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English Syntax in a Nutshell

A frame-to-chain approach

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A frame-to-chain approach
Vysokoškolská učebnica

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PREFACE

This academic textbook is intended to serve as an introductory course on English syntax for students of English linguistics. The textbook combines a functionalist and structuralist perspective with an onomasiological stance in an approach which is derived from the concept of a ranked syntactic pyramid consisting of Phrase, Clause and Sentence in which syntactic units are studied within the framework of a hierarchy of structures and functions. Valency is introduced as the central concept at the Clause rank with the Verb acting as a nucleus which attracts other companions to co-occur at both a deep level (by forming frames) and also on the surface (by forming chains). Respective arrangements of syntactic units are outlined on a frame-to-chain basis which underlines the prevalence of the onomasiological stance in the syntactic analysis.

The book outlines onomasiological frames along with their surface realizations (chains) and lays out numerous coding, structural and cognitive tests that are intended to facilitate students' understanding of the common features and differences between syntactic units of individual ranks. The topics discussed in the chapters dealing with basic frames and chains of single-clause sentences are further elaborated in the sections which examine compound and complex sentences and semi-clauses. The theoretical discussions are accompanied by numerous examples which aim to strengthen students' understanding and allow them to benchmark real sentences against the categories presented as being diagnostic of various syntactic structures and phenomena. This academic textbook is accompanied by a practical supplementary coursebook providing exercises that will encourage students to apply the frame-to-chain approach to syntactic analysis on actual language substrata.

I hope that this textbook and workbook on English syntax will help readers to acquaint themselves with the foundations of functional structuralism through a frame-to-chain perspective. It is intended to encourage readers to study syntactic meaning, to listen to their own semantic intuitions about syntactic segments and benchmark them against the diagnostic tests, and to apply syntactic meaning as a guiding tool in any surface syntactic analysis, regardless of how complicated the surface syntactic unit might be.

The author

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACC…Accusative

A…Adverbial, Adjunct

AdjP…Adjective Phrase

AP…Adverb Phrase

Cs…Subject Complement

Co…Object Complement

DAT…Dative

DET…Determiner

EN…English

FEM…Feminine

O…Object

Od…Direct Object

Oi…Indirect Object

NOM…Nominative

Nom Rel…Nominal Relative

NP…Noun Phrase

Postmod…Postmodifier

Premod…Premodifier

PrepCompl…Prepositional Complement

PrepNav…Prepositional Navigator

PrepP…Prepositional Phrase

PST…Past Tense

S…Subject

Semi-cl…Semi-clause

SK…Slovak

Subord…Subordinate

V…Verb

VP…Verb Phrase

*… grammatically or communicatively unacceptable depending on the purpose of exemplification

CHAPTER 1

SYNTACTIC PYRAMID

(Rank, structure, function)

1. Syntactic segments and the syntactic pyramid

Syntax as a linguistic discipline is concerned with the cognitive processes that allow language users to combine and organize word units into structured units which allow them to be understood by addressees. Syntactically, communication requires that certain patterns of arranging syntactic segments are shared within a language community. Speakers/writers produce sequenced chunks of syntactic segments to render specific syntactic information. The correct interpretation of syntactic patterns and the syntactic information intended by the producers depends on the recipient's ability to identify the ranks of syntactic segments, their internal structure, and their external relationships with other segments. The delineation of syntactic segments and the identification of the syntactic information that can be inferred from their arrangement is the focus of the discussions of syntax presented in this course.

At the *la langue* level, i.e., the concept of language as a system of signs (Saussure, 2011), the arrangement of syntactic segments can be imagined as a kind of **syntactic pyramid** of upward (**functional**) relations and downward (**structural**) relations.

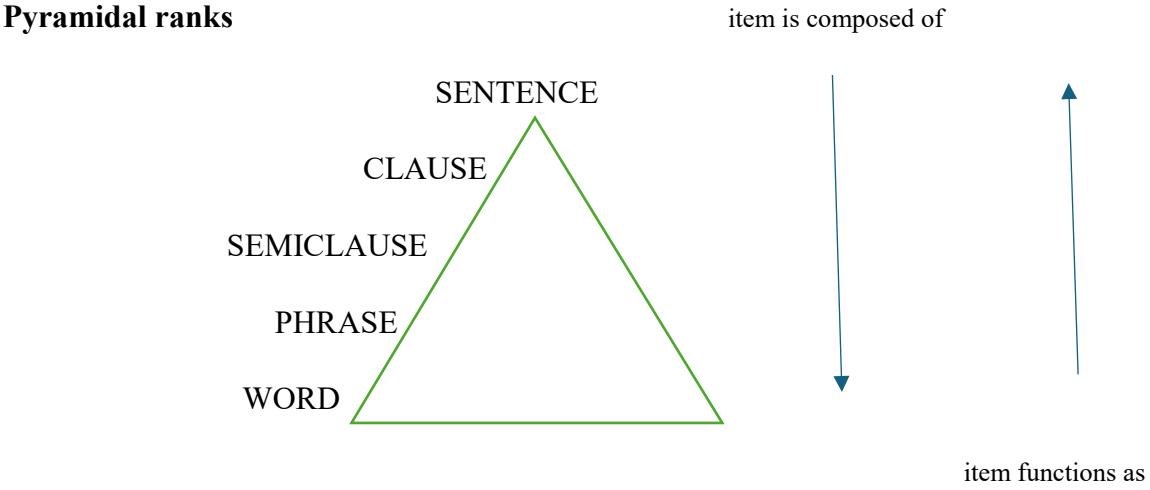

Figure 1. The Syntactic Pyramid – structure versus function

The syntactic pyramid is made up of syntactic floors (**levels** or **ranks** (Aarts, 2001:56)) starting from the rank of the **word** and ending at the rank of the **Sentence**. Between these two

poles are the **Phrase** and **Clause** ranks (along with the hybrid, clause-like rank of **semi-clauses)**. The hierarchical arrangement of syntactic segments in the syntactic pyramid shows that:

1) syntactic segments of the lower floors are used as building blocks for syntactic segments of the higher floors (i.e., lower-rank segments realize higher rank segments)

2) syntactic segments of the higher floors are composed of syntactic segments of the lower floors

3) syntactic segments of the lower floors fulfil specific functions in the syntactic segments of the upper floors.

In general, lower-rank syntactic units are combined to form higher-rank syntactic units (this process, however, does not exclude a reversed type of composition in which some lower-rank units contain a higher-rank segment as a building block; for example, a Phrase incorporating a semi/clause as one of its internal constituents). The syntactic pyramid thus shows that it should be followed downwards when attempting to identify the structure/composition of a syntactic segment; conversely, it should be followed upwards when examining the syntactic functions of particular syntactic segments.

The formation of higher-rank segments from lower-rank segments is governed by rules that are language-specific and which comprise a closed set. An understanding of these closed-set language-specific rules allows language users to generate an infinite range of Sentence-rank realizations from a specific set of Word-rank units and structures from the Phrase and Clause ranks. Syntactic segments can be either single-member or multiple-member.

2. Frames and chains

Syntactic components of Clause-rank units (including semi-clauses) are tied by **cognitive frames** and **surface chains**. Both cognitive frames and surface chains can be understood as a sort of unit-combination formulae shared by the language community and stored in each member's mental repository. At the moment of delivery, language speakers/writers choose a particular cognitive frame and apply the surface chain which seems to be best suited to activate the intended cognitive reading of a produced linear/sequenced stretch in its recipients. **Cognitive frames** (i.e., combinations of **semantic** or **cognitive roles**) convey **syntactic meaning,** whereas **surface chains** render the **grammatical characteristics** of a syntactic

stretch (i.e., the **coding** information). The syntactic analysis starting from the frame to answer to question "Which chains can realize this frame on the surface?" is referred to as an onomasiological approach/a frame-to-chain approach. On the contrary, if the analysis starts from the surface chain to answer the question "What is the underlying syntactic meaning of/frame for this chain?", the approach is taken as a semasiological approach/a chain-to-frame approach.

3. Ranks of Word and Sentence

Let us examine the following example to demonstrate the difference between the ranks of Word and Sentence:

(1) *The old man had taught the boy to fish, and the boy loved him.*

In its written form, the units of the Sentence rank are delineated by capitalization and punctuation; in speech, however, grammatical indicators are accompanied by prosody. In the Prague School tradition, the **sentence** is understood as "an elementary communicative utterance through which the speaker reacts to some reality or several items of reality in a manner that appears to be formally, customarily and subjectively complete" (Mathesius, 1975:79). This definition emphasizes that sentences are the fundamental units of communication, serving as distributional fields of communicative dynamism, i.e., the attribution of communicative significance to a linear chunk relative to others in the process of communication (the theme – rheme analysis, Firbas, 1992). Sentences also carry out various pragmatic functions in specific communication situations, such as statements, requests or questions (Yule, 1996). The definition further distinguishes between the formal perfection of a sentence in respect of systemic considerations and its subjective completeness (the dichotomy between *la langue* and *la parole*: de Saussure, 2011). A sentence is not necessarily required to comply with all systemic grammatical requirements in order to accomplish its communicative mission successfully.

Systemically, sentences are composed of clauses. Depending on the number of clauses of which they are comprised, sentences can be further sub-classified into **single-clause** and **multiple-clause sentences**. The aim of the speaker and the canonical grammatical arrangement of specific units also allow us to distinguish between several intentional sentence types: **declarative, interrogative, imperative, exclamative and optative** (Dušková, 1988:309).

In speech, the isolation of particular segments at the Word rank is governed by phonetic/phonologic and morphological and/or lexical rules (in this respect, the field of syntax borders on these distinct linguistic disciplines). In written discourse, the signalization of borderlines between respective units is aided by the use of graphic spaces between individual orthographic units, although this is not always applied in a consistent manner (for example, in the case of the difference between orthographic, lexemic and grammatical understandings of the word as was pointed out by Lipka (1990:72)). Word-rank analysis ends at the bottom of the syntactic pyramid and the identification of **word classes** or **parts of speech.**

The linear chunk example provided in example (1) may be viewed as showing one syntactic segment at the Sentence rank and 13/14 syntactic segments at the Word rank (slashes are used to indicate the respective segments:

SENTENCE: /*The old man had taught the boy to fish, and the boy loved him./*

WORD: */The/ old/ man/ had/ taught/ the/ boy/ to/ fish/ and/ the/ boy/ loved/ him/.* or

/The/ old/ man/ had taught/ the/ boy/ to/ fish/ and/ the/ boy/ loved/ him/.

4. Phrase-rank tests

The delimitation of words as units of linguistic interest, including their internal structure, is in the focus of specific linguistic disciplines such as morphology, lexicology, word-formation, phonetics and phonology. In the discipline of syntax, however, words are treated as building blocks of syntactic phrases, a unit which is located at the Phrase rank of the syntactic pyramid, immediately above that of the Word rank. However, there is a potential overlap between the two types, for example when a phrase is composed of a single word segment. Nonetheless, even in these cases we will take the **phrase**, rather than the word, as the syntagma that **operates as a clause member which is capable of activating grammatical and cognitive hints of syntactic information within the clause**. The central question here is how we should delineate phrases, i.e., how to distinguish phrases from words and clauses. While the delineation of words is aided by the unity of their form (in both an orthographic and phonetic/phonologic sense) and their lexical meaning, the identification of syntactic phrases, the first and most important step in any syntactic analysis, relies on less overt hints.

The ability to delimit a phrase correctly is a crucial precondition for the overall success of a syntactic analysis of clauses. In contrast to the “simpler” task of delimiting words and

sentences, attempts to delimit phrases can be more challenging since their borderlines are not clearly indicated by graphic markers or consistent punctuation. The delineation of phrases therefore requires some more theoretical input. Several tests can be used to facilitate the delimitation of phrases: **transposition, substitution, coordination** (Miller, 2002:21). Since these tests probe the surface syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations, they will be referred to as **coding tests**:

Transposition Test – Can the positions of words within a linear stretch of words be changed?

/The/ /old/ /man/ had taught the boy to fish...

***Old* the* man** had taught the boy/ to fish...*

Substitution Test – Can words be substituted by other members of the same word classes?

The old man had taught the boy to fish...

***That young fisherman** had taught the boy to fish...*

Coordination Test – Can the entire stretch be coordinated with an analogical stretch containing other words of the same word classes?

*The old man **and that young fisherman** had taught the boy to fish...*

These tests allow us to delimit the syntactic units of *the old man, had taught, the boy* as segments which show an external independence from the other linear units while also displaying strong internal ties between their own components:

The old man/ had taught/ the boy/ ...

As was mentioned above, the appropriate delimitation of phrases is not an isolated task; it is a crucial step in the syntactic slotting of clauses which determines the syntactic constituency of clauses. **Since it is phrases that carry the cognitive and grammatical/coding information within the clause, their delimitation allows the positions/slots of clause elements to be determined.** While the above tests aim to identify the internal links between the components of phrases and their internal inseparability, phrases can also be demarked using the most important and simple-to-use test, the so called **Cognitive Question Test** which provides information on the cognitive roles activated by phrases in a clause. The structure of the test is deceptively simple, and language speakers are capable of performing it intuitively even without an extensive linguistic input. The test applies simple questions such as WHO? **does** WHAT? to

WHOM? HOW/ WHERE/ WHEN/ WHY? The answers are derived from the verb which stands as the centre of any syntactic considerations above the rank of Phrase (and which is related to valency issues and cognitive considerations which is discussed later). The test is applicable to any stretch above the Phrase rank, regardless of its complexity, and it can also help to identify the cognitively prominent constituent of the phrase: the **Head.**

The Head carries the substantive notional meaning and thus serves as the prominent bearer of the cognitive role, determining the onomasiological prominence of the phrase. From a coding perspective it tends to govern the other constituents of the phrase which it heads, a role which is particularly evident in inflective languages, or it reaches out of the limits of the phrase and extends into the realms of other clause elements, such as concord or governance. The relevance of the Cognitive Question Test for the delimitation of phrases and the internal analysis of clauses demonstrates that cognitive and coding syntactic analyses cannot be treated as separate elements; they are instead mutually complementary, although cognitive/onomasiological considerations often take precedence over the coding/surface features in many respects. In the following analyses, we can see the application of the Cognitive Question Test and the delimitation of the respective phrase positions in a clause (even the most complicated sentences can be reduced to a very limited number of fundamental clause slots).

Analysis 1

(2) *John **gave** that book to Jane.*

WHO? *John*

Gave WHAT? *that book*

To WHOM? *to Jane*

The Cognitive Question Test elicits the following phrases (and thereby also the clause slots/members):

/John/ /gave/ /that book/ /to Jane/.

Analysis 2

(3) *Some Erasmus students **were reading** a new textbook on English syntax in the Departmental Library.*

WHO? *some Erasmus students*

Were reading WHAT? *a new textbook*

Were reading WHAT? *on English syntax**

Were reading WHAT kind of a new textbook? *a new textbook on English syntax*

Were reading WHAT kind of a new textbook? *a new textbook in the Departmental Library**

Were reading a new textbook WHERE? *in the Department Library*

The resulting identification of phrases (and thus of their clause slots):

/Some Erasmus students/ /were reading/ /a new textbook on English syntax/ /in the Departmental Library/.

Analysis 3

(4) *All provisions contained in these Articles and, to the extent that the same applies to the Company, Table A, with reference to share certificates, lien and the transfer or transmission of shares* ***shall not apply*** *to any shares included in a Share Warrant.*

WHAT shall not apply? *all provisions…*

WHAT KIND of provisions shall not apply? *all provisions contained in these Articles and (in) Table A*

WHAT kind of provisions shall not apply? *those which refer - with reference to share certificates, lien and the transfer or transmission of shares*

To WHAT extent are Table A's provisions included? *to the extent that the same applies to the Company*

Such provisions shall not apply to WHAT? *to any shares included in a Share Warrant.*

The phrase structure analysis would look as follows (slashes indicate the phrases at the Clause rank, the so-called **key phrases** forming **valency/clause slots** are marked in bold, while round and angle brackets indicate the internal structure within the key phrases):

/All provisions (contained in these Articles and, <to the extent that the same applies to the Company>, Table A), (with reference to share certificates, lien and the transfer or transmission of shares)/ ***/shall not apply/*** */to any shares (included in a Share Warrant)/.*

In fact, some of the clause slots revealed by the Cognitive Question Test do not need to be filled out only by phrases. Semi-clauses or finite clauses can have the same function:

(5) */I/ /won't tell/ /you/* ***/what I like/.***

I won't tell you WHAT? *what I like* – one slot – dependent finite clause

(6) /*I/ /hate/* ***/telling a lie****/.*

I hate WHAT? *telling a lie* – one slot – dependent semi-clause

As was demonstrated above, the Cognitive Question Test is centred around the verb as the cognitive head of a clause or semi-clause. The centrality of the verb is discussed later in relation to the concept of valency, but at this point it is sufficient to remember that the basic difference between the phrase and the clause is that phrases **lack valency/predication-based relations between their members**. Valency/predication-based relations can only be identified at the Clause rank (and in the hybrid semi-clauses).

5. Internal structure of phrases

Depending on the nature of their internal constituency, phrases can be sub-categorized into noun phrases, verb phrases, prepositional phrases, adverb phrases and adjective phrases based on the cognitively and grammatically prominent word-class component around which the particular phrases cluster, i.e., the Head (Miller, 2002), the unit mentioned in Section 4.

Examples of phrases:

noun phrase (NP) ***the old man****; the boy;*

verb phrase (VP) ***loved; had taught;***

adjective phrase (AdjP) *the* ***old*** *man; a* ***very nice*** *girl;*

prepositional phrase (PrepP) ***on the cheek;***

adverb phrase (AP) ***very quickly****; suddenly;*

Internally, **noun phrases** consist of **Heads** and **Modifiers** (by analogy, this is also true for adverb phrases and adjective phrases if they include modifiers). Heads have already been

identified as the grammatically and onomasiologically prominent word class components of phrases, but Modifiers are syntactically ancillary components that add semantic characteristics to the Head. Depending on their position relative to the Head, they are divided into **Premodifiers** (Premod) and **Postmodifiers** (Postmod). In addition to Modifiers, which are grammatically optional, English noun phrases also contain special function words called **Determiners** (Det) which determine "the kind of reference" (Greenbaum and Quirk, 1996:72) which a noun phrase possesses, either definite, indefinite, universal or situational. Determiners occur before the noun acting as the Head of the noun phrase and its Premodifiers. Linguists generally distinguish between three classes of Determiners:

- central determiners, e.g.: *the, a/an, some, any, no, this, that*

- pre-determiners, e.g.: *half, all, double*, as in *all the people*

- post determiners, e.g.: *seven, many, few,* as in *the many passengers* (*ibid*.)

Kind of phrase	Example	DET	PREMOD	HEAD	POSTMOD
NP	***the old man working in the garden***	*The*	*Old*	*Man*	*working in the garden* (participial semi-clause)
NP	***the chair by the window***	*the*	---	*Chair*	*by the window* (PrepP)
AdjP	*a **very nice** girl*		*Very*	*Nice*	
AP	***very quickly***		*Very*	*Quickly*	

Table 1 Internal analysis of noun phrases, adjective phrases and adverb phrases

Prepositional phrases (PrepP) are composed of a **Prepositional Navigator** (PrepNav), which, as the name suggests, is rendered by prepositions as parts of speech, and a **Prepositional Complement** (PrepCompl) which can be either a noun phrase or a gerundial semi-clause (although some specific types of finite nominal dependent clauses can also function as PrepCompl). Cognitively, a specific feature of prepositional phrases is the fact that their cognitive information is split between two of their components where the Prepositional Complement is onomasiologically prominent nonetheless, the Prepositional Navigator determines the cognitive valency reading of the Prepositional Complement, and thereby also of the prepositional phrase as a whole.

Example	PrepNav	PrepCompl	Function of the PrepP

the chair ***by the window***	*By*	*the window* (NP)	Postmod
the hope ***of winning a prize***	*Of*	*winning a prize* (gerundial semi-clause)	Postmod

Table 2 Internal analysis of prepositional phrases

Verb phrases (VP) are phrases which are made up exclusively of verbal constituents which may be classified either as **Heads** or **Auxiliaries.** Heads carry the notional meaning of the entire VP, while auxiliaries activate its grammatical and modal meaning; the term **Operator** is reserved for "the first or only auxiliary in the finite verb phrase" (Greenbaum and Quirk, 1996:19). Verb phrases can be subcategorized as **finite** or **non-finite** depending on the morphological form of the Head verb, i.e., whether it is **finite** (*-s* form, past form, base form of 1st, 2nd person sg. and pl., 3rd person pl.) or **non-finite** (*-ing* form, *-ed* past participle form, infinitival base form) (Greenbaum and Quirk, 1996:41). This division can also be viewed as based on whether the Verb Phrase contains an Operator (whether finite or modal), see Table 3, or does not contain an Operator, see Table 4).

	Auxiliaries			Head verb
The ship				*sank.*
The ship			*Was*	*sinking.*
The ship		*has*	*Been*	*sinking.*
The ship	*Must*	*have*	*Been*	*sinking.*

Table 3 Constituency of the finite verb phrase VP (adjusted from Greenbaum and Quirk, 1996).
Colour legend: red – finite forms yellow – non-finite forms *must, has, was* – operators

Dependent participial semi-clause					Main clause
	Non-finite auxiliaries		Head verb (non-finite form)		
The contractors			signing	It	the contract became effective.
The contractors		having	signed	It	the contract became effective.
The contract		being	signed		its performance may start.
The contract	having	been	signed		its performance may start.

Table 4 Constituency of the non-finite VP

Finite verb phrases function as Verbs of finite clauses that can generate sentences independently as they are capable of activating tense and aspect contrasts and passive and active voice contrasts; they are also capable of expressing person and number concord with the Subject of the clause. In contrast, non-finite verb phrases can only indicate perfect/nonperfect aspect contrasts and active/passive voice contrasts; they function as Verbs of **semi-clauses** (also referred to as **non-finite clauses**). As demonstrated in Table 4, **semi-clauses** (also termed **non-finite clauses**) represent surface stretches clustered around verb phrases which feature Head verbs in the non-finite form. These types of Head verb retain their most important potential, i.e., the ability to determine the syntactic ties between the constituents of the clause (i.e., valency). Semi-clauses, however, cannot exist independently; they cannot form sentences but must be attached to other finite clauses or be embedded in a noun phrase or another semi-clause:

(1) *The old man had taught the boy **/to fish**/ and the boy loved him.*

(7) *I don't like **/to leave anything behind/**.*

(8) *The bombs hit the wet hillside above us, **/lifting numerous mud geysers/**.*

(9) *We've heard from /a local **birding** friend/ that there are /goshawks **nesting near the trail/**.*

6. Phrase – Clause interface

As has already been noted, the isolation of phrases is the crucial task of syntactic analysis, since it identifies the basic clause positions (or clause slots); once its phrases have been isolated correctly, we can determine the internal structure of the analysed clause. Although phrases are delineated by means of the Verb, Verb-forced relations are not involved in this process internally. Verb-forced relations (or valency relations) only manifest themselves in clauses (and semi-clauses), and this is the main feature which distinguishes phrases from clauses. The syntactic positions/surface slots occupied by phrases in clauses (excluding those that are embedded in other phrases) are commonly termed **clause elements**. Traditional labels indicating the **function that a particular phrase plays at the rank of Clause** include **Subject (S), Verb (V), Object (O), Subject Complement (Cs), Object Complement (Co) and Adverbial Modifier (A);** their obligatory surface combinations are referred to as **surface chains** (e.g. SVO, SVA…). The concept of function can therefore be perceived as an interface between two ranks of syntactic structure, and this allows us to make syntactic generalizations about the unit's realization, position, grammatical properties and syntactic meaning (as will be

discussed later). The number of autosemantic verbs/Head verbs determines the number of clauses in a sentence.

