it up, had considerable room at his disposal. |<sup>T</sup> Each pipe| can be reached comfortably, without any need for climbing up or squeezing between individual stops.

Time advbl:

- (46) /|<sup>T</sup> Zadnja leta| smo navezali z deželami v razvoju več plodnih stikov ...

(AW)

|<sup>T</sup> Recent years| have seen the establishment of several fruitful links with developing countries resulting in ...

Manner advbl:

- (47) Vsi bolniki s hujšo stopnjo ARF zaradi leptospiroze so bili zdravljeni v nefrološkem oddelku kliničnega centra v Ljubljani |<sup>T</sup> Z retrospektivno analizo| prikazujemo potek ARF pri teh bolnikih. (JD)

All the patients with more severe ARF due to leptospirosis were treated in the Department of Nephrology at the Medical Centre in Ljubljana.

|<sup>T</sup> This retrospective analysis| shows the course of ARF in these patients.

In Eng an initial advbl is generally a sentence modifier, which provides a kind of setting for the rest of the clause/sentence (see the fuller treatment under non-parallel initial and medial position, pp. 241ff. and 245ff.). It is significant that the semantic subtypes occurring in parallel initial position are those which most naturally function as setting, viz: T-when, P-loc and M-means. (T-dur and P-source can function similarly, but are here much less represented.) For example:

- (48) Prve izolacije pri ljudeh datirajo iz leta 1966. Nekaj let zatem je bil

ugotovljen kot povzročitelj perinatalnih okužb s 75% smrtnostjo novorojencev. (IB)

The first isolations in humans date from 1966. Some years later it was established as a causer of perinatal infections with 75% mortality among newborns.

- (49) Na seji prisotna delegata teh dveh centrov nista bila pooblaščenca, da sprejmeta ta predlog in nalogo; na konferenci v San Marinu bi bilo treba o tem slišati dokončno stališče teh dveh centrov. (MM)

The delegates of these two centres present at the meeting were not authorized to accept this proposal and task: at the conference in San Marino it would be necessary to hear the final standpoint on this taken by both centres.

- (50) To je zahteval zato, ker so bili člani društva fevdalci, meščani, cerkveni predstavniki, znanstveniki in uradniki, ki so imeli seveda različne interese. S postavljeno zahtevo je hotel društvo obvarovati vpliva vlade in mu zagotoviti popolnoma svoboden in samostojen razvoj. (FS)

He made this demand because the members of the society were feudal lords, townspeople, church representatives, scientists and civil servants, who of course had different interests. By putting this demand he wanted to protect the society from government influence and to assure it a completely free and independent development.

If the advbl has anaphoric reference, as in (48) and (50), this is an additional strengthening reason for initial position.

It so happens that the Eng clauses with initial M-means are quite "full" clauses, i.e. the initial advbl is followed by at least SVO (see (50) above,) whereas those with initial time and place advbls are occasionally simpler, i.e. the initial advbl is followed by VS or SV:

(51) / Iz zgodovinskih virov vemo, da so leta 568 naše ozemlje vsaj v glavnem zapustili Langobardi ... (NŠ, p. 15)

From historical sources we know that in 568 our territory was abandoned, at least for the most part, by the Longobards, ...

The converse of the situation with parallel final advbls is found, namely, that clauses sharing the same initial advbl as theme tend very strongly to have a common final element, as seen in virtually every example quoted in this section, though naturally there is more syntactic variety here regarding the final elements, which may be S, O, Pov. d/SC, V, A or some prepositional phrase, with O having a slight predominance. (On the devices used for making the S clause-final in Eng. see pp. 205-6.) This prevalence of shared themes and rhemes would suggest that parallel initial and final position is more easily achieved if the overall syntactic sequence of the clause is similar or the same in the two languages. To put it another way: achieving the same FSP organization depends to a large extent on the Eng translator being able to follow the Slov original without distorting Eng grammatical WO patterns - a perfectly natural conclusion.

### Medial position

There are noticeably fewer parallel advbls in medial position - c. 20 instances altogether - than in the other two positions, which is only to be expected since (a) medial position in Eng is mostly restricted to advs and short, common advbl phrases, (b) it is not open to all semantic subtypes (e.g. advs of definite time, as in \**I yesterday went to the bank*), and (c) the variants of medial position are all linked with the verb phrase - three restrictions which do not apply to Slov. There are thus many instances of medial advbls in Slov where the corresponding advbls in Eng are placed initially or finally. The majority of the parallel instances that do exist consist of advs

As regards semantic type, the most common parallel medial advbls are those of time: 14 instances (all four subtypes, T-when, T-dur, T-freq and T-rel are represented). Manner advbls are relatively infrequent: 4 instances of M-man advs, presumably because manner advs (not to mention advbl phrases) are more often postverbal in Eng. while only 2 instances of parallel place advbls (P-loc) occur, which again is not surprising, since medial P is (relatively) rare in Eng. It is interesting that both examples are of an advbl phrase which in Eng precedes the verb or verb phrase. Though it seems not to be noticed by Eng grammarians, such medial position (iM or M, i.e. between the subject and the verb phrase/verb) appears quite acceptable for advbl phrases (except following a personal pronoun as S or in cases where they could be understood as postmodifier to the S<sup>23</sup>) whereas they cannot always be placed with the same freedom between the auxiliary and the main verb. Intonationally, an advbl so placed is marked off as a separate tone unit. The examples are as follows:

- (52) Druga kmetijska zemljišča obdelujejo kmetje in so njihova last. Kmetje so organizirani v KZ - kmetijske zadruga, ki so na ravni republike povezane v Zadržno zvezo Slovenije. (FS)

Other farm holdings are worked by farmers and are their own property.

The farmers are organized into agricultural cooperatives (AC), which at the republican level are linked to the Cooperative Association of Slovenia.

(This could be punctuated: ... agricultural cooperatives (AC) which, at the republican level, are linked to ...)

In both languages, the advbl seems rightward shifted from initial position since the relative pronoun functioning as S obligatorily stands at the beginning of the clause (cf. Na ravni republike so povezane ..., At the republican level they are linked ...)

- (53) Kombinacija kmetovanja in redne zaposlitve nas zanima predvsem zaradi njene razširjenosti, medtem ko si bomo kombinacijo kmetovanja s kmetijstvu sorodnimi dejavnostmi natančneje ogledali predvsem zato, ker ima takšna smer razvoja zasebnega kmetijstva vsaj v Sloveniji največje realne možnosti in zato tudi vso politično podporo. (AB)

The combination of farming and regular employment is of primary interest, because it is so widespread, while the combination of farming and activities related to farming will be examined more closely mainly because this direction for the development of private farming, at least in Slovenia, has the greatest real possibilities and therefore full political support as well.

Three of the medial time examples also consist of an advbl phrase placed in this same positional variant in Eng, i.e. between the subject and the verb/verb phrase. To cite just one of them:

- (54) /Razprava o nastanku ljubljanskega mesta, ki ga ob koncu srednjega veka označujejo celo kot skupnost treh mest, ... še ni končana, ... (NŠ, p. 17)

The controversy on how the city developed, which towards the end of the Middle Ages was formed of no less than three centres ... has not yet been resolved ..

Medial time advbls in Slov may occupy various positions in the clause but there is one sequence worthy of mention: ... V-*biti* - A-t - Pov. d/past participle (the *povedkovo določilo* may be an adjective or noun), where V - A-t belongs to the transition and Pov. d/past participle is rheme, or may be considered part of the transition too if followed by another element functioning as rheme. This particular sequence can be paralleled in Eng as V-*be* - A-t - SC/past participle mostly when A-t is realized by an adv, as in the following examples:

- (55) Eden izmed načinov za doseg tega položaja je uporaba opornega stojala. Ta

tudi preprečuje nastajanje kontraktur in zmanjšuje že obstoječe, ki so pogosto posledica sedenja, rigidnosti in spastičnosti. (AW)

One of the methods of gaining this position is by the use of a support frame (mini-bar). This also prevents the appearance of contractures and reduces those which already exist, which are frequently the result of sitting, rigidity and spasticity.

(56) / Serotip II/X, ugotovljen na farmi PA, je bil doslej ugotovljen le pri govedu frizijske pasme na družbenih farmah. (1B)

Serotype II/X, established on farm PA, had previously been established only in Frisian cattle on socially owned farms.

The pattern is decidedly more common in Slov than a study of parallel instances shows, since the corresponding time advbl is not necessarily medial in the Eng translations. (See (106), for example.) In fact, the general pattern V-*biti* - A - Pov. d/past participle exists, with advbls of various semantic types.

### (ii) Non-parallel Slov and Eng advbls

The three advbl positions will again be considered in the order final, initial and medial, this time from the least to the most frequent divergency.

#### Final position

There are c. 108 instances of parallel final advbls, as already mentioned (p. 214), but only one example of non-parallel final position. The corpus thus presents striking evidence for the agreement between Slov and Eng as regards finally placed advbls in that if an advbl is final (and rheme) in Slov, it will normally be final in Eng too.<sup>24</sup> The level of agreement in the corpus is such that we may predict this to be a general tendency.

The discrepant instance is as follows:

(37) / V obdobju avstroogrške monarhije in stare Jugoslavije se je delež kmečk-ega prebivalstva znižal na okrog 60%, kolikor ga je bilo po končani drugi svetovni vojni leta 1945. Zelo hitro pa se je zmanjševalo kmečko prebivalstvo v novi Jugoslaviji in tako sedaj znaša le še okrog 10%. (FS)

In the period of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and pre-war Yugoslavia the proportion of the farming population decreased to about 60%, which was also the situation as the war ended in 1945. In postwar Yugoslavia it declined very rapidly, so that now it represents only about 10%

The time advbl could have been placed finally: "The farming population declined very rapidly in postwar Yugoslavia..." but in initial position it parallels the time advbl of the preceding sentence as well as that (*now*) of the following clause. Nor is there a need for the time advbl to provide postverbal complementation, as the manner advbl already does this. (See pp. 253-54 for further explanation of this point.)

### Initial position

Only advbls in main clauses (including paratactic and asyndetic ones) are taken into account since in Slov, an initial advbl in a subordinate clause would need to be a relative advbl, and this would normally be rendered likewise with an initial relative advbl in Eng (see p. 218).

There are c. 32 examples of non-parallel initial position, of which 23 are P advbls, 6 are M and 3 are T. This compares with c. 57 examples in parallel initial position (T: 31, P: 18 and M: 8). The noticeably low level of non-correspondence with T advbls correlates with the fact that correspondence in initial position is highest for this semantic type.

Before the individual instances are discussed, a few general observations might be in order. Slov initial position seems to be unrestrictedly open to advbls



(not to mention other elements/items), and is less used for the S than in Eng. This is because the S, if already known from the context or situation, and if no emphasis is required, is often not expressed at all in surface structure. If, on the other hand, the S is rheme - as quite frequently happens (cf. n. 11, p. 259) - it occupies final position. Both situations (unexpressed S and rhematic S) mean one candidate less for initial position.

Initial position is usually occupied by some element other than the verb unless the clause contains no other elements apart from what functions as rheme. (See pp. 199-200 for comments on the non-thematic status of the verb.) Advbls serve admirably well as initial elements/themes. In short clauses containing only an advbl, the verb, and one other element functioning as rheme, the advbl is almost obligatorily initial. This is significant as 15/16 examples happen to be of this AVX type, where X stands for any element as rheme, i.e. about half of all the instances of non-parallel initial position - 13/14<sup>25</sup> of them are AVS. In Eng. the S is always present (except in circumstances where gapping is possible) and generally occupies preverbal position (in declarative clauses).

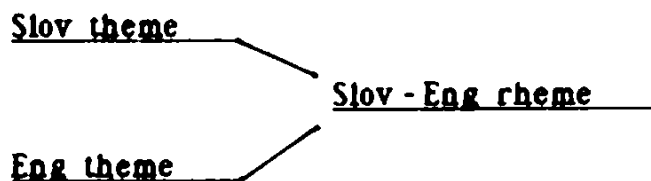
On the other hand, there are constraints on advbls appearing initially in Eng. Most relevant here is the distinction between advbls which modify the whole clause/sentence (sentence modifiers) and are thus perfectly eligible for initial position, and those which modify (all or part of) the predicate and are thus generally placed within the predicate. Such predicate modifiers either do not occupy initial position (e.g. some manner advs: *Turn the knob clockwise* - \**Clockwise turn the knob*; advs of degree: *We have completely exhausted our stocks* - \**Completely we have exhausted our stocks*) or, if placed initially, create marked WO (e.g. advbls of P-goal: \**Into the valley of death rode the six*

*hundred*). Since there should be some justification for employing marked WO, this in effect also means some restriction on the use of initial position.

Nevertheless, it is possible to translate with an initial advbl in Eng when the corresponding Slov advbl occurs elsewhere in the clause. This situation typically arises with Slov medial advbls (e.g. in an S ... A sequence) - see under non-parallel medial position (pp. 247-48). The corpus does show, however, appreciably more initial Slov advbls not paralleled in this position in Eng than vice versa. (c. 16 instances occur - in main clauses - of an initial Eng advbl not paralleled in Slov, compared with 32 non-parallel Slov initial advbls.)

It might be thought that the initial element/theme is more likely to differ in the two languages than the final element/rheme (in cases where the final element is rheme in Eng too! - see pp. 203ff. and *passim*) from the point of view that the culminating point of the message can (more often) be expected to be the same, but the departure points for the message need not coincide.

Diagrammatically:



Surprisingly, only two such examples<sup>26</sup> occur in this subsection of the corpus:

(58) /|<sup>T</sup> že od daleč | se je Ljubljana razkazovala |<sup>R</sup> kot značilna mestna tvorba,  
nastala v zavetju fevdalnega gradu. |<sup>27</sup> (NŠ, p. 23)

|<sup>T</sup> Ljubljana | could already be seen from far off |<sup>R</sup> as a typical urban  
structure which had risen under the shelter of the feudal system. [sic] |

(pp 22-23)

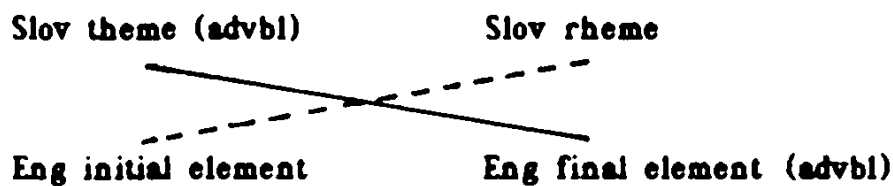
(59) ... vendar ga je varovala na zahodni strani obnovljeno rimsko obzidje.

|<sup>T</sup> na severu in jugu | pa so morali obzidno črto potegniti |<sup>R</sup> do reke |

(NŠ, p. 20)

... even though it was protected on the west side by the restored Roman wall; |<sup>T</sup> it | was necessary, to the north and south of it, to lengthen the wall |<sup>R</sup> as far as the river. |

In fact, a much more common pattern is where the Slov initial advbl (theme) corresponds to an advbl placed finally in Eng, as in Slov AVS - Eng SVA. Diagrammatically:



(The broken line represents a less frequent correspondence. In 21/22 out of the 32 clauses, the Slov rheme is the S, which is much more likely to occupy initial position in Eng.)

Such a pattern occurs in 28 out of the 32 examples, plus another two where the Eng advbl is postverbal but not clause-final,<sup>28</sup> and its very frequency makes us face the question - in the light of the non-correspondence here between the Slov rheme and the Eng final element (advbl), what should we regard as the rheme in Eng? In Slov, though there may be some degree of choice for the initial element as theme (see n. 27, p. 261), the context should make it reasonably clear which element is to be placed finally as rheme. In Eng, on the other hand, the final element is much more dictated by grammatical WO sequences, and may not be the rheme in the sense of "the communicatively most important element"

At this point it might be worthwhile to comment on the distinction made by some Czech writers of the Prague school between "setting" and "specification" advbls (see chapter 3, p. 97; cf. also p. 138). I would suggest that Slov and Eng differ with regard to this distinction. Initial advbls in Eng (sentence modifiers)

are typically those which provide a "setting" for the rest of the clause/sentence (T-when/dur and P-loc advbls are particularly appropriate here, but M-means/instr advbls can function like this too - cf. p. 220). An initial advbl in Slov, on the other hand, can be, but is not necessarily a setting for the rest of the clause (e.g. M-man advbls). To put it briefly, "departure point" (*izhodišče*) need not equal "setting". Final advbls in Slov have the function of "specifying" that piece of information which is the essential point of the message being conveyed in the clause, i.e. the rheme. It would then follow that final advbls in Eng express specification when they correspond to Slov final advbls. Specification will cut across the predicate/sentence modifier distinction in Eng:

- (a) *He has gone to London*. - predicate modifier as specification, answering the diagnostic rheme question (DRQ): *Where has he gone?*
- (b) *He has lived in London for twenty years*. - sentence modifier as specification, answering the DRQ: *How long has he lived in London?*

The converse of this is that advbls can be final in Eng for grammatical reasons (predicate modification) or simply because it is a preferred position, without expressing the essential rhematic point of the message:

(c) *I went (i) to bed (ii) at 8 o'clock (iii) last night*

(i) - predicate modifier (P-goal).

(ii) - predicate modifier as specification/rheme, answering the DRQ: *What time did you go to bed last night?*

(iii) - sentence modifier, in its common, neutral position.

The rather complicated situation in Eng sketched here may make it difficult at times to be sure if a final advbl is rheme or not, and I would suggest that then the context must be considered. (See also pp. 254-55)

Starting with predicate modifiers, let us illustrate a straightforward type: advbls of P-goal/dir. In the relevant clauses (3, all with final S in Slov) there is no justification in the context for creating marked W0 by making the advbls initial in Eng; they occupy their normal postverbal position:

(60) / V obzidano mesto je vodilo več utrjenih vrat. Špitalska vrata ... (NŠ, p. 22)

Various fortified gateways led into the city enclosed within its walls. The Hospital Gate (Špitalska vrata) ...

(61) Špitalska vrata ... so zapirala vstop na most (tudi Spodnji most imenovan), ki je peljal do jedra Mesta. V isti mestni del so vodila s Poljan tudi Kloštrska vrata ob frančiškanskem samostanu na robu današnjega živilskega trga. (NŠ, p. 22)

The Hospital Gate (Špitalska vrata) ... closed the entrance to the bridge, also called Spodnji most, which led to the city centre. The Claustral Gateway (Kloštrska vrata), near the Franciscan convent beside the modern market, also led to the centre from Poljane.

However, it may be possible to find an alternative translation which preserves the same theme - rheme distribution as in Slov:

(60a) Access into the walled city [advbl phrase as postmodifier] was through various fortified gateways.

(61a) This same part of the city [advbl S] was reached from the direction of Poljane via the Kloštrska vrata.

(Compare example (45): *Each pipe can be reached ...*)

My impression is that translators (Eng native speakers) do not consciously strive to preserve the Slov theme - rheme distribution in every possible case, though there is no reason not to follow it whenever it naturally coincides with Eng grammatical W0 patterns. Nor does the non-correspondence necessarily cloud understanding. In (60), for example, the Slov S as rheme (*več utrjenih vrat*) is

linked with the continuation of the text: Špitalska vrata, Kloštrska vrata and Pisarna or Karlovška vrata are then described. But this organization of the text is just as clear in Eng where the S (*Various fortified gateways*) is initial in its clause. (Intonationally, the sentence stress could fall on *GATEways*, marking the S as the important information, while *led into the city* .. could be read as tail.)

In the third example, the Eng advbl corresponding to the Slov P-dir advbl would be interpreted as P-loc:

- (62) Silhueta mesta je bila odlično ponazorilo veljave družbenih slojev v mestu. Nad obzidje so štrlela komaj slemena zvečine lesenih, pravokotno s čeli na ulico postavljenih enonadstropnih ljubljanskih hiš, nad njimi so se smeli dvigati koničasti gotski zvoniki mestnih cerkva, nesporna krona mesta pa je bil fevdalni grad mestnega gospoda. (NŠ, p 23)

The city's profile perfectly reproduced the importance of the ranks of its citizens. The chimney tops of the houses composed of one floor, mostly of wood and with their facades facing at right angles towards the roads, just showed above the line of walls, dominated by the spires of the bell towers of the Gothic churches and the whole city was dominated from above by the castle of the feudal lord.

and in this case could perhaps be placed initially as in the following version, which partly alters the original and also translates the clause-initial *nad njimi* with a corresponding advbl: "Above the (line of ) walls could just be seen (? just showed) the rooftops of the mostly wooden, one-storeyed houses, with their facades at right angles to the roads, above them rose the pointed Gothic bell-towers of the city's churches, while the indisputable crowning point was the castle of the feudal lord." This version prompts a comment on S - V inversion, namely, that the possibility of such inversion depends on a certain class of verbs which may be

approximately characterized as intransitive (or passive?) verbs of general "presentative" meaning, that is, verbs which serve "to bring something on to the discursal stage deserving our attention" (Quirk *et al* 1985, p. 1408). The extent of this class still needs to be determined, for in the above translation *could just be seen* is not necessarily ideal, and *just showed* is decidedly questionable, whereas *rose* is perfectly acceptable, all as regards S - V inversion.<sup>29</sup>

We might conclude this P-goal/dir group with the following instance, where the Eng advbl cannot be other than a postverbal predicate modifier:

- (63) Upravičeno je posneti mnenje zgodovinarjev, da je bilo ljubljansko ozemlje prav zaradi negotove usode prehodnega grla redko poseljeno tako za časa Samove plemenske zveze v drugi četrtini sedmega stoletja kakor kasneje za Karantanije. Skozi ljubljanski prostor so tedaj še zmerom vdiralci Obri.

(NŠ, p. 16)

We must also cite the opinions of historians who state that the Ljubljanian territory, precisely because of its hazardous character as a European thoroughfare, was very scarcely populated both at the time of the tribal league of Samo in the 720's [sic] and later in the time of Carantania. The Avar invasions were still moving across Liubljanian territory.

Some predicate modifiers in Eng relate to the object,<sup>30</sup> and this perhaps applies particularly to place advbls:

- (64) Ta raven strokovno pospeševalnega dela ima najpogostejši in najbolj neposreden stik z organiziranimi kooperanti in pri njih izvaja strokovne, organizacijske in še mnogotere druge naloge in akcije. (FS)

This level of professional extension work has the most frequent and most direct contact with organized co-operators and carries out professional, organizational and many other tasks and actions among them.

- (65) / V mestu so imeli in širili svojo posest tudi nekateri pomembni kranjski

samostani, tako kostanjeviški, stiški in bistrski. (NŠ, p. 22)

Some other important convents in Carniola also had their own property in the city (these were later enlarged): Kostanjevica, Suična and Bistra.

Here as well, an alternative translation closer to the Slov theme - rheme sequence would be feasible: "Property in the city [advbl phrase as postmodifier] was also held by certain important Carniolan monasteries ..." but the original version illustrates the interesting feature of discontinuous structures in Eng. In this case the S (in initial position) is resumed by means of appositional phrases, and we may consider it to express the main information of the sentence (For more examples of discontinuous structures see (17) and n 12, p. 259.)

(66) Podobno, kakor zavzemajo samostanska zemljišča večje parcele kot navadne meščanske hiše, velja tudi za zemljišča, na katerih stoje druge cerkve. Na Starem trgu je bržčas že v dvanajstem stoletju nastala cerkev sv. Jakoba, v Mestu pa je imela odličen položaj najbrž prav toliko stara cerkev sv. Nikolaja, ki je 1461 ali 1462 postala stolna cerkev ljubljanske škofije.

(NŠ, p. 22)

As the sites of the convents took up much more space than the houses of the wealthy, as well as those on which other religious buildings were constructed, they therefore enjoyed the same privileges. The Church of St. James in the Old Village (Stari trg) was already built probably by the 12th century, the equally old church of St. Nicholas, which in 1461 or 1462 became the Cathedral of the Ljubljanian diocese, had an important position in the city.

(pp. 20, 22)

Here the Eng version also has *in the city* placed finally as an O-related advbl but the overall translation for the two consecutive sentences misses the point being conveyed by the theme - rheme organization in Slov and should be corrected to give better textual coherence. In Slov the statement made in the first



sentence is then illustrated by two examples which may be summarized as follows:

- (a) *na Starem trgu - cerkev sv. Jakoba* (its date of construction is given as incidental information by means of a medial advbl)
- (b) *v Mestu - cerkev sv. Nikolaja* (a subsequent relative clause adds further information)

In the translation of the *na Starem trgu - cerkev sv. Jakoba* sentence, the place advbl is reduced in rank to a postmodifier of the S, while the time advbl is placed last, and gives the impression of being the main rhematic information (answering the DRQ: *When was the church of St. James built?*). I would translate: "Just as the plots of land for monasteries were larger than those belonging to the ordinary houses of the bourgeoisie, so were the plots on which other churches were built.<sup>31</sup> In the Old Village, there was the church of St. James, probably built in the 12th century,<sup>32</sup> while in the city the equally old church of St. Nicholas commanded an excellent position; in 1461 or 1462 this church became the Cathedral of the Ljubljanian diocese."<sup>33</sup>

M-man advbls are generally predicate modifiers and occur postverbally (67)-(68) or medially (69):

- (67) Prizadeta je kontrola za selektivno izvajanje gibov. Na eni strani se pojavljajo nepotrebne motorične aktivnosti, na drugi strani obstaja odsotnost potrebne aktivnosti. V različnih kombinacijah se pojavijo vzorčni mišični odgovori. (AW)

The control of selective motions is damaged. On the one hand unnecessary motor activities appear while on the other hand there is the absence of necessary activities. Patterns of muscle responses appear in different combinations.

Note the AVS sequence in Slov here and possibly in both clauses of the following example (see n. 25, p. 261):

(68) Toda njegova pravilna ureditev je nasledek naslonitve na ravno črto rimskega zidu ter so zato tudi Gosposko ulico vzporedno z zidom speljali v skorajda ravni črti. Domala pravokotno na to os Novega trga potekajo dovozne ceste na obeh straneh Gosposke ulice, skorajda pravokotno nanjo je urejen tudi pravokotni trg tega predela. (NŠ, p 20)

...but it had a regular layout thanks to the primitive rectilinear arrangement of the Roman walls; this also explains why Lords Street (Gosposka ulica) was laid out parallel in an almost straight line. In respect to the axis of the New Village, the roads of access cut both sides of Lords Street almost at right angles and the rectangular square opened out almost orthogonally to this

In the Eng translation, *almost at right angles* is additionally an O-related advbl

(69) To problemsko področje je pri nas še premalo proučeno. Sistematično smo ta vprašanja kaj skromno proučevali, zato lahko npr. predpostavljamo, da se ob drugih vprašanih odpirajo tudi naslednja: ... (FS)

This area is still too little studied in Slovenia. The questions have been systematically examined only in a rather modest way, so that we imagine the following questions, among others, open up:

(Cf. also (57) under final position: *Zelo hitro* - *very rapidly*)

A distinction can be observed in the above examples between M-man advbls which merely add some extra information (e.g. "These questions have been examined, and examined systematically" - the quality of "addition" is probably clearest with medial advbls; cf. also chapter 3, p. 86) and those which provide information that completes the sense of the clause (as in (67)). The latter type

may lead us on to the remaining predicate modifiers, which similarly have a "completive" function. For instance:

- (70) Zato je z organizacijskega vidika treba poskrbeti za vsebinsko celovito povezavo raziskav z izobraževanjem in potrebami po tem znanju v neposredni proizvodnji. V obeh smereh, se pravi od raziskovalno-izobraževalnih ustanov do neposredne proizvodnje in obratno, mora potekati sprotno povratno informiranje, da se tako večja raven in pogloblja kakovost novih raziskovalnih dosežkov. (FS)

Thus from an organizational point of view it is necessary to see that the entire content of research projects is linked with education and the need for such knowledge in direct production. A continuous mutual exchange of information is needed in both directions, i.e. from research-educational institutions to direct production and vice versa so the level of new research achievements is increased and their quality improved.

It is interesting that if a DRQ were asked to elicit the second sentence in Eng. it would probably not be "Where is a continuous mutual exchange of information needed?" - which would point to the advbl only as rheme, but "What is needed?" - with the answer: "A continuous mutual exchange of information [- the Slov rheme] in both directions ..." [- the advbl added as postmodifier]. This interpretation is substantiated by the further possibility of translating the sentence as: "There needs to be |<sup>R</sup> a continuous mutual exchange of information in both directions ..." The advbl, in fact, makes explicit what is indicated by the pre-modifier *mutual* (*povratno*).

- (71) - ali je premalo pospeševalcev v OZD oziroma na vseh ravneh? V Sloveniji je približno 100.000 kmetij, poprečno ima kmetija okrog 4,5 ha kmetijske zemlje, v PS dela okrog 200 strokovnjakov. (FS)

- are there too few extension workers in the organizations of associated

labour or at all levels? There are approximately 100,000 farms in Slovenia, one farm having on average 4.5 hectares of agricultural land, while about 200 experts work in the ES.

(For the advbls *V Sloveniji - in Slovenia* see pp 240-41.)

The important point in the second sentence is the ratio of ES experts to the total number of farms, as is seen from the Slov rhemes. This can be brought out in Eng by sentence stress falling on the numerals (while the advbls *in Slovenia* and *in the ES* would be read as intonational tails). Although the Slov FSP sequence could be realized in Eng by fronting the advbl (or using an advbl S) in the first clause and by employing a lexical converse (*X employs* instead of *work in X* - see chapter 2, p. 65) in the last clause

{In Slovenia there are } approx 100,000 farms, ... while the ES employs about 200  
 {Slovenia has } experts.

I would argue here, too, that the Eng reader can be expected to recognize the essential point being made without the text having the same initial theme and final rheme as in Slov<sup>34</sup> (see also pp. 231-32). Compare, however, the commentary on (78) and (79) below

In some examples where Slov has the familiar "initial A final S" sequence and the Eng version converts this into "initial S ... (completive) final A", the same theme - rheme organization could be paralleled in Eng by means already noted, by use of an advbl S as in (72a) or by S - V inversion as additionally in (73a):

(72) Posebej je popularna sredi petnajstega stoletja ugotovljena ljubljanska kiparska delavnica. V značaju tega kiparstva, ki druží odmeve plemiškega mednarodnega gotskega stila z aktualnimi črtami mediteranske tektonizacije v prepričljivo inačico meščanske umetnosti, se dobro kaže izviren prispevek ljubljanskega središča. (NŠ, p. 20)

The sculptural production of Ljubljana was very famous in the middle of the 15th century. The originality of the Ljubljanian centre's contribution is evident in the character of this art which united echoes of the international Gothic style and aristocratic styles with more modern Mediterranean characteristics. (pp. 19-20)

Cf. (72a) The character of this art, which ..., clearly shows/reveals/reflects the originality of the Ljubljanian centre's contribution.

(73) Nedvomen vrh ljubljanskega središča v nakazani smeri pa je tedaj najkvalitetnejše stensko slikarstvo tretje četrtine petnajstega stoletja. V tej umetnosti odlično odsevajo pojmovanja tiste končne faze srednega veka, ki pomeni v naših razmerah ploden predpogoj za vsa kasnejša prizadevanja v renesančni smeri. (NŠ, p. 20)

The height of the Ljubljanian artistic production was however represented by mural painting (the last ten to twenty years[sic] of the 15th century). The conceptions of the late Middle Ages that constitute the presupposition for the later prolific developments in the Renaissance style are reflected in this art.

Cf. (73a) In this art are reflected S / This art reflects ...

One set of such examples (from N. Šumi's text) relates to the physical location of buildings, city areas, etc., where in Slov the location is regularly thematic. Here it seems to be partly the translator's whim as to whether the Slov AVS sequence is paralleled in Eng or not. The Eng verb in each case, (74) - (76), is *stand*, one of those which easily undergo S - V inversion:

(74) / Mesto se je s svojim obzidjem kot plastično zaokrožena celota jasno ločilo od svoje okolice. Zunaj obzidja so nastala seveda tudi značilna predmestja, od katerih so nekatera prav tako ohranjena do danes. (NŠ, p. 23)

With its ring of walls the city could easily be picked out from the surrounding countryside. Naturally, characteristic suburbs also stood outside the walls, some of which can still be seen.

Note the discontinuous S here (but cf. an alternative AVS translation: "Outside the walls there naturally sprang up characteristic suburbs, some of which can still be seen.")

- (75) Glavna žila tega predmestja teče vzporedno z Ljubljano. Na koncu te poti stoji pražupnijska cerkev ljubljanskega okoliša, cerkev sv. Petra, ki je omenjena v dvanajstem stoletju, a je morebiti še starejša. Ob njej je izpričana okrogla, najbrž romanska kostnica. (76) Lokacija te prafarne cerkve ni naključna, saj stoji na nekdanjem staroslovenskem grobišču. Približno na pol poti med šentpetrsko cerkvijo in špitalskim mostom pa je stala krstna cerkev ljubljanske prafare, posvečena Janezu Krstniku. (NŠ, p. 23)
- The main road runs parallel to the Ljubljana River. At the end of it [parallel initial advbl] stands the church of the first parish in Ljubljanian territory, St. Peter's, first mentioned in the 12th century but probably much older. The remains of a circular ossuary, probably Romanesque, stand next to it. (76) The site of the church was not unintentional as it stands on an earlier Paleoslav necropolis. The baptistery of the first Ljubljanian parish, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, stood roughly halfway between the Church of St. Peter and Hospital Bridge.

Sentence modifiers in Eng are a minority in this section of non-parallel initial advbls. One type consists of advbls (typically those of place) appended to existential *there*-clauses. The construction itself is a way of highlighting (rhematizing) the S, which in the corresponding Slov clauses is generally final and rheme. It should therefore be indifferent, as regards FSP, whether the appended advbl precedes or follows, though final position often

sounds natural - unless the Eng S is lengthy, and is thus placed finally as end-weight (exemplified in my translation of (79)):

(77) / V srednjeveški Ljubljani so izpričane različne obrti. ... (NŠ, p. 19)

There were various artisan activities noted in medieval Ljubljana.

Cf. also (71) above: There are approximately 100,000 farms in Slovenia. <sup>35</sup>

As we shall see in the next section (pp. 245-46), time advbls as sentence modifiers may typically occupy initial position in Eng to serve as setting for the clause. In the following example, the translator has chosen not to retain such an advbl initially, although the clause already contains postverbal complementation and does not need the advbl finally for this reason (see pp. 253-54).

(78) /Že od druge polovice osmega stoletja so morali Slovenci priznati frankovsko nadoblast. (NŠ, p. 17)

The Slovenes had to submit to Frankish dominion from the second half of the 8th century onwards. (p. 16)

If we analyze only at the level of the individual sentence, then the finally placed time advbl in Eng might appear as specification, a true rheme (answering the DRQ: "From what period did the Slovenes have to submit to Frankish dominion?"). The Slov text shows clearly that "submission to Frankish dominion" is the main point, and this could be made more obvious in the Eng version by following the same "distribution of information".

In (79) the finally placed time advbl in Eng also appears as specification:

(79) V šestem stoletju po dosedanji vednosti sploh prenehajo pričevanja o življenju v antičnem mestu. Poslej vse do nove stalne slovanske naselitve na teh tleh, izpričane z grobnimi in drugimi najdbami, ni dovolj dokazov za domnevo o kaki drugi naselbini na tem območju. (NŠ, p. 15)

... proofs that disappear completely in the 6th century. The existence of other villages in the zone has not been proved up until the new Slav

settlements in the area, shown by tomb remains and other discoveries.

The translation is possibly influenced by such typical placements as clause-initial S and clause-final advbl, but a more smoothly connected text and more effective presentation of information can be achieved. I would suggest: "... proofs that disappear completely in the 6th century. From then right on to the time when a new, permanent Slav settlement was made in the area, as testified to by graves and other remains, there is insufficient evidence for supposing there could have been any other settlement here." (In this version the time advbl as setting precedes a *there*-clause with a lengthy, complex S embedding another *there*-clause.)

The situation is relatively simple when only one advbl functions as setting, but it is not unusual to have both place and time advbls in one clause providing a space-time framework for the action. In Slov this can easily be managed with a sequence of initial ... medial advbls, but the general inappropriateness of medial position in Eng for such advbl phrases as P-loc and T-when/dur means that some permutation of initial and/or final position must be resorted to. Another solution, exemplified in the corpus, is to downgrade one of the advbls into a postmodifier: 36

(80) // V naši deželi je bila v zadnjem 12-letnem obdobju obolevnost z leptospirozo poprečno 11,7 primerov letno, to je približno 6 primerov letno na milijon prebivalcev. (JD)

During the last 12 years morbidity with leptospirosis in our country [postmodifier] has been on average 11.7 cases per year, i.e. approximately 6 cases a year per 1 million inhabitants.

In fact, there are only two instances in the corpus where both the Slov place and time advbls have been retained in the Eng translation, but other examples can easily be found in scientific articles describing research carried out in a particular area (P advbl) during a particular period (T advbl). In Eng



the time advbl may be selected in preference as the initial setting advbl, as happens here:

(81) / V našem laboratoriju smo leta 1976 uvedli serološko tipizacijo Str. agalactiae, leta 1985 pa še tipizacijo s fagi. (1B)

In 1976 we introduced serological typing of Str. agalactiae in our laboratory and in 1985 phagotyping too.

Here the initial P-loc of Slov could have been paralleled in Eng (especially as it modifies the whole sentence). But in this position it can then imply some contrastive emphasis: in our laboratory compared with others. Alternatively, the sentence can be remodelled with both advbls occurring finally, as in "Serological typing of Str. agalactiae was introduced in our laboratory in 1976 and phagotyping additionally in 1985". (There is no particular justification for the less common clustering of two advbls in initial position, which would also leave the passive verb as clause-final element.)

(82) /Na dveh velikih družbenih farmah PA in RA je bilo preiskano mleko krav in brisi grla ter urin oseb, ki opravljajo te krave, ter njihovih družinskih članov. Na farmi PA je bilo leta 1980 preiskano 360 krav frizijske pasme in brisi ter urin 38 oseb, na farmi RA pa leta 1985 80 krav simentalske pasme ter 21 oseb. (1B)

On two large socially owned farms PA and RA we tested the cows' milk together with throat smears and the urine of persons who handle the cows and of their family members. In 1980 360 Frisian cows and smears and urine from 38 persons were tested on farm PA while in 1985 80 Simenthal cows and 21 persons were tested on farm RA.

(Note the two finite clauses in Eng, whereas in Slov the verbal phrase is "gapped" in the second clause. I therefore consider the advbls only in the one common finite clause.) This example is very similar to (81): the place advbl could

have been initial in Eng, following on from the initial P-loc in the preceding sentence, with the time advbls coming last, or the sequence S - V-passive - A-p - A-t could have been used. The question is how far such alternative placements reflect real differences in FSP, given the preceding context.

### **Medial position**

As can be expected, non-correspondence of advbl position in the two languages is greatest of all in medial position. The reasons for this which arise out of the restrictions on the use of medial position in Eng have already been noted in the section on parallel medial position (p 222). Even if medial position in Slov were limited to the space between the clitic(s) and the main verb, which is in fact a very common advbl position, it would still definitely surpass the potentiality of medial position in Eng. In passing it should be noted that Slov medial position often serves as a convenient, unobtrusive slot for "tucking away" information regarded as somewhat incidental, compared with initial position, which carries a certain importance as departure point for the clause.<sup>37</sup> In non-parallel cases, the Eng advbls translating the Slov medial advbls are, of course, placed either initially or finally, and in this section we will be concerned with reasons that underlie the choice between these two positions. (Non-parallel Slov initial advbls could have Eng equivalents in final or medial position, but in fact the instances in this corpus occupy final (postverbal) position almost without exception, with non-parallel Slov medial advbls, however, a choice between two Eng advbl positions genuinely exists.)

There are c. 72 Slov advbls in non-parallel medial position, of which 42 are T advbls, 21 P advbls and 9 M advbls. (Compare this with c. 20 instances of parallel medial advbls: T: 14, M: 4 and P: 2.) Only a few of these instances (8 out of 72) count as non-parallel for the "technical" reason that advbls which are

formally medial in Slov (as previously defined, see p. 201), if standing in immediate postclitic/postverbal position in subordinate clauses, may correspond to Eng initial (pre-S) advbls. Such Slov advbls are shifted themes, as previously explained.

However, Slov advbls regarded as shifted themes may as easily be rendered by an Eng advbl in final position, as in:

(83) Večjo veljavo je imela v mestu trgovina, čeravno bi bilo zgrešeno misliti, da so v tej dobi mesta opravljala glavnino trgovskih poslov. (NŠ, p. 19)

Trade was of major importance, but it would be wrong to believe that the greater part of the commercial activity was confined to the city [sic] in this period.

There is, in fact, no reason to expect that a Slov shifted theme advbl will necessarily be rendered by an initial advbl in Eng any more than there is reason to expect that a Slov initial advbl (in a main clause) will necessarily be paralleled by an Eng initial advbl.

Of these 72 Slov medial advbls, 25 are rendered by an initial advbl in Eng (16 in main clauses and 9 in subordinate clauses) whereas 47 are rendered by a final advbl<sup>38</sup> (main and subordinate clauses not distinguished), which would again support Quirk *et al*'s observation that Eng advbls mostly favour final position (see n. 16, p. 260).

The initially placed advbls in Eng typically function as setting and overwhelmingly belong to time as a semantic type (T: 21, P: 2 and M: 2). To illustrate:

(84) Današnja podoba Gradu je nastala zvečine po potresu 1511 ter zajema nekoliko večji obseg kakor prvotni Grad. V sestavu Gradu je bila že ob koncu srednega veka tudi kapela sv. Jurija, ki so jo pozneje nadzidali.

(NŠ, pp. 22-23)

The Castle's present aspect is mostly due to restoration carried out after the earthquake in 1511 and takes up a somewhat larger perimeter than the original castle. Towards the end of the Middle Ages, the Chapel of St. George was added; this was raised in height in a later period. (p. 22)

(Note the P-T sequence again in Slov.)

Other or strengthening reasons for initial position are as follows:

(a) the advbl modifies more than one clause:

(85) Tisti hemiparetiki, ki ..., so že sposobni opravljati nekatere funkcije, ki pa jih z uporabo ortoze še izboljšajo ali celo na novo vzpostavijo. (AW)

Those hemiplegics who ... are already capable of carrying out certain functions, which by means of the orthosis they improve still further or even reestablish once more.

(Cf. also example (50) under parallel instances.)

or a sequence of verbs:

(86) Spoznanja, da so kmečkemu človeku in delavcu - pridelovalcu živeža - potrebni novo znanje in nasveti, predvsem tistih, ki takšno znanje imajo, so razmeroma stara, tudi več sto let. Čeprav smo vse do današnjih dni ta spoznanja proučevali, razvijali in jih uvajali v prakso, še ne moremo trditi, da (FS)

The realization that the farmer and agricultural worker - the producer of food - needs fresh knowledge and advice, especially from those who possess such knowledge, reaches a long way back, even a hundred years and more. Although right up to the present day we have examined and developed this realization, and put it into practice, we still cannot claim to ...

(b) the distribution of weight principle - if there is already considerable complementation following the verb, a sentence modifying advbl (and time advbls

capable of expressing a setting are particularly appropriate here) may well be fronted:

(87) // 23 letni pacient je bil 10. 2. 1986 sprejet v tukajšno ustanovo na kompleksno rehabilitacijo stanja po poškodbi torakalne hrbtenice. (AW)

On 10. 2. 86. the 23 year old patient was admitted to this institute for complex rehabilitation after injury to the thoracic area of the spine.

(c) fronting may also be employed to avoid having some postverbal element wrongly or ambiguously modified by an advbl if it were placed finally. In the following example, the advbl *on admission*, if clause-final, could be interpreted as modifying the immediately preceding advbl of cause, if it were not for the presence of the premodifier *previous*. The juxtaposition of *previous* and *on admission* would be so awkward, however, that the latter, as sentence modifier, obviously needs to be fronted:<sup>39</sup>

(88) V tabeli 2 so prikazani nekateri klinični in laboratorijski ugotovitki pri teh bolnikih. 7 bolnikov je bilo ob sprejemu slabo hidriranih zaradi prehodnega bruhanja in/ali diareje in/ali hudega znojenja. (JD)

Table 2 shows some clinical and laboratory findings in these patients.