CLAUSE (=SENTENCE)	*Little children like chocolate.*					
Function in CLAUSE	Subject			Verb	Object	
PHRASE	*little children* NP			*like* VP	*chocolate* NP	
Function in PHRASE	Determiner	Premodifier	Head of NP	Head verb of VP	Determiner	Head of NP
WORD	*0* zero article	*little* adjective	*Children* noun	*like* verb	*0* zero article	*chocolate* noun

Table 5 Function – Rank interface

Syntactic ranks exemplified

- ***SENTENCE***

/The old man had taught the boy to fish and the boy loved him/. 1 sentence

- ***CLAUSE***

/The old man had taught the boy (to fish)/ and /the boy loved him/. 2 fin. clauses, 1 semicl.

- ***SEMI-CLAUSE***

The old man had taught the boy ***/to fish****/ and the boy loved him.* 1 semi-clause

- ***PHRASE***

/The old man/ /had taught/ /the boy/ /to fish./ 3 phrases, 1 semi-clause, 4 surface slots in a clause

- ***WORD*** */The/ /old/ /man/ /had/ /taught/ /the/ /boy/ /to/ /fish/.* 9 words

As was suggested above, it is useful to use distinct terminological labels in the Rank - Structure - Function interface as summarized in Table 6.

Aspects of analysis → **Ranks in the Syntactic Pyramid ↓**	**Structure terms**	**Function terms**
Sentence	simple sentence compound sentence (copulative, adversative….) complex sentence	speech-act functions: statement, question, command, wish… grammatical types: declarative, interrogative, imperative, optative, exclamative
Clause	main/matrix clause dependent clause (nominal, relative, adverbial)	Subject Object Adverbial Subject Complement Object Complement Postmodifier
Semi-clause	Gerund participle infinitive	Subject Object Adverbial Subject Complement Object Complement Premodifier/Postmodifier
Phrase	noun phrase verb phrase adverb phrase adjective phrase prepositional phrase	Verb Subject Object Subject Complement Object Complement Adverbial Premodifier/Postmodifier Prepositional Complement
Word	parts of speech: noun, verb, adjective, adverb…	Head Modifier (Premodifier/Postmodifier) Determiner Auxiliary Prepositional Navigator

Table 6 Structural and functional terms in the Syntactic Pyramid

7. Recap

Syntactic segments (syntactic units or syntagmas) are sequenced chunks of language signs which speakers and writers produce to render intended syntactic information. Syntactic segments can consist of one or more members (constituents) bound together by syntactic relations which determine their internal structure. Syntactic segments are arranged vertically in **the syntactic pyramid** which is formed from a series of **ranks** of **structure units** (Word, Phrase and Clause, with a hybrid rank of semiclauses). Lower-rank units are used to form higher-ranks units and perform specific **functions** within them. Phrase-rank functions include **Heads, Modifiers, Determiners, Auxiliaries**. Clause-rank functions/slots include the **Subject, Verb, Object, Subject Complement, Object Complement and Adverbial Modifiers**. Phrases are named after the onomasiologicaly prominent components as parts of speech (**noun phrases, verb phrases, prepositional phrases, adverb phrases and adjective phrases**). Phrases differ from clauses in that internally they do not involve verb-forced/valency syntactic relations. Phrases function as clause elements within clauses and semi-clauses, i.e., they realize the clause slots/positions. The phrase structure analysis of a clause reveals the clause elements slots, and this can be identified primarily by applying the Cognitive Question Test and subsequently by the coding and paraphrase tests.

CHAPTER 2

VALENCY

(Frames and chains)

1. Cognitive and coding alignments

From birth, language users are exposed to recurring language situations in which they respond to extralinguistic phenomena with linearly arranged utterances. When observing the world around us, we perceive it in terms of tangible and intangible entities in states or engaged in activities and processes which we classify further into cognitive categories elicitable through a simple set of questions: Who/What? – Does/Undergoes – What? – (to Whom?) – (How?) – (Where?) – (When?). These questions were discussed in Chapter 1 in relation to the tests which are used to delimit phrases, more specifically the Cognitive Question Test. Increased exposure to *parole* experiences generates language material which enables language users to identify certain recurring combinations of cognitive categories and their formal surface realizations, which are subsequently stored in the users' mental repositories as syntactic generalizations (patterns).

General cognitive categories and their formal projections, such as word-formation, morphology and lexicology are examined from specific points of view across various linguistic disciplines, including the study of onomasiological categories of substance, quality, action and circumstances ("substance, vlastnost, děj, okolnost" in Dokulil (1962:32)), as well as their projections into parts of speech or generation of new words. In the study of syntax, these general cognitive concepts are examined in terms of **cognitive roles** (also referred to as **semantic roles, thematic roles, theta roles** or **deep level categories**), and the combinations and arrangements of these roles are referred to as **cognitive alignments** in contrast to the surface realizations of the cognitive alignments which are referred to as **coding alignments**. In the following sections (and throughout the rest of this textbook) I will introduce the various interactions which occur between combinations of cognitive categories and their surface projections.

2. Lexical meaning versus syntactic meaning

In lexicology, **lexical meaning** is understood as a set of general and unit-specific semantic features/semes that form a specific semantic range for the possible interpretations of units at the Word rank. The concrete realization of the unit's semantic potential, i.e., its sense (Cruse, 1986), depends on its syntagmatic environment.

Syntactic meaning is more general than lexical meaning and involves such universal categories as "willed versus unwilled action", "state versus process", "perception versus cognition or emotion", "causativeness", "qualification" or "circumstantiality". Syntactic meaning depends on the ability of the producer to trigger the recipient's understanding of a particular combination of these universal cognitive categories. The specific combination of cognitive roles chosen by the speaker either allows concrete lexical units to form particular cognitive alignments (as in example (1a)) or prevents them from doing so (as in example (1b)). These variations are known as "selectional restrictions" (Cruse, 1986:107).

(1a) *John wrote a letter.* *versus* (1b) *The stone wrote a letter.**

The semantic ranges of units at the Word rank are tailored through the Phrase rank at the Clause rank in terms of both sense and syntactic meaning. For Fillmore (1977) the syntactic meaning is a matter of deep cases in terms of internal semantics activated by combinations and arrangements of phrases within "the inner structure of clauses" (1977:60).

The distinction between lexical and syntactic meaning can be demonstrated as follows: a sentence composed of the same autosemantic words / lexical units *boy, dropped* and *pen* can activate two different syntactic cognitive readings of the phrases which they head:

S V O

(2) *The boy /dropped /a pen.*

NP VP NP

a) Doer + Willed Action + Affected Entity

b) Unintentional Performer + Unwilled Action + Specifier

Depending on the combination of cognitive features within the concept of Action, the noun phrase *the boy* may be perceived either as the Doer if the Action is willed, or as the Unintentional Performer if the Action is unwilled. Translations of this arrangement into other

languages (especially typologically different languages, such as Slovak, which encodes the roles of Unintentional Performer or Experiencer through morphologically different forms/grammatical cases) can also help us to understand the distinction between the two meanings:

a) /Chlapec/ /odhodil/ /pero/. b) /Chlapcovi/ /spadlo/ /pero/.

^{NOM}NP VP ^{ACC}NP ^{DAT}NP VP ^{NOM}NP

(glossed as: boy dropped pen vs. to boy dropped pen)

While these two syntactic meanings require distinct surface realizations and even the use of distinct lexical units in Slovak, the English sentence in example (2) lacks any distinct surface indicator which would allow us to distinguish between the intentional and unintentional readings of the surface alignment; in this case, it is the situational or textual context that determines which of the possible cognitive alignments should be activated.

The combination possibilities of general and distinctive semes building up lexical meanings at the rank of Word outnumber those available for the combinations within the domain of syntactic meaning. The number of combinations of cognitive roles (cognitive alignments/frames) making up the syntactic meaning is rather limited which results from the fact that syntactic meaning involves a much greater degree of generalization and universalness.

3. Valency and valency constituents – elaborators of the Verb or the Action?

The reply to this question posed in this subheading depends on the methodological starting point of the syntactic analysis. Syntactic meaning becomes manifested at the Clause rank via the Phrase rank. As example (2) shows, the cognitive interpretation of the noun phrase *the boy* in the clause *The boy dropped a pen* as either the Doer or the Unintentional Performer depends on whether the Action is Willed/Intentional or Unwilled/Unintentional. Action is canonically realized though verb phrases and its determination is central to syntactic analysis. Indeed, the Cognitive Question Test which is performed through simple questions centred around the verb, such as Who? What action is going on? What is done? To whom is something done? Where, When, and How is it done? is obviously verb-centred. Every autosemantic verb (even non-finite verbs) occurring in a clause retains **its own cognitive sphere of influence** or **attraction** over the other components of the clause.

Linguists have long been aware of the fact that the verb (in this case the verb phrase) serves as the focal point around which all other clause elements are organized through a variety of ties. **Tesnière (1959)** drew a parallel between the central position of the verb in a clause and the sun at the centre of the solar system with the other planets orbiting in dependent positions. **Allerton (1982)** defined the phenomenon as **valency** (also spelled as valence) to define the phenomenon, borrowing the term from chemistry and physics where it is used to express the central position of the nucleus in relation to the dependent electrons and protons in an atom. Allerton defined valency linguistically as "the different potentials that individual verbs have for occurring in a variety of sentence structures" (Allerton, 1982:57).

The syntactic concept of **valency** explains **the Action/verb-forced possibility of phrases co-occurring within a clause**. As was discussed in Chapter 1, this phenomenon is **the fundamental clause-diagnostic feature** that distinguishes phrases from clauses or semi-clauses. Valency as a capacity of the verb phrase to extend its scope of influence over the other syntactic segments at the Clause rank (or that of the semi-clause) can be analysed from two points of view: either semasiologically, i.e., starting from the surface function segments (S, O, C, A), or onomasiologically/cognitively, i.e., starting from the cognitive roles (Doer, Performer, Goal etc.). However, these approaches are methodologically similar in that it is the central position of the **Verb/Action** which determines the kind and number of its companions; the difference lies at the rank at which the verb's companions are identified. The semasiological approach to valency focuses on the surface arrangement of the clause elements concentrated around the Verb, whereas valency in the onomasiological perspective is concerned with the framing of the general cognitive categories which are arranged around the Action (Janigová, 2016). Cognitively, the selection is not determined by the verb, but rather by the users who employ a particular verb in a particular setting, thereby exploiting its lexical potential.

Therefore, the answer to the question of "Valency constituents – elaborators of the Verb or the Action?" is, in fact, BOTH, depending on the perspective of analysis – either surface/semasiological or deep/onomasiological.

4. Arguments and Non-Arguments

One of the differences between alignment and the valency arrangement of elaborators is the fact that valency is comprised of the ***minimum*** number of elaborators. It can therefore be treated as

a reduction of the alignment which includes all the surface slots as well as the cognitive roles. This point will be explained further in the following sections.

It has already been shown how the phrase structure of a clause essentially reveals the surface syntactic slots at the Clause rank; in other words, each phrase performs a specific clause-relevant syntactic function. These functions have already been listed above, but they are summarized along with their Slovak counterparts.

Subject (S)……..,podmet
Verb (V)……..slovesný prísudok
Object (O)……predmet
Subject Complement (Cs)……menná časť slovesno-menného prísudku
Object Complement (Co)…… povinné doplnenie predmetu
Adverbial (A)……..... príslovkové určenie

In the sentence *Yesterday Jane wrote a letter to her boyfriend.*, each of the surface clause slots will be assigned a particular cognitive role (it should be noted here that there are numerous terminological differences in labelling cognitive roles used by different authors; the list of cognitive roles will therefore be added later).

(3)	*Yesterday*	*Jane*	*Wrote*	*a long letter*	*to her boyfriend*
Function	Adverbial	Subject	Verb	Direct Object	Indirect Object
Structure	AP	NP	VP	NP	PrepP
Cognitive role	Temporal	Agent	Action	Theme	Donee

Table 7 Functional /structural /cognitive syntactic analyses

As indicated above, there are three sets of linearity annotation which are applicable in syntactic analysis:

1. PrepP+NP+VP+NP+NP 2. A+S+V+O_d+O_i 3. Temporal+Doer+Action+Theme+Donee

Although each of these sets is concerned with a specific respective aspect of syntactic analysis, namely the structure, the function and the syntactic meaning, they do not indicate the degree of the syntactic "tightness" obtaining between the particular elaborators and the verb phrase. Even if they lack a background knowledge of linguistics, language users can determine which of the segments of the above clause can be omitted without leaving the rest of the clause cognitively incomplete. Both semasiologically and onomasiologically, this would definitely be

the Temporal Circumstantial feature realized by the prepositional phrase with an Adverbial function. The cognitive and coding alignments are centred around the Action and the verb-phrase, respectively. Regardless of whether the valency is perceived semasiologically or onomasiologically, it is generally agreed that the verb phrase/Action structure exerts various degrees of syntactic attraction over the other clause segments. Depending on the "force" exerted by the verb phrase/Action, these segments can be identified as **valency-mandatory components** (also called direct elaborators or **Arguments**) and **valency-optional components** (also termed indirect elaborators or **Non-Arguments)**. The valency-mandatory components, i.e., Arguments, build up **coding valency chains** at the surface level and **cognitive valency frames** at the deep level. **Valency** can therefore be specifically defined as the arrangement of the **minimum mandatory verb phrase/Action elaborators, i.e., Arguments, at both the grammatical/surface level as well as the cognitive/deep level** (this distinction between deep and surface levels is based on the work of Chomsky (1975).

Various linguistic labels have been used to account for the difference between valency-mandatory (i.e., Arguments) and valency-optional (i.e., Non-Arguments) clause segments. For example, **Tesnière** (1959) distinguished between *actants* (the mandatory items) and *circonstants* (the optional items), while **Miller** (2002:9) used the terms *complements* and *adjuncts,* respectively, to define the sub-categories of *modifiers.* **Van Valin** (2001:92) distinguished between the semantic and syntactic layers of the arrangement of the verb's dependents. Semantically, he referred to the direct participants of the verbal action as the *arguments* of the verb, whereas locative/temporal references were referred to as its *adjuncts.* Syntactically, Van Valin drew a difference between *terms* (the Subject, Direct Object and Indirect Object) and *non-terms* (the remaining clause elements), identifying the former as belonging to the *core* of the clause and the latter as part of its *periphery*, with the verb acting as the *nucleus* of the clause (Van Valin, 2000:3). In Van Valin's system the term *valence* of a verb "refers to the number of arguments that it takes" (Van Valin, 2001:92), which implies that he foregrounds valency as a combination of cognitive roles. In this textbook I will use the terms Arguments for valency-mandatory verb elaborators and Non-Arguments for the optional ones, both at the surface and deep levels, depending on whether a particular syntactic analysis takes a semasiological or an onomasiological stance**.**

	Non-Argument	Argument	Action/Verb	Argument	Argument
Example (4)	*Yesterday*	*John*	*Gave*	*a bunch of flowers*	*to Jane*
Coding alignment	Adverbial	Subject	Verb	Object direct	Object indirect
Coding valency chain/Arguments	---	Subject	Verb	Object direct	Object indirect
Cognitive alignment	Circumstantial	Agent	Action	Theme	Donee
Cognitive valency frame/Arguments	---	Agent	Action	Theme	Donee

Table 8 Analysis of clause components as Arguments and Non-Arguments

5. Coding Arguments and coding chains

On the surface, Arguments are identified as coding clause elements: Subject, Object, Subject Complement, Object Complement, Adverbial; at the deep level, they are treated as categories of abstract syntactic meaning, i.e., as cognitive roles: Agent, Perceiver, Patient, Localizer, Qualifier, etc. The coding stance is focused on various formal flags which are available either cross-linguistically (in terms of typology or universal grammar) or to activate a particular surface valency chain in specific languages. These cross-linguistic explicit markers or coding markers (or "coding properties" (Van Valin, 2001:34)) include the following: inflection of nouns, pronouns, articles, adjectives, verbs, Subject/Verb agreement, pluripersonal concord in Basque, prepositions, aspect, tense and voice verb contrasts, word order, prosody and various types of reflexive structures, but also lexical items, such as lexical base contrasts, adverbs and special types of auxiliaries (in Basque, for example). These markers are never used independently but instead exist in various combinations depending on the language type in question. Language typologists try to formulate various surface implicature rules based on the observations of various types of combinations of these coding markers (Haspelmath, 2001, 2005, Hualde and de Urbina, 2003, Skalička, 2004).

In addition to the explicit coding markers, implied markers can be discerned as well, such as context, or so called "cognitive feasibility check" of a particular alignment that is inevitably performed when overt flagging fails (Janigová, 2014:19). One example of this would be Slovak sentences where the feminine nouns take the same form in both NOM and ACC SG, which thereby exposes such clauses to two potential valency readings:

(5) *Loď*	*prevrát-i-l-a*	*plť.*
ship.NOM or ACC.SG	overturn.PST.FEM	raft.NOM or ACC.SG
$\text{Agent}_{\text{NOM}}$ or $\text{Patient}_{\text{ACC}}$		$\text{Agent}_{\text{NOM}}$ or $\text{Patient}_{\text{ACC}}$

Slovak is an inflectional language, and because the word order is not fully grammaticalized, there are two possible interpretations in this example: either "the ship overturned the raft" or "the raft overturned the ship". In such a case, only the context or cognitive feasibility check (i.e., the determination of which option is more feasible in a concrete situation) can be applied to determine the correct valency reading. In English, however, the only variant of *the ship overturned the raft* would be Agent+Action+Patient and Subject+Verb+Object due to the fact that word order serves as the major explicit coding marker in English as an analytical language (if contrasted with Slovak). Examples of case syncretism in inflectional languages which are not supplemented by grammaticalized word order (such as the identity of NOM-ACC forms which comprise 75% of inflectional nominal paradigms in Slovak) can impose a greater need for cognitive feasibility or context testing among language users; if otherwise, it would imply that word order is much more grammaticalized in inflective languages than is usually admitted. The actual purpose of both explicit and implicit markers is to allow the hearer/reader to identify the intended cognitive meaning of the constituents; in the following chapters these features will be used to analyse specific surface clause elements.

In the context of a semasiologically-biased valency concept, linguists subclassify verbs into mono-valent (taking only the Subject), divalent (taking the Subject and Object) or trivalent (taking the Subject, and two Objects) forms (Allerton, 1982). Some scholars would discuss the option of a verb's complementation, which is actually the same phenomenon, were it not for the fact that this is focused on the mandatory right-to-the verb elements only (Quirk et al., 1985, Dušková, 1999).

The following table summarizes the seven kernel types (surface valency chains) of English clauses (based on the concept of "major clause types" by Quirk et al. (1985:721) and

Dušková's four types of verb complementation (1999:98-99)), together with the corresponding English and Slovak terminology. In this textbook these structures will be referred to as basic **valency chains** or **coding chains,** or simply **chains**.

	Chains	**Type of verb complementation**	**Corresponding Slovak terms of verb and Verb**	**Exemplification**
1	**SV**	Intransitive proper	slovesný prísudok - intranzitívne/bezpredmetové sloveso	(6) *The sun is shining.*
2	**SVCs**	Copular	sponové sloveso v slovesno-mennom prísudku	(7) *The girl is/seems nice.*
3	**SVA**	Copular	sponové sloveso v slovesno-mennom prísudku	(8) *John is at home.*
4	**SVO**	Monotransitive	monotranzitívne sloveso – slovesný prísudok,	(9) *She helped John.*
5	**SVOO**	Ditransitive	ditranzitívne sloveso – slovesný prísudok,	(10) *Mary gave him a book.*
6	**SVOA**	Complex transitive	komplexne-tranzitívne sloveso – slovesný prísudok,	(11) *Mary put the baby in the cradle.*
7	**SVOCo**	Complex transitive	komplexne-tranzitívne sloveso – slovesný prísudok,	(12) *The jury finds him guilty.*

Table 9 Valency chains (coding, kernel clause types)

6. Cognitive Arguments and cognitive frames

As was discussed above, cognitive roles in syntax are general categories of syntactic meaning resulting from the mental projections of extralinguistic phenomena into language; they are realized through the Phrase rank and become manifested at the Clause rank. Cognitively, it is the Action that either allows, disallows or forces various kinds of combinations of cognitive roles. The cognitive combinations reduced to the minimum mandatory cognitive roles capable of being perceived by the addressee as cognitively complete sets are termed **cognitive valency frames.** All components of these frames are mandatory Action companions and thus qualify as

cognitive Arguments. The combinations including both mandatory and non-mandatory Action elaborators are termed as cognitive alignments. The list of core **valency frames** or **cognitive frames,** or simply **frames,** used in this textbook are as follows:

Frames	**Activated as**	**Example**
I Action Frame	Agent + Action	(6) *The sun is shining.*
II Existential Frame	Existing Entity + Existence (+ Localizer)	(13) *There is a girl over there.* (14) *A big ship appeared on the horizon.* (15) *The problem still exists.*
III Qualifying Frame Subject-oriented	Qualified Entity + Copula + Qualifier	(16) *The girl is nice.*
IV Patient Frame	Agent/Experiencer + Action +Patient (+ Patient)	(17) *She helped John.* (18) *John gave Marry a bunch of flowers.*
V Circumstantial Frame attributing circumstantial features to an Exponent which may be realized as Subject or Object	Exponent + Action + Circumstantial Agent+Action+Patient/Exponent +Circumstantial	(19) *John went to school today.* (11) *Mary put the baby in the cradle.*
VI Qualifying Frame Object-oriented/Patient Qualifying	Agent + Action + Patient/Qualified Entity + Qualifier	(12) *The jury finds him guilty.*
VII Initiation Frame **Overt** **Covert**	Initiator + Initiating Action+ Doer+Initated Action Initiator + Initiating/Initiated Action + Doer + Circumstantial	Overt: (20) *He made his troops march across the field.* Covert: (21) *He marched his troops across the field.*

Table 10 Valency frames (basic cognitive valency frames)

Table 10 applies a series of macro-roles for entities: Agent, Experiencer, Patient, Qualified Entity, Existing Entity, Exponent and Initiator. These macro-roles are further refined as indicated in the Theta Chart (see the accompanying Workbook).

7. Some additional methodological notes

This textbook describes and applies both a semasiological approach and an onomasiological approach since it is widely believed that successful syntactic analyses require the use of both methods in a mutually complementarily manner. Nevertheless, the onomasiological approach will be prioritized in the methodology employed here, as I believe that this approach is inherently universal; as a result, its prevalence becomes relevant in many respects, e.g., the primary relevance of the Cognitive Question Test for the delimitation of phrases and clause slots.

As has also been indicated above, cognitively, valency can be viewed as a projection of an individual's perception of the relations existing between various states or processes, entities and circumstances observed in the extra-linguistic environment into sets of alignments of cognitive roles (e.g., Agent/Action/Patient) which are realized by surface segments (e.g., Subject/Verb/Object). This understanding is based on an individual's ability to employ such patterns on a recurrent and analogical basis (for example, inanimate cognitive patterns seem to be modelled according to animate cognitive patterns: *John damaged the car.*> *Lightning damaged the car.*). Valency is considered to arise from the language user's ability to identify and effect a proper arrangement of cognitive roles linguistically by means of language-specific formal means rather than by applying the faculty of a particular verb. In the context of cognitive linguistics/syntax, the study of valency is therefore not concerned with the strict sub-categorization of verbs as transitive, intransitive or copular. Although the employment of verbs in cognitive patterns is somewhat fixed, the metaphoric extensions or the influences exerted by patterns in another language allow for a certain degree of flexibility (EN *communicate something* → SK *komunikovať niečo*). In this perspective the selection of the cognitive constituents of a clause arranged around the Action is left to the discretion of the communicator; this is also the case with the choice of the cognitive interdependence of constituents aimed at the accomplishment of deep-level cognitive completeness rather than surface dependence of forms on a particular valency class of the verb (which is a common understanding of valency in semasiologically-grounded conceptions).