On admission 7 patients were poorly hydrated due to previous vomiting and/or diarrhoea and/or severe sweating.

(d) in Slov main clauses there may be an initial ... medial sequence of elements which is not appropriate or less common in Eng. One such sequence is S-clitic(s) - A-t, where in Eng the time advbl, if expressing setting, can be placed initially:

(89) Ena izmed temeljnih lastnosti, po kateri se mesto razločuje od vasi, je izredno smotrna odbira in parcelacija zemljišč. Mestno zemljišče se je v srednjem veku podrejalo možnostim naravne obrambe. (NŠ, p. 20)

One of the essential characteristics that distinguished the city from the

countryside was the choice and rational division of the building plots.

In the Middle Ages the urban surface was chosen for reasons which were based on the possibility of natural defence.

See also (87) above

This practice would be appropriate with other semantic types of advbl capable of functioning as setting in Eng. It so happens that all five instances of this correspondence (Slov S - clitic(s) - A - Eng A - S) concern time advbls. By way of contrast, note the following (still S - clitic(s) - A in Slov), where the advbl as predicate modifier in Eng naturally occupies final position:

(90) //Leta 1796 izdelane orgle so v Izolo priskele iz Benetk (MB)

This organ built in 1796 was brought to Izola from Venice.

(*v Izolo - to Izola* represents known information in the text and thus precedes the rhematic P-source advbl *iz Benetk - from Venice*.)

Another such sequence in Slov consists of P... T advbls. Although these two advbl types can co-occur in initial position in Eng, such usage is not so frequent and the corpus contains a few instances where in the Eng translation the time advbl is selected as initial setting, and the place advbl of Slov is downgraded into a postmodifier of the S (or in one case (84) is even omitted) (See example (80) and the commentary on p. 242.)

Lastly, there is among the initially placed advbls in Eng a single instance of what might be termed a subject adjunct/subjunct (see chapter 3, pp 158-60):

(91) Predvsem meni, da so koristna srečanja pisateljev držav, ki so v medsebojnih konfliktih, čeprav lahko centri, ki jih organizirajo, naletijo na odpor in celo hude očitke, češ da se izdajalsko sporazumevajo s "sovražniki" (MM)

In particular, it believes that meetings between writers from countries engaged in mutual conflicts are useful, although the centres organizing such meetings may encounter resistance and even severe reproaches from

their own nation to the effect that like traitors they are making agreements with "enemies".

Such a phrase, referring to the subject as well as the predicate, is justifiably placed initially.

Although, as we have seen, it is common for Eng advbls to occur finally (postverbally) in correspondence to Slov medial ones, only about a third of these instances (c. 14 out of 47) do so because they are predicate modifiers. These include:

(a) O-related advbls:

- (92) Za uspešno rehabilitacijo težko prizadete osebe je poleg programirane interdisciplinarne timske obravnave zelo pomembno, da ima pacient čimprej na voljo ustrezen rehabilitacijski oziroma ortopedski pripomoček, ki ... (AW)
- For successful rehabilitation of severely physically disabled persons it is very important that, in addition to programmed interdisciplinary team treatment, the patient has available as soon as possible the appropriate rehabilitation or orthopaedic aid, which ...

(The Eng advbl is here in iE position.)

(b) M-man advbls:

- (93) Bolnikova psihična prizadetost (nekritičnost) ne sme biti izražena v taki meri, da omenjenih aktivnosti ne bi varno opravljal. (AW)
- The patient's mental disability (non-critical) should not be expressed to such an extent that the above mentioned activities can not be carried out safely.

(c) P-goal/dir advbls:

- (94) ... zato ni naključje, da prihaja k nam precej pacientov iz tujine, ... (AW)
- So it is not by chance that many patients come to us from abroad, ...

(d) an obligatory P-loc after the verb *to live*:

- (95) Poleg meščanov, ki so se ukvarjali z obrtjo, trgovino, imeli meščanske hiše ter bili sprejeti med meščane, so v mestu prebivali tudi plemiči in duhovščina, na drugi strani pa sicer svobodni dninarji in služabniki. (NŠ, p. 19)  
 As well as artisans and tradesmen, nobles and clergy also lived in the city, with free labourers and servants besides.

Such an obligatory advbl is normally final in Eng; it is interesting to note that the place advbl modifying *prebivali* in Slov is not so bound

(e) other advbls which complement the verb:

- (96) Najvidnejše izjeme v tlorisni zasnovi ... so samostani in nasploh cerkvena zemljišča v mestu. V srednjem veku, v trinajstem stoletju, sta se vgnezdila znotraj mestnega obzidja dva samostana, križevniški v jugozahodnem vogalu Novega trga in frančiškanski v severovzhodnem vogalu Mesta.

(NŠ, pp. 20, 22)

The most notable exceptions in the city plan ... were formed by convents and other types of ecclesiastical areas in the city ... In the 13th century [parallel initial position] two convents were built within the city walls, that of the Order of Teutonic Knights on the southwestern corner of the New Village and the Franciscan convent on the northeastern corner of the city (p. 20)

If we compare these Eng final advbls with the element which is final and thus rheme in the Slov clauses, the following observations emerge

- (a) with an O-related advbl, Eng ... VOA may correspond to Slov ... VAO/AVO. In fact the VAO sequence (where A is clearly made to precede a rhematic O) is common in Slov and is one obvious cause of interference in the Eng of Slovenes. In Eng this sequence is permitted only when the O is lengthy/complex, as in (92) above. (This iE position in Eng is still considered a variant of final position although the sequence of elements (VAO) is superficially the same as in Slov.)



(b) with a verb complementing advbl in Eng. VA may correspond to A(...)V in Slov, as in:

(97) V kolikor se želijo osamosvojiti in preiti na lastno proizvodnjo, se pojavi problem ustrezne opreme ortopedске delavnice, izbora ustrezne tehnologije, usposobitve kadra, ki bo v njej delal, itn. (AW)

If they want to free themselves from such dependence and move over to their own production, the problem of suitable equipment for the orthopaedic workshop appears, as well as the choice of appropriate technology, the training of the staff who will work there, etc.

Verb complementing advbls can include M-man advbls, and in such instances Eng VA: Slov AV (without V necessarily being rheme) is a common correspondence, especially with advs, as illustrated by (93) above. (Slov M-man advs, if not rhematic, regularly occupy immediately preverbal position.<sup>40</sup>) However, it should be emphasized that the correspondences noted here, though frequent, are not automatic.

In 3 of these instances with predicate modifiers, the rheme in the Slov clause is the S, and twice the Eng version uses a discontinuous S, so that part of this element follows the postverbal advbl. See (95) and (96) above.

At the other end of the scale from predicate modifiers are the true sentence modifiers which, grammatically, may occupy initial, (medial) or final position, but which here happen to be final.

Quirk *et al* consider the placement of advbls to be influenced by the information structure of the sentence (1985, pp. 490-91), but it is questionable whether sentence modifiers in final position necessarily have a rhematic function, i.e. that of specification. In the following example:

(98) // To problemsko področje je pri nas še premalo proučeno. (FS)

This area is still too little studied in Slovenia.

final placement is simply the most neutral and unmarked, and *still too little studied* is communicatively the most important phrase. Moreover, advbl fronting might lend an undesired emphatic contrast to *in Slovenia* (Cf the comment on (81)).

Occasionally such sentence modifiers are in "penultimate" position and cause discontinuity between the verb and a closely connected prepositional phrase. Though postverbal, the advbls are clearly not rhematic, and could be fronted:

(99) Krakovo je vzorno pozidana vas z notranjimi cestami; z njegovo zelenjavo se že stoletja zalaga ljubljanski trg. (NŠ, p. 23)

Krakovo is a zone constructed in a typical manner along the internal roads and ↑the Ljubljanian market has been supplied for centuries with the vegetables grown there.

Similarly (59): "... even though ↑ it was protected on the west side by the restored Roman wall" (NŠ, p. 20).

(The arrows here and in the examples below indicate alternative positions.)

Another "mini-group" consists of sentence modifiers appended to existential *there*-clauses (cf pp. 240-41). Final position in Eng often sounds natural.<sup>41</sup>

(100) // Podatkov o vzporednih raziskavah bovinih in humanih izolatov *Str. agalactiae* je v literaturi zelo malo ... (1B)

There are very few data on parallel investigations of bovine and human isolates of *Str. agalactiae* in the literature ... (main clause)

(101) Res je sicer, da je v tej skupini manjše število majhnih kmetij kot v skupini kmetij, ki pridobivajo dohodek tudi iz redne zaposlitve ... (AB)

It is true that there are fewer small farms in this group than in the one where farms gain their income from regular employment as well ...

(subordinate clause)

In general, the cases where the choice between initial and final position seems "indifferent" are relatively few, and it is probably easier to say of some initially placed sentence modifiers that they could just as well be final, as to say of finally placed sentence modifiers that they would sound just as natural in initial position:

- (102) Celoten inštrument je ostal popolnoma nedotaknjen, kljub temu da so v cerkvi pred nekaj desetletji postavili še ene orgle. (MB)

The entire instrument has remained absolutely intact, despite the fact that some decades ago the church acquired a new instrument. ↑

Somewhere on the scale between the predicate modifiers and the interchangeable sentence modifiers, however, there are advbls which could undergo fronting (i.e. they are not restricted to predicate modification) but which "sound (much) more natural" in final position. This is partly because many verbs seem to prefer advbl complementation to their right,<sup>42</sup> which fits in with the principle of end-weight in Eng (see chapter 2, p. 64). Generally these advbls are the only postverbal element, when the case for final position is probably stronger; but they can follow another element. (Note that advbls following the O are not necessarily O-related; this can be true of time advbls - see the example quoted in n. 39, pp. 264-65.)

Let us first examine the former type (i.e. SVA). The simplest explanation here would be that many intransitive or passive transform verbs seem too "weak" as clause-final element and need complementation - which is admirably supplied by advbls:

- (103) Če živeža primanjkuje, se lahko predpostavi, da bo družbeni ugled pospeševalcev naraščal in njihovo delo bo boljše nagrajevano. Ta spoznanja se trenutno pri nas nakazujejo, saj se v zadnjih 8 - 10 letih povečuje zanimanje mladih za študij agronomije in živinoreje. (FS)

If there is a lack of food, it can be supposed that the status of extension workers will grow and that their work will be better rewarded. This realization can be seen here at present, for the interest among young people in studying agriculture and animal husbandry has increased in the last 8 - 10 years.

Although the paired place and time advbls of the first clause are sentence modifiers,<sup>43</sup> fronting them would result in an odd-sounding version: ? "Here at present this realization can be seen" The time advbl of the second clause actually expresses a temporal frame (setting) - as the context shows - but the clause as it stands sounds more "finished" and "complete" than if it had an ASV sequence. Yet the addition of, say, an adv of degree to follow and complement the verb would mean the time advbl could be fronted to provide a clear-cut setting: "for in the last 8 - 10 years, the interest among young people in studying agriculture and animal husbandry has increased considerably".<sup>44</sup> However, the same theme - rheme distribution as in Slov could be kept in this clause by using an advbl (temporal) S: "This realization is manifest here at present, for the last 8 - 10 years have seen interest increasing among young people in the study of agriculture and animal husbandry"

(104) //Stimulator HEMIFES je elektronski pripomoček, ki z električnimi impulzi preko elektrod spodbuje krčenje mišic. Pri bolnikih, ki imajo vsaj delno ohranjeno selektivno hoteno kontrolo nad gibi v ramenskem in komolčnem sklepu in lahko prste stisnejo v pest, vendar jo le delno ali sploh ne morejo odpreti, lahko z električno stimulacijo mišične skupine ekstenzorjev zapestja in prstov ustvarimo pogoje za prijem in spust predmeta (AW)

The HEMIFES stimulator is an electronic device which induces muscle contraction by means of electronic impulses via electrodes. In patients who have at least partially preserved selective voluntary control over motions

in the shoulder and elbow joints and can form their fingers into a fist but can extend them only partially or not at all, conditions for the grasp and release of an object can be established by electrical stimulation of the muscle group of extensors of the wrist and fingers.

Here weight distribution is certainly a contributory factor since fronting the M-means advbl would result in two lengthy advbls occupying initial position while the passive verb would be clause-final. But the sentence also well illustrates the question: how does one distinguish in Eng between finally placed advbls which function as "rheme" and those which do not? (apart, that is, from the guideline of finally placed advbls in Eng corresponding to finally placed advbls in Slov). We have seen much earlier that neither sentence stress nor the technique of asking DRQs is a universally applicable test. In this particular instance, the question technique would seem to indicate that the Slov and Eng sentences have different rhemes, viz:

Slov: In patients fulfilling condition X, what can be achieved by means of Y?

Rheme - Z

Eng: In patients fulfilling condition X, how can we achieve Z?

Rheme - by means of Y

In justification of the O (or V - O) as Slov rheme, we could say that the advbl refers to what is given, being the topic of the entire article.<sup>45</sup> Probably the only answer to the question posed is that the rheme in Eng cannot be identified universally by a single criterion or criteria within the clause but quite often needs to be recognized in the light of the wider context - this can only be investigated fully within text grammar. (In Slov neutral W0, position reliably indicates the rheme - though its rhematic status can also be confirmed by the wider context.)

Lastly, there are the advbls (sentence modifiers in that they could undergo fronting) which follow an object or complement (i.e. the verb already has some complementation) and sound perfectly natural in this clause-final position:

(105) Obenem so to tudi vsi primeri doslej, da smo v istem ali sosednjem gospodarstvu izolirali *Str. agalactiae* iz ljudi in mleka krav. (IB)

At the same time these are all the examples so far where ↑ we have isolated *Str. agalactiae* from people and cows' milk on the same or neighbouring farm.

Here, although the advbl could be fronted, as indicated, there is a hint of predicate modification, i.e. the P-loc advbl could modify V - O - A (P-source).

(106) / Pacient je začel z intenzivno fizikalno terapijo, vendar je nevrološka okvara ostala ves čas nespremenjena (AW)

The patient started intensive physical therapy, but ↑ the neurological disorder remained ↑ unchanged throughout

Final position again "sounds natural", although *throughout*, a single adv, can potentially occupy the other positions indicated.

## Footnotes to Chapter 4

1. Authors may write their scientific texts in Slov as a necessary step towards having an Eng version, perhaps produced by a certain regular translator. The situation is different with Slov literary texts, which are published in their own right, and later translated because they are felt to be worth translating.

2. Page references are added for the Eng text only when they differ from those in the Slov original.

3. In addition to marked WO in Slov being produced by a simple reversal of theme and rheme (i.e. rheme in initial position and theme in final position), there can also be instances where the rheme occurs somewhere medially in the clause as in "in grof vidi, da se nahaja v neznanem kraju, po katerem še nikoli ni hodil", Toporišič, *Nss*, p. 287 (previously quoted in chapter 2, p. 55). Similar examples in the corpus texts are:

Rečemo lahko, da je izrekel J. Brigido misel, ki ima še danes veljavo. (FS)

We can say that J. B. expressed a concept which is still valid today.

(*ima veljavo - velja*)

Tisti hemiparetiki, ki ..., so že sposobni opravljati nekatere funkcije, ki pa jih z uporabo ortoze še izboljšajo ali celo na novo vzpostavijo. (AW)

Those hemiplegics who ... are already capable of carrying out certain functions, which by means of the orthosis they improve still further or even reestablish once more

(Here it is possible that A + V together form a phraseological unit (*frazologem*), which functions as rheme.)

4. This differs from the standpoint taken in Quirk *et al* 1985. Note the comment: the theme "plays a semantically crucial part in stipulating, from the outset, a governing condition for the entire clause that follows. This may be an

indication of the clause's structure (*eg* interrogative); or its structural relationship (*eg* subordinate); or it may indicate a semantic relation (*eg* concession)." p. 1363.

5. A shifted theme frequently stands between the clitic(s) and past participle (as in examples (3), (4), etc.), hence the reference to its being the first postclitic element. It can, however, stand immediately after the complete verb phrase. Such variation in sequence may similarly occur in questions or following some clause-initial element, as in:

Kdaj je Potočnik postal predsednik?    Kdaj je postal Potočnik predsednik?

Lani je Potočnik postal predsednik.    Lani je postal Potočnik predsednik

6. I owe this observation to Prof. Janez Orešnik.

7. The varieties of medial position in Eng depending on the number of auxiliaries in the verb phrase can scarcely be paralleled in Slov, where generally only one (clitic) auxiliary is present. In such compound forms as the pluperfect and the past conditional, an advbl follows the two auxiliaries, *eg. Če bi bil včeraj vedel, ...* (If he had known yesterday ...), without any difference in modification compared with *Ce bi včeraj vedel, ...* (Cf. chapter 3, pp. 92-93.)

8. As an example of context affecting the FSP analysis, consider the sentence *Okoli sonca se vrti zemlja*, said by Toporišič to manifest marked W0 (*Ss*, p. 342). If context-free, this is true, but in an appropriate context, *okoli sonca* could be theme and *zemlja* rheme. Context can also affect the assigning of contrastive stress and thus the indication of focus.

9. Paragraph divisions follow the original in all the translations with the exception of the Eng version of N. Šumi's book. The differences here (which I disregard) are clearly due to the layout requirements of the printed book (text with pictures) and are not a matter of textual organization.



10. There is always the possibility, of course, that a Slov author does not form a sentence sufficiently in harmony with FSP. One such example is as follows:

V Sloveniji ... , ki obsega severozapadni del Jugoslavije, je od začetka leta 1974 do konca leta 1985 zbolelo 141 oseb za leptospirozo. (JD)

In Slovenia ... , the republic which comprises the north-western part of Yugoslavia, 141 persons contracted leptospirosis in the period from the beginning of 1974 to the end of 1985.

The final rhematic element should surely be *141 oseb* rather than *za leptospirozo* as it is already known that the article deals specifically with this illness.

Another sentence which might seem at first inappropriately ordered:

Te skupine bolnikov nismo upoštevali v analizi. (JD)

This group of patients was not taken into consideration in the analysis.

(why not "Te skupine bolnikov v analizi nismo upoštevali" since the advbl represents known information?)

can be justified if *upoštevati v analizi* is regarded as a *frazeologem*. The rheme is then V - A, and not A alone.

11. The frequency with which the S in Slov functions as rheme is illustrated by the fact that these 22 instances represent about 28.5% of all the clauses with an element other than a paralleled advbl as rheme.

12. See also examples (22), (65), (95), (97), and n. 35 below.

13. (25) is cited as a good example of the point being made, but is not actually included in the statistics given later (p. 219), as the initial advbl is semantically one of respect rather than of place.

14. This finding tallies with Quirk *et al*'s comment under semantic roles of advbls: "... the respect role is often expressed by means of an adverbial form which could be used equally to express a different semantic relation." They note

interaction with the verb, "especially perhaps with adverbials basically relating to place" as in.

He is working in a (nearby) factory (place - Where is he working?)

He is working in a factory (respect - What is he doing?) 1985, pp 483-84.

15. This concerns apparent instances of O-related advbls; see pp 233-34

16. "Although semantic and grammatical roles have a crucial influence on the position of A [advbl] in a clause, the overwhelming majority of adverbials occur at *E*." [end position] Quirk *et al* 1985, p 500 However, it should be remembered that the term advbl as used by these authors is not limited only to adjuncts (see chapter 3, p 133).

17. Quirk *et al* observe that "there is a particularly strong association of *E* [end position] with spatial expression" 1985, p 500 See also n 21 below.

18. For considerably more exemplification, see the sections on non-parallel initial and medial advbls, pp 230 ff.

19. The exceptions involve either a freer translation or instances where the S is initial in Eng, but some other element is initial in Slov.

20. One of these P advbls is translated with an M-means advbl in Eng.

Pacient je prišel opremljen z lastnim invalidskim vozičkom in s trodelnimi hodilnimi aparati z medeničnim pasom V teh aparatih je baje stal kako uro na teden.

(AW)

The patient arrived with his own wheelchair and with a long leg brace with pelvic belt. With this device he was supposed to stand for about one hour a week

21. The Survey of English Usage sample revealed the following situation concerning prepositional phrases functioning as advbls.

In initial position: 26% expressed time, 4% expressed place

In final position: 14% expressed time, 31% expressed place.

Quirk *et al* 1985, p. 491, note [a].

22. In dealing with the semantic roles of the S, Quirk *et al* note the roles of external causer (as in *The avalanche destroyed several houses*) and instrument (as in *A car knocked them down*) as well as locative and temporal roles. 1985, pp. 743, 747.

23. Note the following example where *so far* is probably a postmodifier rather than an advbl (there is no juncture):

Vse naše raziskave so bile doslej usmerjene v to, da bi ugotovili ... (IB)

All our research so far has been directed towards establishing ...

Cf. "All our research has so far been directed ..." where *so far* functions unambiguously as an advbl.

24. Note that final position is not affected by the difference between main and subordinate clauses as initial and medial position can be, i.e. in a subordinate clause initial position may be occupied by a conjunction or relative pronoun, making it unavailable (in Slov) for a non-rhematic advbl, which would then need to stand somewhere in medial position.

25. The borderline case is (68) where the prepositional phrase *na obeh straneh Gosposke ulice* is neutralized by its position; it could be a postmodifier of the S (the clause is then of the AVS type) or an advbl.

26. In addition to these two, there are another 5 such instances in clauses where the Slov initial advbl is rendered by only a postmodifier in Eng. And there are 8 examples in main clauses containing Slov medial non-parallel advbls.

27. It is not unusual for a non-rhematic A and S, such as *že od daleč* and *Ljubljana* in example (58), to be interchangeable in Slov initial and medial position. Cf. also n. 37 below.

28. In the remaining 2 examples, the Slov initial advbls correspond to medial advbls in Eng. of course. See (59) and (69).

29. It should also be noted that only verbs in simple present and past tenses can undergo S - V inversion. Quirk *et al* cite certain verbs of stance (*be, stand, lie, etc.*) and very general verbs of motion (*come, go, fall, etc.*) as able to undergo inversion. 1985, p. 1381, note [a]. However, a considerable list of verbs able to occur in *there-V-S* clauses is provided in Hatcher (1956).

30. With reference to (65) and (66): Quirk *et al* note that after verbs of 'owning' and 'placing', an advbl of place in E or iE position is always O-related. 1985, p. 524.

31. This sentence in the Slov original is not written in a very logical way, and the published Eng translation is not completely clear

32. Note this downgrading of advbls into postmodifiers as a technique for rendering information more incidental. See also (80) and n. 36 below.

33. Regarding this chapter of Šumi's book selected for the corpus it is important to know that medieval Ljubljana consisted of three main parts: *Mesto* (the city), *Stari trg* (the Old Village) and *Novi trg* (the New Village), and these are frequently referred to.

34. Of course, textual coherence should not be needlessly sacrificed. M A K Halliday has the following rather artificial example of a distorted text:

"It's the sun that's shining; the day is perfect. The astronauts come here. The great hall they're just passing; he'll perhaps come out to greet them, the president. No, it's the ceremony that the prime minister's taking. The prime minister has great dignity. What he's shaking with them now is hands. Why only two are present puzzles me. The two navy men are in view; anywhere I can't see the space doctor. What the space doctor aroused was most of the excitement. With all those cheers the crowd must be welcoming him now."

as compared with:

"The sun's shining; it's a perfect day. Here come the astronauts. They're just passing the great hall; perhaps the president will come out to greet them. No, it's the prime minister that's taking the ceremony. He has great dignity, the prime minister. He's shaking hands with them now. What puzzles me is why only two are present. The ones that are in view are the two navy men; the space doctor I can't see anywhere. It was the space doctor who aroused most of the excitement. It must be him the crowd are welcoming now with all those cheers."

Quoted by A. Svoboda, 'Apropos of internal pragmatics', *BSE*, 12 (1976), 219.

35. The translator may choose a solution other than a *there*-clause:

Po glavni ulici skozi Mesto je bilo mogoče prestopiti na Stari trg skozi vrata v delilnem obzidju, od tod pa sta potem Stari in Gornji trg pripeljala do Pisanih ali Karlovških vrat. Na Novem trgu sta bila urejena dva utrjena dostopa, eden pri vicedomovi hiši, ... drugi na robu današnjega Trga francoske revolucije (NŠ, p. 22)

Following the main roads [sic] one could pass to the Old Village, through the gate that opened in the dividing wall and then from the Old Village and the Upper Village (Gornji trg) one reached the Picturesque Gateway or the Karlovac Gateway (Pisana vrata or Karlovška vrata). Two fortified gateways opened out onto the New Village: one near the house of the vicelord ... and the other near the modern Square of the French Revolution (Trg francoske revolucije).

Instead of "There were two fortified gateways in the New Village: .../In the New Village there were two fortified gateways: ..." (or: "The New Village had two fortified gateways" - cf. under (71)), the quoted version of this sentence employs a discontinuous structure.

36. There are a further three examples of this P-T sequence in Slov, where the Eng translation again selects the time advbl as initial setting, but downranks the place advbl (in each case a reference to Slovenia, representing known information) into a postmodifier of the S. There are even more examples (8/9)

of just an initial advbl in Slov (all but one are A-p) which is downranked into a postmodifier in the Eng translation:

/ V naši deželi je bolezen večinoma lokalizirana v dveh endemskih področjih. (JD)

The illness here is mostly localized in two endemic regions.

(Such examples, like the three referred to immediately above, are additional to the statistics given on p. 226, which represent advbls occurring in both languages.

37. Note also that Toporišič's statement, that the theme generally expresses what is known or most known (*Nss*, pp. 291-92), does not always hold true. The theme, as departure point, may represent new information, while known information may occur later in the clause, as in:

|<sup>new</sup> V začetku našega stoletja | je |<sup>new</sup> Josip Brandl iz Maribora |<sup>old</sup> stare mehanične orgle |<sup>new</sup> popolnoma predelal na pnevmatični sistem. | (MM)

(See (32) for the immediately preceding text.)

At the beginning of the 20th century J. B from Maribor completely converted the old mechanical organ to the pneumatic system.

and

Skozi ljubljanski prostor so tedaj še zmerom vdiralii Obri. Ko je |<sup>new</sup> Karel Veliki | |<sup>new</sup> okrog 800 |<sup>old</sup> Obre | potolkel, je kmalu zatem nastala ... (NŠ, p. 16)

The Avar invasions were still moving across Ljubljanian territory. Shortly after the defeat that Charlemagne inflicted on the Avars in about 800, a royal line ...  
... arose ...

38. It cannot be known how far the corpus is representative in having, for instance, twice as many medial time as place advbls in Slov, but nevertheless it is interesting to note that these time advbls seem equally likely to be placed initially or finally in Eng, whereas the medial place advbls overwhelmingly favour final position in Eng.

39. Cf. this similar sentence from the same article where the Eng advbl corresponding to the Slov medial one is final:

7 bolnikov z ARF je imelo ob sprejemu klinične znake dehidracije. (JD)

7 patients with ARF had clinical signs of dehydration on admission.

40. This bears out the truth of Toporišič's observation on manner advs derived from adjectives; see chapter 3, p. 163.

41. One example here is more complex, having an initial advbl corresponding to an initial advbl in Slov, followed by *there* and S - V inversion:

// V bogato okrašeni farni cerkvi na Ponikvi se čez pevski kor pnejo največje ohranjene orgle mariborskega mojstra Leonharda Ebnerja. (MB)

In the richly ornamented parish church at Ponikva there rises above the choir the largest preserved organ of the Maribor master L. E.

Quirk *et al* fail to consider such examples when explaining advbl positions, but I would suggest regarding the position of *above the choir* as iE, since it is postverbal but precedes a lengthy/weighty S in much the same way as advbls in the classic iE position precede a lengthy/weighty O (see example (92)).

42. Complementation by objects and complements is normally to the right and possibly this influences the preference for postverbal placement of advbls too.

43. Fronting would be possible in the active transform: "Here at present we can see this realization". Note the Eng sequence *here at present* (P - T), where a pronominal adv precedes an advbl phrase.

44. That it is not just a matter of a semantic class (or classes) of verbs marked with "± verb complementation preferred" is shown by comparison with the following example where the same verb *increase* could stand alone finally because it is somewhat emphasized in contrast with *decrease* later in the sentence:

/ Čeprav se je v zadnjih dvajsetih letih kmetijska proizvodnja v Sloveniji povečala - povprečna stopnja rasti je znašala 1,9 odstotka letno, se je prispevek kmetijske proizvodnje k narodnemu dohodku Slovenije zmanjšal od 21,3 odstotka 1952. leta na 3,7 odstotka 1980. leta. (AB)

Although ↑ agricultural production in Slovenia has increased during the last 20 years - the average level of annual growth is 1.9%, nevertheless the contribution of agricultural production to the national income has decreased from 21.3% in 1952 to 3.7% in 1980

(The sentence is quoted as in the original translation, but with the advbl fronted to the position indicated by the arrow, *increased* would be clause-final.)

45 Cf. also the similar sentence from the summary of the same article:

Če je ohranjena vsaj delno hotena kontrola nad gibi v ramenskem in komolčnem sklepu in bolnik lahko prste stisne v pest, ne more pa jih odpreti, s pomočjo HEMIFES, ortoze za roko, ustvarimo pogoje za prijem in spust predmeta. (AW)

If at least partial voluntary control over motion in the shoulder and elbow joints is retained and the patient can make a fist, but can not open it, the conditions for grasp and release of an object may be brought about by means of HEMIFES, a hand orthosis.



## CHAPTER 5

**Corpus Analysis B: Eng - Slov Texts****The corpus**

The texts for the Eng - Slov corpus have all been selected from published books, representing non-fictional and (popular-) scientific prose. Each text has its own translator(s) and in this respect corpus B covers a wider range than it was possible to achieve with corpus A. The translations follow their original quite faithfully although in *The Lion Handbook to the Bible*, an illustrated book where the length of the translated texts is partly dictated by the layout of the book (as also in the Eng version of N. Šumi's *Ljubljana*), there is some condensing/paraphrasing.

Although it was intended to have the two corpus sections of approximately equal size, it may be that corpus B is somewhat smaller (texts from books of differing format and typed articles are not easily comparable without making a word count), but in fact it contains a similar number of advbls, counting only those with equivalents in the two languages.

The texts and their abbreviations are as follows:

- WD F. W. Deakin, chapter 7, 'Bandenkrieg', *The Six Hundred Days of Mussolini*, rev. ed., New York, 1966, pp. 140-50.  
sedmo poglavje, 'Bandenkrieg', *Mussolinijevih šeststo dni*, transl. J. Stabej, Ljubljana, 1978, pp. 153-63.
- MP M. Porter, 'Motorways in the British Countryside', *Roads and Landscape, Proceedings of the International Conference on Landscape Design along the Motorways*, Ljubljana, 1970, pp. 155-58.  
'Avtomobilske ceste v krajinah Velike Britanije', *ibid.*, pp. 92-96. (Translator not named; translation edited by J. Gradišnik)

- HM H. Marshall, 'The Gospels and Jesus Christ', D. and P. Alexander, ed.  
*The Lion Handbook to the Bible*, Berkhamsted, 1973, pp. 468-73.  
 'Evangeliji in Jezus Kristus', *Svetopisemski vodnik*, transl. J. Zupet,  
 M. Čuk, M. Hribar and L. Premrl, Koper, 1984, pp. 468-73.<sup>1</sup>
- TS editor-in-chief T. Smith, 'Why exercise is good for you', 'Occupational and  
 environmental risks', 'The facts about cancer', *The Macmillan Guide to  
 Family Health*, London, 1982, pp. 15, 45, 47.  
 "Zakaj vam telesne vaje koristijo", "Nevarnosti v poklicu in okolju", 'Dejstva  
 o raku', *Zdravstveni vodnik za družino*, 10 translators - this section of  
 the book translated by F. Smerdu, Ljubljana, 1986, pp. 15, 45, 47
- PZ P Zorkoczy, 'Publishing and printing', *Information Technology:  
 An Introduction*, 2nd ed., London, 1985, pp. 29-32  
 "Založništvo in tisk", *Informacijska tehnologija: Osnove*, transl.  
 A. Rant-Grampovčan and D. Levstek, Ljubljana, 1987, pp. 35-38.<sup>2</sup>

### Corpus analysis

The principles of analysis (which were primarily formulated on the basis of the A corpus) should, of course, remain the same. However, in this corpus where Eng is the L<sub>1</sub>, one feature requiring some additional comment is the occurrence of non-finite constructions which, generally speaking, are less common in Slov. The feature has two pertinent consequences: (a) the inclusion of advbls for analysis is affected by it, as non-finite advbl expressions in Eng tend to be rendered in Slov by a finite advbl clause, but it was not intended to examine advbl clause placement in this study (see chapter 3, n. 3, p. 166). There are, however, only 3 instances of this type, and the principles of inclusion have been relaxed to admit them (see (14) and (50) as examples). (b) More noticeably here, the treatment of advbl position is affected by it in that Eng final position also covers advbls

placed postverbally but still preceding a clause-final element. Where the latter is a non-finite construction,<sup>3</sup> it may well be rendered in Slov by a separate finite clause. This situation occurs typically with an advbl expressing purpose (Eng: infinitive - Slov: clause):

- (1) Any work that muscles do increases their need for oxygen. During physical exercise you must breathe more deeply to get more oxygen into your lungs, and your heart (which is itself almost all muscle) must beat harder and faster to pump blood to the muscles. (TS, p. 15)

Vsako delo mišic poveča njihovo potrebo po kisiku. Med telesnimi vajami moraš dihati globlje, da pljuča sprejmejo več kisika, srca pa (ki je skoraj le ena sama velika mišica) more utripati močnejše in hitreje, da potiska kri v mišice.

but other realizations are also possible:

- (2) In general this is true, but such a line may have a fatal flaw. (sic: flow) Perhaps it cuts a gash in the skyline when seen from a certain viewpoint. ... (MP, p. 156)

V splošnem to drži, pa vendar ima lahko usodno napako. Mogoče vseka zajedu v silhueto krajine, če jo gledamo z določenega zornega kota. ... (p. 93)

In general, the potential discrepancy between advbl final position as defined for the two languages (see chapter 4, p. 201) is more noticeable in the corpus B texts, and may occasionally lead to arbitrary results regarding what is classed as parallel and non-parallel placement. So parallel instances like (1) above may be compared with the following:

- (3) /Buffarini himself had gone to Milan to inspect the situation. (WD, p. 143)  
Sam B je odšel v Milan pregledat položaj. (p. 156)

where *to Milan* - *v Milan* would be counted under non-parallel position despite the syntactic and WO identity between the two versions. Clearly, some extension

of the rules will be needed to incorporate both clause and complex sentence levels within a consistent system that does justice to both languages

As in chapter 4, the discussion will deal with advbls occurring in (i) parallel position and (ii) non-parallel position.

### (i) Parallel Eng and Slov advbls

The three advbl positions will be examined in the same order as before, final, initial and medial, as this once again represents the range from the most to the least frequent correspondence. Overall, the parallel instances strikingly outnumber the non-parallel instances, 210 : 73 (cf the Slov - Eng corpus, where the majority is smaller, though still represented by the parallel instances, 185 : 105). Such a result could be expected, as with the greater flexibility of Slov WO, advbl positions in the language can more easily correspond to the Eng ones than vice versa.

As regards assigning advbls to semantic types, there is occasionally some overlap between types:

(4) /At his post-war trial in 1947 Prince Borghese thus analysed the mutual responsibilities of the German and Italian Commands. (WD, p. 149)

Princ B je na svojem procesu po vojni leta 1947 takole razčlenil medsebojne odgovornosti nemškega in italijanskega poveljstva (p. 162)

The underlined advbl contains the notion of place as well as of time, but the time interpretation has been preferred (note the paraphrase "when he was on trial in 1947").

In one or two cases, the semantic classification seems clearer for the Slov advbl than for the Eng, and this has been allowed to influence the assignment to semantic type for statistical purposes:

- (5) Small bands appeared immediately after the collapse of the Italian Army in September, and particularly in the area of Piedmont and the Alpine valleys, where units were early formed by enterprising officers and other ranks of the Royal Army. Alongside these embryo formations developed slowly a parallel and distinct organization of civilian origin. ... (WD, p. 140)
- Prècej po razsulu italijanske armade v septembru so se pojavile majhne skupine, zlasti na področju Piemonta in alpskih dolin, kjer so podjetni oficirji in drugi člani kraljevske armade zgodaj formirali enote. Skrtati s temi embrionalnimi tvorbami se je počasi razvijala vzporedna in ločena organizacija civilnega izvora. ... (p. 153)

The Eng advbl seems to have shades of place, time, "accompaniment", while the Slov version clearly brings out the time aspect. For a further example see (37).

The following instance, with its *where - to*, additionally illustrates the narrow borderline between relative advs and conjunctions respectively (see chapter 3, pp. 78, n. 86 on p. 130, 142 and 144). Here, the meanings of 'where' and 'when' occur in a context where they overlap:

- (6) On poor quality land it is sometimes possible to achieve an effective separation, and one one remote section of a motorway at present under construction the 2 carriageways are about 700 metres apart where they cross rough sheep grazing land. (MP, p. 157)

Na manj vrednem zemljišču je včasih mogoče doseči učinkovito ločitev, in na nekem odročnem odseku avtomobilske ceste, ki se ta čas dela, sta stezi približno 700 metrov narazen, ko prečkata valovit pašniški svet. (p. 94)

The corpus happens to contain only a few instances where it is difficult to distinguish between advbls and postmodifiers owing to the difference being neutralized by position in the clause.

- (7) /↑ The lack of prestige and control by a central administration was the

main characteristic of the Salò régime throughout its brief history, ...

(WD, p. 145)

Dejstvo, da ni bilo ugleda in nadzorstva osrednje uprave, je glavna značilnost salojskega režima v vsej njegovi kratki zgodovini ... (pp. 157-58)

Here the movability of the prepositional phrase (in both languages, with the alternative position indicated for the Eng by the arrow) points to its advbl status. In the following, advbl status is perfectly clear in the Eng text whereas *v srednji Italiji* in the translation is on account of its positioning more likely to be interpreted as a postmodifier:

(8) /As Mussolini wrote to Ricci on February 9, 'From the reports of the National Republican Guard it appeared that the "rebel phenomenon" has now assumed in central Italy an aspect even more disturbing than that in the Alpine valleys. (WD, p. 144)

M je 9. februarja pisal Ricciju. "Po poročilih narodne republikanske straže se je pokazalo, da je 'pojav upornišva' v srednji Italiji zdaj dobil podobo, ki je še bolj vznemirljiva kot v alpskih dolinah. (p. 157)

### Final position

Once again there is a clear-cut preponderance of advbl concurrence between the two languages in final position: c. 115 instances compared with c. 63 in initial position and c. 32 in medial position. Of these 115 instances, 102 are actually a clause-final element corresponding exactly to a clause-final advbl in Slov.

It is already known that the overall preferred advbl position in Eng is final position, but the predominance of parallel final advbls in both corpus A and B would suggest that advbls readily function as rheme in Slov. (I have not investigated in the corpus the relative frequency with which the different clause elements function as rheme in Slov.) There are, however, one or two instances

where the Slov translator is possibly influenced by the Eng original in placing the advbl finally:

- (9) This in fact was the whole of the Italian Republican Navy, and together with the private Marine Commandos represented a certain element of power which could only arouse jealousy in rival circles. (WD, p. 145)

V resnici je bila to vsa italijanska republikanska mornarica in je hkrati z zasebnimi mornariškimi komandosi pomenila določen element moči, ki je lahko samo zbuja nevoščljivost v krogih tekmecev. (p. 158)

The Eng place advbl is final because O-related but in Slov the arrangement *ki je v krogih tekmecev lahko samo zbuja nevoščljivost* would provide a more appropriate rhematic ending.

Similarly:

- (10) Many cancers ... can be detected early; and if treated promptly, before malignant cells have spread far, they can often be completely cured. Once cells have spread (*metastalized*) from the primary growth, however, and have formed secondary growths in other parts of the body, the chances for cure become slim. (TS, p. 47)

Mnoga rakasta zboljenja ... lahko odkrijemo zgodaj; in če jih takoj zdravijo, preden se rakave celice raztrosijo po telesu, se lahko dostikrat docela pozdravijo. Ko pa so se rakave celice že raztrosile (*metastazirale*) s prvotnega rastišča in že tvorijo drugotna gnezda rasti v drugih delih telesa, je upanje na ozdravitev čedalje manjše.

Again the Eng advbls are predicate modifiers and thus final, but the Slov equivalents need not be the most rhematic elements and could stand earlier in their clauses, viz: *Ko pa so se rakave celice s prvotnega rastišča že raztrosile* (note the sentence stress falling on the verb in the original version) *in v drugih delih telesa že tvorijo drugotna gnezda rasti, je upanje...*

Although in general it is easier to recognize the final element as "rheme proper" in Slov, more complex instances can occur. In the following, though the Slov advbls may justifiably be final, it would seem reasonable to interpret *vse hkrati* and *ničesar ali kvečjemu kaj po dolgem razpravljanju* as more complex rhemes

(11) /In January one of Graziani's staff officers reported that 'the Republican Guard is generously being given everything at once, and whereas one sees their very youthful recruits clothed and armed from the moment they report, nothing is available, or perhaps after long discussions, for the Army

(WD, p 148)

Januarja je eden od Grazianijevih štabnih oficirjev poročal, da "republi-  
kanski straži radodarno dajejo vse hkrati, in medtem ko njihove zelo mlade  
rekrute vidiš oblečene in oborožene od trenutka, ko se prijavijo, ni za  
armado na voljo ničesar ali kvečjemu kaj po dolgem razpravljanju. (p 161)

Of the semantic types, P again dominates with 61 instances, compared with M: 35 and T: 19. (Of these 115, the strictly clause-final advbls are P: 53, M: 31, and T: 18.) Although manner advbls are fairly well represented here, they remain overall a minority type compared with place and time, which in all three positions, both parallel and non-parallel, have approximately equal frequency, T: 114, P: 108, M: 61 - a situation very similar to that observed in the A corpus (see chapter 4, p. 214)

There are relatively few examples of advbls co-occurring in final position, whether of the same or different semantic type. In the former case they tend to modify one another and thus follow in some "logical" sequence, for example

(12) Such works have long been known, but in recent years interest has been rekindled by the discovery of the 'Gospel of Thomas' at Nag-Hammadi in Egypt

(HM, p 468)



Čeprav so že zelo dolgo znani, vzbujajo zadnja leta vedno več zanimanja, posebno odkar je bil odkrit "Tomažev evangelij" v Nag-Hammadiju v Egiptu.

(Here there is a progression from the more specific to the more general, cf. chapter 4, pp. 215-16. On the other hand, *in Egypt* - *v Egiptu* could be interpreted simply as a postmodifier.)

However, the Eng version may have two advbls in final position which need not be paralleled in Slov when only the second one functions as rheme:

(13) It appears that two shots had been fired from a window at the funeral procession, ... (WD, p. 143)

Zdi se, da so skoz okno dvakrat ustrelili na pogrebni sprevod, ... (p. 156)

This illustrates the common P-source - P-goal sequence; both the Eng advbls here function as predicate modifiers, which explains their postverbal position.

As for examples of different semantic type, only two occur in a parallel final sequence:

(14) At the other end of the scale a minor road with low geometric standards can usually be realigned to give the necessary headroom; the bridge taking it over or under the motorway can then be built on the new alignment without disturbing local traffic in the meantime. (MP, p. 155)

Na drugem koncu lestvice so lokalne ceste z nezahtevničnim geometrijskim standardom, ki jih po navadi prestavimo na novo traso, da dobimo zadosten prostor za manevriranje. Most, ki vodi nad avto cesto ali pod njo, lahko naredimo na novi trasi, ne da bi pri tem motili lokalni promet (p. 93)

The Eng place advbl is a predicate modifier, functioning as specification, and the manner advbl is final (outermost) because it modifies V + A-p (exemplifying adjunction - see chapter 3, p. 117). In Slov the manner advbl is a separate finite clause, but it, too, modifies the preceding V + A-p (note *pri tem*).