Allerton's understanding of valency is surface-oriented, i.e., his analyses rely on the function terms of Object, Objoid (Object-like element), Complement, Adverbial, including the Subject (Allerton, 1982), to which particular semantic roles are assigned. Similarly, the approach of Quirk et al. (1985) may be described as semasiological, as they distinguish between three main verb classes used to generate predications about the Subject, namely *intransitive* followed by no obligatory clause element, *copular* followed by the Subject Complement or Adverbial, and *transitive* which is further subcategorized as either *monotransitive* followed either by the Object only, *ditransitive* followed by two Objects, or *complex transitive* followed by the Object and either Object Complement or Adverbial. In this conception the Subject is granted a prominent position as an entity in respect of which the predication is accomplished, and as such it is not counted as Argument of the Verb but rather as a clause constituent which is syntactically equivalent to the Verb. If I contrast and compare the models proposed by Allerton and Quirk, it can be seen that the Subject is included in the former and excluded in the latter. As a result, Allerton's monovalent chains are treated as intransitive by Quirk et al., Allerton's divalent chains correspond to Quirk's monotransitive clause types, and Allerton's trivalent chains to Quirk's ditransitive and complex transitive patterns (Quirk et al., 1985; Allerton, 1982).

While both of the above approaches are semasiologically based, the concept developed by **Fillmore** (1968), which was derived from the tradition of Transformational Grammar, studies the same phenomenon in terms of the so-called **deep cases making up frames of semantic roles** which influence the combination of surface clause elements, an approach which can therefore be viewed as onomasiologically-oriented. In his paper titled *The Case for Case* (1968), Fillmore added some substantive modifications to the Transformational Grammar by pointing out that the account of the coding categories should be extended with additional information concerning their underlying/covert characteristics which he called "deep structure cases", i.e., semantic roles. He identified 6 types: Agent (A) – instigator of the action, Instrumental (I) – inanimate force involved in the action, Dative (D) – inanimate affected by the state or action, Factitive (F) – object or being resulting from the action, Locative (L) – location or special orientation of the state or action, Objective (O) – anything representable by a noun whose role in the action is identified by the verb (Fillmore, 1968).

Fillmore referred to the alignments of cases as "*case frames"* which he defined as "an abstraction telling us what particular elaborators a verb required to be completed" and "the function of which is to provide a bridge between descriptions of situations and underlying

syntactic representations" (Filmore,1968:28). Since 1990, Berkeley University has updated an annotated database of English based on the Fillmore's Frame Semantics titled FrameNet which is available at https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/fndrupal.

8. Recap

The verb/Action-centred Cognitive Question test can clarify the roles of clause element slots, both on the surface as **coding alignments** and beneath the surface as **cognitive alignments** of elaborators. **Valency**, in contrast to alignment, can be perceived as a reduction of alignment to **the minimum mandatory elaborators**, which are termed as **Arguments**. Arguments can be discussed as elaborators of the Verb on the surface or of the Action beneath the surface, depending on whether valency is approached semasiologically (surface form → syntactic meaning) or onomasiologically (syntactic meaning → to surface). Surface valency arrangements are referred to as **valency chains** or simply **chains** (SV, SVCs, SVA, SVO, SVOO, SVOA, SVOCo), while deep valency arrangements are called **valency frames** or simply **frames** (Action-focused, Existential, Qualifying, Patient and Initiating Frames). The frame-to-chain approach which is applied as the fundamental analytical method in this textbook is onomasiologically-biased.

CHAPTER 3

ACTION FRAMES (I), EXISTENTIAL FRAMES (II), QUALIFYING FRAMES (Subject-oriented) (III)

1. Action Frames (I)

1.1 Diagnostic markers of Action Frames

Action Frames convey activities, processes or states requiring a single Argument: an Agent or an Experiencer. On the surface, these Arguments are realized by nominal structures, i.e., noun phrases, encoded as the Subject.

(1) /*John/ /is running*/.

a) canonical chain: **SV**

This chain involves a single mandatory Argument of the Verb, i.e., the Subject, indicated by the left-to-the-Verb position in English, and identified as such by the grammaticalized word order and the Subject-Verb concord: *John is running./The children are running.*

b) canonical structure: **NP+VP**

c) canonical Arguments in the Frame (macro-roles):
Agent/Experiencer + Action/Process

1.2 Sub-classes of Action Frames (Action Sub-frames)

Sub-frames are concrete combinations of cognitive sub-classes of the macro-roles. The following list identifies the sub-frames that can be found the Action Frames.

1.2.1 Doer Action Sub-frame

Doer + Willed Action/Willed State

A **Doer** is an animate intentional performer of an Action (2,3) or is intentionally engaged in a State (4,5), including, by metaphoric extension, inanimate entities (7):

(2) /***The girl/*** */is swimming/ / /weeps/.* (3) /***The horse/*** */neighs/.*

(4) /*The boy/ /was standing/ /on the doorway/*. (5) *(It was late and)* ***/everyone/*** */had left/.*

(6) ***John*** *came.* → (7) ***Winter*** *came.*

The Doer Action Sub-frame can also be activated by the SVCs chain, in which the post-verb component can be treated as Cs following a semi-copular verb:

(8)*/Cats/ /go/ /meow/.* (SVCs)

(9)*/I/ /have/ /a smoke/.* (SVCs)

See also Section 2.2.4 below which discusses the Dummy *there* Action Existential-locative Sub-frame.

1.2.2 Bearer Action Sub-frame

Bearer + State/Process

The category of **Bearer** includes entities involved in various kinds of spontaneous states and processes which are not will-controlled, including inanimate entities:

(10)***/John/*** */sneezed/.*

(11)***/John/*** */is aging/.*

(12)***/The eggs/*** */hatched/.*

(13) ***/The sun/*** */shines/.*

1.2.3 Perceiver Action Sub-frame

Perceiver-Specifier + State/Process

(14)***/My leg/*** */hurts/.* Perceiver: *My* Specifier: *leg*

In this type of valency sub-frame, the internal analysis of the Subject slot reveals a composite cognitive Argument: the Experiencer/Perceiver is activated by the Determiner (of the Head of the NP) while the surface Head of the NP activates the micro-role of the Specifier. There is thus a certain imbalance between the cognitive prominence of the Perceiver (compared to its Specifier) and its dependent coding realization as the Determiner.

In Slovak, the Perceiver is expressed by an oblique case on the surface: *Bolí* ***ma*** *noha.* (glossed as "hurts me leg"). The coding chain is SVO (possible word order realizations: VOS, SOV), while the cognitive frame is activated by the inflectional cases of two distinct surface Arguments: *bolí*/State + *ma*/Perceiver$_{ACC}$ + *noha*/Specifier$_{NOM}$. Other surface versions of this frame in English might be *My leg is hurting/hurts me. I feel/have pain in my leg.* in which the Perceiver adopts the Object position in the former example and the Subject position in the latter,

whereas the Specifier is realized as Subject (SVO chain) and Adverbial (SVO(A) chain), respectively.

1.2.4 Undergoer Action Sub-frame

Undergoer + Unwilled Action

An Undergoer (Unintentional Performer) is a cause-inactive entity involved in some kind of unwilled action which is externally observed as an activity rather than a process or state:

(15)***/John/*** */slipped/ /on a banana peel/.* SV(A)

(16)***/John/*** */tripped/ /in the dark/.* SV(A)

(17)***/John/*** */is drowning/*. SV

(18) /***The car/*** */crashed/*. SV

1.2.5 Atmospheric Sub-frame

Prop *it* + Atmospheric Condition

The pronoun *it* serves as a dummy item filling out the surface slot of Subject without activating any cognitive role which is fully realized by the Verb.

(19)***/It/*** */'s snowing/.* SV

(20) ***/It/*** */rained/.* SV

2. Existential Frames (II)

2.1 Diagnostic markers of Existential Frames

Existential Frames activate the idea of the existence of an entity (both concrete and abstract) or its appearance on the scene, either with or without some locative or modal specifications. They feature either a single cognitive Argument, i.e., an Existing Entity, or two cognitive Arguments, i.e., an Existing Entity and Localizer encoded on the surface as a post-Verb Subject and Adverbial, respectively. In addition to the post-Verb Subject that activates the onomasiologically prominent Argument, i.e., the Existing Entity, concrete Existential Sub-frames can also possess a pronominal dummy Subject which serves as a filler of the Subject slot in the Verb's valency matrix. All Sub-frames featuring the dummy *there* are used to rhematize the Existing Entity (see also Dušková, 2015:202-208)**.**

2.2 Sub-classes of Existential Frames (Existential Sub-frames)

2.2.1 Existential Sub-frame Proper

(21) */New answers/ /exist/.*

a) coding analysis: SV
b) structural analysis: NP+VP
c) cognitive analysis: Existing Entity + State of Existence

This Sub-frame can also include a **Temporal Circumstantial** which qualifies as Argument, especially if it activates negation:

(22) */The problem/ **/still/** /exists/.* SV or SV**A**

(23) /*Dinosaurs/ **/no longer/** /exist/.* SV**A**

2.2.2 Dummy *there* Existential Sub-frame

(24) */There/ /is/ /(no) an answer/.* (25) */There/ /came/ /some rain/.*

The Dummy *there* Existential Sub-frame activates the idea of the existence (or otherwise) of an entity or phenomenon; the verb *to be* is auto-semantic. The pre-verb dummy *there* is of a pronominal nature (Strang, 1970) and only serves as a Subject slot filler. The Subject activating the onomasiologically prominent Existing Entity follows the Verb (*an/no answer, some rain*). The coding, structural and cognitive analyses would therefore look as follows:

a) coding analysis: $S_{there}V_{be}$ S > SV
b) structural analysis: dummy *there* +VP_{be} + NP
c) cognitive analysis: dummy *there* + Existential *be* + Existing Entity

2.2.3 Dummy *there* Existential-locative Sub-frame

(26) */There /is/ /a book/ /on the table/.*

This sub-frame is activated by two Arguments, namely the Existing Entity and Localizer, encoded as the post-Verb Subject and Adverbial, respectively. The Sub-frame is used to rhematize the Existing Entity (*a book*), while the Localizer (*on the table*) remains a theme in the Functional Sentence Perspective analysis (see also Mathesius, 1975; Vachek, 1990; and Firbas, 1992).

a) coding analysis: $S_{there}V_{be}$ S A
b) structural analysis: dummy *there* +VP_{be} + NP + PrepP/AP

c) cognitive analysis: dummy *there* + Existential *Be* + Exponent/Localized Entity + Localizer

2.2.4 Dummy *there* Action Existential-locative Sub-frame

(27) */There/ /was/ /a wolf's howl/ /in the distance/.*

a) coding analysis: $S_{there}V_{be}$ S_{action} A
b) structural analysis: dummy *there* $+VP_{be}$ + NP + PrepP/AP
c) cognitive analysis: dummy *there* + Existential *be* + Action + Localizer

2.2.5 Dummy *there* Modal Existential-locative Sub-frame

(28) */There/ /is/ /no smoking/ /in these premises/.*

The Modal Existential-locative *there* Sub-frame activates the idea of the prohibition of an activity, although it may also activate its non-existence:

(29) *There was no singing at music classes yesterday*.

a) coding analysis: $S_{there}V_{be}$ $_{no}$S A
b) structural analysis: dummy *there* $+VP_{be}$ + Gerundial semi-clause (*no* – gerundial determiner*)* + PrepP/AP
c) cognitive analysis: dummy *there* + Modal *be* (+*no*) + *-ing* Action + Localizer

3. Qualifying Frames (SUBJECT-ORIENTED) (III)

3.1 Diagnostic markers of Qualifying Frames

Qualifying frames activate various kinds of value judgments about features or qualities attributable to entities. On the surface, the entities which are qualified are activated by the Subject or Object. In this section I will focus on the Subject-Oriented Qualifying Frames.

a) Coding markers

Canonical chain: **SVCs**

Two coding Arguments of the Verb are required, i.e., the Subject, indicated by the left-to-the-Verb position, and the Subject Complement (Cs) indicated by the right-to-the-verb position. The Subject and the Subject Complement are therefore distinguished by their positions relative to the Verb and a concordance in the absence of V-Cs. The chain-diagnostic verbs *to be/to*

become serve a copular/linking function, i.e., their main function is to link Arguments and convey verbal grammatical categories. Other verbs are also found in this chain, such as *appear, seem, sound, become* or *turn*; these verbs are referred to as semi-copular since along with the linking function they also involve some additional semantic components. The coding test for this chain is the Replaceability of the featured verb with *to be* or *to become.* Another important coding test is the impossibility of forming the passive voice with the Subject Complement.

<table>
<tr><td>Example (30)</td><td>That girl</td><td>Is</td><td>nice.</td></tr>
<tr><td>English terminology</td><td>Subject</td><td>Verb – Copula</td><td>Subject Complement</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Slovak terminology</td><td rowspan="2">Podmet</td><td colspan="2">slovesno-menný prísudok zložený zo</td></tr>
<tr><td>sponového slovesa</td><td>mennej časti slovesno-menného prísudku</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Back translation of Slovak terminology into English</td><td rowspan="2">Subject</td><td colspan="2">verbo-nominal predicate composed of</td></tr>
<tr><td>copular verb, copula</td><td>nominal part of verbo-nominal predicate</td></tr>
</table>

Table 11 Comparison of SVCs-chain-relevant English and Slovak terminology

b) Structural markers

Canonical structure: NP + VP+NP/AdjP

Diagnostically, the Subject Complement (Cs) can be realized by nominal structures, i.e., canonically by noun phrases and adjective phrases but also by semi-clauses (both gerundial and infinitival) and nominal sub-types of finite dependent clauses. The structural diagnostic test is Reducibility to or Replaceability by a simple noun (phrase) or adjective (phrase).

1.NP headed by	
common case noun	(31) *He is a **student**.*
possessive case noun	(32) *This car is **John's.***
adjective (adjective phrase)	(33) *The still, fog-shrouded valley was **absolutely silent.***
personal pronoun possessive reflexive interrogative indefinite	(34) *It is **she/her**.* (35) *This house is **ours.*** (36) *He seems **himself** once more.* (37) ***Who** are you?* (38) *You can be **anyone you want to be.***
Cardinal numeral Ordinal numeral	(39) *She is **ten.*** (40) *He was **the first.***
2.Infinitive semi-clause/non-finite clause	(41) *The real mistake is **to stop trying**.*
3.Gerundial semi-clause	(42) *Seeing is **believing**.*
4.Finite dependent clause	(43) *That's **what he looks**.*
5.Adjectivized participle	(44) *I am **surprised**.* (45) *It is **interesting**.* Cs (possibility of intensification by very) versus (46) *Learning from mistakes* <u>is overrated.</u> (They overrate learning from mistakes. passive, complex VP) (47) *The world* <u>is</u> *constantly* <u>changing</u>. (progressive, complex VP)
6.Particle	(48) *The answer is **no**.*

Table 12 Structural realization of the Subject Complement by types of structures and their exemplification

c) Cognitive markers

Canonical Arguments in the Frame (macro-roles):

Qualified Entity + State/Process + Qualifier

Greenbaum and Quirk (1996:344) suggest that features attributable to entities can be sub-categorized as either **Current Qualifiers** or **Resulting Qualifiers** depending on the verbal lexical units used:

A) Current Qualifier: *be, appear, seem, feel, look, sound, smell, taste*, etc.

B) Resulting Qualifier: *become, get, turn, go, grow, prove, turn,* etc. (ibid.)

Current Qualifiers are associated with States, and therefore they can be tested through their replaceability with the verb *to be*. In contrast, Resulting Qualifiers are associated with Processes; they express the result of the Process and are expected to be replaceable with the verb *to become*:

(49) *He seems **guilty.*** = he is guilty

(50) *He proved **guilty**.* = he became guilty

The Qualifying Frame with a Resultant Qualifier can synonymize with Bearer Action Sub-frame (1.2.2) involving Process**:**

(51a) *John is growing old.* (SVCs, Qualified Entity+Process+Resultant Qualifier)

versus

(51b) *John is aging.* (SV, Bearer + Process).

3.2 Sub-classes of Subject-oriented Qualifying Frames (Qualifying Sub-frames – Subject-oriented)

The cognitive sub-classes of the Subject-oriented Qualifying Frame are distinguished by different types of Qualifiers. The sub-frames 1 to 4 are based on Dušková (1988: 408-409):

3.2.1 Evaluative Qualifying Sub-frame

(52) *My decision is **final**.*

3.2.2 Action Qualifying Sub-frame

(53) *I am **a big eater**. The patient is **under observation**.*

3.2.3 Classifying Qualifying Sub-frame

(54) *Clay became **a public defender**.*

3.2.4 Identifying Qualifying Sub-frame

(55) *The tall man is **the guide**.*

Dušková (1988) argues that the Classifying and the Identifying Qualifiers differ in terms of their generality/specificity relationships between the Subject and the Subject Complement; this is indicated by the use of indefinite articles with the Classifying Qualifiers and definite articles with the Identifying Qualifiers, along with the impossibility of the Subject – Subject Complement inversion with the Classifying sub-frame:

*A public defender became Clay.** versus *The guide is the tall man.*

3.2.5 Possessive Qualifying Sub-frame

The Possessive Qualifier follows the copular verb *to have* and is not passivizable (*i.e.,* it cannot be converted to the passive voice):

(56) *He has **a car**.* (SVCs) → a car is had by him*

The Possessive Qualifying Frame can also be synonymous with the Evaluative Qualifying Frame: (56) *She has **blue eyes**.* (Possessive Qualifier) → *Her eyes are **blue**.* (Evaluative Qualifier)

However, this transposition is not possible with all Possessive Qualifiers:

(57) *She has **a sister**. → Her sister is ???* A sister is hers.**

Where the Qualified Entity is a "true" Possessor based on an entailed donation of external objects, the Sub-frame can synonymize with the Possessive Patient Sub-frame, in which case both the structural and cognitive analyses would differ:

(56)*/He/ /has/ /a car/.* SVCs Qualified Entity + Possession + Possessive Qualifier

(58) */He/ /owns/ /a car/.* SVO Possessor + Possession + Possession Focus, (where the Possession Focus is passivizable on the surface: → a car is owned by him).

Both Frames are also cognitively synonymous with the Relational Qualifying Frame: *The car belongs to him.* However, this is not the case with Possessive Qualifying Frames involving a combination of the copular *to have* +an action noun, such as: *I have a bath, I have a smoke*; these structures do not synonymize with *belong to* in the Relational Qualifying Sub-frame and should instead be treated as a realization of the Doer Action Sub-frames: *I bath/smoke*.

3.2.6 Relational Qualifying Sub-frame

Relation Qualifiers are specific in that they are "split" on the surface into two clause elements: the Verb expressing a particular Relation (and thus not being a true copular verb) and the Subject Complement conveying the Relation Referent. The verb is autosemantic; the post-Verb element is not passivizable.

a) coding analysis: SVCs

b) structural analysis: NP+VP+NP

c) cognitive analysis: Qualified Entity + Composite Qualifier (composed of Relation + Referent); the semantic sub-classes may include:

- equality: (59) *Nothing can ever equal that experience.*

- similarity: (60) *Terrier dogs closely resemble each other.*

- comparison*:* (61) *The cost exceeded our estimate.*

- possession: (62) *The book belongs to me.*

- content: (63) *The thesis contains/consists of 3 chapters.*

3.2.7 Perception-evaluative Qualifying Sub-frame

a) coding analysis: SVCs/SVA

b) structural analysis: NP+VP+Adj/AP

c) cognitive analysis: Perceiver/Qualified Entity + Perception + Perception Qualifier

Exemplification (64):

i) He felt ***happy****.*

ii) Her hair feels ***nice****.*

iii) The soup tastes ***delicious.***

iv) The blonde looked ***vaguely familiar****.*

v) The movie was ***terrifying****.*

The post-Verb component can be interpreted either as an adverb phrase or an adjective phrase based on the Cognitive Question Test i) How does he feel? ii) What does it feel like? iii) How does it taste? The verb is autosemantic, expressing various perception states. Its cognitive frame involves a Perceiver which may or may not be expressed overtly (*i* - he). Example (*v*)

might be understood as being cognitively synonymous with the Patient Frame: ***I** am terrified **by the movie**./**The movie** terrified **me**.,* which may be interpreted as involving *I, me* as an Affected Experiencer/Perceiver, with *the movie* as the Stimulus.

4. Recap

Summary of Frames and Sub-frames

1. ACTION FRAMES

1. Doer Action Sub-frame: Doer + Willed Action
2. Bearer Action Sub-frame: Bearer + Unwilled State/Process
3. Perceiver Action Sub-frame: Perceiver-Specifier + Unwilled State/Process
4. Undergoer Action Subframe: Undergoer + Unwilled Action
5. Atmospheric Sub-frame: Prop *it* + Atmospheric Condition

1. EXISTENTIAL FRAMES

1. Existential Sub-frame Proper: Existing Entity + State of Existence
2. Dummy *there* Existential Sub-frame: dummy *there* + Existential *be* + Existing Entity
3. Dummy *there* Existential-locative Sub-frame: dummy *there* + Existential *be* + Existing/Localized Entity + Localizer
4. Dummy *there* Action Existential Sub-frame: dummy *there* + Existential *be* + Action + Localizer
5. Dummy *there* Modal Existential-locative Sub-frame: dummy *there* + Modal *be* (+*no*) + -*ing* Action + Localizer

2. QUALIFYING FRAMES (Subject-oriented)

1. Evaluative Qualifying Sub-frame: Qualified Entity + Copula + Evaluative Qualifier
2. Action Qualifying Sub-frame: Qualified Entity + Copula + Action Qualifier
3. Classifying Qualifying Sub-frame: Qualified Entity + Copula +Classifying Qualifier
4. Identifying Qualifying Sub-frame: Qualified Entity + Copula + Identifying Qualifier
5. Possessive Qualifying Sub-frame: Qualified Entity + Copula + Possessive Qualifier
6. Relational Qualifying Sub-frame: Qualified Entity + Copula/Relation + Referent Qualifier
7. Perception Qualifying Sub-frame: Perceiver/Qualified Entity + Copula/Perception +Perception Qualifier

CHAPTER 4

PATIENT FRAMES (IV)

Patient Frames are cognitive valency patterns featuring a Patient Argument, a structure which is the cognitive diagnostic marker of this type of frame. Before defining this crucial diagnostic marker, I will first summarize the coding and structural markers of the frame, including the tests for the post-Verb clause components.

5. Coding markers

On the surface, Patient Frames include an Object Argument. The Object Argument slot can either occur as a single post-V Argument or it may be followed by any of the following: another Object, Object Complement or Adverbial. The coding chains realizing Patient Frames therefore include the following:

SVO: (1) *He painted the wall.*

SVOO: (2) *Peter gave Jane a book.*

SVOA: (3) *She put the pen into a bag.* (to be detailed in Chapter 5)

SVOCo: (4) *They considered him guilty.* (to be detailed in Chapter 6)

The diagnostic coding markers include **word order, the object case of pronouns, a lack of V/O concord** and **passive transformation.**

1.1 Grammaticalized word order

In English, the Subject/Object contrast is activated by the position of the noun relative to the verb, i.e., the immediate post-Verb position is reserved for the Object, where the verb is fully autosemantic. Word order in English is so firmly fixed that it operates as a grammaticalizer, essentially serving the same role as grammatical affixes in inflectional/synthetic languages. As a result, the pre-/post-V position of a noun phrase in English carries the same grammatical information as the nominative/accusative inflectional contrast in Slovak, allowing language users to distinguish the Subject from the Object, at least in combinations of animate versus inanimate case paradigms (Janigová, 2014, also see Panocová, 2021:83).

(5a) ***Peter*** *loves* ***Jane.*** **(SV*O*)** (6a) ***Peter*** *ľúbi* ***Janu.*** **(^{Nom}S V ^{Acc}O)**

(5b) ***Jane*** *loves* ***Peter***. **(SV*O*)** (6b) ***Janu*** *ľúbi* ***Peter***. **(^{Acc}O V ^{Nom}S)**

The two types of surface Objects, namely the **Direct Object** and the **Indirect Object**, differ from each other through their mutual position and distinct case forms in inflectional languages (Accusative for the Direct Object, Dative for the Indirect Object). As surface cases are no longer morphologically flagged in English, the cognitive cases (i.e., cognitive Arguments) identifiable as Theme for the Direct Object and Donee for the Indirect Object are activated by the post-Verb position relative to each other depending on the type of structure in which they are realized. If the Indirect Object is realized by a noun phrase, it precedes the Direct Object; if it is realized by a prepositional phrase, it follows the Direct Object.