- (15) Visually this is one of the greatest differences between our motorways and those in many parts of the continent where, because of the infrequency of the side roads, the motorways often run for considerable distances very nearly at ground level, with no interruption to the flow of the road and an easier relationship between it and its surroundings. (MP, p. 155)

Vizualno je to eden največjih razločkov med avto cestami pri nas in cestami v številnih deželah na kontinentu. Tam poredkost stranskih cest omogoča, da avto ceste vodijo na daljših odsekih skoraj v ravni zemljišča brez prekinitev v poteku in z boljšim vraščanjem v okolje (p 93)

Here, too, the outermost manner advbl modifies the preceding V - A - A (Although the first two advbls seem straightforwardly to belong to place as semantic type, note that the complete advbl sequence can answer the question *how? - kako?*: *How do the motorways run? - Kako vodijo avto ceste?*)

The following rather complex example has a lengthy final sequence in Eng but with the corresponding advbls somewhat differently dispersed in Slov

- (16) He was summoned by telegram to report to the Duce, and arrested personally, in true Renaissance fashion, in the latter's anteroom on Ricci's orders before he was able to make his report. (WD, p. 146)

Brzjavno so ga poklicali na raport k duceju in ga po Riccijevem ukazu na pravi renesančni način osebno aretirali v ducejevi predsobi, preden je mogel priti k njemu. (p 159)

In the Eng sequence, an adv (*personally*) precedes advbl phrases, which precede an advbl clause,<sup>4</sup> this last being final not only as a clause but also because it is truly the sentence rheme: "He was summoned ... to report to the Duce, and arrested .. before he was able to make his report" This style of arrest is *in true Renaissance fashion*. The remaining two advbl phrases give additional information and modify the verb independently of each other: (*was . arrested*)

*in the latter's anteroom and (was ... arrested) on Ricci's orders.* In such a situation in Eng. there can seem to be "competition" for a place closely following the verb. Such postverbal position is (a) required by the A-p as a predicate modifier and (b) seems appropriate for *on Ricci's orders*, since if this were preposed as setting, then all of what follows would be in its scope (i.e. the alternative version "... and on Ricci's orders was arrested in true Renaissance fashion ..." could suggest that Ricci ordered that he be arrested in true Renaissance fashion) The advbl *in true Renaissance fashion* could sensibly be preposed as setting if it were not for *on Ricci's orders* then being in its scope; in fact, on a careful reading, this scope relationship exists anyway. If the "troublesome" advbl *on Ricci's orders* were omitted, then the version "and in true Renaissance fashion was arrested ... before he was able to make his report" would prove a good arrangement. However, the author's desire to pack in as much information as possible creates difficulties in the ordering.

Whether scope considerations similarly influence advbl placement in Slov is a still uninvestigated problem; here I would only say that the non-rhematic advbls are conveniently tucked away into medial position in Slov, while the clause-final *v ducejevi predsobi* seems justifiably selected as rheme because of its logical link with the following clause. By contrast, note the difficulty of identifying a rheme proper in the Eng clause under consideration.

Rather unexpectedly, there are no examples of place and time advbls occurring as a parallel double rheme in this corpus, though naturally examples could be found outside the sections of text selected, as in:

- (17) They were both typical professional representatives of twenty years of Italian Fascism. The former joined the Party in Florence in 1920, and rose in the ranks of Florentine Fascism, ending as Federal Secretary of the province.

(WD, p. 20)

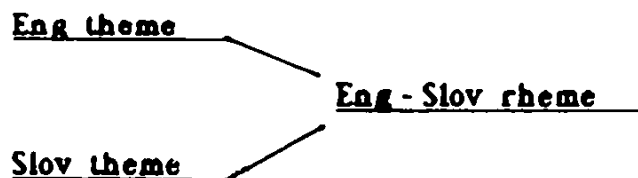
Oba sta bila značilna poklicna predstavnika dvanajstih let italijanskega fašizma. Prvi se je vpisal v stranko leta 1920 v Firencah in se je vzpenjal v vrstah florentinskega fašizma, kjer je prišel do mesta federalnega sekretarja pokrajine. (p. 34)

It is noticeable that here the translator has inverted the Eng advbl sequence. The place reference is perhaps felt to be more rhematic as it underlies the continuation of the sentence.

(18) /The final briefing took place on the evening of September 11 in the presence of General Student. (WD, p. 26)

Dokončno so se pripravili 11. septembra zvečer vpričo generala Studenta. (p. 40)

Although the majority of Eng - Slov clauses having the same final advbl also have a common theme, there is somewhat more evidence in corpus B for the situation represented diagrammatically (cf. chapter 4, p 228) as



This situation arises typically when the Eng theme is the S, but is some other element or item in Slov, often in such clauses the S is unexpressed in Slov:

(19) The international edition of the *Herald Tribune*, for example, is now published simultaneously in London, Paris, Zurich and Hong Kong by transmitting *facsimiles* of each page. [† The Hong Kong copy | is sent via a satellite, the process taking about 5-10 min/page (PZ, p. 31)

Mednarodno izdajo *Herald Tribune* hkrati tiskajo v Londonu, Parizu, Zürichu in Hongkongu. Za prenašanje strani uporabljajo *faksimile*.

[† V Hongkong | pošljejo kopijo prek satelita, prenos traja 5-10 min/stran.

(p. 38)

See also (13), where in the subordinate clause the S. *two shots*, is theme in Eng. compared with the advbl *skoz okno* as shifted theme in Slov.

Interestingly, there are 9 examples of the same initial advbls occurring as theme (3 are relative P advbls) and the same final advbls occurring as rheme (of the three semantic types considered here) in the same clause. For instance:

(20) The Gospels were not composed until at least 30 years after the death of Jesus. During this period the material for them was preserved and handed down both by word of mouth and by written records that no longer survive (HM, p. 469)

Ti so bili sestavljeni vsaj 30 let po Jezusovi smrti. Dotlej so gradivo zanje ohranjali in izročali naprej bodisi ustno ali s pomočjo zapiskov, ki so se pozneje izgubili. (p. 468)

### Initial position

Though parallel initial position typically (and most significantly) occurs in main clauses, there happen to be more instances here (c. 16) of an obligatorily initial relative advbl (most commonly *where - kjer*):

(21) He spent his early life in Nazareth where he worked as the village carpenter. (HM, p. 472)

... je svojo mladost preživel v Nazaretu, kjer je delal kot vaški tesar. (p. 470)

In one instance, the Eng original has two initial advbls, of which the Slov translator has selected the second to be initial in Slov:

(22) /In the cities equally during the same weeks resistance activity developed and the problem faced[sic] of attempting to organize the industrial workers of the North as a central means of sabotage of any Fascist restoration. (WD, p. 140)

V istih tednih se je po mestih ravno tako razvila odporniška dejavnost in

lotili so se problema, da bi poskusili organizirati industrijske delavce na severu v osrednje sredstvo za sabotažo proti kakršni koli fašistični obnovi. (p. 153)

And one instance has been included of an initial advbl phrase in Eng that is paralleled by a clause in Slov:

(23) /At the funeral in December of the Fascist Party chief in Milan, likewise assassinated by Communist punitive squads, Buffarini had the opportunity to report on this issue to Mussolini (WD, p 143)

Ko je bil decembra pogreb šefa fašistične stranke v Milanu, ki so ga ravno tako ubili komunistični kazenski oddelki, je imel B priložnost, da je o tem vprašanju poročal Mussoliniju (p 156)

The overall sentence arrangement is basically the same (with the initial advbl functioning as setting for the action) although the sentence consists of one main clause in Eng compared with four clauses in Slov

There are c 63 examples of parallel initial position, of which 33 are time advbls (again the most common type - cf chapter 4, p 219), 29 are place advbls - but only 13 occur in main clauses, the remainder being relative advbls - and there is only 1 manner advbl (M-means), which is quoted here

(24) He immediately received the gift of the Spirit commissioning him for his work. In the strength of the Spirit he withstood Satan's inducements to divert him from his calling (HM, p 472)

Takrat je bil napolnjen s Svetim Duhom in je začel javno delovati  
Z njegovo pomočjo je premagal skušnjave hudobnega duha, ki ga je hotel odvrniti od njegovega poslanstva

The anaphoric nature of the reference and the need for a position that unambiguously indicates that it is the finite and not the non-finite construction that is being modified fully justify initial position in Eng here. In Slov, on the other

hand, the equally anaphoric advbl is typically theme in a three-element clause (with an unexpressed S, the rheme being the O). This is just one instance of how advbls may coincide in parallel position without the reasons for their placement being necessarily (or entirely) identical.

The phenomenon of "advbl S" occurs but seldom in this corpus<sup>5</sup>:

- (25) /These troops had been raised as a quasi-independent private force by Prince Borghese, who had a specially gallant reputation through his exploits against British ships, and in particular his raids on Alexandria and Gibraltar harbours before the collapse of July. The Italian surrender found Borghese at the naval base at La Spezia and with some 1,300 men under his command. (WD, p. 145)

Te ljudi je postavil kot domnevno neodvisno zasebno silo princ B, ki si je s svojimi junaštvi proti britanskim ladjam, zlasti z napadi na aleksandrijsko in gilbraltarško pristanišče pred julijskim razsulom, pridobil sloves, da je posebno pogumen. Ob italijanski vdaji je bil B v pomorskem oporišču v La Spezii in pod njegovim poveljstvom je bilo kakih 1300 mož. (p. 158)

Once again the initial advbls in Eng are sentence modifiers, typically functioning as setting. Occasionally initial position is required by the fact that they modify more than one clause:

- (26) /At his post-war trial in 1947 Prince Borghese thus analysed the mutual responsibilities of the German and Italian Commands. In the Italian Social Republic, administrative military arrangements came under Graziani while operational functions in the employment of units came under the German authorities...<sup>6</sup> (WD, p. 149)

Princ B je na svojem procesu po vojni leta 1947 takole razčlenil medsebojne odgovornosti nemškega in italijanskega poveljstva. V italijanski

socialni republiki so upravne vojaške zadeve spadale pod Grazianija, medtem ko so operativne funkcije pri uporabi enot spadale pod nemške oblasti ...

(p 162)

or a sequence of verbs (cf. chapter 4, p. 246):

(27) All text, over 60 million words, will be converted to computer-compatible form. After that, it can be edited, up-dated and searched electronically

(PZ, p 30)

Preko 60 milijonov besed, ki jih ima slovar, bodo spremenili v računalniško obliko, nato pa jih bodo elektronsko uredili in ažurirali

(p 36)

In two more examples (apart from (24)), the Eng advbl as sentence modifier is excluded from potential final position since here it would be understood to modify a clause-final non-finite construction

(28) /During these early months of the new régime Rahn persisted in his attempts to protect his protégé against the unsympathetic and united attitude of the other German agencies concerned with Italian affairs.

(WD, p. 147)

V teh prvih mesecih novega režima je Rahn vztrajno poskušal čuvati svojega varovanca pred nenaklonjenim in strnjenim stališčem drugih nemških agencij v zvezi z italijanskimi zadevami

(pp 160-61)

In this instance the advbl. if placed finally would most naturally be interpreted as modifying *concerned with Italian affairs*. The placement of advbls according to whether they modify a finite verb or a non-finite construction is a more relevant consideration in Eng than in Slov because of the former's propensity for using non-finite constructions. Note how in this second example, the Eng infinitival construction (*to place...*) is rendered by a finite clause (*naj dá*) in Slov:

(29) //In the desperate search for man-power, recourse had also been made to



switching those few trained elements of the former Marine Commandos who were to play a rather special rôle in the development of the Republican armed forces. Already in December the head of the Republican Navy, a very nominal body, was instructed to place one thousand of these men at Ricci's disposal, ... (WD, p. 144)

V obupanem iskanju žive sile so poskušali tudi to, da bi preklopili tistih malo izurjenih elementov med nekdanjimi marinskimi komandosi, ki so potem imeli posebno vlogo v razvoju republikanskih armadnih sil. Že decembra je vodstvo republikanske mornarice, zelo nominalno telo, dobilo navodilo, naj dá tisoč teh mož na voljo Ricciju, ... (p. 157)

The following instance contains a rather unusual initial placement of the Eng adv *always*, evidently so positioned for the sake of emphasis through parallelism (but the preceding advbl phrase *all the time* is normal in initial position):

(30) We are limited to such a narrow strip in which to plant, although we are trying to overcome the linear effect of the road. All the time we want to plant outwards, to form a link with the surrounding country, and always we are restricted by boundary fence. [sic] (MP, p. 157)

Zato smo pri saditvi omejeni le na ozek pas, čeprav poizkušamo odpraviti linearni učinek ceste. Vedno skušamo saditi v širino, ustvariti povezavo z okoliško krajino, in vedno smo omejeni z mejno ograjo. (p. 95)

In Slov, *vedno* occupies initial, thematic position in a three-element clause where the verb phrase represents transition and the M-means advbl is rheme.

Clauses with parallel initial advbls as theme again generally share the same rheme, though there are a number of instances (c. 7 out of 63) where the arrangement of the sentence is somewhat different, with the Slov translation

employing one or more subordinate clauses to correspond to a single clause in Eng, but the overall sentence rheme is the same. For example:

- (31) Here, of course, railways, rivers and canals tend to become absolute limiting factors, and one or two, awkwardly placed, can pose problems which have repercussions over several miles of the route. At the other end of the scale a minor road with low geometric standards can usually be realigned |<sup>R</sup> to give the necessary headroom. | ... (MP, p. 155)

Tu postajajo seveda železnice, reke in kanali absolutni omejitveni dejavniki, ena ali dve taki neugodno locirani oviri lahko povzročita probleme, ki se kažejo še na daljših odsekih trase. Na drugem koncu lestvice so lokalne ceste z nezahtevnim geometrijskim standardom, ki jih po navadi prestavimo na novo traso. |<sup>R</sup> da dobimo zadosten prostor za manevriranje | (p. 93)

The 11 instances where the final element truly differs illustrate a number of different correspondences. Some involve the passive/active opposition, as in:

- (32) Modern principles of flowing alignment, in which the road follows a series of gentle co-ordinated curves with good standards of visibility and no unexpected changes of direction, can now be taken for granted wherever motorways are built. (passive, with nucleus on M<sup>o</sup>torways) (MP, p. 155)
- Sodobna načela tekočega vodenja cestne črte, pri katerem sledi cesta vrsti blago koordiniranih krivulj z dobrim standardom preglednosti in brez nepričakovanih sprememb smeri, so sedaj splošni [sic] in se uporabljajo povsod. kjer delajo ceste za avtomobilski promet (active) (p. 92)

Some have a final advbl in Eng as predicate modifier, as in

- (33) It is the name of a group of diseases in which body cells multiply and spread uncontrollably (TS, p. 47)

To je ime za skupino bolezni, v katerih se telesne celice neukrotljivo razmnožujejo in razširjajo

There are only a couple of examples where the rheme in Slov alone is the S<sup>7</sup>:

- (34) Although those figures may be disturbing, the general outlook is improving. In recent years the rate of cure in treating many forms of cancer has been steadily increasing, as the following examples show: ... (TS, p. 47)
- Čeprav so te številke nemara vznemirljive, lahko na splošno upamo, da bo v prihodnosti bolje. V zadnjih letih se v Angliji stalno povečuje število ozdravljenih primerov mnogih vrst raka, kakor kažejo naslednji primeri: ...

The other example is the first clause of (22). There are no further examples of a Slov rhematic S under parallel medial position either, and such paucity is in sharp contrast to the frequency of rhematic S noted in the A corpus texts (see chapter 4, p 205 and n. 11, p 259). The result may be coincidental or may reflect the nature of translated texts as distinct from original Slov texts. (In addition to the two examples of a Slov rhematic S mentioned above, there are only 3-4 others among the 73 clauses representing non-parallel advbl position.)

### Medial position

Medial position remains the one that is least frequently used in Eng in these texts too, even although where parallel instances are concerned, Eng medial advbls can much more easily be matched in Slov than vice versa. There are c. 32 instances, with time being far away the most common semantic type: 28 compared with only 4 manner advbls, and no instances at all of place advbls.

Typically, the Eng time references consist predominantly of advs, although short set phrases such as *from now on* (*odtlej*) and *one day* (*nekega dne*) also occur. The subtypes T-freq (c. 14) and T-when (c. 12) are by far the most common,<sup>8</sup> as in:

- (35) Less obvious are complaints such as farmer's lung which sometimes affect

people who work on the land. Anthrax is an infection that sometimes attacks dock workers or air-cargo handlers who come into contact with contaminated pelts or other animal products (TS, p 45)

Manj jasni primeri so kronične bolezni kot tako imenovana farmarska pljuča, za katerimi zbolijo poljedelci. Antraks je kužna bolezen, ki včasih napade pristaniške delavce ali delavce, ki pretovarjajo letalske tovore in prihajajo v stik s kožami ali drugimi živalskimi produkti

- (36) For him it meant a figure who would one day be invested with power and glory by God . . . but who was for the time being humble and unknown . . . and destined for suffering and death . . . (HM, p. 472)

Pomenil mu je človeka, ki ga bo Bog nekega dne obdal z močjo in veličastjem . . . zdaj pa je skromen in neznan . . . in ga čakata trpljenje in smrt . . .

One of the Eng advs here is of semantically mixed type, suggesting manner and degree as well as time, whereas the Slov adv can be quite clearly assigned to T-freq

- (37) Although those figures may be disturbing, the general outlook is improving. In recent years the rate of cure in treating many forms of cancer has been steadily increasing, as the following examples show (TS, p 47)

Čeprav so te številke nemara vznemirljive, lahko na splošno upamo, da bo v prihodnosti bolje. V zadnjih letih se v Angliji stalno povečuje število ozdravljenih primerov mnogih vrst raka, kakor kažejo naslednji primeri . . .

Of the few manner advbls - all single advs - there is only one semantically clear-cut instance (in both languages): the pronominal adv *thus*:

- (38) /At his post-war trial in 1947 Prince Borghese thus analysed the mutual responsibilities of the German and Italian Commands (WD, p 149)

Princ B je na svojem procesu po vojni leta 1947 takole razčlenil medsebojne odgovornosti nemškega in italijanskega poveljstva (p 162)

Note the immediately preverbal position in Slov, which is usual for non-rhematic M-man advbs.

The other advs which would come into consideration seem to be subject-oriented:

- (39) /In January one of Graziani's staff officers reported that 'the Republican Guard is generously being given everything at once, ... (WD, p. 148)  
 januarja je eden od Grazianijevih štabnih oficirjev poročal, da "republi-  
 kanski straži radodarno dajejo vse hkrati, ... (p. 161)

Here *generously* - *radodarno* can be paraphrased 'in a generous way' but the advs also characterize the underlying subject (the agent at the semantic level). Note that *generously* clearly does not characterize the grammatical S in the Eng passive construction. (Compare what is said by Jackendoff about P<sub>subject</sub> and P<sub>manner</sub> advs - chapter 3, p 113.)

- (40) This is not to deny the sincerity of many objectors who genuinely believe that they can point out a less damaging route, ... (MP, p. 156)  
 Ne bi odrekli mnogim kritikom iskrenosti, ko resno verjamejo, da lahko pokažejo manj "uničujočo" traso. (p. 93)

Here *genuinely* can less naturally be paraphrased 'in a genuine way'. Rather it characterizes the S: 'many objectors are genuine (serious, sincere) in believing that...' - or it may contain the notion of degree. The Slov *resno*, on the other hand, though it may be interpreted as an adv of manner/degree, is not unlike the semantically related particles *resnično/v resnici*.

- (41) On the contrary, there is much in the Gospels that must have been challenging and difficult, and yet it has been faithfully preserved. (HM, p. 469)  
 To ne pomeni, da so Jezusovi poslušalci kar lepo "pozabili", kar je bilo zanje neprijetno in jih je motilo, saj so se v evangelijih zvesto ohranila tudi težka in kočljiva mesta

This is similar to *genuinely* above, though there is no overt personal subject. Nevertheless it is people who have been faithful in preserving the texts, while at the same time there is also the notion of degree involved.

## (ii) Non-parallel Eng and Slov advbs

The familiar sequence of final, initial and medial position will be followed once more, representing - as with parallel corpus B advbs (but unlike non-parallel corpus A advbs) - the range from most to least frequent.

### Final position

As might be expected, final advbs do occur in the Eng original texts which are not paralleled in Slov - clearly because they are not perceived as rheme - but the number of such instances is nevertheless only about half that of advbs in parallel final position: c. 56 compared with c. 115. They are divided among the three semantic types as follows: T: 23, M: 21 and P: 12. These statistics again include Eng advbs which occur postverbally (i.e. in Eng final position) but do not stand as the last element in the clause. They will be given some attention as a group later on (see pp. 295-96). The truly final advbs occur in the ratio T: 16, M: 12 and P: 5, making a total of 33.

There are relationships between these statistics and those for final parallel position which are not difficult to explain. Most of the manner group consist of "pure manner" advs and advbl phrases which in Eng prefer final position whereas such advbs, if not functioning as rheme in Slov, typically occupy immediately preverbal position. The small number of non-parallel place advbs is the obverse of the dominance of this semantic type in parallel position.<sup>9</sup> Of the three semantic types considered, place advbs, it appears - on the basis of

evidence from both sections of the corpus - most readily function as rheme in the two languages.

On the other hand, time advbs here have roughly equal representation in parallel (19) and non-parallel (23) final position. Advbs in the latter category are clearly not perceived as rheme in Slov but occupy final position in Eng partly at least on the basis of elimination, i.e. they are mostly phrases, which makes medial position often inappropriate, while initial position, which suits sentence modifiers, may already be occupied by some other appropriate initial element:

(42) The letting loose of the Fascist squads, ..., heightened the confusion of authority and hindered the reconstruction of an effective Italian police force, a situation already bedevilled by the wholesale defection of the essentially monarchist Military Police after the fall of the Fascist régime in July. |<sup>T</sup> As the only administrator of any experience in the new administration, | Buffarini Guidi pressed the consequences of this situation from the beginning. (WD, pp. 142-43)

Ker so spustili s povodca fašistične oddelke, ..., je to že povečalo zmedo o tem, kdo ukazuje, in preprečilo obnovo učinkovitih italijanskih policijskih sil, položaj, ki ga je že tako zmedel popoln odpad v bistvu monarhistične vojaške policije po padcu fašističnega režima v juliju. |<sup>T</sup> Kot edini administrator, ki je imel v novi upravi sploh kaj izkušenj, | je BG že od začetka opozarjal na posledice tega položaja. (pp. 155-56)

(Compare "From the beginning B. G. pressed the consequences of this situation.")