(2) *Peter gave $_{Oi}$(Jane) $_{Od}$(a book).* → *Peter gave $_{Od}$(a book) $_{Oi}$(to Jane).*

Direct and Indirect Objects have an interesting status in terms of valency obligatoriness. Although the Indirect Object is positionally more central, as it is placed closer to the Verb positionally (unless realized by a preposition phrase), its surface omission does not affect the cognitive completeness of the Verb. The Donee remains implicitly present in the frame, even if the Indirect Object is removed from the surface chain. In contrast, the omission of the Theme/Direct Object would result in a shift in the cognitive role of the Indirect Object into a Theme, which itself is re-interpreted as Direct Object.

(7) *He sold me his bike.* (*me/* Oi - Donee*, his bike/*Od - Theme)

He sold his bike. (bike/Od -Theme; Donee remains implicitly present*)*

He sold me. (*me/*Od - Theme) (a shift of the cognitive role occurs along with the change of Indirect Object to Direct Object)

1.2 Object case of pronouns

In English, the Object case is formally identical with the common case in both nouns and pronouns, with the exception of personal pronouns (*I-me, he-him, she-her, we-us, they-them* plus interrogative and relative pronoun *who-whom*) and the pronoun *what* which also displays "case syncretism" (Crystal, 2008:469-470):

S V O O V S V

(8) */What/ /caused/ /the death?/* */What/ /did/ /the death/ /cause/?*

1.3 Lack of Verb/Object Concord

While concord between the Subject and the Verb (1st, 3rd person and number) is a typical feature in the structure of a sentence, there is no concord between the Verb and the Object, and this phenomenon acts as a coding marker, revealing the different degree of grammatical interdependence obtained by the Verb and the Subject on the one hand, and that between the Verb and the Object on the other. In English, the Subject commands the form of the Verb in terms of person and number on the surface (in Slovak, even gender can be indicated by verbal inflections in the past tense *-l,-la, -lo*). On the other hand, no concord is commanded by the Object toward the Verb, which can be demonstrated as follows:

(9) ***The children is*/are*** *reading* ***a book/books****.*

1.4 Passivization Test

The Passivization Test is the major coding Object-diagnostic test. It is fully feasible with Agentive Patient Frames in which the Agent performs, instigates or causes the Action which subsequently involves or affects the Patient. Since the main purpose of passive transformations is to rhematize the Action or the Agent in the stream of communication (Dušková, 2015), the Object is thematized by being transposed to the Subject slot (also see Firbas, 1992).

(10) *John painted this picture. >>> This picture was painted by John.*

The Passivization Test is also applicable to Experiencer Patient Frames, but its use is less straightforward with Circumstantial Patient Frames:

(11) *John loves* ***Jane****.* SVO → ***Jane*** *is loved by John.* passSVO

(12) *He smiled* ***an ironic smile****.* SVO → *An ironic smile was smiled by him.**

In SVOO chains, both Direct and Indirect Objects fulfil the Passivization Test:

(2)^{S}*(Peter) gave* ^{Od}*(a book)* ^{Oi}*(to Jane).*

$^{S\leftarrow Od}$*(A book) was given (to Jane)* $^{A\leftarrow S}$*(by Peter).*

$^{S\leftarrow Oi}$*(Jane) was given (a book)* $^{A\leftarrow S}$ *(by Peter).*

6. **Structural markers**

The diagnostic/canonical structural realization of the Object slot is a noun phrase. The structural diagnostic test for the Object is therefore its Replaceability by or Reducibility to a simple noun phrase:

(13) *You can take **anything you like**.→You can take **it/that**.*

(14) *She loves **to watch detective films**. →She loves **that.***

NP headed by noun - common case noun - possessive case noun - substantivized adjective/participle - substantivized adverbial	(15) *I kicked **the ball** as hard as I could.*
	(16) *I like **Peter's** more.*
	(17) *She gives **a lot of money** to the poor.*
	(18) *She deserved **better**.*
NP headed by pronoun personal/objective case pronoun	(19) *She didn't like **him**.*
possessive pronoun	(20) *She didn't like **his**.*
demonstrative pronoun	(21) *He didn't know **that**.*
indefinite pronoun	(22) *You can take **anything you like**.*
reflexive pronoun	(23) *At dawn, he found **himself** in a thick bed of reeds.*
relative pronoun	(24) *I know /* ^{O}(***what***) (*he*) (*is hiding*) *(up his sleeve)/.*
NP headed by numeral - ordinal - cardinal	(25) *Could you take only **three**?* (26) *I found **the third.***
prepositional phrase	(27) *They provided us **with shelter.***
finite dependent clause	(28) *That's **what he looks like**.*
infinitive semi-clause/non-finite clause	(29) *She loves **to watch detective films**.*
gerundial semi-clause/non-finite clause	(30) *Both spouses admitted **attempting to hide the true extent of their assets**.*

Table 13 Structural realizations of Object by types of structures and their exemplification

3. Cognitive markers

Canonical/diagnostic cognitive role of the Object: **PATIENT**

The Patient macro-role is generally used to refer to the cognitive roles of Animate or Inanimate Entities which are not directly involved in Actions or States but which are somehow affected by/involved in them or come into existence through their operation. The Cognitive Question Test consists in triggering the various micro-roles of a Patient: *What did he paint? Whom did she give it to? What did he hit?, etc.* **Patient Frames** can be cognitively sub-classified into **Agentive Patient Sub-frames, Experiential Patient Sub-frames** and **Circumstantial Patient Sub-frames**.

3.1 Agentive Patient Sub-frames

Agentive Patient Sub-frames are activated by causative verbs requiring Agent of various sub-types in combination with various micro-roles of the Patient. They may be realized by SVO, SVOO and SVOA chains and are passivizable.

A) Agentive Patient Sub-frames realized as SVO

Type of Agent in the Subject slot	**Example**	**Type of Patient in the Object slot**
Doer	(31) *She kissed **him** on the mouth.*	Affected Entity
Doer	(32) *Jane made **a cake**.*	Resultant Entity
Doer/External Causer	(33) *In 1906 the earthquake destroyed **San Francisco**.*	Affected Entity
Doer	(34) *I don't play **poker**.* (35) *He climbed **Mt. Gerlach.***	Action Specifier Locative Specifier
Permitter	(36) *John grows **his beard** in winter.*	Bearer
Doer Experiencer	(37) *He was watching **a film.*** (38) *He promised **to come soon.***	Focus
Stimulus	(39) *His jokes amused **me**.*	Affected Entity/ Experiencer
Instrument	(40) *The key opened **the door.***	Affected Entity

Table 14 Agentive Patient Sub-frames realized as SVO

The Affected Entity (31) and the Resultant Entity (32) differ in the fact that the latter comes into existence or ceases to exist as a result of the Action performed, whereas the Affected Entity is only affected by the Action. The Translation Test may be relevant in distinguishing between Affected and Resultant Patient Frames as it might require the presence of different lexical units in another language:

(41) *He painted **the wall**.* → Natrel/Vymaľoval stenu. Affected Entity

(42) *He painted **the picture**.* → Namaľoval obraz. Resultant Entity

The Permitter Sub-frame (36) involves some intentionality of the Agent/Permitter being exerted upon the Bearer of a process; for example, in the sentence *John grows his beard in winter*, the Agent/Permitter (*John*) allows the Bearer of the process (*his beard*) to take effect. What is interesting about this Sub-frame in contrast to its periphrastic variant *John lets his beard grow* (SVOCo) is the fact that the Permitter's intentional activity is activated implicitly by this concrete combination of cognitive roles. In Slovak, this Sub-frame can only be realized by the descriptive or mediated imperative variant (Sedláčková and Piatková, 2021: 80, 97) in which a semi-copular verb *nechať/let* is used in combination with the process verb realized as an infinitive: *Ján si necháva/lets rásť/grow bradu/his beard.*

The Doer/Experiencer Patient Frames (37, 38) involve agentive use of verbs related to perception and cognition (variants 44, 46, 48, 50 represent Experiential Patient Frames):

(43) *John listened to him.* (contrasted with (44) *John heard him*).

(45) *John looked at him./John was watching him.* (contrasted with (46) *John saw him.*)

(47) *John tasted the beer.* (contrasted with (48) *John tasted the fruit in the beer.*)

(49) *Just feel how cold my hands are!* (contrasted with (50) *As you get older, you tend to feel the cold more.*)

Stimulus (39) and Instrument (40) Sub-frames can be treated as cognitive transpositions of their underlying canonical variants involving an animate Agent/Doer realized on the surface as SVO(A):

Doer + Action + Experiencer/Affected Entity + Stimulus:

(51) Doer*(A comedian) amused* Affected Entity/Experiencer*(the audience)* Stimulus***(with his jokes)***. →

Stimulus(***His jokes***) *amused* Affected Entity/Experiencer*(the audience)*.

Doer + Action + Affected Entity + Instrument:

(52) Doer*(An IT nerd) solved* Affected Entity/Focus*(the problem)* Instrument*(**with Keboola prompts**).* → Instrument*(**Keboola prompts**) solved* Affected Entity/Focus*(the problem).*

The Passivization Test for these secondary Patients reflects the shifts in their character: *The audience was amused by him/with his jokes. The problem was solved by him/with Keboola prompts*.

B) Agentive Patient Sub-frames realized as SVOO

B1) Donation Sub-frames

Canonical/diagnostic distribution of cognitive Arguments: **Donor+Donation+Donee+Theme**

In Donation Sub-frames, the Direct Object realizes the Theme (an entity being moved around or being the subject-matter of a transaction) (also see Van Valin, 2000); in contrast, the Indirect Object is reserved for the Donee/Recipient.

Type of Agent in the Subject slot	Example	Type of Patient in the Indirect Object slot /PrepO	Type of Patient in the Direct Object slot /PrepO slot
Donor	(53) *She bought* Oi*(him)* Od*(a car).*	Donee	Theme
Donor	(54) *They served* Od*(a writ of summons)* Oprep*(on the defendant).*	Donee	Theme
Donor	(55) *We provided* Oi(*them*) Oprep(*with food and shelter*).	Donee	Theme
Quazi Donor (Eventive Sub-frame)	(56) *He gave* Oi(*the car*) Od(*a wash*).	Quazi Donee	Eventive Patient/Quazi Theme
Promisor (Commitment Sub-frame)	(57) *He guaranteed* Oi(*them*) Od(*the right to collective bargaining*).	Promisee	Object of Promise

Promisor/ ObligOR (Commitment Sub-frame)	(58) *I owe* ^{Oi}*(you)* ^{Od}*(5 dollars).*	Promisee/ObligEE	Object of transfer/Theme
Taker/Injurer	(59) *They charged* ^{Oi}*(him)*^{Od}*(200 euros).*	Injuree	Theme

Table 15 Donation Sub-frames

The Donation Frame is interrelated with the Possessive Patient Sub-frame (Experiencer Patient Frames) and Possessive Qualifying Sub-frame in that the Donee becomes a Possessor/Qualified Entity as a result of the Donation Frame. In other words, the Donation Frame entails both of the Possessive Sub-frames (that provide positive results for the Possession Test (60.b), (61.b)); one key difference between the Patient Possessor and the Possessive Qualifier is the fact that only the former is passivizable):

(60.a) *John gave Jane a bunch of flowers.* →

(60.b) *Jane has a bunch of flowers. (Flowers are had by Jane*)*

(61.a) *John sold Jane a house.* → *(61.b) Jane owns a house. (A house is owned by Jane)*

In the Sub-frame (53), the Donor and Donee are parties to the transaction which are mutually interactive; they function as directional opposites and can thus be termed as converses (Cruse, 1986:223). If converses are subject to transpositive surface operations (Newmark, 1988:85), they retain their cognitive roles under the Constancy of Cognitive Arguments rule:

(62) Doer/Donee(*The Purchaser*) *purchased* Theme(*the house*) Donor/Source(*from the Seller*).

Doer/Donor(*The Seller*) *sells* Theme(*the house*) Donee(*to the Purchaser*).

This relationship can be useful in translation when it is necessary to handle transpositive surface operations dictated by, for example, FSP or the nature of the complex sentence structures in which they occur.

Both the Theme and the Donee can be realized by noun phrases but also by prepositional phrases (54, 55). The Theme can be realized by a prepositional phrase (i.e., NP+VP+NP+PrepP) with some phrasal verbs, such as *to provide with, to furnish with, to entrust with, to charge with, etc.* If the Theme in the Donation Frame is realized by a prepositional phrase, it is still

passivizable as a simple noun phrase due to the fact that, cognitively, it clearly behaves as a Patient Theme:

(55) *We provided* Donee(*them*) Theme(*with food and shelter*).

Theme(*Food and shelter*) *were provided* Donee(*to them*).

Donee(*They*) *were provided* Theme(*with food and shelter*).

The analysis also correlates with the Possessive Qualifying Frame parallel:

(63) *Many people had entrusted* Donee(*the company*) Theme(*with money they intended to use in retirement*). → *The company has the money.*

By metaphoric extension, the Donation Sub-frames can also include verbs sub-categorizing Theme lexicalized as task/authority (featuring some verbs without a preposition):

(64) *They entrusted the president* ***with broad powers****.*

(65) *The teacher assigned us* ***50 maths problems for homework****.*

The Eventive Donation Sub-frame (56) (Quazi Donor + Quazi Donation + Quazi Donee+Eventive Patient) realized as SVOO (*He gave the car a wash*.) is a nominalized variant of the kernel SVO chain/Agentive Patient Frame that can be exemplified as *He washed the car*. The *car* remains readable as the Affected Entity (and therefore as a Quazi Donee) while the Action is distributed between the donative semi-copula *give* and the nominalized Eventive Patient (Quazi Theme) *a wash.*

The Commitment Sub-frame (57 and 58) indicates a commitment on the part of the Promisor toward the Promisee. The sub-type is exemplified in example (58), *I owe* ^{Oi}*(you)* ^{Od}*(5 dollars.),* which entails a pre-existing donation scheme where the Promisor's present commitment results from a previous benefit rendered by the Promisee, for which the Promisor is now treated as being indebted to the Promisee.

In this sub-frame, the canonical association of *-or*/*er* + *-ee* word-formative flagging with the Agent and the Patient, respectively, might be somewhat misleading, since the *-or*/*-er* affixes activate a debtor/obligor and the *-ee* affix a creditor/obligee: a *mortgagor* is a debtor who is obliged to repay their debt (entailing its previous Donee position in the transaction), while a *mortgagee* is a creditor, the party to whom the debt should be repaid (entailing its previous

Donor position in the transaction). This circumstance should be borne in mind when translating the sentence into Slovak:

(66) ^{S} *Obligor(The mortgagor) owes* ^{Oi} Obligee*(the mortgagee)* ^{Od} Theme*(thirty thousand euros).* →

Hypotekárny dlžník(mortgage debtor) dlhuje(owes) hypotekárnemu veriteľovi (to mortgage creditor) tridsaťtisíc eur (30 thousand euros).

On the other hand, the couple may also be interpreted as an Obligor, the party that makes a pledge or mortgages his property, and an Obligee, the addressee of a pledge/in whose favour the property is mortgaged; this understanding would restore the balance between the word-formative expectations and the cognitive reading of these Arguments.

The Possession Test is not applicable to the last two sub-types of the Donation Frame:

*The mortgagee possesses the money.**

*The car possesses a wash.**

The reversed aspect of donation (*giving something to somebody*) includes activities aimed at *taking something from somebody* (59) activated by such verbs as *steel*, *rob, deprive* or *charge*. Here the Doer/Taker/Injurer is acting either dishonestly or from a position of power, and the Patient is not benefactive but instead suffers or incurs damage (and can therefore be termed the Injuree/Injured Party). The Direct Object activates the Theme. The Injured Party definitely subcategorizes with the Patient as it is affected by the action and can therefore be passivized smoothly; in contrast, the passivization of the Theme is more awkward or even entirely impossible:

(67) *A last-minute goal robbed the team of victory. → The team was robbed of victory.*

*→ Victory was robbed from the team. (*awkward*)*

(68) *They deprived him of liberty. → He was deprived of liberty. → Liberty was deprived from him.**

(59) *They charged him 200 euros. → He was charged 200 euros. →200 euros was charged (to him).**

The Omissibility Test also shows the gradient omissibility of the Direct Object:

(59) *They charged him 200 euros. → They charged him.(?) → They charged 200 euros.*

(67) *A last-minute goal robbed the team of victory. → A last-minute goal robbed the team.*? → A last-minute goal robbed victory.**

(68) *They deprived him of liberty. → They deprived him.* → They deprived of liberty.**

(69) *They stole him a car.**

The use of the verb *steal* in this Sub-frame would mean that someone stole a car FOR him, i.e., as a gift or at his request (i.e., a Donation frame) as noted by the native proofreader Gavin Cowper. Here the SVOO chain seems to give way to the SVO(A) chain*: They stole his car/They stole a car from him.* On the other hand, the passivization of the Injured Party is still possible: → *He was stolen a car.* → *A car was stolen from him.* (although the natives would still prefer the version *His car was stolen*. where the Injuree is activated by the Determiner *His* and the Theme is the Head). The Omissiblity Test shows the following results: *They stole him a car.? → They stole him* → They stole a car.*

B2) Dicendi Sub-frame

The Dicendi Sub-frame involves a sub-type of cognitive verbs known as verba dicendi, i.e. verbs of speaking, expressing ideas or making promises which require a Doer Cognizer, a Resultant Focus and an Addressee as elaborators, or a Resultant Focus if realized as SVO:

Realized as SVO

(70) *Doer Cognizer* (*He) (asked) Focus (a question)*.

(71) *Doer Cognizer* (*He) (said) Focus (something).*

(72) *Doer Cognizer* (*She) (argued) Focus (that the proposed law should be defeated).*

Realized as SVOO

(73) *Doer Cognizer(John) asked Addressee(him) Focus(a question).*

(74) *Doer Cognizer(Jane) told Addressee(him) Focus(a story).*

The remaining Agentive Patient Frames will be discussed in Chapters 5 (SVOA chains) and 6 (SVOA chains).

3.2 Experiential Patient Sub-frames

Experiential Patient Sub-frames are activated by verbs lexicalizing various physical, emotional and perception states by which Experiencers are subclassified accordingly. They are realized by the SVO chain, and the diagnostic Patient micro-role is Focus.

	Type of Experiencer in the Subject slot	**Example**	**Type of Patient in the Direct Object slot**
1	Cognizer	(75) *I know **him.***	Focus
2	Emoter	(76) *Mary enjoyed **the play**.*	Focus
3	Perceiver	(77) *I can hear **birds** outside.*	Focus
4	Possessor	(78) *John owns **a house**.* (79) *John received **a summons**.*	Current Theme Resultant Theme
5	Unintentional Performer/Undergoer	(80) *John broke **his leg**.* (81) *The car broke **its axle**.*	Relation Specifier (Part-Whole)
6	Unintentional Performer	(82) *John broke **her heart**.*	Affected Entity
7	Unintentional Performer/Undergoer	(83)*The company has incurred **huge losses** over the past three years.*	Theme/Resultant
8	Undergoer	(84) *Six patients underwent **this kind of operation**.*	Specifier
9	Relation/Respect Exponent	(85) *The film sold **thousands of tickets** in pre-sale.*	Theme - Relation/ Respect Specifier

Table 16 Experiencer Patient Sub-frames realized as SVO

Experiencers are expected to be animate entities, but metaphoric extensions and inanimate entities can also occur in these Sub-frames or be understood as implicitly present; this is especially the case with the specialist style, as can be seen in the following examples:

(86) ***The Companies Act 1985** recognises a distinction between two different types of registered companies limited by shares (Company law, p.8).*

(87) ***The statutory model*** *assumes a separation of ownership and control. (Company law, p. 9)*

The Experiencer Possession Sub-frame is synonymous with the Possessive Qualifying Frame, but it differs in terms of the possibility of passivization. This also influences the coding interpretation of the post-verb Argument:

(78) *John owns a house.* → *a house is owned by John* (*a house* – Object)

(88) *John has blue eyes.* → *blue eyes are had by John** (*blue eyes* – Subject Complement)

The mutual Possessor/Donee entailment in this Sub-frame indicates that it is also closely related to the Agentive Sub-frame. Nevertheless, the Experiencer Possession Frame does not involve an active intentionality on the part of the Agent:

(89) *The Purchaser received the goods.* Experiencer Possession Frame

(90) *The Purchaser accepted the goods.* Agentive Possession Frame

This relationship should also be borne in mind when translating such structures. For example, in the context of the law of contract (in translation from English into Slovak), the effect of the receipt of goods and the acceptance of goods is completely different; while the former means a mere taking-over of the goods (for an on-site inspection), the latter implies the moment on which the contract is considered completed (with drastically different consequences in the case of any withdrawal from the contract). A lexical counterpart of both of these verbs in Slovak is *prijať* which may be used in both the Agentive as well as Experiencer Possession Sub-frames. However, the polysemy allowed by the verb *prijať* might lead to serious misunderstandings in the contractual domain. Translators are therefore recommended to avoid this possibility by opting for specific lexical units to indicate this difference in the structure *to receive goods – obdržať/prevziať tovar*, *to accept the goods – prijať tovar.*

Undergoer Patient Sub-frames (80-84) sub-categorize the Relation Specifier as a surface Direct Object. The Subject Undergoer in examples (80) and (81) is actually a transposed Affected Entity from a prime causative Agentive Patient Frame. The Affected Entity is now split into Part and Whole. The External Causer becomes irrelevant, and is therefore present only implicitly (and which can be verified by the Passivization Test):

Prime: External Causer(*Some external intervener*) *broke* Affected Entity(*John's leg*). →

(80) Undergoer(*John*) *broke* Part-Whole Specifier-(*his leg*). →

John's leg was broken by an external intervener (rather than by John).

In Slovak, the Patient-like nature of this type of Undergoer is clearly indicated either by the dative case reflexive pronoun (with animate entities) or the dative case of the noun phrase (with inanimate entities) realizing the Undergoer/Affected Entity:

(91) *Ján **si** zlomil nohu.*

(92) ***Autu** sa zlomila náprava.*

In contrast, examples (82) and (83) allow passivization quite smoothly:

(82) *John broke her heart (whether intentionally or unintentionally)*

→ *her heart was broken by him*

(83) *The company has incurred huge losses over the past three years.*

→ *huge losses were incurred by the company*

The verb *undergo* in (84) clearly indicates that the Subject position is realized by a cognitively "passive" entity, with the Object slot only specifying the activity. Although passivization is admissible in this case, it is overly literary.

(84) *Six patients underwent this kind of operation.* →

This kind of operation was undergone by six patients, and it was successful in five cases.

The prime for example (85) ***The film** sold **thousands of tickets** in pre-sale.* would include an implied Doer, Theme and Relation/Respect Specifier:

(93) *The production company sold* $_{Theme}$***(thousands of tickets)*** $_{Respect\ Specifier}$***(for this film)*** *in a pre-sale.* Its surface transposition results in the suppression of Doer and moving the Exponent of Relation/Respect Specifier into the Subject position.

Another non-primal combination of cognitive Arguments is that of a Focus Subject and Cognizer Object. The surface Subject slot is doubled: anticipatory IT + postponed notional Subject:

(94) *It seems **to me** that she is quite crazy.*

In contrast to the other cognitive Sub-frames in this set, this type of Object does not fulfil the Passivization Test.

Cognitive role of the Subject slot	**Example**	**Cognitive role of the Object slot**
Focus	(94)^{S}*(It) seems* ^{Oi}***(to me)*** ^{S}*(that she is quite crazy). SVOS* (95)^{S}*(It) occurred* ^{Oi}***(to me)*** ^{S}*(that I forgot your birthday). SVOS*	Cognizer
Focus	(96)^{S}*(English) interests* ^{Oi}***(me)****. SVO*	Cognizer
Focus	(97) ^{S}(*She) reminds* ^{Oi}***(me)*** ^{A}*(of her mother). SVOA*	Cognizer + Respect A

Table 17 Focus - Cognizer Experiencer Patient Sub-frame

3.3 Circumstantial Patient-like Sub-frames

Circumstantial Patient-like Sub-frames involve a combination of Agent/Experiencer and various Patient-like elaborators. Full-fledged Objects are passivizable, as the structure serves as a smooth surface transposition when the cognitive role of the Object is clearly that of an affected participant in a causative frame. In cases where the Object activates various circumstantial features, passivization becomes awkward or even impossible. Non-passivizable Sub-frames result in a transient coding nature of their surface realization; although the post-Verb surface Argument is structurally nominal, functionally it is transient between Object and Adverbial.

Cognitive type of Subject	**Example**	**Type of Patient**	**Passivization Test**	**Question Test– Entity/Circumstance**
Bearer	(98) *Centipedes grow* ***their legs*** *at various stages of their development.*	Resultant	*Their legs are grown by centipedes.**	*What do they grow?*

Doer	(99) *They were dancing* ***a waltz.***	Action Specifier	*A waltz was danced by them (?)*	*What were they dancing?*
Doer	(100) *They climbed* ***a hill.***	Locative Specifier	*A hill was climbed by them.*	*What did they climb?*
	(101) *They ran* ^{A}*(20 miles).*	Measure Specifier	*20 miles were run by them. (?)*	*How many miles die they run?*
Localizer/ Source	(102) *The broken pipe was* ***running water****.*	Exponent/ Undergoer	*Water was run by the broken pipe.**	*From where was the water running?*
Doer	(103) *He took* ***a shower****.*	Eventive	*A shower was taken by him.*	*What did he take?*
Emoter	(104) *He smiled* ***his ironic smile***	Cognate	*His ironic smile was smiled by him.**	*How did he smile?* *He smiled* ***ironically.***

Table 18 Circumstantial Patient Sub-frames realized as SVO

4. Recap

Patient Frames include the Patient as cognitive Argument. They are canonically realized by an Object on the surface. The Object is nominal in structure, i.e., it can be replaced by a simple pronoun and is elicitable by a nominal Question Test. In contrast to Subject Complement, the Object is passivizable. It does not follow the verb *to be*. The chains involving the Object are: SVO, SVOO, SVOCo, SVOA. A ditransitive chain (SVOO) includes a Direct Object and an Indirect Object, both of which are passivizable. There are three major Patient Sub-frames: Agentive, Experiential and Circumstantial.

CHAPTER 5

CIRCUMSTANTIAL FRAMES (V)

Circumstantial Frames are used to activate various circumstantial features pertaining either to the Agent/Experiencer or to the Patient. Circumstantial features are diagnostically realized by adverb phrases which function as Adverbials. They can qualify either as Arguments (in the Circumstantial Frames) or as Non-Arguments, i.e., optional modifiers within clauses, adjective or adverb phrases, and they can also be employed as sentence modifiers. The following section offers a list of tests that can be employed to distinguish circumstantial clause elements from other clause components.

1. Coding markers

Adverbial modifiers are grammatically diagnosed by their position relative to the Verb, their lack of Verb-Adverbial concord, and the inapplicability of the Passivization Test.

1.1 Position

Position is a less clear formal marker since Adverbials can often be placed at different locations within a clause; for example, they may occur after the Verb, within the verb phrase, at the pre-Head position within adverb and adjective phrases, but also initially and finally in the clause/sentence.

Post-Verb/clause final position

(1) *They got **out of the van**.*
(2) *Ginnie watched him **for a while**.*

Pre-Verb/clause initial position
(3) ***On the second morning** the Scotsman saw from the top of his tree a great castle far away.*

Pre-head within the verb phrase (4), adjective phrase (5), adverb phrase (6):

(4) *He /was* (***intently***) *staring/ at a set of plans with another man.*

(5) *Both cars are /**fairly** new/.*

(6) *They did /**fairly** well/.*

Before the focused (7) or evaluated clause (8):

(7) *She thought he did **exactly** what he wanted to do.*

(8) ***Obviously**, we don't want to spend too much money.*

1.2 No passive transformations

Surface clause components which qualify as Adverbials do not meet the Passivization Test, and this represents a clear coding diagnostic criterion distinguishing them from the Object.

(9) *He moved **the car** without driving it. → **the car** was moved* (Object)

(10) *Don't move **an inch**! → **an inch** is not moved** (Adverbial)

Since the Passivization Test is also inapplicable to Complements, the diagnostic of Adverbials should be corroborated by the structural Reducibility/Replaceability Test and the Cognitive Question Test (as will be discussed below).

2. Structural markers

Since adverb phrases are canonical structural forms realizing Adverbials, the Test of Reducibility to/Replaceability by a simple adverb can be used to distinguish Adverbials from Subject Complements which are replaceable by simple nominals:

(10) *Don't move **an inch**! → Don't move **there/at all**.* (Adverb Replaceability Test) A

(11) *It means **that we have time**. → It means **that**.* (Nominal Replaceability Test) Cs

1. Adverb phrase	(12) *The wolf songs lasted a minute or two but resonated **much longer**.*
2. Noun phrase	(13) *The wolf songs lasted **a minute or two** but resonated much longer.*
3. Prepositional phrase	(14) *Each morning and night I swept the hillsides **with binoculars**, hopeful of a miracle.*
4. Finite dependent clause	(15) *I will help him **however I can.***
5. Infinitive semi-clause/non-finite clause	(16) *He stopped **to watch the sunset.***

6. Gerundial semi-clause/non-finite clause	(17) ***Because of having travelled abroad****, families and friends give them a status of lucky and privileged people.*
7. -ing participle semi-clause/non-finite clause	(18) *I asked,* ***immediately realizing the stupidity of the question.***

Table 19 Structural realization of Adverbials by types of structures and their exemplification

3. Cognitive markers

Diagnostic cognitive role of Adjunct Adverbial: CIRCUMSTANTIAL FEATURE

Circumstantial correlates with Exponent as the cognitive label used to indicate the entity that is exposed to various circumstantial features:

(19) */John/ /is/ at home/*. → **Exponent + Copula + Circumstantial/Localizer**

(20) */John/ /put/ /his hands/ /into his pockets/*. → **Agent + Action + Patient/Exponent + Circumstantial/Localizer**

Beside the previous tests, the Cognitive Question Test can also be used reliably to distinguish the Adverbial from other clause elements, eliciting various micro-roles within the domain of Circumstantial Feature by means of interrogative items such as *Where? When? How? Why?* or *For what purposes?*

The list of tests to be employed to distinguish Adverbials from Subject Complements and Objects can be therefore expanded to include the following:

	Passivization Test	Replaceability Test	Cognitive Test
Adverbial (21) *He moved* ***some yards.***	***some yards*** *were moved**	*He moved* ***there****.*	***How far*** *did he move?*
Subject Complement (22) *This means* ***an end****.*	***an end*** *is meant by this**	*This means* ***that****.*	***What*** *does this mean?*
Object (23) *He moved* ***a chair****.*	***a chair*** *was moved*	*He moved* ***it****.*	***What*** *did he move?*

Table 20 Differential diagnostic tests for Adverbials, Subject Complements and Objects

The Cognitive Question Test can also function as a diagnostic test allowing the delineation of two general sub-categories of Adverbials, namely **Adjuncts** and **Sentence Adverbials** which are themselves further sub-divided into **Disjuncts** and **Conjuncts** (based on a sub-classification developed by Dušková (1988:444)). While Adjuncts are Adverbials which are incorporated in the clause structure either as Arguments or Non-Arguments, Sentence Adverbials stand outside the clause structure and form components of sentences. Only Adjuncts can be elicited by the Cognitive Question Test:

(24) *Naturally, we dislike being hurt.* → no question test possible based on the valency verb

(25) *He hair curls naturally.* → How does her hair curl?

The micro-roles which can be identified by the particular Cognitive Question Tests identified with Adjuncts can be cognitively subclassified as summarized in the following chart:

Cognitive Macro-role	Cognitive Micro-roles	Question Test
PLACE	Position	Where?
	Direction	To where?
	Source	From where? In what direction?
	Distance	How far?
TIME	Position	When?
	Duration	How long?
	Frequency	How often?
	Relation	Since/Until when?
MANNER	Proper	How?
	Subject Adjuncts	What was the Subject like in doing so?
	Means/Instrument	By means of what/with what?
	Accompanying circumstances	How?
	Viewpoint/Respect	From what point of view? In what respect?
	Result	(changed) into what?
MEASURE	Measure proper	To what degree/extent?
	Intensifiers Amplifiers	

	Intensifiers Downtoners	
CONTINGENCY	Reason Purpose Effect Condition Concession Source Agency	Why? For what purpose? So – that? If what? In spite of what? From what? By whom/by what?
FOCUSING		No question test
EXPONENT shifted to ADJUNCT slot		(26) ***Tears*** *were streaming/running down her face.* → (27) *Her face streamed (**with) tears.***

Table 21 Cognitive sub-classes of Adjuncts

Adjuncts can qualify as both Arguments and Non-Arguments, but the Omissibility Test can be used to distinguish between the two categories:

Argument	(28) *He is going **to school**.* → *he is going**	Direction Localizer
Non-Argument	(29) *He is coming **from school**.* → *he is coming.*	Source Localizer
Argument	(30) *She put her bracelet **in the box**.* – *she put her bracelet**	Direction Localizer
Non-Argument	(31) *She found her bracelet **in the box.*** *–she found her bracelet*	Position Localizer

Table 22 The Omissibility Test for Argument Adjuncts

4. Circumstantial Frames (V)

Cognitive frames incorporating Circumstantials as Arguments are termed Circumstantial Frames. Realized either as SVA or SVOA coding chains, Argument Adjuncts convey various circumstantial features assigned to their Exponents (i.e., the Subject in SVA, and the Object in SVOA).

4.1 Circumstantial Sub-frames with Subject Exponent (V.A)

4.1.1 Locative Sub-frame

a) Coding analysis: SVA

b) Structural analysis: NP + VP + AP/PrepP

This frame features two mandatory Arguments of the Verb, i.e., a Subject, indicated by the left-to-the-Verb position in English and the mandatory Adjunct (A) indicated by the right-to-the-verb position: SVA (S-A distinguished by the position relative to the Verb). Verbs which occur in this frame are auto-semantic verbs whose cognitive completeness requires a mandatory localizing post-verb Argument (the coding and structural markers which distinguish Adjuncts from Objects and Subject Complements were outlined in Sections 1 and 2).

c) Cognitive analysis: **Exponent** + State/Action + **Spatial Feature / Localizer (*Where? Where to? From where? Out of where?*)**

An entity that is localized may be both animate and inanimate. Localizers can be positional or directional:

Position: (32) *He is **here**.* (33) *I live **in Košice**.* (34) *They are staying **nearby**.*

Distance/position: (35) *The Himalayas stretch uninterruptedly **/for about 1,550 miles/ /from west to east/**.*

Direction: (36) *He went **to school**.*

Metaphoric extension also allows localizers to indicate abstract rather than concrete spatial relations:

(37) *She ranks **among the most admired citizens.***

Locative Frames also include Dummy *there* Existential-locative Sub-frame:

(38) *There is a book **on the table*** (see Chapter 3: SVSA, dummy *there* + Existential *be* + Exponent/Localized Entity + Localizer).

4.1.2 Reversed Locative Sub-frame

While the Locative Sub-frame shows the canonical arrangement of cognitive components (i.e., the combination of Exponent Subject and Adjunct Localizer in the Subject and Adjunct slot,

respectively), the order of Exponent and Localizer is reversed on the surface of the Reversed Locative Sub-frame as a result of the metaphoric elaboration of the prime Locative Sub-frame:

Prime: (39) Exponent/***Tears/*** */streamed/* Localizer/***down her cheeks/***.
https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/stream →

Reversed Locative: (40) Localizer ***/Her cheeks/*** */streamed/* Exponent ***/with tears/***.

Prime: (41) *There was* Exponent/***blood/*** */dripping/* Localizer/***out of Hagrid's nose/***.

Reversed Locative*:* (42)Localizer/***Hagrid's nose/*** */was (gently) dripping/* Exponent/***blood/***.

Cognitive analysis:

Exponent + Process + Localizer → Localizer + Process + Exponent

This type of frame can be identified correctly if the Adjunct is realized by a noun phrase (42). A structure in which the segments *tears/blood* are considered as an Object (based on the Nominal Reducibility Test) is not passivizable because the cognitive relations between the pre-Verb and post-Verb component are not causative (although the combination of the cognitive roles within the Patient Frame could be one of Undergoer and Locative Specifier/Source). In contrast if we apply the Cognitive Question Test "down what/where are the tears streaming/out of what/where blood was dripping?", this string can be interpreted as a Reversed Locative Sub-frame, in which *tears/blood* can be consistently analysed as an Exponent and *her cheeks/Hagrid's nose* as a Localizer; on the surface, therefore, the structure can be interpreted as a SVA coding chain. Under the Constancy of Cognitive Roles rule, the transposition of the sentence into its prime Locative Sub-frame variant corroborates the above interpretation (39,41).

It is important not to confuse Locative Sub-frames with Agentive Patient Frames. These Sub-frames convey causative relationships and allow of passivization, and their coding reading is therefore canonically SVO:

(43) *S/The tsunami/ /destroyed/ O/a Japanese village/. → the village was destroyed by tsunami.*

External Causer + Action + Affected Entity cf.

(42) S*/Hagrid's nose/ /was* (*gently*) *dripping/* A***/blood/***.*→blood was dripped by Hagrid's nose**

The distinct nature of these two structures can also be proven through their divergent translations into other languages. For example, in the case of :

(42) *Hagrid's nose was gently dripping blood.* → *Hagridovi z nosa jemne kvapkala krv.* (back translated: to Hagrid out of nose gently was dripping blood)

(40) *Her cheeks streamed with tears.* → *Po lícach jej tiekli slzy.*

(back translated: down cheeks to her were running tears)

(43) *The tsunami destroyed a Japanese village.* → *Tsunami zničilo japonskú dedinu.* (back translated: tsunami destroyed Japanese village)

Another case of the Reversed Locative Sub-frame employing autosemantic verbs whose nominal post-Verb components cannot be passivized can be exemplified as follows:

(44) Localizer/*The bottle/ contains* Exponent/*milk/.* → *Milk is in the bottle.*

(45) Localizer/*This assignment/ consists* Exponent */of three tasks/.* → *Three tasks are in this assignment.*

(46) Localizer/*The river/ abounds* Exponent */in fish/.* → *Fish abound in the river.*

4.1.3 Temporal Sub-frame

a) Coding analysis: SVA

b) Structural analysis: NP + VP + PrepP/AP

c) Cognitive analysis:

Exponent + State/Action + Temporal Feature/Circumstantial (*When? How long? Since/Until when?*)

Point in time: (47) *The test is **at 9:50**.*

(48) *The eruption of Vesuvius that destroyed Pompeii occurred **in 79 AD.***

(49) *He lived **in the nineteenth century**.*

Duration: (50) *The journey takes/lasts **two hours**.*

Time reference: (51) *He has held two jobs **since he graduated**.*

4.1.4 Manner Sub-frame

a) Coding analysis: SVA

b) Structural analysis: NP + VP + AP

c) Cognitive analysis:

Exponent + State/Action + Manner Feature/Circumstantial (*How?*)

(52) *He behaved **badly**.*

(53) *The defendant pleads **guilty**. (How do you plead?)*

(54) *Finally, everything ended **well**.*

4.1.5 Measure Sub-frame

a) Coding analysis: SVA

b) Structural analysis: NP + VP + AP

c) Cognitive analysis:

Exponent + Copula/Semi-Copula + Measure Feature/Circumstantial (*How much?*)

Adjuncts of this Sub-frame express various features that may be elicited through questions such as ***How much? How far? How long*?**, i.e., weight, cost, measure, distance:

(55) *He weighs **60kg.*** → *How much does he weigh?*

(56) *He is **10 years old.** → How old is he?*

Similarly, as in the sentence *He pled guilty* (with an underlying Question Test How did he plead?) or in the sentence *He is 10/10 years old.,* the Circumstantial Question Test is contrasted with a structural realization which is adjectival, i.e., nominal. The lexical units *kilos*, *old* and *guilty* are syntactically re-interpreted as Adjuncts based on the theta roles which they realize in these Sub-frames.

The verb *cost* in this Sub-frame allows an insertion of an Affected Entity:

(57)$_{\text{Exponent}}$(This book) cost $_{\text{Aff. Entity}}$(me) $_{\text{Measure Circum.}}$(20 euros).

4.1.6 Capacity Sub-frame

a) Coding analysis: SVA

b) Structural analysis: NP + VP + AP

c) Cognitive analysis: **Capacity Exponent + Capacity Feature + Capacity Degree**

(58) *Airbus A310 seats 220 passengers in two classes*.

Overt markers of capacity include modal auxiliaries (*can*, *may*) and periphrastic structures (*be able to*) realizing Action Frames (*I can read*) and Patient Frames (*I can do it*).

In contrast, the Circumstantial Capacity Sub-frame is used to activate an idea of potential capability, quality or capacity without the presence of an explicit marker of potential or possibility. This Sub-frame is notionally realized by the Verb, and its degree is expressed by an Argument Adjunct and is activated cognitively by a combination of the Capacity Feature and the Capacity Degree assigned to the Capacity Exponent Subject. This arrangement allows a cognitive reading of the coding chain SVA as a Capacity Sub-frame rather than a Manner or Locative Sub-frame. It can be exemplified as follows:

(59) Capacity Exponent/*This beer/ /drinks/* Capacity Degree/*well /.*

Possible translation into Slovak*:* Toto pivo sa dobre pije. (back translated: this beer itself well drinks)

The Capacity Sub-frame is activated by a combination of the Capacity Feature/Purpose and its Degree, but this only seems to work with Subject Exponents whose purpose or function are space-related:

(58) *The Airbus A310 seats 220 passengers in two classes*. < Prime: The Airbus A310 can seat 220 passengers in two classes.

Paraphrase: 220 passengers can be seated in the Airbus A310. The Airbus A310 has a capacity of 220 passengers.

Translation: Airbus 220 má kapacitu/dokáže prepraviť 220 pasažierov. (back translated: The Airbus 220 has a capacity of/can transport 220 passengers)

A dispositive reading may also be activated by the SV coding chain in which the Degree is left unstated but the disposition is implicitly present;

(60) *The book sells*. (61*) Do sex and violence sell?*

Coding chain: SV

Paraphrase: The book is in demand and people want to buy it.

Translation: Kniha sa predáva/je žiadaná.

(back translated: book itself sells/is demanded)

Since the Capacity Sub-frame conveys the potential capacity of the Capacity Subject, it is also identified in SV realization involving the modal verbs *can*/*may* as operators in complex verb phrases. The Capacity Degree is not present in this sub-type (Action Frame).

(62) *If the breach in question is a wrong to the company then only the company can sue.*

(63) *The company was therefore the only one which could complain.*

4.1.7 Qualifier Respect Sub-frame

a) Coding analysis: SVCsA

b) Structural analysis: NP + VP + AdjP + PrepP

c) Cognitive analysis: **Exponent + Copula + Qualifier + Respect (*in respect of what?*)**

Qualifier Respect Circumstantial Sub-frames are composed of predicative adjectives expressing emotion, inclination or relation functioning as Subject Complements and an Adjunct usually realized by a prepositional phrase: *interested in music, afraid of dark, in love with somebody, good at:*

(64) */Jane/ /is/* ^{Cs}***/afraid/*** ^{A}***/of dark/***.

(65) *She is* ***fond of him***. (66) *Her dress is almost* ***identical to mine***.

(67) *I am* ***done with them***. (68) *I am* ***at ease with them***.

Comparative structures can also be ranked with this Sub-frame (SVCsA) :

(69) */He/ /is/* ^{Cs}*/too weak/* ^{A}*/to sit his father's seat/.*

(70) */He/ /is/* ^{Cs}*/old enough/* ^{A}*/to know better/.*

(71) */His promise/ /is/* ^{Cs}*/as good/* ^{A}*/as gold/.*

(72) */She/ /is/* ^{Cs}*/older/* ^{A}*/than him/.*

4.2 Circumstantial Sub-frames with Object Exponent (Circumstantial Patient Sub-frames) (V.B)

4.2.8 Patient-Locative Sub-frame

Coding analysis: SVOA

Structural analysis: NP+VP+NP+PrepP

Cognitive analysis*:* **Agent + Action + Patient/Theme + Direction Localizer (*to/where?*)**

(73) /*She/ /put/ /the basket/ /on the chair/.*

(74) */I/ /rank/ /you/ /among my very best friends/.*

Direction Localizers can also be viewed as Non-Arguments in the following clauses:

(75) */They/ /filed/ /an appeal/ (with a higher court).*

(76) */He/ /tossed/ /a folded newspaper/ (across the desk).*

4.2.9 Patient-Respect Sub-frame

Coding analysis: SVOA

Structural analysis: NP+VP+NP+PrepP

Cognitive analysis*:* **Doer + Action + Affected Entity + Respect (*in respect of what?*)**

(77) */They/ /charged/ /him/ /**with burglary**/.*

(78) */They/ /accused/ /him/ /**of theft**/.*

(79) */They/ /accused/ /him/ /**of having committed theft**/.*

(80) */They/ /encouraged/ /us/ /**in our work**/.*

(81) */He/ /diagnosed/ /a patient/ /**with brain concussion**/.*

(82) */Please/ /advise/ /us/ /**of problems**/ /as they happen/.*

Adverbials seem to be transitional between Arguments and Non-Arguments in this Sub-frame.

4.2.10 Patient-Manner Sub-frame

Coding analysis: SVOA

Structural analysis: NP+VP+NP+AP/PrepP

Cognitive analysis*:* **Doer + Action + Affected Entity + Manner (*how?*)**

(83) */They/ /treat/ /me/ /**like a criminal/**.*

(84) */She/ /treats/ /me/ /**badly/.***

(85) /*Now/ /we/ /can think/ /of them/ /**differently/**.*

4.2.11 Covert Initiation Sub-frame

Coding analysis: SVOA

Structural analysis: NP+VP+NP+PrepP

Cognitive analysis*:* **Initiator + Initiating/Initiated Action + Affected Entity/Doer + Circumstantial (Localizer/Manner…)**

(86) *He marched **his company** up the hill.*

(87) *They swore him **to secrecy**.*

With animate entities in the Object slot, the cognitive micro-role of the Affected Entity can overlap with the Agentive micro-role of the Doer if the Action is simultaneously instigated by the Subject Initiator and realized by the Object. This Sub-frame is somewhat unusual and its realizations are quite rare. It can be considered as a result of a metaphorical elaboration of the prime Overt Initiation Frame in which the Initiating Action and the Initiated Action are expressed separately, the former typically by a descriptive imperative verb:

Prime: *He* $_{Initiating\ Action}$*/made/ the company* $_{Initiated\ Action}$*/march/ up the hill.* (SVOCo)

The Covert Initiation Sub-frame is often marked by a doubling of the micro-roles of the Affected Entity/Doer in the Object slot and the presence of an implied Initiation Action on the part of the Subject Initiator. An actual Doer + Action Sub-frame is typically entailed (*his company marched up the hill*). Moreover, the structure can be contrasted with a simple Doer+Action+Affected Entity Sub-frame:

(88) *He told the general* [*/that Montgomery/ /was moving/* ^{O}*/30 British Corps/* ^{A}*/south/*].

in which the Adjunct is a Non-Argument and the Object is passivizable (*30 corps were moved by Montgomery*). In contrast, the passivization of the Object is awkward in the Covert Initiation Frame and the Adjunct is Argument: *his company was marched by him**.