In other cases, the time advb seems in Eng to provide postverbal complementation:

(43) One British survey has shown that middle-aged people with desk jobs who do not exercise in their spare time are twice as susceptible to heart attacks as are comparable people who exercise regularly. (TS, p. 15)

V Angliji so izračunali, da so ljudje srednjih let, ki delajo po pisarnah in v svojem prostem času ne delajo telesnih vaj, dvakrat bolj dovzetni za srčne napade kakor primerljivi ljudje, ki vadijo redno.

- (44) //The beginnings of resistance to the neo-Fascist régime set up at Salò in October did not immediately present a military problem. Small bands appeared immediately after the collapse of the Italian Army in September, and particularly in the area of Piedmont ... (WD, p. 140)

Začetki odpora proti neofašističnemu režimu, ustanovljenemu oktobra v Salòju, niso takoj postali vojaški problem. Prècej po razsulu italijanske armade v septembru so se pojavile majhne skupine, zlasti na področju Piemonta ... (p. 153)

The Slov time advbl is initial here, allowing the later placement of the S, expressing new information.

A further minor reason is the personal quirk of the author F. W. Deakin, who puts advbls in iE position not only where this is justified, generally because of a lengthy O, but also where such WO seems less usual.

- (45) The Italian surrender found Borghese at the naval base at La Spezia and with some 1,300 men under his command. The Germans ↑ accepted immed-  
istely his proposals for creating an independent force under their command, ... (WD, p. 145)

Ob italijanski vdaži je bil B v pomorskem oporišču v La Spezii in pod njegovim poveljstvom je bilo kakih 1300 mož. Nemci so pri priči sprejeli njegov predlog, da bi ustvaril neodvisno silo pod njihovim poveljstvom, ... (p. 158)

Here the O is indeed lengthy, but medial position (as indicated by the arrow) would be natural for this adv and, if used, would take this instance into the parallel medial category.



Another of his rather oddly placed advbls is as follows:

- (46) Small bands appeared immediately after the collapse of the Italian Army in September, and particularly in the area of Piedmont and the Alpine valleys, where units were early formed by enterprising officers and other ranks of the Royal Army. Alongside these embryo formations developed slowly a parallel and distinct organization of civilian origin, ... (WD, p. 140)

(I interpret this, too, as IE position; cf. the example quoted in chapter 4, n. 41, p. 265.)

Prêcej po razsvitu italijanske armade v septembru so se pojavile majhne skupine, zlasti na področju Piemonta in alpskih dolin, kjer so podjetni oficirji in drugi člani kraljevske armade zgodaj formirali enote. Hkrati s temi embrionalnimi tvorbami se je počasj razvijala vzporedna in ločena organizacija civilnega izvora, ... (p. 155)

The more usual construction would be: "Alongside these embryo formations (there) slowly developed a parallel and distinct organization of civilian origin", with the M-man advbl in medial (parallel) position.

There is the question in reverse of where the Slov advbls stand which correspond to finally placed advbls in Eng. By far the majority occur in medial position, usually between the auxiliary and the main verb, which is the most neutral and unobtrusive position:

- (47) /Lack of exercise can contribute to development of various disorders. Any-one whom illness or injury has forced to lie in bed for a time will know how weak their muscles become. (TS, p. 15)

Če ne vadite, lahko to prispeva k nastanku različnih bolezni. Kdorkoli je moral zaradi bolezni ali poškodbe nekaj časa ležati v postelji, ve, kako so mu mišice oslabele.

A variant of Slov medial position only very occasionally exemplified here is VAO:

(48) Perhaps the first commercial form of electronic publishing is *videotex*. The Prestel system in Britain places at the disposal of information providers a means of reaching a nationwide audience - indeed, a world-wide one - through the telephone network. (PZ, p. 30)

Verjetno je prva trgovska uspešna oblika elektronskega založništva *videoteks*.. Britanski Prestel na primer nudi "elektronskim založnikom" prek telefonskega omrežja državno in mednarodno tržišče informacije. (sic) (p. 36)

It is only very occasionally, then, that initial position is used, i.e. the advbl is selected as theme:

(49) /There are some major problems at the present time which probably prevent publishers from considering authors' word processors as a preferred medium for the presentation of manuscripts. (PZ, p. 30)

Trenutno obstaja več razlogov za to, da se založniki ne navdušujejo nad oblikovalniki besedil kot osnovnim medijem za izmenjavo avtorskih rokopisov. (p. 36)

Here, the thematic position is to be expected in an XVS clause with a rhematic S (see chapter 4, p. 227, and note the discontinuous S in Eng); in the following, an Eng participial advbl phrase is rendered by a clause in Slov, which serves as sentence theme:

(50) More recently, the computer has also been employed to assemble ('make-up') a printed page from its various components - the galleys of text, graphics, advertisements, etc. It allows experimentation with the layout, choice of typeface, etc., on a video display before finalizing each page. (PZ, p. 31)

V zadnjem času je računalnik prevzel tudi nalogo sestavljanja tiskane strani iz posameznih delov - stolpcev besedila, slik, oglasov itd. Preden je stran končana, je mogoče na zaslonu preizkušati razporeditev delov in izbirati obliko črk. (p. 38)

(The Eng time advbl modifies V - O - A-p.)

A further question concerns the choice of Slov rheme in clauses where the Eng version has a non-parallel final advbl. The two most regular clause-final correspondences are Eng VA - Slov A(...)V and Eng VOA - Slov AVO (cf. chapter 4, pp. 250-51). The former is common, of course, with advbls of manner:

(51) Control of anti-rebel operations became the subject of a stiff quarrel between Kesselring and Wolff, which went up to Himmler. The latter stated formally that 'fighting against strikes and bands is the main task of the S.S. and the police, ... (WD, p. 149)

Za vodstvo operacij proti upornikom sta se togo prepirala Kesselring in Wolff, ki je odšel k Himmlerju. Ta je formalno izjavil,<sup>10</sup> da je "boj proti stavkam in tolпам glavna naloga SS in policije, ... (p. 162)

but occurs with other semantic types as well:

(52) This is why early detection is so important - and why medical people are constantly working to develop new techniques for discovering malignancy in its very early stages. Fortunately, progress is being made all the time, and there are now successful screening tests ... (TS, p. 47)

Zato je zgodnje odkrivanje raka tako pomembno in zato si strokovnjaki stalno prizadevajo razviti nove postopke za odkrivanje malignih celic v karseda zgodnjem stadiju. Na srečo ves čas napredujejo in tako imamo že učinkovite prebiralne teste ...

Note, however, that the Slov M-man adv *drugače* seems to have some implicit emphasis and occurs as rheme a few times in the HM text (including some parallel cases<sup>11</sup>):

(53) They knew no other Jesus than this. They might have thought differently about him before the resurrection (see Luke 24: 19-24), and even the resurrection did not compel everyone who heard about it to believe. (HM, p. 470)

Drugega Jezusa niso poznali. Morda so o njem pred vstajenjem mislili drugače (prim. Lk 24, 19-24), a še vstajenje ni nikogar, ki je zanj stišal, prisililo k veri.

With the Eng VOA sequence, the advbls in this corpus tend to be necessarily final, as predicate modifiers. The following instance illustrates an O-related advbl:

- (54) It can be argued that the best engineering line, developed not only with ... , but with ... , will also be the one which fits the ground most closely and naturally, and which therefore looks the best. (MP, p. 156)

Tako bi lahko trdili, da je tehnično najboljše izpeljana trasa, ... lista trasa, ki se bo najbolje in najbolj naravno prilagodila terenu ter bo zato tudi estetsko najboljša. (p. 93)

- (55) It appears that two shots had been fired from a window at the funeral procession, and the Fascist action squads in the street fired over five thousand rounds indiscriminately during the next quarter of an hour. (WD, p. 143)

Zdi se, da so skozi okno dvakrat ustrelili na pogrebni sprevod, fašistični udarni oddelki na ulici pa so v naslednje četrt ure izstrelili nad pet tisoč nabojev, ne da bi izbirali cilje. (p. 156)

The Eng advbl here is understandably final if V + O + A-t is interpreted as a complete unit, indicating the heaviness of the shooting (i.e. + 5000 rounds per 15 min.).

Rather surprisingly, there are only three instances where the S is final in Slov as rheme (see (49) for the third instance):

- (56) One such autonomous formation named after the former Party Secretary, Muti, who had been assassinated by the Badoglio police in August, was particularly out of control. (WD, p. 143)

Posebno je brez nadzorstva neka takšna samostojna tvorba, imenovana po nekdanjem sekretarju stranke Mutiju, ki ga je avgusta ubila Badogliova policija. (p. 156)

- (57) He spent his early life in Nazareth where he worked as the village carpenter. When John the Baptist began to preach beside the River Jordan (about AD 27), Jesus came and was baptized by him. (HM, p. 472)

... je svojo mladost preživel v Nazaretu, kjer je delal kot vaški tesar. Ko je ob Jordanu začel delovati Janez Krstnik (okr. 27 po Kr.), se je tudi Jezus napotil tja in se dal krstiti. (pp. 470, 472)

(The time reference in brackets should presumably be understood as a parenthesis and thus not the true rheme.)

For simplicity's sake, the examples cited so far in this section have had the Eng advbl as clause-final element but, as already noted (see pp. 268-69), Eng final position more broadly includes postverbal advbls. A few such advbls occur between the verb and a related prepositional phrase - a feature noted in the A corpus (see chapter 4, p. 252) - only the instances here are mostly M-man advbls and thus predicate modifiers:

- (58) /Such an example might well be infectious, and the German authorities who were in effective control of Turin reacted quickly to this menacing phenomenon. (WD, p. 141)

Ta primer bi kaj lahko bil nalezljiv in nemške oblasti, ki so v resnici vladale v Torinu, so se hitro odzvale na ta preteči pojav. (p. 154)

Occasionally the Eng advbl may precede an *as*-phrase (which readily functions as rheme). For instance:

- (59) As Ribbentrop telegraphed to Rahn: 'I agree that you should bring strikers before courts martial and arrest a thousand here and there as an example and send them as military internees to Germany. (WD, p. 141)

Ribbentrop je brzojavil Rahnu: "Strinjam se, da bi stavgajoče morali postaviti pred vojaško sodišče, jih tu in tam po tisoč aretirati za zgled in jih poslati kot vojaške internirance v Nemčijo. (p. 154)

(See also (60).)

With Eng postverbal instances, the equivalent Slov advbl again tends to be placed medially; initial position is normally used when the advbl is needed to function as theme:

(60) This did not, however, deter Mussolini from issuing his instructions. The National Republican Guard, as it was now called, had been set up at the end of November 1943 'as the fourth armed force of the Republic'.

(WD, pp. 143-44)

Vendar to ni oviralo Mussolinija, da ne bi dal svojih navodil. |<sup>T</sup> Konec novembra 1943 | je bila ustanovljena |<sup>R</sup> narodna republikanska straža, | kot se je zdaj imenovala, in sicer kot "četrta oborožena sila republike".

(pp. 156-57)

(61) They tell us that he ... said that he had not come to destroy the law or add to it. He was hanged on the eve of Passover for heresy and misleading the people, ... (HM, p. 468)

Tudi judovski rabinski spisi nam opisujejo Jezusa, ki da je ... trdil, da ni prišel odpravljat postavo niti jo dopolnjevati; |<sup>T</sup> dan pred pasho | so ga |<sup>R</sup> usmrtili, | ker je bil krivoverec in je varal ljudi; ...

Cf. also (16): He was summoned by telegram to report to the Duce.... - |<sup>T</sup> Brzojavno | so ga poklicali |<sup>R</sup> na raport k duceju | ...

### Initial position

In the A corpus, where Slov is the L<sub>1</sub>, only main clauses were considered under initial position. If the same restriction were applied here, there would be

only 6 instances of non-parallel initial position, comprising 3 place and 3 time advbls. Additionally, however, there are 4 subordinate clauses containing an initial advbl in Eng, where initial position is not possible in Slov (see chapter 4, pp. 201-2 and 226). These subordinate clauses provide a further 3 place and 2 time advbls (one clause having a T-P advbl sequence - see (64)). The complete lack of manner advbls may be compared with the fact that parallel initial position contains only 1 instance of a manner advbl.

In 3 of these total 10 positional instances, the corresponding Slov advbl is a shifted theme:

(62) /'Kesselring on the other hand takes the point of view that in a separate theatre of war like Italy ... fighting rebellion is closely connected with the conduct of the war, ... (subordinate clause) (WD, p. 149)

Po drugi strani pa K meni, da je na ločenem vojnem prizorišču, kot je Italija ... boj proti uporu v tesni zvezi z vojskovanjem ... (p. 162)

(See also (12): *in recent years - zadnja leta* in a non-initial main clause.)

Otherwise the main reason here for non-parallelism is that the Slov translator has chosen to use the S...A sequence instead of following the Eng A-S sequence (cf. chapter 4, pp. 247-48):

(63) The Gospels are not invention. In the preface to his Gospel (Luke 1: 1-4), Luke lays particular stress on the fact that he was making use of authentic eye-witness testimony. (HM, p. 470)

Evangeliji niso izmišljotina. Luka v uvodu (1. 1-4) posebej poudarja, da se opira na prave očitivce.<sup>12</sup> (main clause) (pp. 469-70)

(See also (4): *At his post-war trial in 1947 - na svojem procesu po vojni leta 1947.*)

- (64) /It was not surprising that at the end of January, at a meeting between Rahn, Kesselring, and Graziani, the latter concluded that the German Army was not in favour of large Italian units ... (T-P sequence) (WD, p. 147)
- Ni bilo presenetljivo, da je Graziano [sic] konec januarja na srečanju z Rahnom in Kesselringom ugotovil, da nemška armada ni naklonjena velikim italijanskim enotam, ... (subordinate clause) (p. 160)

There is one instance (already quoted as (22)) of two initial advbls in Eng. of which one is retained in initial position in Slov, while the other slots into medial position:

- (65) /In the cities equally during the same weeks resistance activity developed and the problem faced [sic] of attempting to organize the industrial workers of the North as a central means of sabotage of any Fascist restoration. (WD, p. 140)

V istih tednih se je po mestih ravno tako razvila odporniška dejavnost in lotili so se problema, da bi poskusili organizirati industrijske delavce na severu v osrednje sredstvo za sabotažo proti kakršni koli fašistični obnovi. (p. 153)

Finally, regarding one of the Eng subordinate clauses, the Slov translator has somewhat condensed the text:

- (66) They have obviously been worked over by radical Christians, but it is possible that here and there in this and other similar documents fragments of genuine tradition about Jesus may be preserved. (HM, p. 468)
- ... a so jih očitno predelali "bojeviti" verniki. Marsikaj pa je najbrž wdi v njih pristnega, ...



### Medial position

Like non-parallel initial position, this too forms a very minor category, which is not surprising when we consider that medial position is, firstly, the least frequent advbl position in the Eng corpus texts and, secondly, a "capacious" position in Slov. There are only 6 instances altogether, all of them being time advbls (of which 4 in Eng are advs).

It is significant that in every instance the corresponding Slov advbl is placed initially because it is needed (or it seems to be the most appropriate element) to function as theme (5 of the examples also happen to have an unexpressed S):

(67) If you look at a map showing farm boundaries in average country, particularly if ..., you will see a jigsaw puzzle of marvellous complexity. It is at once clear that there can be no hope of following boundaries systematically, ... (MP, p. 156)

Če pa pogledamo na zemljevid, ki kaže parcelacijo in meje v poprečni krajini, posebno če ..., dobimo sestavljanjo čudovite kompleksnosti. |<sup>T</sup> Tako| je |<sup>R</sup> jasno,| da ne more biti govora o sistematičnem sledenju lastninskih meja.

(68) Whereas the critics of a former era argued that the Gospel of John had little or no basis in history, it is now seen that all four Gospels build on historical tradition, each preserving different aspects of it. (HM, p. 469)

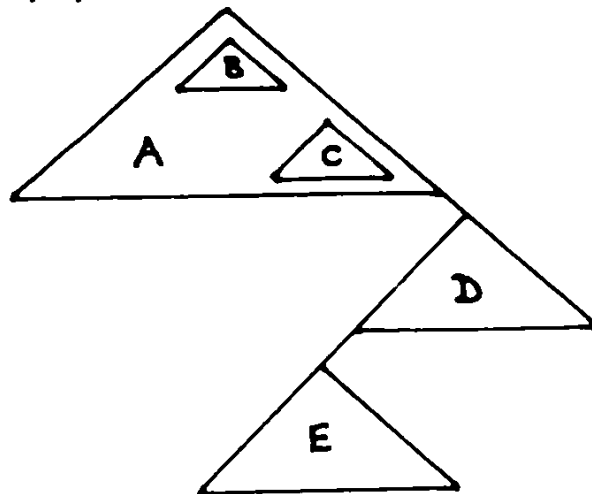
Nekateri kritiki so namreč v preteklosti Janezovemu evangeliju jemali skoraj vsako zgodovinsko vrednost. |<sup>T</sup> Danes |<sup>R</sup> vemo,| da vsi štirje evangeliji gradijo na zgodovinskem izročilu: vsak pa ohranja različne vidike na njem.

(See also (24): immediately (medial) - |<sup>T</sup> Takrat | je bil napolnjen |<sup>R</sup> s Svetim Duhom | and (36): for the time being (medial) - |<sup>T</sup> zdej | pa je |<sup>R</sup> skromen in neznan. |)

There are no examples of either an initial or medial Eng advbl being rendered by a final advbl in Slov, nor would one expect this, since as already noted (chapter 4, p. 225), a final advbl as rheme in Slov will in almost every case correspond to a final advbl in Eng.

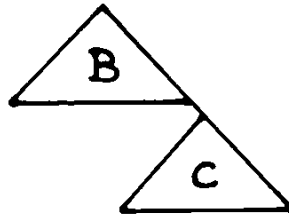
## Footnotes to Chapter 5

1. Page references are added for the Slov text only when they differ from the Eng original. In the TS texts, the page references always agree in Eng and Slov.
2. I am indebted to the editors Vital Klabus of Državna založba Slovenije and Andrej Novak of Cankarjeva založba for help in providing some of the parallel texts for this corpus.
3. Quirk *et al* recognize such constructions as non-finite clauses, but nevertheless they can stand within finite clauses. Note the following example and its diagrammatic representation: A| He was irritated at B| Edwin taking C| what seemed to him like an unfair advantage |C| B, D|though E| where the advantage lay)E he could not have said.)D |A



1985, pp. 1036, 1038. The system employed here is misleading insofar as A ... A in the bracketing encloses the entire complex sentence whereas the triangle A in the diagram represents only the superordinate clause. Triangles B and C are drawn within A because these clauses are not immediate constituents of the superordinate clause. The positioning of the triangles D and E shows subordinate clauses in final (right-branching) and initial (left-branching) position respectively, D being

dependent on A, and E on D. It would seem consistent to join C to B as a right-branching clause:



4. Cf. Quirk *et al* 1972, p. 306 and 1985, p. 649.

The adv *personally* presumably refers to the unexpressed S of the passive construction (cf. example (39): *generously*), but sounds odd as we do not know who the S refers to.

5. On the other hand, there are a number of examples in the HM text of a semantic item rendered by a P-loc advbl in Eng (not necessarily in initial position) being rendered by the S in the Slov version:

It is also being increasingly recognized by scholars that it is one and the same Jesus who is described in all four Gospels. (HM, p. 469)

Sodobni svetopisemski strokovnjaki vedno bolj priznavajo, da vsi štirje evangeliji opisujejo enega in istega Jezusa.

6. Spaced dots indicate those in the original, as distinct from my own (...).

7. With these examples compare this instance of AVS in Eng (as well as in Slov):

/The important point, however, is that there really is a 'text' which he is explaining for us; he is not commenting on something that never existed. Behind the Gospel stands the figure of John the apostle, just as apostolic testimony is the basis of the other Gospels. (HM, p. 469)

Nadvse važno pa je, da "besedilo", ki nam ga Janez razlaga, zares obstaja; da ne komentira nečesa, kar se ni nikoli zgodilo. Za evangelijem stoji osebnost apostola Janeza, podobno kot je apostolsko pričevanje temelj ostalim evangelijem.

The only other instance of a final S in both languages (see (3), (46)) has AVS with the addition of a manner adv.

8. It is also noticeable in the PZ text, for instance, that a number of medial time advs in Eng are simply not translated in the Slov version:

/Microfilm technology currently enables the publisher to reproduce 200 pages on a *micro-fiche*, and video disks can hold over 50 000 still frames (text or pictures or both). (PZ, p. 31)

Mikrofilmska tehnologija omogoča, da založnik reproducira 200 strani na t.i. *ultra-fišu*, na video disk pa lahko spravi prek 50 000 slik (besedila in/ali grafike). (p. 37)

9. Compare in the A corpus the dominance of time advbls in parallel initial position and the small number of such advbls in non-parallel initial position - see chapter 4, p. 226.

10. Although the position of the Slov M-man adv is perfectly normal here, it may also be noted in passing that verbs of utterance are generally final in their clause, immediately preceding the *ds*-clause. At sentence level, they would be regarded as transitional, with the *ds*-clause representing the rheme.

The translation in the preceding clause does not accurately render the Eng, and could be replaced with: "Spor je bil predložen Himmlerju, ki je formalno izjavil, da ..."

11. For example:

/So the history in the Gospels is history as seen by Christians. A non-Christian would see it differently: ... (HM, p. 470)

Evangeljska zgodovina je zgodovina s krščanskimi očmi. Nekristjan bi jo gotovo videl drugāče, ...

12. Note the place advbl in this example. All the other instances of this type are time advbls, which is also true of the A corpus (see chapter 4, p. 248).

## CHAPTER 6

**Conclusions**

In conclusion, there are three interconnecting areas for summary and commentary: findings - the results of the analysis; problems encountered in the analysis; pointers for further research. Because this is the final chapter, not only will observations from the preceding chapters be recalled and put together, but the opportunity will also be taken to offer some new observations, either of a nature which would not have fitted so well into the earlier discussion of specific points, or which reflect perceptions after the analysis was completed.