5. Recap

Adverbials are canonically realized by adverb phrases. There are two grammatical sub-classes of Adverbials: Adjuncts and Sentence Adverbials. Adjuncts are elicitable by Circumstantial cognitive questions tests such as *How? Where? When? Why?...* and as such form part of a clause structure. Sentence Adverbials cannot be elicited by Circumstantial questions; they form part of a sentence rather than a clause and are always Non-Arguments. Adjuncts can be further subdivided cognitively into PLACE, TIME, MANNER, MEASURE and CONTINGENCY. They can qualify as both Arguments and Non-Arguments, but are classified as Arguments in SVA and SVOA chains realizing the following V. Circumstantial Frames:

V.A. Circumstantial Sub-frames with Subject Exponent (SVA)

V.A.1 Locative Sub-frame

V.A.2 Reversed Locative Sub-frame

V.A.3 Temporal Sub-frame

V.A.4 Manner Sub-frame

V.A.5 Measure Sub-frame

V.A.6 Capacity Sub-frame

V.A.7 Qualifier Respect Sub-frame

V.B Circumstantial Sub-frames with Object Exponent (Circumstantial Patient Sub-frames) (SVOA)

V.B.8 Patient-Locative Sub-frame

V.B.9 Patient-Respect Sub-frame

V.B.10 Patient-Manner Sub-frame

V.B.11 Covert Initiation Sub-frame

CHAPTER 6

SENTENCE ADVERBIALS

1. Adjuncts versus Sentence Adverbials

As was discussed in Section 3 of Chapter 5, there are two major sub-classes of Adverbials, namely Adjuncts and Sentence Adverbials. The fundamental difference between these two structures is the fact that Adjuncts can be elicited by the Cognitive Question Test because they fall within the cognitive domain of the Verb of a clause and can thus qualify either as its Arguments or Non-Arguments, while Sentence Adverbials are not subject to the Cognitive Question Test as they stand outside the Verb's alignment of cognitive roles. Sentence Adverbials are not incorporated in the clause structure; they are components of the sentence. In addition to the Cognitive Question Test, other tests can be employed to distinguish Sentence Adverbials from Adjuncts: initial position, independent intonation unit, the inability of being elicited by alternative interrogation and negation, the inability of being subject to focusing by Focusing Adjuncts, and the inability of being subject to focusing by cleft sentences (Greenbaum and Quirk, 1996:162-163).

Test	Adjuncts	Sentence Adverbials
Position	(1)Her hair curls naturally. Naturally her hair curls.* (MW)	(2)Naturally, we dislike being hurt. (MW) We naturally dislike being hurt. We dislike being hurt, naturally.
Cognitive Question Test	How does her hair curl?	How do we dislike being hurt?*
Alternative interrogation and negation	Does her hair curl naturally or because of a perm?	Do we dislike being hurt naturally or unnaturally?*
Focusing by Focusing Adjuncts	Her hair curls just naturally.	Just naturally, we dislike being hurt.*
Focusing by cleft sentences and pseudocleft sentences	It is naturally how her hair curls. The way/how her hair curls is natural.	It is naturally that we dislike being hurt.* How we dislike being hurt is naturally.*

Propositional Test	It is natural that her hair curls.*	It is natural that we dislike being hurt.

Table 23 Sentence Adverbial Tests contrasted with Adjuncts

5. Sub-classes of Sentence Adverbials

Sentence Adverbials are used either to express different attitudes of the speaker to the proposition (realized by the clause) as a whole, i.e., **Disjuncts**, or as cohesive devices, i.e., **Conjuncts**. **Conjuncts** are further subdivided into various cohesive subtypes (based on Dušková (1988:482-483)), such as:

1. **listing (chronologically):** *in the first place, next, then, first, second, to start with, to conclude, eventually, …*
   (3) ***Finally,*** *I'd like to thank the fans for their great support.*
2. **additive:** *above all, moreover, in addition, furthermore, similarly, besides…*
   (4) *Swimming alone is against the rules and,* ***moreover****, it's dangerous.*
3. **summative:** *altogether, all in all, overall, etc.*
   (5) ***Altogether****, their efforts were successful.*
4. **appositive:** *i.e., namely, e.g.*
   (6) *It was obvious that her memory was failing.* ***For example****, she would often forget where she put her car keys.*
5. **resultive:** *so, therefore, as a result, hence, thereby…*
   (7) *He signed the contract,* ***thereby*** *forfeiting his right to the property.*
6. **adversative:** *yet, still, nevertheless, however, though…*
   (8) ***Nevertheless****, resistance to equal opportunities and fair pay for female athletes remained strong.*
   (9) *I'd like to go;* ***however****, I'd better not.*

Disjuncts are subdivided into **Style Disjuncts** and **Content Disjuncts**. Speakers use Style Disjuncts to comment on the style and form of what is being said, and this can be paraphrased by phrases such as *to put it frankly, frankly speaking, to be frank* (10). Content Disjuncts (11) are used to express speakers' observations or attitudes regarding the actual content of an utterance, commenting on its certainty or truth conditions, and may therefore be paraphrased by Qualifying Frames in which the Qualified Entity is realized as a postponed dependent Subject declarative clause and the Qualifier is activated by an adjective-conversed

Content Disjunct functioning as Cs. Alternatively, the Sentential Relative Clause can also be used to evaluate the whole proposition (these types of clauses will be discussed in Chapter 9). The respective paraphrases which serve as diagnostic tools to distinguish between Style Disjuncts and Content Disjuncts are summarized and exemplified in Table 24.

Tests	Exemplification	Paraphrase
Style Disjuncts comment on the style/form of an utterance	*(10)* ***Frankly****, I think your essay needs more work.*	to be *frank* *frankly* speaking to put it *frankly* = I am being honest when I tell you that your essay needs more work
Content Disjuncts comment on the content of an utterance	(11) ***Surprisingly****, he agreed.*	It was *surprising* that he agreed. (postponed S Declarative Clause) He agreed, which was *surprising*. (Sentential Relative Clause)

Table 24 Style Disjuncts versus Content Disjuncts

The sub-class of Content Disjuncts can be refined further and sub-classified into Content Disjuncts which evaluate the content, certainty or factuality of an utterance:

1. Content Disjuncts evaluating the **content** of an utterance: *properly, luckily, rightly, hopefully, etc.*
2. Content Disjuncts relating to the **certainty** of an utterance: *definitely, certainly, obviously, undoubtedly, etc.*
3. Content Disjuncts relating to the **factuality** of an utterance: *actually, maybe, perhaps, really, indeed, actually, etc.*

The factuality sub-class of Content Disjuncts differs from the other two in that it cannot be safely paraphrased by the Subject Declarative Clause Test*:*

(12) *It was really not my fault. Really, it was not my fault.*

*It was real that it was not my fault.**

Content Disjuncts tend to occupy the front position as a separate intonation unit, even in negative sentences. They cannot be elicited by the Manner Cognitive Question Test (*How?*), and they do not fall under the scope of the negation of the Verb.

6. Adverbial polyfunctionality – an overlap between syntactic sub-classes of Adverbials

The sub-classification of Adverbials presented above is not always as clearcut as it might appear. Transitions between respective sub-classes are by no means rare, and this can be demonstrated by the possibility of employing several criteria at one time. The important thing to remember here is that the decision to rank a particular segment with a particular sub-class is always context-dependent: a single syntactic interpretation in a single context. Important diagnostic factors include position, paraphrase and intonation, and this is particularly important when it comes to *-ly* adverbs that can be employed poly-functionally, so these structures should be carefully differentiated to ensure correct understanding (and appropriate translation). Several class overlaps are presented in the following sections.

3.1 Manner Proper Adjuncts versus Subject Adjuncts

Although the Manner Proper and the Subject Adjuncts are both sub-classes of the Manner macro-role of Adjuncts, there is often considerable overlap between their respective micro-roles. They both satisfy the diagnostic Manner Cognitive Question Test (*How? In what manner*?), but the evaluative attitude of Subject Adjuncts is related not only to the action but also to the Agent/Subject performing it, as can be seen in these modified question tests:

Manner Proper Adjunct: (13) *The can opener is not working properly.* How isn't it working?

Subject Adjunct: (14) *He foolishly ignored his parents' advice.* How was it of him to do it?

The paraphrase "in an ADJ manner" is only applicable to the Manner Proper Adjuncts:

Manner Proper Adjunct: *The can opener is not working properly.* It is not working in a proper manner.

Subject Adjunct: *He foolishly ignored his parents' advice.* He ignored his parents' advice in a foolish manner.*

Position is the primary diagnostic tool in this dichotomy, as the final position clearly distinguishes Manner Proper Adjuncts from Subject Adjuncts (and also from Content Disjuncts):

Manner Proper Adjunct: (15) *She properly wrote her homework. She wrote her homework properly*.

Subject Adjunct: (16) *He foolishly ignored his parents' advice*. *He ignored his parents' advice foolishly*.*

Content disjunct: (17) *Obviously, she did not do it. She did not do it obviously*.*

The fact that Manner Proper Adjuncts are more central in respect of the Verb's alignment is also reflected in their intonation unity with the whole clause; in contrast, Subject Adjuncts are rendered as separate intonation units with a pause.

While Manner Proper Adjuncts can function as both Arguments and Non-Arguments, Subject Adjuncts are always Non-Arguments:

Manner Proper: (18) *She behaved* ***foolishly****.* SVA

(19) *He climbed the wall* ***quickly***. SVO(A)

Subject Adjunct: (16) *He* ***foolishly*** *ignored his parents' advice.* S(A)VO

Dušková (1988:456) notes that in some cases in which an adverb phrase is placed between the Subject and the Verb, it can qualify as both Manner Proper and Subject Adjunct:

(20) *She cleverly avoided a direct answer.*

Manner Proper Tests: In what manner did she avoid a direct answer? / She avoided a direct answer cleverly.

Subject Adjunct Tests: How was it of her to avoid a direct answer? / She was clever in that she avoided a direct answer./Cleverly, she avoided a direct answer.

3.2 Subject Adjuncts versus Content Disjuncts

Both Subject Adjuncts and Content Disjuncts can be understood as evaluating the content of the utterance as a whole, and therefore both structures can be paraphrased by the Subject Declarative Clause Test (it was Adj THAT clause…). However, in addition to evaluating the

entire utterance, Subjects Adjuncts can be viewed as evaluating the Subject and the manner of its behaviour/attitude and can therefore be elicited by the Manner Cognitive Question Test (How?) related to the Subject of the clause (as tested in the previous section). Subject Adjuncts are therefore incorporated into the clause structure as Non-Arguments, while Content Disjuncts, having failed the Manner Cognitive Question Test, always stand aside from the Verb's alignment. This can be seen in the examples and their paraphrases below:

Subject Adjunct: (16) *He foolishly ignored his parents' advice.*

Paraphrase 1: It was foolish that he ignored his parents' advice.

Paraphrase 2: It was foolish of him to ignore his parents' advice. / He was foolish in that he ignored his parents' advice.

Content Disjunct: (21) *He obviously ignored his parents' advice.*

Paraphrase 1: It was obvious that he ignored his parents' advice.

Paraphrase 2: It was obvious of him to ignore his parents' advice.* He was obvious in that he ignored his parents' advice.*

Dušková (1988:457) points out that adverbs involving a volitional semantic component, such as *voluntarily, accidentally, deliberately, willingly* or *reluctantly*, stand in the transitional area between the Subject Adjuncts and the Content Disjuncts in that they evaluate the Agent/Subject cognitively but formally meet only the Declarative Clause Paraphrase (Paraphrase 1 type above):

(22) *He intentionally omitted my name.*

Paraphrase 1: It was intentional that he omitted my name.

Paraphrase 2: He was intentional in that she omitted my name.*

The transitional nature of this type of Adverbials is also supported by the possibility of their front position, a quality which is also reflected in translation:

Front position possible: (22) *Intentionally, she omitted my name*.

Placing such adverb phrases in the final position would result in a Manner Proper reading:

(22) *He omitted my name intentionally*.

3.3 Measure Adjunct Intensifiers versus Content Disjuncts

As was indicated above, the position of an Adverbial can have an impact on its cognitive and coding interpretation, and the Position Test is especially useful in relation to adverb phrases realized by multi-functional *-ly* adverbs. In its written form, the Content Disjunct reading is activated through its front position (or even a final position), with the separate intonation indicated by a comma, while the Measure Adjunct Intensifier reading is activated by its position between the Subject and the Verb (or between the Operator and the Head in a complex verb phrase):

Content Disjunct: (23) *They really are twins./ Really, they are twins.* → Indeed, they are twins. (Naozaj sú to dvojičky).

Measure Adjunct Intensifier-Amplifier: (24) *She is a really nice person.* → She is a very nice person. (Je veľmi sympatická.)

Measure Adjunct Intensifier-Downtoner: (25) *I don't really agree with you.* → *I don't quite agree with you.* (Celkom s tebou nesúhlasím.)

Examples (23), (24), and (25) are ranked as Emphasizer, Intensifier/Amplifier, and Intensifier/Downtoner, respectively, as subcategories of Subjuncts in Greenbaum and Quirk (1996).

Dušková (1988:478) also allows for a Content Disjunct reading when the adverb phrase is placed between the Subject and the Verb ((26) *I really have tried*); in negative sentences, the position before the negative particle does not imply negation for the Content Disjunct (the whole sentence is modified), while the position after the negative particle activates a Measure Adjunct Intensifier reading:

Content Disjunct: (27) *Really, I don't know. I really don't know.*

Measure Adjuncts Intensifier: *I don't really know.* (ibid.)

It can therefore be concluded that when an *-ly* adverb is incorporated into a phrase (either AdjP or AP), it has a manner/measure effect, while it has a Content Disjunct reading if fronted:

(28) *The water is /really hot/. vs. /Really/, the water is hot.*

(29) *This was /a (surprisingly long) reply/.* vs.

(30) /*Not surprisingly/, the Post praised these groups while saying nothing good about Bennett.*

3.4 Focusing Adverbials

Focusing Adverbials are unique in that they serve as rhematizers, i.e., as tools to focus the addressee's attention on the piece of information that is most important from the perspective of the communication (the Functional Sentence Perspective, Firbas, 1992). This is also reflected in the denomination of this sub-class of Adverbials, which includes adverbs such as *only, especially, as well, also, even, just, merely, solely, alone, simply, especially, particularly, in particular neither – nor (even), both – and (also)* or *not only – but (also)* (Dušková, 1988:473, Greenbaum and Quirk, 1996:180-181). This sub-class cannot be safely ranked with either Adjuncts or Sentence Adverbials, and Greenbaum and Quirk (1996:176) categorize it as a special group of narrow orientation Subjuncts and distinguish between restrictive and additive types:

Restrictive: (31) *I merely wanted to know his name*. (i.e., I didn't want to know anything else)

Additive: (32) *Fred had also invited his mother-in-law* (i.e., in addition to others) (ibid.)

Focusing Adverbials can rhematize the Heads of the verb phrases, adjective phrases and adverb phrases, but also noun phrases and even entire dependent clauses:

VP: (33) *Your essay **merely** hints at the real problem.*

AP: (34) *I saw her here **just** yesterday.*

NP: (35) *It was **merely** a coincidence.*

Clause: (36) *She got the job **merely** because her father owns the company.*

(37) *That's **just** what I expected.*

In order to avoid potential ambiguity over the specific post-Focusing-Adverbial component that will be rhematized, Greenbaum and Quirk (1996) recommend that the Focusing Adverbial should be placed "in close proximity to the part required", i.e.

before the Head verb or Head noun:

(38*) She had **only** questioned her patients the previous week (i.e., as opposed to examining them)*

*She had questioned **only** her patients the previous week (i.e., as opposed to her colleagues)*

after the Head (obligatory with *alone* and *too*): *She had questioned her patients **only** the previous week/the previous week **only** (as opposed to the current week)* (Greenbaum and Quirk, 1996:180).

The Focusing Adverbial can also overlap with Intensifier Measure Adjuncts whose function is to strengthen the intensity of the Head:

Measure Adjunct: (39) *Pay **particularly** close attention to the second paragraph.*

Focusing Adverbial: (40) *All of you, but **particularly** anyone with a problem, should feel free to contact me at any time.*

7. Recap

Sentence Adverbials differ from Adjuncts in that they are not elicitable by the Cognitive Question Test and are incorporated into sentences rather than clauses. Sentence Adverbials are subdivided into Disjuncts and Conjuncts. Disjuncts are split into Style Disjuncts and Content Disjuncts. Style Disjuncts comment on the speaker's style, while Content Disjuncts evaluate the content, certainty or factuality of the proposition. Conjuncts are used as a means of textual cohesion and they are subclassified into listing, additive, summative, appositive, resultive and adversative.

CHAPTER 7

PATIENT QUALIFYING FRAMES (VI)

AND INITIATION FRAMES (VII)

The Subject-oriented Qualifying Frame was introduced in Chapter 3; I have already outlined its diagnostic coding (post-Verb position, non-passivization), structural (NP, AdjP) and cognitive (the list of Sub-frames) aspects. This chapter will explore the valency obligatory (Argument) and non-obligatory (Non-Argument) nature of these Qualifiers and also analyse Object-oriented Qualifiers.

1.Patient Qualifying Frames (VI)

1.1 Argument and Non-Argument Qualifiers

Qualifying Frames involve two cognitive Arguments: the Qualified Entity and the Qualifier. On the surface the Qualified Entity occupies either the Argument Subject or Argument Object slot, while the Qualifier occupies the slot that is referred to as the Complement: Subject Complements (Cs) if they qualify as the Qualified Entity realized as the Subject; Object Complements (Co) if they occur in the Object Slot. Subject-oriented and Object-oriented Qualifiers are **co-referential** with their Qualified Entities, i.e., they qualify the same extralinguistic referent as is activated by the respective Qualified Entities:

Subject-oriented Qualifying Frame	**Object-oriented Qualifying Frame**
(1) *He is* ***safe and sound.***	(2) *They found him* ***sound.***
(3) *He came (home)* ***safe and sound****.*	(4) *They found him* ***safe and sound****.*

While examples (1) and (2) exemplify Argument Qualifiers, (3) and (4) exemplify Non-Argument Qualifiers. By definition, Non-Arguments are not obligatory in terms of both valency chains and frames, and the difference between the two sub-groups can thus be tested by the **Valency Omissibility Test**:

(1) He is *	(2) They found him *(they considered him)
(3) He came (home).	(4) They found him (after looking for him).

The valency chains in examples (1) and (2) are SVCs and SVOCo, respectively, while in (3) and (4) they are SV and SVO, respectively. Moreover, the valency-omissible Qualifiers, i.e., (3) and (4) admit a **double-predication paraphrase (Double-Predication Test)**, which is negative with Argument Qualifiers, i.e., examples (1) and (2):

(3) he was safe and sound when he came home.

(4) he was safe and sound when they found him.

(1) he is safe and sound when ….*

(2) he was guilty when they found him. *

The relationship between the Object-oriented Qualifiers and their Objects can be treated as a kind of condensed copular predication (Dušková, 1988: 506):

(5) *They found* ^{O}*/the defendant/* ^{Co}*/guilty/*. → the defendant is guilty.

As the Object is shifted to the Subject position in the passive transformations of surface chains, the Object Complement turns into a Subject Complement in the passive:

(5) */They/ /found/* ^{O}*/the defendant/* ^{Co}*/guilty/*. → ^{S}*/The defendant/ /was found/* ^{Cs}*/guilty/.*

Linguists use various terms to refer to the surface elaborators of the Verb activating these two types of Qualifiers. Quirk et al. (1996:343,349) use the terms Subject Complement and Object Complement for the valency-obligatory Qualifiers, while they consider the non-obligatory Qualifiers as verbless adverbial clauses. Dušková (1988:350, 505-512) treats obligatory Subject-oriented Qualifiers as a nominal part of the verbo-nominal predicate (author's translation), while she refers to the non-obligatory Qualifiers as *doplnok podmetu* and *doplnok predmetu* which can be translated, literally, as subject complement and object complement, respectively. Aarts (2001) refers to structures that lack an overt verb but contain an implicit verb *to be* as Small Clauses functioning as Direct Objects, treating them as a single constituent/single proposition: *Martin considers (Tim a creep).* [*Tim to be a creep*] (Aarts, 2001:56). However, Aarts treats any obligatory constituent following the verb *to be* related to the Subject as a Complement, regardless of whether it is realized by a nominal or adverbial segment (exemplified by *Liam is very ill., Susie is Professor of English., Pete is in France* (Aarts, 2001:181-182)). Huddleston and Pullum (2005:76) employ the terms subjective and objective predicative complements to refer to the obligatory representatives of the class. The following chart outlines some of the terminological differences in question:

	(6) *Our new puppy is **scared**.* *Naše nové šteňa je vystrašené.*	(7) *Our new puppy came home **scared**.* *Naše nové šťeňa prišlo k nám domov vystrašené.*	(8) *We found our new puppy **scared**.* *Považovali sme naše nové šťeňa za vystrašené.*	(9) *We brought our new puppy home **scared**.* *Priniesli sme naše nové šťeňa domov vystrašené.*
Dušková	menná časť slovesno-menného prísudku	doplnok podmetu	obligatórny doplnok predmetu	doplnok predmetu
Quirk et al.	Subject Complement	Subject-qualifying verbless clause	Object Complement	Object-qualifying verbless clause
Janigová	Argument Subject Complement	Non-Argument Subject Complement	Argument Object Complement	Non-Argument Object Complement

Table 25 Terminological variations relating to Qualifiers

1.2 Structural realization

Qualifiers can be realized by the following types of structures:

	Subject Complements	Object Complements
NP	(10) *He is a **company director.***	(11) *They appointed him **a company director**.*
AdjP	(12) *He is **guilty.***	(13) *They found him **guilty.***
PrepP	(14)*The house is **under reconstruction.***	(15) *They treat him **as a friend.***
Infinitival semi-clause	(16) *He seems **to be happy**.*	(17) *They consider him **to be guilty**.*
Gerundial semi-clause Participial semi-clause	(18) *Seeing is **believing**.*	(19) *They consider text messaging **ruining language**.* *He heard Jane **crying.***
Finite clause	(20) *That is **what we call bravery.***	--------

Table 26 Structural realizations of Complements

When the Object Complement is realized by a NP, the negative Passivization Test can be used to distinguish it from the Object:

(11) *They appointed him **a company director**.* →

a company director was appointed by them*

he was appointed a company director by them.

1.3 Cognitive sub-classes

Canonical distribution of macro-roles

Subject-oriented Qualifying Frames: **Qualified Entity** + State/Process + **Qualifier**

Object-oriented Qualifying Frames:

Agent/Experiencer + Action/State/Process + **Affected Entity/Focus = Qualified Entity** + **Qualifier**

Depending on the current or resultant effect of the lexical verb, the Subject-oriented Qualifiers are further sub-divided into **current** and **resultant** (as was discussed in Chapter 3), the diagnostic verbs being *to be* and *to become,* respectively. This can also be applied to Object-oriented Qualifiers:

Current Qualifier: (21) *Some like it **hot**.* → it is hot

Resultant Qualifier: (22) *Obama appointed him **as director of national intelligence**.* →

he became director of national intelligence

For the list of the Subject-oriented Qualifying Sub-frames, see Chapter 3.

1.3.1 Patient-Qualifying Sub-frames combined with Agentive Subject

Doer + Action + Affected Entity/Qualified Entity + **Resultant Qualifier**

(23) *They will appoint her **director of the program**. (MW)* SVOCo

(24) *You can hardly call him **generous.*** SVOCo

(25) *She drives me **nuts** with her jealousy.* SVOCo(A)

(26) *The rain made the tent **wet***. SVOCo (External Causer Subject)

(27) *They pulled the door **open.*** (28) *Somebody left the door **open***. SVOCo (active versus static impression)

(28) *This turned him **against the establishment**.* (External Causer) SVOCo

(29) *We have cried together over stories, and we have laughed ourselves **breathless** too.* SVOCo

The Current Qualifier combined with Doer Subject in the following examples is a Non-Argument:

Doer + Action + Affected Entity/Qualified Entity + **Current Qualifier**

(30) *They declined the job offer **as unacceptable**.* SVO(Co)

(31) *Would you describe your music **as rock or pop**?* SVO(Co)

(32) *They brought him home **drunk.*** SVO(A)(Co)

1.3.2 Patient-Qualifying Sub-frames combined with Experiencer Subject

Emoter + Emotion + Focus/Qualified Entity + **Current Qualifier**

(21) *Some like it **hot**.* SVOCo

(33) *I like/prefer my coffee **hot and strong.*** SVOCo

Cognizer + Cognition + Cognition Focus/Qualified Entity + **Current Qualifier**

(34) *They find him **innocent**.* SVOCo (They consider him innocent)

(35) *They treat him **as friend.*** SVOCo vs. (36) *They treated me like a son*. SVOA

(37) *We consider careful work **essential**.* SVOCo

(38) *They presumed the Defendant **innocent***. SVOCo

(39) *Students often find this book **useful***. SVOCo

(40) *We knew them **to be honest***. SVOCo

(41) *You should think yourself **lucky** to have gotten off with only one warning!* SVOCo

(42) *We found the boy in the woods **alone**.* SVO(A)(Co) (Undergoer Subject)

This Qualifying Sub-frame can be compared with the Patient-Respect Circumstantial Sub-frame from which it differs in that the latter involves a Doer Subject, Affected Entity Object

and Respect Circumstantial realized by a prepositional phrase, the chain being SVOA, Adjunct being transitional between Argument and Non-Argument:

(43) *The judge convicted the defendant /of theft/.*

(44) *The prosecutor prosecuted the offender /for theft/.*

(45) *A jury acquitted the teenager Kyle Rittenhouse /of murder/ /on Friday/.* SVOA(A)

A special type of Non-Argument Qualifier realized by -*ing*-participial and infinitival semi-clauses conveying Action performed, or Process/State undergone/experienced by the Object may be exemplified as follows:

Experiencer + State + Focus +**Action Qualifier**

(46) *I saw her* ***coming.*** SVO(Co)

(47) *I heard them* ***sing****.* SVO(Co)

(48) *I will never forget you* ***helping me out that time***. SVO(Co)

(49) *I watched her coming.* SVO(Co) (with Doer Experiencer)

1.4 Syntactic ambiguities

Example (50) *I met my friend walking down the street.* permits two interpretations, although the appropriate context would have a disambiguating effect:

1. I met my friend while I was walking down the street.

/I / met/ ^{Object}*/my friend/* $^{Subject\ Complement}$ */walking down the street/.* SVO(Cs)

2. I met my friend who was walking down the street.

/I / / met/ ^{Object}*/* ^{Det}*(my)* ^{Head}*(friend)* ^{PostMod}*(walking down the street)/.* SVO

The coding test supporting either interpretation would be the possibility or impossibility of separating the semi-clause from the NP and transposing it within the clause, which is only possible with the SVO(Cs) interpretation:

1. Walking down the street, I met my friend. (I was walking)
2. Walking down the street, I met my friend.* (my friend was walking)

Huddleston and Pullum (2005) points out the importance of the Co-Referent Test in disambiguating the identical surface structural realizations, providing the following pair of examples (Huddleston and Pullum, 2005:74):

(51) *Honestly, I felt* ^{Cs}*/a fool/* $^{(Cs)}$*/standing there alone on the platform/.*

(52) *Suddenly, I felt* ^{O}*/a fool pushing in front of me on the platform/.*

Example (51) demonstrates the SVCs(Cs) chain containing both sub-types of Complement (Argument – *a fool*, and Non-Argument – *standing there alone on the platform*): I considered myself a fool as I was standing there alone on the platform. Example (52) is the SVO chain in which the Object slot activates another person as the Perception Focus, with the semi-clause functioning as the Postmodifier of *the fool.* The Transposition Test applies only to example (51):

(51) Standing there on the platform alone, I felt a fool. versus

(52) Pushing in front of me on the platform, I felt a fool.*

2. Initiation Frames (VII)

These Frames involve two actions and two agentive entities: the Initiating Action and the Initiated Action, and the Initiator Doer and the Initiated Doer. It can be realized in two variants, namely the Overt and Covert Initiation Sub-frames; the Initiating Action and the Initiated Action are realized separately in the former but are fused together in the latter.

2.1 Overt Initiation Sub-frame realized as SVOCo

Initiator	**Initiating Action**	**Affected Entity+Doer**	**Initiated Action**
(53) ^{S}*(They)*	^{V}*(made)*	^{O}*(us)*	^{Co}*(minimize costs).*

Table 27 Analysis of an Overt Initiation Sub-frame

The Overt Initiation Sub-frame is realized on the surface as SVOCo chain in which the Co activates the action performed by the Object, the so-called Initiated Action. The Object slot merges two cognitive micro-roles, i.e., the Affected Entity in relation to the Initiator, and the Doer in relation to the subsequent Initiated Action realized by the non-finite clauses/semi-clauses, namely the infinitival and *-ing*-participial semi-clauses. Some authors treat these

structures as complex catenative constructions which involve the chaining of verbs and "an intervening NP – an NP that is interpreted semantically as subject of the non-finite clause" (Huddleston and Pullum, 2005:214) (i.e., as a Doer), while at the surface level the post-finite Verb elaborator easily satisfies the Object test (structural form, passivization, Patient cognitive role) as follows: *we were made to minimize costs*.

The cognitive micro-roles merged in the Object slot can involve the Affected Entity/Doer combination and also the Affected Entity/Cognizer couple, as is exemplified in the following sentence:

(54) *She tricked **him** into believing that she was his sister's friend.* → he believes that,

or Affected Entity/Bearer:

(55) *This will cause us to lose weight* → we lose weight.

The Initiated Action can be performed as is shown in the above examples, but its non-performance can also be indicated through the use of verbs such as *to prevent from, to protect from, to forebear from*:

(56) *His disability prevents him from driving.*

(57) *In 2010, groups who forbore from burning nationalist flags or symbols were awarded an extra £100 funding.*

If the Initiating Action is instigated by the verbs of command, its surface value can be reinterpreted as the Object: *to ask, to order, to request, to expect…*

(58) *Jane asked /him/ /to come tomorrow/.* →he was asked to come/to come tomorrow/coming tomorrow was asked

(59) *Bringing up children often requires /you/ /to put their needs first/.* → 1. you are required 2.to put their needs/putting their needs first is required (from you)

(60) *They expect /borrowers/ /to return books on time/.* → 1. borrowers are expected 2. to return books/returning books on time is expected (from them).

2.2 Covert Initiation Sub-Frame realized as SVOA

Initiator	Initiating + Initiated Action	Affected Entity+Doer	Circumstantial
(61) ^{S}(*He*)	^{V} (*marched*)	^{O} (*his troops*)	^{A}(*across the field*).

Table 28 Analysis of a Covert Initiation Sub-frame

The Overt Initiation Sub-frame correlates with the Covert Initiation Sub-frame (V.B.11). The latter comprises a Circumstantial Argument, and the Initiating Action and Initiated Action are not verbalized separately. The Initiating Action is activated covertly by a specific arrangement of cognitive Arguments – the Initiator, Affected Entity/Doer and Circumstantial. The Covert Initiation Sub-frame can be perceived as a condensed transformation of the SVOCo Prime Overt Initiation Sub-frame (in example (61):

$_{\text{Initiator}}$/He/ $_{\text{Initiating Action}}$/made/ $_{\text{Doer}}$/his troops/ $_{\text{Initiated Action}}$/(march) $_{\text{Circumstantial}}$(across the field)/.

Since the Object of the Covert Initiation Sub-frame is not only an Affected Entity but also a Doer, two transformations are available – the Affected Entity allows for passivization in example (61a) and the Doer permits an Action Sub-frame paraphrase in example (61b):

(61) *He marched his troops across the field.* →

(61a) His troops were marched by him across the field.

(61b) His troops marched across the field.

The Action transform paraphrase is not possible with simple Patient Focus Sub-frames:

(62) *I got him home. = I took him home.* → He was taken home. He took home*

(63) *He led the dwarves out of the mountain.* →

The dwarves were led out of the mountain. The dwarves led out of the mountain.*

3. Recap

Qualifying Frames can be either Subject-oriented and Object-oriented. On the surface, they are activated by SVCs and SVOCo chains, respectively. The cognitive elaborator occurring in both is called the Qualifier, and the coding elaborator is termed the Complement. The Complement can also be a Non-Argument with the resulting chains SV(Cs) and SVO(Co). Tests for the Complement include the negative Passivization Test, the positive Omissibility Test and the Double-Predication Test. Qualifiers can be either Current or Resultant, and they can also be Arguments or Non-Arguments.

Initiation Frames are activated in two variants, namely Overt (SVOCo) and Covert (SVOA), both of which cognitively involve an Initiator, Doer, Initiating Action and Initiated Action. In the Overt Initiation Sub-frame, the Initiating Action and the Initiated Action are activated separately and explicitly, while in the Covert Initiation Sub-frame only the Initiated Action is overt; the rest of the underlying cognitive reading is implied by the special combination of coding and cognitive components.

CHAPTER 8

APPOSITION

1. Apposition – an Anchor/Apposition or Anchor/Anchor relationship?

Apposition is a **multi-member syntactic construction** that is typically analysed either in terms of the **dependence** of one element upon another (i.e., Anchor/Apposition) or the **equivalence** of its members (i.e., Anchor/Anchor). In both approaches, the following aspects are the primary focus of the analysis: identifying the extralinguistic referent (Dušková, 1988:498, Quirk, 1990:382), identifying the surface syntactic function (Dušková, 1988:498), the Subject-Verb concord (Quirk, 1996:383), determining the ability to stand alone in place of the whole phrase (Huddleston and Pullum, 2005:96, Dušková, 1988: 498), semantic and pragmatic aspects (non/restrictiveness), intonational aspect (loose and close Apposition (Heringa, 2011:2)), and onomasiological prominence (i.e., the ability of members to activate the frame role in relation to the Verb).

When Apposition is examined in terms of the relationship of **dependence**, Apposition can be considered as a separate clause component attached to another clause element, i.e., the Anchor (the term Anchor is used instead of the Head by, among others, Heringa (2011)); it is therefore treated as a syntactically and pragmatically prominent component to which the whole structure can be reduced and which enables the identification of the extralinguistic referent either by itself (Non-Restrictive Apposition) or in tandem with the appositive co-component (Restrictive Apposition). In this Approach the relationship between the appositive members may be described as Anchor+Apposition, and Apposition itself is considered as a simple syntactic unit.

An alternative approach treats Apposition as a composite syntactic unit in which at least two components are syntactically and onomasiologically **equivalent**, with this relationship being termed as the Anchor+Anchor syntagma. Structurally, members of an Apposition are usually realized by the same rank structures, but a combination of two different types of phrases and/or ranks is not rare. In this approach the difference between Restrictive and Non-Restrictive Appositions is examined in terms of the extent of mutual interdependence versus independence of appositive members, respectively, in aiding the addressee to identify the extralinguistic referent, but it should be noted that this is always dependent on the pragmatic situation (i.e., the

personal and/or situational context). The equivalence approach will be detailed in the following section.

2. Single Referent Test

Appositive syntactic units can easily be confused with Modifying syntagmas, but they can be distinguished from one through two qualities: **components of Apposition have an identical onomasiological prominence**, i.e., they are capable of performing the same cognitive role in the clausal frame, and they refer to **the same extralinguistic entity/referent**:

(1) ***The Klondike Highway*** *is a highway that runs from the Alaska Panhandle through the province of British Columbia and the territory of Yukon in Canada.*

(2) ***The Klondike River*** *has its source in the Ogilvie Mountains and flows into the Yukon River at Dawson City.*

The *Klondike* components in examples (1) and (2) have different onomasiological statuses in relation to their co-components. In example (1) *Klondike* refers either to the river or to the territory bearing the name *Klondike*, while *Highway* refers to the road. In example (2), both the proper noun *Klondike* and the common noun *River* refer to the river, so both components refer to the same extralinguistic referent. Since the use in example (1) fails the Single Referent Test, the noun phrase *the Klondike Highway* contains only one onomasiologically prominent component: *Highway* (the Head) which activates the cognitive role of Qualified Entity (the road is qualified/identified, not the river) in relation to the Verb. In the second example, however, both of the components take the cognitive role of Qualified Entity since they refer to the single referent, and they thus inevitably acquire the same onomasiological prominence.

3. Coding tests

The Single Referent Test determines whether members of Apposition have an equivalent onomasiological prominence and can activate identical cognitive roles, and this is also reflected at the Clause rank as **the relationship obtaining between two syntactically equivalent units occupying the same syntactic slot (Syntactic Identity Test):**

(3) ***My friend John*** *likes Maria.* (Subject slot)

(4) *Maria likes* ***my friend John****.* (Object slot)

(5) *This is **my friend John***. (Subject Complement slot)

In the above examples, the noun phrases *my friend* and *John* occupy the surface syntactic slots of Subject, Object and Subject Complement, respectively. They are thus used to refer to the same person from two different perspectives – once by a proper noun and once by a specifier of a subjective attitude toward that particular person. Syntactically, however, there is no difference between the two denotations, and this means that the whole structure can be reduced to any of the noun phrases (**the Reducibility Test**):

(3a) ***My friend** likes Maria*. (3b) ***John** likes Maria*.

Since the use of the proper noun allows a straightforward identification of its extralinguistic referent, there is a tendency to assign it a higher syntactic status, but there is in fact no syntactic or cognitive justification for such an interpretation. The difference is apparent only in terms of the pragmatic ability of users to identify the extralinguistic referent by each of them both separately and jointly, and this process is always context dependent.

In examples (3), (4) and (5), Apposition occurs in Argument positions, but this structure can also occupy Non-Argument surface slots, as in examples (6) and (7) below:

(6) *Edmund Hillary, a New Zealand mountain climber and Antarctic explorer*, *was the first to reach the summit of (**Mount Everest), (the highest mountain in the world).*** (Postmodifier)
(***On St. Matthew Island)**, (**on the island which is almost 200 miles off the Alaskan coast in the Bering Sea)**, red fox have decimated the Arctic fox population.* (Adjunct of Space)

4. Structural realizations of Apposition

The two noun phrases occupying the same syntactic slots in examples (3), (4) and (5) have the same extralinguistic referent (under the Single Referent Test) and can therefore be replaced by a single referential expression/pronoun *he/him* (**the Replaceability Test**). Structurally, members of Apposition can also be realized by syntactic units of the same rank and type, e.g., they need not be realized only by two noun phrases or two adverb phrases but also, for example, by a combination of a noun phrase and a prepositional phrase, but it should be noted that this is not exclusive. The list below offers a selective overview of various structural combinations of appositive components:

NP + NP: (2) ***The Klondike River*** *has its source in the Ogilvie Mountains and flows into the Yukon River at Dawson City.*

(NP)+NP+and+NP: (6) *Edmund Hillary,* ***a New Zealand mountain climber and Antarctic explorer****, was the first to reach the summit of Mount Everest, the highest mountain in the world.*

NP+or+NP: (8) ***The Lord Chancellor, or the Keeper of the King's Conscience,*** *was an ecclesiastic who dealt with petitions of litigants dissatisfied with decisions of common-law courts.*

NP+personal pronoun: (9) ***We girls*** *helped John.*

NP+reflexive pronoun: (10) ***Jane herself*** *signed the bill.*

NP + *that* subordinate clause: (11) ***the fact that it was lost*** *(skutočnosť, že ....)*

NP + conjunct+NP: (12) *Securities,* ***i.e., shares, stock, bonds, and debentures****, are documents that represent ownership in a company or are evidence of a debt owed by a company.*

NP+style disjunct+NP: (13) *The two of the words are* ***homonyms, or more precisely homophones.***

NP+focusing adjunct+NP: (14) *Cultural-historical psychology emphasizes the mediatory role of* ***culture, particularly language****, in the development of higher psychological functions.*

PrepP+NP: (15) ***As a teacher,*** *I had become used to having no obligations.*

NP + PrepP: (16) *The month* ***of August****, the isle* ***of Ischia***

AdjP + AdjP: (17) *Blueberries on the bank hung* ***limp*** *on their stems,* ***fragile****, but* ***syrupy sweet*** *after the hard frost.*

AdvP + PrepP: (18) ***Now****,* ***in September****, I was suddenly back at school, thrust into a rigid schedule and losing an hour of daylight a week.*

PrepP+PrepP: (19) ***In the 1960s, at the height of the Cold War,*** *Luria's career expanded significantly with the publication of several new books.*

5. Bidirectional paraphrases

In the dependence approach, Appositions are treated as reduced relatives (*the Klondike River* – the river which is called Klondike). In the equivalence approach, the identical onomasiological prominence of two appositives allows the formation of **bidirectional transforms or paraphrases for members of Apposition** in contrast with the unidirectional transforms in the

case of members of Modifying structures. Bidirectional transforms are generated in the form of adjective relative clauses which test the onomasiological identity of the components:

A) Bidirectional transforms for Members of Apposition:

(6) *Edmund Hillary, **a New Zealand mountain climber and Antarctic explorer**, was the first to reach the summit of Mount Everest, the highest mountain in the world.*

Edmund Hillary who is a New Zealand mountain climber
A New Zealand mountain climber that is called Edmund Hillary

(2) ***The Klondike River** has its source in the Ogilvie Mountains and flows into the Yukon River at Dawson City.*

The river that is called Klondike
Klondike that is a river

B) Unidirectional transforms for Modifiers:

(1) ***The Klondike Highway** is a highway that runs from the Alaska Panhandle through the province of British Columbia and the territory of Yukon in Canada.*

The Highway that is called Klondike
Klondike that is a highway*

6. *Of*-phrase type Apposition

6.1 NP+*of*-phrase Apposition versus Postmodification

NP+*of*-phrase Apposition: *the month of August, the City of London*

NP+*of*-phrase Postmodification: *the Queen of the U.K., a book of short stories*

The difference between the NP+*of*-phrase Apposition and Postmodification realized by the same type of structure is summarized in the following Table 29:

	NP+*of*-phrase Apposition	NP+*of*-phrase Postmodification
Examples	*A.the month of December* *B.The City of London*	*C.The Queen of the U.K* *D.a book of short stories*
Determination of first component	definite + indefinite -	definite + indefinite +
Modification of second component	- *the month of snowy December**	+ *a/the big book of great short stories*
Single Referent Test	A. calendar unit B. town	C. person/country D. book/stories
Reducibility Test	*The month of December got its name from the Latin word decem.* → The month/December got its name …	*The Queen of the U.K. is Elizabeth II.* → The Queen is Elizabeth II The U.K. is Elizabeth II.*
Bidirectional Paraphrase	The month which is called December December which is a month	The Queen who is the representative of the U.K. The U.K. which is Queen*

Table 29 Differences between Apposition and Postmodification (*of*-phrase type)

6.2 Premodifying Apposition versus Postmodifier

Premodifying Apposition: (20) **(*A giant) of a man*** *was standing in the doorway.*

Postmodifier: (21) ***Giants (of the arts)*** *are a group of artists who have been recognized as true masters.*

The difference between the Premodifying Apposition and Postmodification is summarized in the following Table 30:

Tests for Apposition ↓	*A giant of a man*		*Giants of the Arts*	
1.Coding relationship	HEAD	Dependent	HEAD	Dependent
2.Structural realization	NP	*of*-PrepP	NP	*of*-PrepP
3.Onomasiological category	**person**	**person**	Person	Feature
4.Onomasiological prominence	Specifying (size of figure)	Prominent	Prominent	Specifying (relation)
5.Cognitive role	Qualifier Doer (?)	Doer Qualified Entity	Qualified Entity	Qualifier
6.Referent	single referent (?)		two referents	
7.Reducibility Test	A giant was standing in the doorway (?) A man was standing in the doorway		Giants are a group of artists Arts are a group of artists*	
8.Bidirectional transforms	A man who is like a giant A giant who is a man*		Giants who are renowned in the arts Arts that are giants*	

Table 30 Differences between Premodifying Apposition and Postmodification

As the analysis summarized in Table 30 shows, the specific nature of *a giant of a man* type of Apposition results from the fact that, as with a postmodifying construction, it is composed of two members, one of which is realized by an *of*-phrase. Dušková (1988:501) argues that this type of appositive structure is characterized by an asymmetry of the syntactic and semantic relations obtaining between its members. If we compare lines 1 and 4, we can see that both constructions have the same surface syntactic reading, but it is also clear that the onomasiologically prominent member in the appositive construction is syntactically dependent on the surface, while it is in the dominant position of Head in the postmodifying construction. Lines 5, 6 and 7 support the identification of the *a giant of a man* construction as an Appositive; both members refer to a single referent, bear the same cognitive role and are able to realize the same surface slot, albeit in a not entirely persuasive manner. On the other hand, if we apply the

tests for equivalent onomasiological prominence and category and the failed Bidirectional Transform Test, we can see that the construction is transitional between Apposition and Modification. Nevertheless, the successful result of the Single Referent Test, which is considered as the most significant test, means that the construction can be ranked as Apposition.

7 The semantic and pragmatic sides of Apposition

Quirk et al. (1985) categorize the combinations of members of Appositives into three semantic subtypes: equivalence, attribution and inclusion (exemplification and particularization).

Equivalence: (22) ***(The Yukon) (River)*** *is a major watercourse of northwestern North America.*

(23) ***(The novel's hero), (Holden Caulfield),*** *has been described as a kind of latter-day Tom Sawyer or Huckleberry Finn.*

Attribution: (24) *In 1929 Hemingway published* ***('A Farewell to Arms'), arguably (the finest novel to emerge from World War I).***

Inclusion: (25) ***(All his doctors), (including the chief surgeon),*** *agree on the diagnosis.*

From a pragmatic point of view, Heringa (2011:27) sees Apposition as a means of "introduc[ing] a concept from several points of view, in order to help the hearer to identify the concept". Since the referent is the same for all appositive members, it is possible to examine the degree to which each member contributes to the overall identification. If all members are necessary, Apposition is treated as Restrictive; if one alone is sufficient (i.e., placed first), Apposition is considered as Non-Restrictive.

Whether Apposition is Restrictive or Non-Restrictive is strictly context dependent, incorporating such aspects such as the situation or the subjective experience. Example (6) below features two pairs of Appositive segments comprising proper nouns (A. Edmund Hillary and B. Mount Everest). If we assume that the addressee is aware of the identity of Edmund Hillary and Mount Everest, both pairs can be treated as Non-Restrictive, since the addressee would be able to identify their referents by a single member of the Apposition, if placed in the initial position. If the addressee has no background knowledge of Edmund Hillary, the combination with an attributive Anchor2A would assist the identification of the referent.

(6) *Anchor1A(Edmund Hillary), Anchor 2A(a New Zealand mountain climber and Antarctic explorer), was the first to reach the summit of Anchor1B(Mount Everest), Anchor2B(the highest mountain in the world).*

The Reducibility Test would reveal the difference between the two appositive pairs. While pair B can be reduced to any of its members both syntactically and pragmatically, this is only possible syntactically in pair A; pragmatically, Anchor2A *a New Zealand mountain climber and Antarctic explorer* would lack the pragmatic explicitness. This is a result of the different semantic classification of the two Anchor phrases: Anchor2A is attributive, whereas Anchor2B is an identifying/equivalence type.

It is also interesting to note that the combination of first name and surname Edmund Hillary and the sequence Mount Everest are themselves examples of a restrictive relationship between their respective internal anchors.