**Findings**

The aim was to compare the placement of advbls within the finite clause in Slov and Eng, the comparison being restricted, for convenience sake, to three semantic types of advbl. Such an investigation necessarily involves the concept of W0, but W0 is governed by different principles in the two languages: in Eng its primary function is to indicate syntactic relationships - the dominant order being SVO - but in Slov, an inflected language, this is (mostly) not necessary and W0 is rather a primary means of textual organization, permutations of SVO being freely available. A simple system of advbl positions within the clause was proposed for Slov (although precisely because of the difference between the two languages as W0 types, it does not match in every detail the traditional system of advbl positions in Eng) and these advbl positions in both languages were treated within the framework of the FSP theory as a hoped-for means of establishing some common ground between Slov and Eng. Not surprisingly, difficulties were encountered in working out suitable FSP principles applicable to both languages. Such difficulties will be discussed under the heading "Problems" below, but firstly I

wish to summarize the results that were obtained, using the system evolved here. If the results have recognisable practical usefulness, then this itself is some justification for the validity of the method of analysis employed even though, from a theoretical point of view, it may well require further modification and refinement. Further reading of texts at the present time also substantiates various observations made in this study, and underlines their contrastive significance. Nevertheless, in future work it will certainly be necessary to take more account of sentence as distinct from merely clause organization (see further on p. 320), partly on syntactic grounds because of the differing tendencies regarding finite and non-finite constructions in the two languages, as illustrated by (B14), (B23) and (B50).<sup>1</sup> Some awkwardness arising from the system employed here is seen, for instance, in (B1)-(B3).

The investigation was text-based, and although the two sections of the corpus (A: Slov - Eng and B: Eng - Slov) are probably not exactly equivalent in size, it is useful for the comparison that the total number of advbls considered in corpus A (290) is remarkably close to the total number of advbls considered in corpus B (283), advbls, that is, which are translated by corresponding advbls in the L<sub>2</sub>.

Firstly, although overall more "parallel" advbls occur than "non-parallel" ones, the congruence is decidedly smaller in corpus A, which suggests that Slov users of Eng are more likely to have difficulty with Eng advbl positioning than vice versa. This is understandable, if we take into account the various restrictions affecting Eng advbl placement whereas there is seen to be considerably more freedom of advbl placement in Slov. It may be significant that if all the Slov advbls from corpus A are taken as a group (i.e. parallel and non-parallel advbls together), although there is a tendency for advbls to be rhematic, the other two positions have equal frequency (final: 109, initial: 89, medial: 92) - but if the Slov

advbls of corpus B that occur in parallel position are added to these totals, a pattern more like that in Eng emerges, with final position clearly dominating, and initial and medial position following in that order (final: 224 (truly clause-final: 211), initial: 132, medial: 124). For in Eng, final position strikingly predominates, whether corpus B advbls alone are considered (final: 171 (truly clause-final: 135), initial: 74, medial: 38), or these plus Eng corpus A advbls occurring in parallel position (final: 279 (truly clause-final: 234), initial: 128, medial: 58). The statistics also show that in Eng, medial position is decidedly the least frequent. These observations, of course, are valid for the three semantic types considered here, but might be altered if all semantic types of advbl were taken into account.

And now to summarize the main conclusions, considering first the Slov - Eng direction:

(a) Final position: A final advbl in Slov (neutral W0) can unproblematically be considered as rheme, and will normally be paralleled by a final advbl in Eng. This naturally holds good as well for a sequence of final advbls, as in (A34) and (A35), including a so-called double rheme, as in (A36) and (A37) (cf. (B17) - (B18)).

(b) Initial position: Any advbl of place, time or manner can potentially occur as theme in initial position in Slov. There seem to be no restrictions regarding either the semantic subtype or the scope of the advbl in terms of the sentence versus predicate modification distinction, two factors which certainly affect advbl placement in Eng. If, however, two (or more) non-rhematic advbls, belonging to different semantic sub-types, co-occur in a clause, then certain ones might be less appropriate than others to function as theme. For instance, an M-man advbl appears less likely to be initial (if emphasis on it is not desired) when the clause contains some other advbl (e.g. of place or time) that can easily be positioned initially:



(A73) Nedvomen vrh ljubljanskega središča v nakazani smeri pa je tedaj najkvalitetnejše stensko slikarstvo tretje četrtine petnajstega stoletja. V tej umetnosti odlično odsevajo pojmovanja tiste končne faze srednega veka, ki pomeni v naših razmerah ploden predpogoj za vsa kasnejša prizadevanja v renesančni smeri. (NŠ, p. 20)

The height of the Ljubljanian artistic production was however represented by mural painting (the last ten to twenty years [sic] of the 15th century). The conceptions of the late Middle Ages that constitute the presupposition for the later prolific developments in the Renaissance style are reflected in this art.

See also *dobro* in (A72), *vztrajno* in (B28), *počasi* in (B46), but compare the following where an initial M-man advbl (selected in preference to an expressed but non-rhematic subject) does seem to carry some emphasis:<sup>2</sup>

(A57) /V obdobju avstroogrške monarhije in stare Jugoslavije se je delež kmečkega prebivalstva znižal na okrog 60%, kolikor ga je bilo po končani drugi svetovni vojni leta 1945. Zelo hitro pa se je zmanjševalo kmečko prebivalstvo v novi Jugoslaviji in tako sedaj znaša le še okrog 10%. (FS)

In the period of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and pre-war Yugoslavia the proportion of the farming population decreased to about 60%, which was also the situation as the war ended in 1945. In postwar Yugoslavia it declined very rapidly, so that now it represents only about 10%.

Advbls of degree, a semantic type not included in this study, may similarly have lower "thematic potentiality" if other advbls are present in the clause:

(1) Prve [orgle] so bile izdelane skupaj z ohišjem nekako ob koncu 18. stoletja in čeprav ..., je zelo verjetno, da so prišle iz celjske delavnice (Scholtz?). V začetku našega stoletja je Josip Brandl iz Maribora stare mehanične orgle popolnoma predelal na pnevmatični sistem; ... (MB)

The first one was built together with its case somewhere at the end of the 18th century and although ... , it is very likely that it originated from the Celje workshop (S?). At the beginning of the 20th century J. B. from Maribor completely converted the old mechanical organ to the pneumatic system, ...

See also (A62) *Nad obzidje ... komaj* and the following, which has an M-man advbl as theme:

(A69) To problemsko področje je pri nas še premalo proučeno. Sistematično smo ta vprašanja kaj skromno proučevali, zato ... (FS)

This area is still too little studied in Slovenia. The questions have been systematically examined only in a rather modest way, so that ...

So it is possible that in Slov, too, some advbls are more closely bound to the verb than others. The above remarks are tentative, however, and the full range of advbl semantic types would need to be considered (and that within a larger sample of texts) before any reliable conclusions could be drawn.

The (so far observed) unrestricted availability of initial position in Slov is in sharp contrast to the situation in Eng. where this position is mostly reserved for sentence modifiers - advbls that typically function as a "setting" and have the rest of the clause in their scope. This function is most suitably realized by particular semantic subtypes, e.g. T-when, T-dur, P-loc, and M-means. On the other hand, Eng initial position is appropriately utilized (i) when the advbl modifies more than one clause or coordinated parts of a clause, e.g. (A50), (ii) to reduce potential "overweighting" at the end of a clause, e.g. (A88), or (iii) to avoid wrong or misleading modification, as in:

(A49) Na seji prisotna delegata teh dveh centrov nista bila pooblaščenca, da sprejmeta ta predlog in nalogo; na konferenci v San Marinu bi bilo treba o tem slišati dokončno stališče teh dveh centrov. (MM)

The delegates of these two centres present at the meeting were not authorized to accept this proposal and task: at the conference in San Marino it would be necessary to hear the final standpoint on this taken by both centres.

where *at the conference in San Marino* in final position grammatically could be interpreted as a postmodifier to the object, although in the context this would give an odd reading (i.e. it would imply the San Marino conference had already taken place, whereas from the speaker's viewpoint, it is still future). Sentence intonation, however, could - by means of a pause and a separate tone unit - indicate that this phrase, if final, should be interpreted as an advl.

In Slov an initial advbl is a "useful" theme (departure point) in short, three-element clauses where the verb occupies medial position and some other element (frequently the subject) is final as rheme. This Slov AVX pattern (see chapter 4, pp.227 and 229) is often not followed in Eng, e.g. if the advbl is a predicate modifier. Also if the X is realized by the subject, this will quite likely be initial in Eng. Some examples of this commonly occurring situation are: (A60), (A62), (A67), (A70), (A71) and (A75). Perhaps surprisingly, there are virtually no instances of Eng SVA clauses in the B corpus to be rendered by AVS in Slov; the nearest would be (B44).

It is possible that an initial advbl in Slov is rendered by a so-called advbl S in Eng (e.g. (A44)-(A47) and (B25)), a technique that can allow the same theme to be preserved. In passing, it may be noted that the S in Eng is a "strong" element, almost indispensable at surface level, unlike the situation in Slov. In addition to pronominal subjects, there are also "dummy subjects" such as *there* (in existential sentences) and *it* (cf. *It is raining - Dežuje, It's Saturday tomorrow - Jutri je sobota*), and the anticipatory *it*, allowing the postponement of a clausal S (cf. *It is surprising that ... - Presenetljivo je, da ...*).<sup>3</sup> The

almost universal surface-level presence of the S in Eng contrasted with the potential absence of the S in Slov has consequences for clause organization. Even without statistical evidence, it seems likely that the S serves more often as theme in Eng than in Slov (cf. n. 6, p. 328). On the other hand, in clauses with an unexpressed S in Slov, an advbl (or some other element/item) commonly serves as theme in preference to having the verb initially (which is likely to involve a zero theme instead of a full theme, according to the interpretation adopted here). For instance, AVO is preferred to VAO:

(2) /V tej analizi upoštevamo samo aktivne vire dohodkov. (AB)

In this analysis we take into account only active sources of income.  
and not (with a zero theme *mi*):

Upoštevamo v tej analizi samo aktivne vire dohodkov.

(c) Medial position: There are no observable restrictions regarding the placement of Slov advbls in medial position whereas in Eng - as is well-known - this is mostly used for advs and short set phrases, certain semantic types being preferred. (There is far too little evidence from the corpus to discuss reliably how far the iM position (see chapter 3, p. 136), illustrated in (A52), can be used in Eng for advbl phrases - while the eM positional variant is exemplified only twice ((A69) and (B41)), and mM not at all.) The concept of medial position is also more restricted in Eng for it relates specifically to the verb phrase and, in all its subdivisions, precedes the main verb (though note *de* (as operator) - A - SC, mentioned in chapter 3, p. 136), whereas in Slov a penultimate advbl that nevertheless follows the verb is here considered as medial.<sup>4</sup>

Of the three semantic types considered, time advbls (generally advs in Eng) definitely predominate in medial position in both languages:

corpus A parallel:        T: 14        M: 4        P: 2

corpus A non-parallel:    T: 41        P: 20        M: 9

corpus B parallel:           T: 28       M: 4       P: 0

corpus B non-parallel:    T: 6       M: 0       P: 0

The statistics in chapter 4 clearly show that Slov users of Eng should exercise the greatest care over the placement in Eng of advbls that occupy medial position in Slov (to recapitulate: c. 72 advbls in non-parallel Slov medial position compared with c. 32 in non-parallel initial position and only 1 in non-parallel final position). Practically, a process of elimination could be used: if the restrictions on Eng medial position apply, consider initial and final position; if then the restrictions on Eng initial position apply, use final position which is, in any case, the most common advbl position in Eng.

Conclusions will now be summarized concerning the Eng - Slov direction:

(d) Final position: A final advbl in Eng should be rendered by a final advbl in Slov only if it truly functions as rheme in the clause.<sup>5</sup> In practice difficulties may arise (particularly for Eng users of Slov) with such a typical pattern as VOA in Eng in clauses where both O and A appear to express "communicatively important information" since purely as sequences, VOA and VAO are equally permissible in Slov. For example:

(3) /It was agreed that Borghese should try and recruit, alongside the nucleus of what he called the 'Decima Mas' (the Tenth Motor Torpedo Boat Flotilla) Marines for possible land operations under the old Venetian designation of San Marco. By the end of the year Borghese had succeeded in raising some four thousand recruits on the basis of his own personal prestige as a commander, and ... (WD, p. 143)

Sklenili so, naj B poleg jedra tistega, čemur je pravil "Decima Mas" (deseta flotilja motornih torpednih čolnov), poskusi nabrati marinece za morebitne kopenske operacije s starim beneškim imenom San Marco. Do konca leta se je Borgheseju posrečilo zbrati kakih štiri tisoč rekrutov na račun

svojeja osebnega poveljniškega ugleda in ...

(p. 138)

The Eng advbl is typically final (though it could also be inserted parenthetically after *succeeded*, being marked off by commas in writing, and juncture in speech), but as regards the Slov WO, one might wonder whether the number of recruits (i.e. the object) or the means by which they were recruited (i.e. the advbl) is more "communicatively important". An example like (B10) is instructive in this connection, too.

A sequence of advbls in Eng final position is not necessarily to be paralleled in Slov; any non-rhematic advbls from such a sequence can well be placed earlier, as in (B13) - *skoz okno*, (B16) - *po Riccijevem ukazu na pravi renesančni način osebno*, and (B19) - *hkrati*. Where a sequence functions as specification, however, and consists of one advbl modifying another, as in (B14) and (B15), as well as in (A34), (A35) and (A45), the sequence can be regarded as a rhematic whole.

It should be noted that M-man advbls (advb), which are often final in Eng, do show a tendency to occupy immediately preverbal position in Slov if not functioning as rheme; examples such as (B51), (B54) and (B58) could be complemented by others from the Slov corpus A texts, e.g. (A93), or indeed from Slov texts generally.

(e) Initial position: Eng initial advbls can be freely paralleled in Slov, though medial position is there potentially available too, since it appears feasible to interchange initial and medial (especially medial between clitic(s) and main verb) elements, though initial may be the more dominant position (see chapter 2, p. 53, chapter 4, p. 244 and n. 37, p. 264). Unlike the situation in Slov, such interchange is restricted in Eng - to sentence modifiers that are also capable of occupying medial position (cf. Sometimes I have the impression that ... - I sometimes have

the impression that ... / Last week the committee was informed that ... - \*The committee was last week informed that ...).

(f) Medial position: Eng medial position can easily be paralleled within the more capacious range of medial position in Slov, though the obverse of point (e) above holds: the translation equivalents of Eng medial advbls can potentially be put in initial position in Slov (subject to possible limitations as mentioned under (b), pp. 306-8).

It is possible that at times a Slov translator is influenced by Eng WO, if we may judge from the much lower frequency of final S in translated texts than in original Slov texts,<sup>6</sup> for example, or from the final placement of an advbl in one or two instances where it is doubtful if the advbl should truly be rheme (as in (B9) and (B10)). The permutability of Slov WO makes such influence easier compared with the relative rigidity of Eng WO, where a sequence of elements in Slov can be copied only if it corresponds to a regular clause pattern in Eng. (For instance, the Slov sequences OVS and SOV are impossible in Eng, though OVS proves a stumbling block for some Slov users of Eng.<sup>7</sup>) We have seen from the corpus that translated Eng sentences can most easily share the same themes and rhemes as the original Slov sentences if the overall syntactic sequence is the same or similar (see chapter 4, pp. 217 and 222). And as a comment on my own translation practice, initial placement of advbls in Slov proves a fairly pervasive influence, so long as the advbls are sentence modifiers and there is no particular need for them to provide postverbal complementation.

If we consider Eng only, it is interesting that some findings in the Quirk *et al* grammars about the placement of advbls in Eng, which are there based on a very large corpus, are corroborated even in this small corpus, e.g. of time and place advbls, the former are more common in initial position, and the latter

more common in final position (this being a more clearcut preference). Actually, in the corpus B texts, time advbls are fairly evenly distributed among the three positions, while both place and manner advbls show a definite preference for final position.

In general, however, there are limitations in using only a corpus of texts which, especially if relatively small, will not necessarily provide sufficient evidence for investigating certain individual problems. Some reference has already been made to this (e.g. the use of less common medial position subtypes in Eng) but other examples readily come to mind: the factors influencing the choice of medial or final position for Eng M-man advs - this placement particularly causes difficulty for Slov users<sup>8</sup> - or the alternative sequences of T - P/P - T advbls in Eng (see chapter 3, pp. 86-87 and 90). But there are other aspects of advbl placement which a "corpus of texts" approach, as used here, has begun to uncover, and which need to be followed up, using a "corpus of examples" approach, i.e. with examples excerpted from a much larger sample of texts. To exemplify from chapter 4 various aspects where, in addition to purely linguistic interest, further guidance would be welcome for Slov users of Eng: the use of the advbl S (e.g. pp. 219-20, also chapter 5, p. 281 and n. 5, p. 302), the extent to which AVS can be used in Eng - which verbs undergo such inversion? (pp. 232-33, also 239-40), similarly, the extent to which ASV can be used - how to know when postverbal complementation can be dispensed with (cf. pp. 253-54), and in general, the circumstances in which optional fronting is likely to occur, taking into account the possibility of a fronted advbl implying contrast (see (A81) and (A98)), and the extent to which parallel placement correlates with shared themes and rhemes in the two languages (pp. 217, 222). From an FSP viewpoint, further information on the use of discontinuous structures in Eng (p. 206 and n. 12, p. 259)



would also be of interest. Such details already anticipate the final section on pointers for further research.

Furthermore, although in this section, as in the previous two chapters, I have drawn some conclusions based on the statistics of this particular corpus, it must be stressed again that only a much larger sample can show how far these statistics are representative.

### **Problems**

The main area for discussion here concerns the FSP analysis. It must be said at the outset that the theory of FSP still requires clarification, for even the basic notions of theme and rheme lack a satisfactory, cross-linguistically valid definition. The principles employed in this study were formulated on the basis of declarative sentences, occurring as the almost exclusive type in the corpus, and they will need elaboration and perhaps alteration if they are to be equally valid for interrogative and imperative clauses. On the positive side, the formulation took into account a variety of "authentic" sentences, which avoided the danger of the principles being based on artificially simple (or just artificial) sentences which are too obviously linguists' artefacts. The principles were also worked out with closer attention to Slov which, as a Slavonic language, was assumed to have "FSP-sensitive" WO. In what follows, I shall consider the concepts of (a) theme and (b) rheme, not just narrowly related to initial and final advbs, but in a broader fashion.

The discussion will illustrate problems of a more theoretical nature, whereas the contrastive analysis carried out in the previous two chapters was meant to be practical. Nevertheless, such theoretical problems need to be solved too, and the enhanced understanding should then make possible better, fuller explanations for pedagogical purposes.

## (a) theme

As used in this study, this is the less problematic of the two concepts. Understood in the basic sense of 'clause-initial element/item serving as departure point', the theme conveniently has as one of its realizations advbls in initial position. Taking now a broader view, however, we may enquire further about the cross-linguistic consequences of this concept of theme. Obviously, it allows a comparison of what elements can stand initially in Slov and Eng, as well as a comparison of what governs their choice. And here we encounter a difference caused by the different ruling WO principles in the two languages. For Eng, with its grammaticalized WO, does not have the same free choice of initial element. Moreover, there is a concept of "fronting", i.e. elements which are typically postverbal/final (e.g. predicate modifier advbls, the O, the SC) can be transposed to initial position for reasons of textual organization. The theme, then, may be a commonly initial element ("setting" advbl, the S) or a specially fronted element. The permutability of syntactic sequences in Slov makes such a notion of "fronting" irrelevant. On the other hand, the choice of initial element in Slov is partly conditioned by grammatical factors in such a situation as illustrated in (A2a): *Ogorčeno je protestiral - He protested indignantly*. An unstressed, pronominal S is generally unexpressed at surface level in Slov, and the most common WO here is for the adv to occupy the "empty" initial position and thus function as departure point. (Note that if the concept of theme or topic made use of by many linguists as "what the sentence is about" is applied to this example, the topic would be "a previously identified male person", represented by the initial, pronominal S in Eng, and present at surface level in the verb form in Slov. Topic and initial element would then coincide in Eng, but not in Slov.)

A problem not previously considered is whether there can be "themeless" clauses, i.e. without even a zero theme, which I take to be a theme that can be

recovered from the context, most obviously - or perhaps even exclusively - the subject when not expressed at surface level. Such themeless clauses might be needed to explain the existential sentence type, e.g. *There was an old man, who ...*. In Eng we could suggest *there* as theme, on the grounds that in the above sentence it is clause-initiating, but such an item is lacking in the Slov translation equivalent: *Bil je starec, ki ...*. Are these then themeless clauses or should we understand - as Toporišič proposes (see chapter 2, p. 55) - some zero theme which is not recoverable from the linguistic context, typically some advbl of time or place to give a temporal/spatial setting? (So, for instance, *There was a long queue of people waiting for tickets* could have as (pragmatic) zero theme *yesterday afternoon/when I walked past* or *at the cinema/football stadium/railway station*.) Such a notion of freely imagined zero themes is debatable, but existential sentences do quite often have a place or time advbl attached, and in Eng this may precede or follow, e.g. (A71) *There are approximately 100,000 farms in Slovenia*. Is *there* the theme? Cf. *In Slovenia there are approx. 100,000 farms*. Is *In Slovenia* the theme? If an "existential" sentence in Slov contains such an advbl, it will (almost) automatically be made the theme in that it occupies initial position: *V Sloveniji je približno 100.000 kmetij*. Cf. also (A13) *There was a big table in the corner* (which sounds more neutral than *In the corner there was a big table*<sup>9</sup>) - in Slov: *V kotu je bila velika miza*, where the advbl is again theme.

As far as the present corpus is concerned, there seems no need for the notion of shifted theme in Eng (because there is no rule about clitic position here). Regarding the shifted theme in Slov we may ask: Is there any difference as to whether a medially placed clause element precedes or follows the verb? And is there any difference in these cases between such verbs as *biti*, *imeti* and "full" verbs? (e.g. (B23) has *Ko ... je imel Buffarini priložnost, da ...* and

not ... *je Buffarini imel priložnost* ...) Such questions could lead on to the general matter of the sequencing of elements in the medial section of a Slov clause, something not dealt with in this study and needing much more consideration than can be given to it here.

(b) rheme

Rather mechanically it may be said - at least for Slov - that the theme is basically what introduces the clause (i.e. the initial element) while the rheme is what concludes it (i.e. the final element). Intuitively we can feel that this concept of rheme has some validity in Slov - because choice is involved (except in subordinate clauses consisting only of the subordinating conjunction and verb), there is some significance in what is selected to be final. It is for this reason that I suggest the notion of "rheme proper" makes sense in Slov rather than the notion that all that is not theme is rheme (though this latter notion would certainly be convenient for contrastive clause analysis and might quite often be more appropriate for Eng). Eng also allows some freedom of choice concerning the final element, e.g. the passive construction makes it possible to put the agent in final position or, viewed negatively, to remove the object from final position, while *there*-clauses potentially, and AVS clauses definitely allow the subject to be final. In fact, the range of different sentence constructions available in Eng (see chapter 2, pp. 64-65) may be regarded as a kind of counterpart to the flexibility of WO in Slov, which has relatively few different constructions. But it is also typical of Eng that what stands finally does so necessarily to conclude a common syntactic pattern, e.g. SVA, SVO, SVOA. The final element in such cases may or may not appear as the communicatively most important one. At times it may be a device of sentence intonation - forward shifted nuclear stress - and not WO that marks an element as communicatively important. In the cleft sentence

construction, such marking by nuclear stress and a grammatical construction are combined: *It was <sup>ˈ</sup>John who gave me the details.*

The problem is: if in Eng the clause-final element is not necessarily significant just because it is final (in the way the Slov final element generally is) and yet there is some concept of rheme as the main communicative "point" in a clause, how do we identify it? We have already seen that the technique of asking questions is not always satisfactory - partly because we do not know how much to put in or leave out when asking more complex questions (see chapter 4, pp. 210-11), partly because the most appropriate question may not have the conventionally expected question word (e.g. (B15)). There is also circular reasoning involved: given a certain clause, I ask a question based on it such that the answer will be the final element of that clause, e.g. *John has gone home. Where has John gone? Home.* The other proposed pointer to rhematic status is nuclear stress, but this also fails to indicate in every case a "rheme proper" (see chapter 4, pp. 207-10). To quote a fresh instance:

(B 37) ... the rate of cure ... has been steadily increasing, | as the following

examples show | (TS, p. 47)

- that precisely the verb *show* should be rheme because it bears the nuclear stress is counter-intuitive. Applying Quirkian analysis, the "focus" could be *the following examples show*, which might point rather to the concept of rheme as "all that is not theme". But if so, what is "theme" in the clause under consideration, if conjunctions are rightly excluded from having thematic status? (Choosing the passive variant: *as is shown by the following examples* might help us to identify *the following examples* as rheme, while if *as* were paraphrased *and this*, then *this* could be considered the theme.)

Yet nuclear stress occurring earlier than usual in the tone unit is a helpful guide: e.g. *John has gone home. Who has gone home? John.* Here

we should note the importance of context (linguistic or situational) for assigning the rheme, for only context can indicate the reading *John has gone home* instead of *John has gone home*. (There is also the case of emphatic stress on a word not normally stressed: *John has gone home*. This is not the answer to a simple question (except: *Did you say John hadn't gone home?*) but a reassertion of an original statement, i.e. the emphatic stress is conditioned by the preceding context.)

A clear example where the preceding context truly confirms the final element as rheme is seen in (A38) while in (A67), for instance, although the additional text has not been quoted to show this, it is the sentences that follow which confirm *vzorčni mišični odgovori* (patterns of muscle response) as justifiably rheme in Slov. The importance of context in the shaping of individual sentences, especially more complex ones, is clearly fundamental, so that the study of theme and rheme, to be adequate, would need to be taken into the province of text grammar. In fact the discussion in chapters 4 and 5 has sometimes occupied a border area between sentence grammar and text grammar, but the analysis was carried out primarily at clause level as a necessary first stage of investigation. An extension to sentence level, taking into account sentence themes and rhemes (which will involve the placement of advbl clauses too) could then lead on to the intersentential level. In general, we may say that both themes and rhemes contribute to the development of the text in potentially complex ways and that both interact with the given - new information distinction (see the comment in chapter 4, pp.211-12 about embedding of rhematic material in themes and vice versa). The role of sentence intonation probably needs to be considered in a more thorough-going way, too, with sequencing into tone units, use of rising and falling nuclear tones, level of pitch, etc. all making a contribution to the coherent structure of a text.

Until the problem of rheme identification is cleared up, there will remain some uncertainty over, for instance, certain final advbls in Eng as to whether they function as rheme or not - see the discussion of (A104). The following example (not actually included in the advbl statistics) illustrates a similar situation:

(A29) Pasivna gibljivost sklepov neprizadete zgornje in spodnje ekstremitete mora biti v normalnem obsegu gibanja. V prizadeti spodnji ekstremiteti pa mora biti vsaj do 70° ohranjena pasivna fleksija kolka. (AW)

Passive movement of the joints of the unaffected upper and lower extremities must be within the normal range of movement. In the affected lower extremity passive flexion of the hip must be retained through at least 70°.

The Slov writer clearly regards the S as rheme (and Slov informants would formulate the sentence in the same way), yet such an interpretation would seem most unusual in Eng, where the final item of information, *through at least 70°*, appears most important. So when non-native users of Slov write or speak in that language, how can they always be quite sure which element to put final as rheme?

There are additionally some problems specific to a study of advbls that require some comment. Firstly, the semantic classification cannot always be carried out in a clear-cut manner and it surely must be recognised that some advbls are of mixed semantic type. We have seen that, especially in Eng, question markers are not always available (see chapter 3, pp. 152-56) nor, if available, are they always an infallible guide to semantic type (see the comment on (B15)). A more detailed application of semantic theory or a further development of it may contribute to a more reliable classification.

Secondly, there is the still unsolved problem of distinguishing between advbls and postmodifiers (especially where prepositional phrases are concerned), when the

distinction is neutralized by position. It is interesting to note the easy shift between levels (advbls constitute a clause element whereas postmodifiers are only part of a clause element), which we have seen being exploited by Eng translators by the technique of "downgrading" (see (A80) and chapter 4, n. 26, p. 261 and n. 36, pp. 263-64). Further instances pointing to a narrow borderline between advbls and postmodifiers would be (A65) (see comment) and that in n. 23, p. 261.

### Pointers

The discussion of problems not yet solved itself constitutes a pointer to further research - the theoretical foundation must be strengthened if real progress is to be made. But establishing what the problems are is a necessary initial step towards solving them.

An obvious extension of this study would be to investigate all the advbls occurring in the corpus, but then the problem of distinguishing semantic types would become more acute. The overall classification used in the Quirk *et al* and Toporišič grammars also contains more differences than those we have already encountered in chapter 3. (In the present analysis my concern with semantic classes was primarily to decide whether a given advbl should be included in the statistics or not.) Though there is relatively little evidence for this so far, it would be interesting to see whether there are in Slov any typical features of individual semantic classes as regards advbl position.

Further, a larger selection of texts needs to be examined, drawn from other genres too (e.g. literary texts), to see how far the results of the present analysis are confirmed or need to be modified, as well as what new discoveries can be made. Are there perhaps features more characteristic of scientific-technical or of literary texts? - Preliminary analyses of literary texts carried out at an earlier stage of this research would suggest that this is quite possible. With an



extension to literary texts, it is also more likely that one would have to take into account marked WO - in both languages. And in all types of texts there are factors potentially affecting advbl placement such as style and rhythm, which have not been considered here. (Probably they, too, belong more to text grammar.)

One fairly large area for investigation only slightly touched on in this study is the co-occurrence of advbls in a clause and factors influencing their relative placement (see, e.g., the commentary on (B16)). This would involve a much more thorough consideration of advbl scope which, so far as Slov is concerned, represents practically virgin territory. It is the complexity of this topic rather than any paucity of examples for it in the corpus that explains why it has not been dealt with. Ideally, the full range of semantic types also needs to be taken into account in researching such a problem. Even in Eng, there is not a simple relationship between scope and linear position though in general, initial advbls (as setting) have a broader scope. Since Slov WO depends on FSP rather than grammatical relations, it might be supposed that the link between scope and linear position would be weaker. Tentatively I would suggest that if the relative positioning of subject and predicate (relevant in Eng for distinguishing sentence types, see chapter 1, pp. 4 and 24) can be easily shifted about, as in Slov, then the lack of a clear distinction between sentence and predicate modification is not surprising.

Then, as already mentioned, there are some problems which cannot be adequately investigated within a particular selection of texts, but sentences illustrating such a problem must be culled as widely as possible and then studied as a group.

As a corollary to all such textual study, it would be of great value as well to engage in error analysis. Just occasionally, typical mistakes have been mentioned (e.g. chapter 4, p. 250), but a systematic study of errors relating to advbl

placement needs to be made. What might be termed "FSP patterns" having syntactic correlates are observable in Slov and these are liable to cause interference, e.g. V-A-0, V-A-Pov. d. (-Eng V-A-SC). The latter is particularly tricky, since the Slov pattern seems to be more often transferable than, say, V-A-0 (see chapter 4, pp. 224-25). In Eng, the factors of semantic type and the adv/advbl phrase distinction seem to be involved, but again more examples, illustrating the full range of semantic types, are needed on which to base reliable conclusions.

Finally, there is the interesting question of how far advbls in one language may correspond to a different element or word-class in the other language. Some reference has already been made to the equation with advbl S or with post-modifiers, but the texts in this corpus also provide evidence for an advbl-adjective correspondence that can work both ways:

Slov V+A - Eng adjective+noun:

- (4) /Bolnike smo hidrirali in hranili parenteralno. (JD)

The patients were given parenteral hydration and feeding.

- (5) /Throughout his ministry Jesus was involved in conflict with the religious authorities, mainly because of his scorching criticisms of their man-made traditions which diverted men from the real purposes of God's law.

(HM, p. 473)

V času javnega delovanja je prihajal v spor z verskimi oblastmi, ker je ostro grajal njihovo ravnanje, zaradi katerega so ljudje izgubljali izpred oči pravi smisel Božje postave. (p. 472)

Eng V+A - Slov adjective+noun:

- (B67) It is at once clear that there can be no hope of following boundaries systematically, ... (MP, p. 156)

Takoj je jasno, da ne more biti govora o sistematičnem sledenju lastninskih meja. (p. 93)

Although this correspondence is common with M-man advbls (see also (B51) *a stiff quarrell sta se loro prepirala*), other semantic types can be involved too:

- (6) ... Borghese's successor as Undersecretary of the Navy, Ferrini, attempted to go further and sent the recruits enlisted by Borghese for the new San Marco battalion to Germany, for training along with the early call-up.

(WD, p. 145)

... F. Borghesejev naslednik na mestu podsekretarja za mornarico, je rekrute, ki jih je vpoklical B za nove bataljone San Marco in jih hotel poslati v Nemčijo, določil za urjenje s tistimi, ki so bili vpoklicani že prej.

(p. 158)

The corpus texts provide further interesting illustrations of the same lexical content realized in different syntactic ways, as in (B28) *Rahn persisted in his attempts/ je Rahn vztrajno poskušal* and:

- (7) / But the dreary farce continued. At the end of March, with the rising menace of partisan activities, Graziani attempted ... (WD, p. 148)

Toda mračna farca se je nadaljevala. Konec marca, ko je grozeče naraščala partizanska dejavnost, je G skušal ... (p. 161)

and especially the following, where the subscript numbers indicate correspondences:

- (8) He then commenced a ministry of preaching and healing, mainly in Galilee. This was preceded by <sub>1</sub> a period <sub>2</sub> in Judea <sub>3</sub> (John 1-3) and included visits <sub>4</sub> to Jerusalem <sub>5</sub> (HM, p. 472)

Jezus je nato odšel učiti in ozdravljati v Galilejo. Pred tem <sub>1</sub> je nekaj časa <sub>2</sub> preživel v Judeji <sub>3</sub> (Jn 1-3) in nekajkrat obiskal <sub>4</sub> Jeruzalem <sub>5</sub>

Apart from the fact that, as in the above examples, such translation sounds more natural than a mechanical clause element for clause element trans-

fer would do, correspondences like these can have a bearing on advbl positioning in the two languages. Because there is, in general, less scope for fitting advbls into an Eng clause and thus more possibility of "competition for place" compared with the situation in a Slov clause, an advbl in Slov as  $L_1$  may be "absorbed" by rendering it with some other word or element in Eng. This final example is from outside the corpus:

(9) V zadnjem času je samostojno opravljaj raziskave na področju selekcije in genetike v akvakulturi. Pri tem delu je izvirno apliciral metode uporabljene pri selekciji živali na ribe, kar daje njegovemu raziskovalnemu delu novo kvaliteto.

Recently he has been carrying out independent research in the field of breeding and genetics in aquaculture. (Here) his originality in applying to fish the methods employed in breeding domestic animals has given his research work a new dimension.

Cf. the awkward "(Here) he applied with originality the methods employed in breeding domestic animals to fish, which has given ..." <sup>10</sup>

In closing: the study has attempted to open up a very broad and complex field of research - hopefully the Jordan has been crossed, but "there remaineth yet very much land to be possessed"

## Footnotes to Chapter 6

1. A plus a number or B plus a number refers to examples from either corpus A or corpus B quoted in chapter 4 or chapter 5 respectively. Any additional examples (i.e. not previously quoted) have running numbers within this chapter.

2. This observation on an initial M-man advbl may be compared with the finding by Chládková (1979) that an initial manner advbl in Czech seems more dynamic than those occurring medially - the usual position for such advbls (see chapter 3, p. 98).

3. Note, too, how the Eng S (nominative case) is used where Slov employs oblique cases (e.g. I'm cold - Zebe me, I'm yawning (sleepy) - Meni se zdeha). And there are interesting impersonal constructions in Slov, which have no counterpart in Eng - in translation an Eng S must be used:

Čoln nam je odneslo - Our boat has drifted away.

Rudarje je zasulo - The miners have been buried (under a rockfall).

Metko je zlomilo - Metka has had a breakdown.

Z njegovim zdravjem je šlo navzdol - His health has deteriorated.

The range of semantic roles realized by the S in Eng is shown in Quirk *et al* 1985, pp. 741, 743-49.

4. Apart from commenting on Eng postverbal but not clause-final advbl position, I have not operated with positional subtypes. However, for the sake of contrastive analysis, it might be helpful to recognize the "area" between the auxiliary and the main verb in Slov as a subtype of medial position (and one commonly used) which is more directly comparable with Eng medial position.

5. In my own speaking of Slov, I am aware of a tendency, obviously under the influence of Eng W0, to leave an advbl too often until the end of the clause.

The same mistake is noted among American students of Serbo-Croatian, see Nakić (1975).

6. If this feature is present in a larger sample of texts, its significance would certainly deserve to be investigated. Is it because the "rhematicity" of subjects is much less noticeable in Eng? Note that two out of the three semantic properties listed by Quirk *et al* as characterizing the subject are: the S "is typically the theme (or topic) of the clause" and it "typically refers to information that is regarded by the speaker as given". 1985, p. 726.

7. Typical mistakes from a text produced by a Slov translator:

"Favourable results have been recording also the non-ferrous metals, rubber, paper, leather and textile production."

To render what was obviously OVS in the Slov original, the passive should be used in Eng:

Favourable results have also been [recorded by] achieved in non-ferrous metals, rubber, ... production.

"The experience of Ljubljanska banka in consortium banking goes back to the year 1973 when it initiated the establishment of the first ... joint venture abroad, LHB Internationale Handelbank A.G. in Frankfurt/Main. This followed Banque Franco-Yougoslav, set up in Paris in 1978."

i.e. the establishment of a joint bank in 1973 followed the establishment of such a bank in 1978! Correct as above by using the passive This was followed by the Banque Franco-Yougoslav ...

8. I regret it has not been possible to investigate this problem, mentioned at the very beginning (see chapter 1, p. 1).

9. There is also the question of the omissibility of *there*: *There was a big table in the corner / In the corner there was a big table / In the corner was a big table* but not: *\*In Slovenia are approximately*

*100,000 farms*. There is some treatment of this matter in Quirk *et al.* 1985, pp. 1409-11, but it will not be pursued further here.

10 "Competition for place" is also seen between *employed in breeding domestic animals* as a postmodifier to *the methods* and *to fish* as a phrase dependent on *applied*

## POVZETEK

Namen te razprave je kontrastivno primerjati stavo prislovnih določil v slovenskem in angleškem stavku. Iz praktičnih razlogov je primerjava omejena na tri pogostnejše vrste prislovnih določil: kraja, časa in načina. Stavo prislovnih določil je pravzaprav treba preučevati kot del splošne problematike besednega reda, še zlasti, ker pripadata slovenščina in angleščina različnima tipoma jezikov, od katerih ima prvi tako imenovani prosti, drugi pa stalni besedni red. Prvo poglavje povzema obravnave besednega reda, kakršne najdemo v raznih jezikoslovnih šolah od tradicionalne slovnice naprej. Videti je, da je s kontrastivnega vidika najkoristneje preučevati teorijo členitve po aktualnosti, ki so jo prvotno razvili v praški jezikoslovni šoli. Podroben prikaz te teorije in njene uporabnosti v slovenščini in angleščini sestavlja drugo poglavje. Tretje poglavje pa se že posveča prislovnim določilom, za katera imamo v angleščini na voljo dokaj obsežno literaturo (pregled le-te se ravna po jezikoslovnih šolah, podobno kakor v prvem poglavju), prav tako je obravnavana ustrezna slovenska literatura o prislovnih določilih, zlasti tista v slovnicaх. Ob koncu vsakega izmed teh treh uvodnih poglavij so navedeni pogledi sodobnih slovnice, in sicer Quirk *et al*/ 1972 in 1985 ter Toporišič *Js* 1984; nanje se sklicujem kot na glavne avtoritete za angleščino in slovenščino.

Jedro študije sta četrto in peto poglavje s podrobno kontrastivno raziskavo stave prislovnih določil, kakršno je bilo mogoče opazovati v korpusu vzporednih besedil, izbranih iz (poljudno)znanstvenih in drugačnih neleposlovnih proznih del; razdelek A obsega slovenska besedila z angleškimi prevodi, razdelek B pa nasprotno, angleška besedila s slovenskimi prevodi. Načela, po katerih se je ravnala analiza, navezujejo položaje prislovnih določil na pojme, ki jih poznamo iz teorije členitve po aktualnosti, namreč na izhodišče, prehod in jedro. Šesto po-



glavje povzema ugotovitve analize, tako da prikaže poglobljene značilnosti stave prislovnih določil v končnem, začetnem in vmesnem položaju v obeh jezikih, dalje opozarja na težave, ki spremljajo teorijo o izhodišču in jedru (določitev jedra se je med analizo angleških stavkov večkrat pokazala za kočljivo), na koncu pa nakazuje usmeritve za nadaljnjo raziskavo.

Na splošno je mogoče reči, da je pri stavi prislovnih določil več ujemanja kot razhajanja, zlasti na angleško-slovenski relaciji; razlogi za razhajanje pa so poučni. Na stavo prislovnih določil v slovenščini vpliva občutek za členitev po aktualnosti, medtem ko je v angleščini pomembno razločevanje med prislovnimi določili stavka (*sentence modifiers*) in prislovnimi določili povedkovnega dela stavka (*predicate modifiers*); za slednja je tipično, da stojijo za glagolom. V obeh jezikih prevladuje končni položaj, delno zato, ker prislovna določila po naravi lahko fungirajo kot jedro (*rema*) (v slovenščini je to običajno nujni pogoj za tako razmestitev), v angleščini pa je končni položaj še posebej dominanten, ker je odprt za prislovna določila tako samo povedkovnega dela stavka kakor tudi celega stavka, pa naj bodo rematična ali ne. Zanimive razlike med jezikoma se kažejo glede na začetni položaj: v angleščini je ta rezerviran predvsem za stavčna prislovna določila, ki služijo za nekakšno "umestitev" (*setting*). Vendar lahko prislovna določila premestimo v izhodišče (t.i. "čeljenje" - *fronting*) tudi zato, da se izognemo kopičenju ali dvoumju določil, ki bi nastalo, če bi sicer bila vsa razmeščena na koncu; v slovenščini je začetni položaj potencialno dostopen za katero koli prislovno določilo. Zlasti v kratkih stavkih so prislovna določila lahko koristno izhodišče. Vmesni položaj izkazuje največ razhajanja in terja od Slovencev, ki govorijo in pišejo angleško, največjo pozornost; v angleščini se na tem položaju znajdejo večinoma prislovi (torej gole prislovne besedne zveze) in to iz nekaterih pomenskih podtipov (npr. pogostnosti in nedoločenege časa), medtem ko je v slovenščini ta položaj dostopen prav za vsakršno prislovno določilo.

Zaradi zamenljivosti slovenskega besednega reda imamo v slovenščini za vmesni položaj vse, kar stoji med prvim in zadnjim elementom stavka (pa naj bo ta beseda ali kateri od stavčnih členov); celo tisti vmesni položaj, ki je najbližji angleškemu pojmu vmesnega položaja (med pomožnim glagolom/vezjo in glavnim glagolom/glagolom s predmetnim pomenom), lahko sprejme v slovenščini več stavčnih členov. Vrh tega so člani v začetnem in vmesnem položaju v slovenščini potencialno zamenljivi, četudi se začetna stava lahko zdi nekaj izrazitejšega (izhodišče). Medtem ko je v angleščini izpričana soodvisnost med pomenskim tipom in besednorednim položajem prislovnih določil, pa je v slovenščini edina taka značilnost okoliščina, da stojijo prislovi načina tik pred glagolom, kadar niso jedro.

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- BSE*: *Brno Studies in English*
- JiS*: *Jezik in slovstvo*
- JLing*: *Journal of Linguistics*
- Lang*: *Language*
- LInq*: *Linguistic Inquiry*
- PSCL*: *Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics*
- SPFFBU*: *Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské university*
- SR*: *Slavistična revija*
- TLP*: *Travaux linguistiques de Prague*
- YSCECP*: *The Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian - English Contrastive Project*

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