Another aspect that should be taken into consideration when differentiating between the sub-types of Apposition is the presence (or otherwise) of the so-called comma intonation in the Close or Loose Apposition, respectively, with the latter being indicated by commas, dashes, brackets or other punctuation marks (Heringa, 2011:2). Close Apposition is cross-referenced with Restrictive Apposition and Loose Apposition with Non-Restrictive Apposition, but this pairing belies the fact that each pair of categories is established on different criteria, namely prosody and reference pragmatics, and therefore do not necessarily cross-match automatically. Moreover, punctuation marks are not always applied in a consistent manner. The following sentence can be interpreted in two ways regardless of whether or not the proper noun *Jane* is separated by the punctuation marks, depending on the context:

(26) ***My sister Jane*** *wrote me a letter.* → ANCHOR1(***My sister***) ANCHOR2(***Jane***) *wrote me a letter*

Context 1: I only have one sister; the addressee is able to identify the referent already by Anchor1, so Anchor2 only adds additional information if the addressee is aware of the situational context (Loose/Non-Restrictive Apposition).
Context 2: I have more than one sister; the addressee cannot identify the referent on the basis of Anchor1 alone, so Anchor 2 is necessary in order to ensure that the appropriate referent can be identified (Close/Restrictive Apposition) .

Example (27) (taken from Heringa (2011:16)) demonstrates that restrictiveness or non-restrictiveness is dependent on the ordering of the appositive members. If the addressee requires additional information in order to identify the referent after hearing the first segment, the

Apposition is treated as Restrictive. If the addressee has received sufficient information after the first member, the Apposition is Non-Restrictive:

(27) *The poet Pushkin was born in Moskow.* – the addressee does not know the referent until hearing his name (Close/Restrictive Apposition).

The poet, Pushkin, was born in Moskow. – the addressee knows the referent because it must have been mentioned in the previous context (Loose/Non-Restrictive Apposition).

Similarly, *the Danube River* (Close, Non-Restrictive) versus *the River Danube* (Close Restrictive) show that the two classification pairs need not match.

We can also observe a further dimension of the pragmatic side of Apposition, more specifically an attributive Apposition in which the second component adds additional information that is relevant for the identification of the particular aspect of the referent that is relevant in the given context:

(28) *By late morning they were standing on the summit. The two shook hands, then Tenzing embraced his partner. Hillary took photographs, and both searched for signs that George Mallory, a British climber lost on Everest in 1924, had been on the summit. Hillary left behind a crucifix, and* ***Tenzing, a Buddhist****, made a food offering.*

Anchor 2 *a Buddhist* renders this Apposition restrictive as it points out an important aspect of Anchor 1 *Tenzing* that is relevant for the full identification of the referent's characteristics; the Apposition is thus Restrictive, although Loose.

In summary, the difference between restrictiveness and non-restrictiveness is dependent on a number of factors: the context, the addressee's knowledge of the context, the semantic type of appositive relationship, the ordering of the members of Apposition, and the relevance of a particular attribute for the identification of a concrete aspect of the referent. In speech, the presence or absence of the comma intonation would provide the addressee with appropriate cues; in writing, commas or other punctuation marks would be useful in indicating Non-Restrictive Apposition.

8. Recap

Apposition is a special type of bi-component syntagma, but it can also consist of more than two members. The internal relationship between Appositive members can be viewed either as one of dependence (Anchor/Apposition) or of equivalence (Anchor/Anchor). The paramount test is the Single Referent Test which, if successful, allows both Anchors to be identified in contrast to the Syntactical Identity Test, Reducibility Test and Replaceability Test. In pragmatic terms, Appositive members can be treated as restrictive or non-restrictive depending on the situational and subjective ability of the addressee to identify the referent; this can be indicated by punctuation/intonation, the semantics of the relationship and the ordering of the members.

CHAPTER 9

SENTENCE

1. Sentence /clause interface

In the syntactic pyramid, the Sentence rank occupies the top position. Its hierarchic supremacy implies that the sentence is realized by or comprised of clauses and that it is a structural unit capable of serving an independent communicative goal. As Mathesius (1975:79) notes, "The sentence is an elementary communicative unit through which the speaker reacts to some reality or several items of the reality in a manner that appears to be formally customary and subjectively complete". The Sentence is the construction whereby valency-based grammatical abstractions realized at the Clause rank are applied as units of actual communication. The arrangement of clause elements at the Sentence rank is determined by the principles governing the distribution of communicative dynamism (the Theme – Rheme in a functional sentence perspective) and various pragmatic considerations involved in formulating the speaker's response to extralinguistic factors. Dušková sees predication as the basic sentence-forming syntactic relation; she distinguishes between the Sentence as an abstract linguistic unit (sentence type) and as an utterance, i.e., as a concrete communicative unit (Dušková, 1988: 309; also see Quirk et al., 1985: 78,47,719).

The Sentence can be realized by one or more clauses, and it is delimited by intonation both externally and by the special intonation arrangement of its internal components. In English linguistics, the term Sentence is applied to both *single-clause* and *multiple-clause sentences*. In Slovak grammar, the two types are referred to as *jednoduchá veta* and *súvetie*, respectively. The non-single clause sentences may be composed of 2 clauses (which is considered to be the basic type), or more than 2 clauses, sometimes also referred to as multiple-clause sentences. The Slovak terminological counterparts are *jednoduché súvetie* for the former and *zložené súvetie* for the latter. The English/Slovak terminological discrepancies are summarized in the following chart, along with their Slovak terminological counterparts:

Structural unit	SENTENCE			
Composed of	1 clause	2 clauses		more than 2 clauses
ENG term	Sentence			
ENG term	Sentence	sentence		multiple-clause sentence
SK term	jednoduchá veta	Súvetie		
composition subtype	holá, rozvitá	jednoduché súvetie		zložené súvetie
ENG term	----	compound sentence	complex sentence	---
SK term	----	priraďovacie súvetie	podraďovacie súvetie	---

Table 31 Sentence/súvetie - terminological counterparts

As we can observe, the English term Sentence reveals a high level of polysemy and is thus somewhat confusing in an inter-linguistic sense. The following Slovak-English terminological counterparts can help to clarify inter-linguistic discussions:

jednoduchá veta – simple sentence

súvetie – non-single-clause sentence

jednoduché súvetie – two-clause sentence

priraďovacie súvetie – compound sentence

podraďovacie súvetie – complex sentence

zložené súvetie – multiple-clause sentence

The syntactic analysis of sentences containing more than one clause (*súvetie*), the composition type upon which this section of the Chapter focuses, is based on two-clause sentences. Depending on the specific internal relationship between the clauses within such

sentences, two major types of two-clause sentence can be identified: **compound sentences** and **complex sentences**.

Compound sentences contain **two main clauses** which are grammatically independent from each other, each of which can form a communicatively independent sentence. **Complex sentences** contain **one superordinate** and **one subordinate clause**; the subordinate clause cannot be turned into an independent sentence and is dependent on the superordinate clause in terms of its ability to achieve an independent communicative goal. Structurally, subordinate clauses typically feature a connector (conjuctions or conjoining pronouns such as *that, which, what…*). Dušková (1988:588) states that the subordinative relationship is restricted to two components only, whereas parataxis can involve two or more members.

2. Compound sentence

To exemplify the syntactic relations within a compound sentence, I will analyze the following sentence:

(1) *John was reading a book, Ann was writing a letter.*

The sentence is composed of two clauses containing two finite verb phrases (i.e. *was reading* and *was writing*). The number of verb-phrases in the sentence determines the number of clauses, and the alignments of the two clause members are grammatically independent; they are not syntactically intermingled (i.e., neither is involved in the realization of the clause alignment or valency of the other). The two clauses are also independent both onomasiologically and semasiologically, which means that they can be turned into independent sentences serving independent communicative goals. In linguistics, this relationship of equality is also termed **parataxis** or **coordination** (Aarts, 2006:252), and structural units engaged in such a relationship are termed **main clauses**.

In example (1), we can see main clause 1 and main clause 2, abbreviated as ST, M1 and M2, outlined with the following linear notation:

M1: *John was reading a book.*

M2: *Ann was writing a letter.*

(1) ST[^{M1}/*John was reading a book/,* ^{M2}/*Ann was writing a letter/*].

Dušková (1988: 589) notes that main clauses in a compound sentence can be joined either asyndetically (i.e., by juxtaposition without a coordinative item or in the form of inversion), or syndetically (i.e., by a coordinative item, usually a conjunction or conjunct). If clauses are introduced by coordinative conjunctions, their positions are fixed; a clause introduced by a coordinative conjunction cannot be anteposed.

As was mentioned above, each main clause has its own clause alignment, and its Verb activates a separate valency chain and frame which operate independently of each other.

Based on the semantic-logical relations between M1 and M2, the following subtypes are generally listed in the literature:

1. **Copulative compound sentence**

(2) *She likes him, and he likes her.*

2. **Adversative compound sentence**

(3) *The stranger could not speak their language, but the villagers quickly understood by his gestures that he was hungry.*

3. **Disjunctive compound sentence**

(4) *In an English court a witness can take the oath on a Holy Book appropriate to their faith or make a non-religious promise to tell the truth (an affirmation).*

3. Complex sentence

(5a) Superord.[*I asked Subord./how it happened/*].

(5b) Superord. [*We can't go to Julia's party Subord./because we are going away that weekend/*].

Examples (5a) and (5b) are formed of two clauses since each contains two finite verb phrases, but the relationship between the clauses in these sentences is grammatically unequal. The clauses are syntactically intermingled; one of the clauses realizes a clause element of the other because it falls within its clause alignment. This type of clause is usually introduced by a conjunction and is not syntactically independent; it cannot stand on its own as an independent communicative unit and is thus termed as **subordinate/dependent**. In contrast, clauses whose clause element is realized by a subordinate clause and whose clause alignment ties and governs the subordinate clause is called **superordinate**. The superordinate clause is capable of

independent existence, and it can fulfil a specific communicative goal if turned into a sentence (however, this is not the case for matrix clauses).

The relationship of syntactic **dependence** is also known as **subordination** or **hypotaxis**. Engagement in the clausal alignment and the ability to exist as an independent sentence can serve as diagnostic tests to delineate the borderline between superordinate and subordinate clauses within complex sentences. The delineation of subordinate clauses is aided by the fact that they are introduced either by subordinate conjunctions, relative or interrogative pronouns or are indicated by inversion (Dušková, 1988: 593).

Subordinate conjunction*:*

(6) Subord./***If*** *she hadn't called/, I wouldn't have known.*

Relative pronoun:

(7) *I have two dogs* Subord./***that*** *I love./*

Interrogative pronoun:

(8) *I don't know* Subord./***why*** *you bother./*

Inversion:

(9) Subord./***Should you need*** *any further information/, do not hesitate to contact us.*

In terms of clause alignment, the complex sentence behaves externally as a simple sentence. The clause alignment of the superordinate clause takes the leading role, although the dependent clause retains its own clause alignment. If the subordinate clause takes an Argument slot in the superordinate clause (i.e., the valency slot), the superordinate clause is termed the **matrix clause**, but this clause cannot exist as a separate sentence because it requires a mandatory clause element realized by the dependent clause. As a result, the matrix clause serves as a kind of valency matrix:

Subject: (10) Matrix[Subord/***That Jane is so honest/*** *annoys me*]. SVO

Object: (11) Matrix[*I wish* Subord./***you had been there/***]. SVO

Subject complement: (12) Matrix[*It is essential* Subord/***that our prices remain competitive/***]. SVCs

In contrast, a superordinate clause can form a **main clause** if it fills one of its Non-Argument syntactic slots (valency-facultative clause element). This type of superordinate clause has the same quality as the main clause in the following compound sentences:

Sentential relative: (13) *She didn't like it,* ***which I found strange****.*

Reason Adverbial: (14) *They couldn't sleep last night,* ***because they're worried about me****.*

Time Adverbial: (15) *Don't call us* ***until you're ready to send the check****.*

4. Major subtypes of complex sentence

Complex sentences are sub-classified according to the kind of dependent (subordinate) clauses which they incorporate:

I. NOMINAL/CONTENT dependent clauses
II. RELATIVE dependent clauses
III. ADVERBIAL dependent clauses

4.1 Nominal/Content dependent clauses (I)

The use of the term ***nominal*** for this type of dependent clauses implies that the clauses function syntactically as nouns or, more precisely, as noun phrases. They can fulfil the syntactic functions of a Subject, Object, Subject Complement and Postmodifier. With the exception of the Postmodifier, these are obviously Argument syntactic functions, and thus their governing superordinate clauses are of the matrix type. The term ***content*** is usually used to indicate that these clauses express the proposition as a mentally indivisible whole, and this is the distinctive feature that separates nominal dependent clauses from nominal relative clauses which are inherently bi-componential.

Content nominal dependent clauses can be viewed as indirect speech transpositions of direct speech propositions:

Declarative sentence: (16) *I like it.* → *He says* ***that he likes it.***

Wh-question: (17) *What do you like?* → *He asks* ***what I like.***

Dušková (1988) categorises basic sentence types according to the speaker/writer's communicative goal/intention, distinguishing between declarative sentences (oznamovacie vety), interrogative sentences (opytovacie vety), imperative sentences (rozkazovacie vety),

optative sentences (želacie vety) and exclamative sentences (zvolacie vety) (author's translation). The intentional modality of these sentence types is activated by typical sets of coding features including word order, mood and *wh*-items. Depending on the intentional sentence types of their underlying direct counterparts, content subordinates can be further subcategorized into:

I.A Declarative nominal/content dependent clauses

I.B Interrogative nominal/content dependent clauses

I.C Imperative nominal/content dependent clauses

I.D Wish nominal/content dependent clauses

I.E Exclamative nominal/dependent clauses

4.1.1 Declarative nominal/content dependent clauses (I.A)

Communicatively, declarative nominal subordinates can be treated as transformed direct declaratives, and this is reflected in the way in which they are introduced by the conjunction ***that*** (which can be translated as ***že*** into Slovak in contrast to ***ktorý*** which correlates with the relative pronouns *that*/*which* introducing adjectival relative clauses). The list of syntactic functions in this sub-category includes those of Subject, Object, Subject Complement and Postmodifier.

Subjects realized by nominal/content dependent clause are introduced by verbs or predicative adjectives conveying mental states:

(18) ***That people don't follow the rules*** *disgusts me. ((To), že ľudia nedodržujú pravidlá ma znechucuje.)*

It can also be postponed or extraposed if introduced by the anticipatory *it*:

(19) ***It*** *makes me sad* ***that some Chelsea fans are angry at me****.=*

That some Chelsea fans are angry at me *makes me sad.*

The postponed Subject can also occur with the cognitive verbs *seem* or *occur* (22) or following cognitive adjectives (23) functioning as Cs, where the Cognizer can (although not necessarily) be expressed in the following chain:

(20) *It seems* ^{O}*(to me)* ***that they haven't completed the task yet***. SVOS

(21) *It's clear* ***that we made a mistake***. SVCs

The **Object** is most frequently introduced by the Experience verbs of cognition, emotions (*answer*, *doubt*, *admit*, *suppose*, *mean*, *think*, *feel*, *sense*). If the introductory verb is in the past tense, the dependent clause is subject to the rules of tense sequence:

(22) *He thought: "I have a perfect alibi." → He thought* ***he had a perfect alibi***.

(23) *She said* ***that it was for him***.

(24) *My mom believed* ***that I would pass my exams***.

Objects normally realize Focus with cognitive processes in SVO chains, but they can also oscillate between Focus and Adjunct of Respect in SVOO/SVOA chains with such verbs as *convince*, *persuade*, *satisfy* or *assure*:

(25) *Serena Williams convinced Maria Sharapova* ***that it was time to retire from tennis.***

(26) *The court should satisfy itself by inquiry of the defendant* ***that his conduct constitutes the offence charged in the indictment.***

An Object content clause can be anticipated by the pronoun *it* in the Object slot: (especially with such verbs as *owe, rely on, take for* or *find*)

(27) *You can rely on it,* ***that monotheism will destroy all your pulpit sophistry***.

Subject Complement content declaratives typically follow the copular verb *to be:*

(28) *The most important thing is* ***that we should have freedom of thought***.

(29) *And the best part is* ***that I love working with them***.

(30) *An important difference between morphemes and words is* ***that a morpheme cannot contain more than one element of meaning and cannot be further analysed***.

The **Adjunct of Respect** is used with Subject Complement realized by an adjective phrase (SVCsA):

(31) *I am quite sure* ***that I loved her.***

Although these dependent clauses realize Adjuncts of Reason complementing the Subject Complement, they still satisfy the diagnostic test for content clauses due to the fact that they express the proposition as a whole.

Postmodifying declarative nominal clauses follow abstract nouns such as *belief, conviction, hope, fact or fear* which are derived from verbs or adjectives conveying mental states:

(32) *The idea* ***that only councils should build social housing*** *is nonsense. (Predstava, že iba obce by mali stavať sociálne byty, je nezmysel.)*

(33) *The thought* ***that he could die*** *did not occur to her.*

(34) *The news* ***that the team had won*** *calls for a celebration.*

Postmodifying nominal *that* clauses can also be treated as a kind of syntactic apposition since they meet the diagnostic requirements of the Syntactic Identity Test and the Single Referent Test:

(32) *The idea is nonsense. – That only councils should build social housing is nonsense.* – both clauses can fill the Subject slot, and they refer to one and the same referent, i.e., the proposed fact. Since their Head noun can occur in any syntactic slot, they can occur as postmodifiers of Subjects, Objects or Subject Complements or even Prepositional Complements. However, the appositive value can only be safely assigned to the Subject slot:

Syntactic Apposition in Subject:

(32) ^{S}*/The idea/ =* ^{S}***/that only councils should build social housing/*** *is nonsense.* **→ *That only councils should build social housing*** *is nonsense.*

Syntactic Apposition in Object:

(35) *I like* ^{O}*/the idea/ =* ^{O}***/that love conquers all/****. → I like* ***that love conquers all****.**

Postmodifier of an Extraposed Subject in the Existential Frame:

(36) *In Britain there is* ^{S}*/a general principle/* ^{S}***/that people who knowingly get themselves intoxicated must be held responsible for their acts****./ → That people who knowingly get themselves intoxicated must be held responsible for their acts*** *is****.****

4.1.2 Interrogative nominal/content dependent clauses (I.B)

This communicative intentional sub-type of nominal clauses is usually introduced by verbs or predicative adjectives functioning as Cs which convey some kind of enquiry. The list typically includes verbs and predicative adjectives which require Adjuncts of Respect, such as *ask*, *wonder*, *know* (*I don't know), doubt* or *I am not sure.* In contrast to their direct interrogative counterparts, these clauses do not display Operator/Subject inversion; they are subject to the rules of tense sequence and are introduced by interrogative pronouns or conjunctions such as *whether*, *if*, *when*, *who* and why:

(37) He asked: "*What is the answer?" → He asked* ***what the answer was****.*

The most important diagnostic marker is the missing information about which we are enquiring through these clauses. Huddleston and Pullum (2005:178) state that "subordinate interrogatives EXPRESS questions, but do not themselves ask them. Usually (but not always) the construction can be glossed with the formula 'the answer to the question'. *I told her what it was.* = I told her the answer to the question 'What was it?'". We can therefore use this as the diagnostic test: the introductory matrix clause should be paraphrasable as: **I want to know the answer to the question**.

(38) *I don't know* ***who she is.*** → I want to know the answer to the question "Who is she?".

(39) *I'm not* <u>*sure*</u> ***what that means in this context****.* → I'm not sure about the answer to the question "What does that mean in this context?".

However, direct questions can also be transposed to the indirect form when introduced by verbs indicating a knowledge of the fact rather than an enquiry:

(40) *I told her what it was.* = I told her the answer to the question "What was it?" (Huddleston and Pullum, 2005:178; see also Dušková, 1988: 604)

In brief, then, there are two sub-types of interrogative dependent clauses: **yes/no dependent interrogatives** (also termed "closed interrogatives" (Huddleston and Pullum, 2005:175)) and ***wh*-dependent interrogatives** (also termed "open interrogative" (Huddleston and Pullum, 2005: 175)).

I.B.1 Yes/No dependent interrogative (including alternatives)

Subject: (41) **Whether she can be pregnant or not** is still questionable.

Object*:* (42) *I do not know* ***whether the end of the world has come.***

Subject Complement: (43) *My question is* ***whether it is appropriate for the bride or groom to tell a guest how to dress for their wedding.***

Postmodifier*:* (44) *The question emerged* ***whether methadone has deteriorating effects on cognitive functioning.*** (separated from its head by the Verb)

Adjunct of Respect with Cs*:* (45) *I'm not sure* ***whether I should do it.***

Alternative dependent interrogative clauses involving both variants:

Object**:** (46) *I don't care* ***whether/if my conduct is approved of or criticized.***

I.B.2 *Wh*-dependent interrogative clauses

Subject: (47) ***How long she was gone*** *is impossible to know.*

Object: (48) *I always wondered* ***who Josephine was****.*

Subject Complement: (49) *An important question is* ***what happens next****.*

Postmodifier: (50) *He had no idea* ***how they lived.***

Adjunct of Respect as Prepositional Complement: (51) *Where the judge is uncertain as to* ***where the truth lies on any issue****, he must find against the party bearing the burden of proof.*

(52) ***What she was and where she was born,*** *he never informed us.* (Fronted Adjunct of Respect)

4.1.3 Imperative nominal/content dependent clauses (I.C)

Imperative dependent clauses can either be considered as indirect orders, suggestions or other types of mandatives. They occur in the Object slot following verbs or structures expressing a deontic modality of direction, such as *suggest, ask, demand, order, decree* or *it is important/essential/vital…* The verb phrase of the imperative subordinate clause can take the form of subjunctive, or it can involve the modal auxiliary *should* or take the form of a covert mandative (Huddleston and Pullum, 2005:177).

Subjunctive mandative:

(53) *It is ordered* ***that the Defendant do pay to the office of this court the total sum mentioned above.***

(54) *It is essential* ***that he be told immediately***. (Huddleston and Pullum, 2005:177)

(55) *He insisted* ***that he meet her***. (Huddleston and Pullum, 2005:177)

Should mandative:

(56) *I suggest* ***that we should go.***

Covert mandative:

(57) *It's important* ***that he drinks a lot.*** (which is ambiguous as it may be interpreted either as "He should take plenty of fluids!" or "The fact that he's a heavy drinker is significant!" (Huddleston and Pullum, 2005:177). This example features an extraposed Subject declarative content dependent clause.

As is demonstrated by the above examples, imperative dependent clauses function as Objects of kernel/active matrixes (as in examples (55) and (56)) or as Subjects of their passive counterparts (as in example (53)). They can also realize postponed Subjects in Evaluative Qualifying Frames (as in examples (54) and (57)).

4.1.4 Wish nominal/content dependent clauses (I.D)

These dependent clauses follow the verb *wish* in the Object slot, mostly asyndetically, or after the conjunction *that*. The verb phrase of dependent wish clauses is typically realized by the past past perfect or conditional forms conveying the simultaneity, precedence or subsequence of the action expressed in the dependent clause relative to the matrix clause action, respectively (Dušková, 1988:606):

Past: (58) *I wish* ***we could go back to school***.

Past subjunctive: (59) *I wish* ***I were with you now***.

Past perfect: (60) *I wish* ***I had won a million***.

Conditional: (61) *I wish* ***she would wake up***.

4.1.5 Exclamative nominal/content dependent clauses (I.E)

Exclamative dependent clauses are introduced by an initial exclamative phrase containing adjuncts ***how*** or ***what***, in an arrangement similar to their direct counterparts. Their verb phrases are subject to tense sequence.

(62) ***How beautiful she is!*** → *He could not believe* ***how beautiful she was.***

(63) ***What a fool I am!*** → *I did not know* ***what a fool I was.***

While the *wh*-items of *wh*-interrogative dependent clauses function as measure adjuncts proper, the governing verb phrases of exclamative dependent clauses do not indicate missing information and their introductory *how* and *what* serve as adjuncts, i.e., intensifying and evaluative measure adjuncts, respectively:

(64) *Do you remember* ***how big it was****?* (Huddleston and Pullum, 2007:181)

Interpretation 1 exclamative dependent: do you have a recollection of how remarkably big something was

Interpretation 2 *wh*-interrogative: do you remember the answer to the question "How big was it?"

Exclamative dependent clauses function as an Object (as in examples (64)-(67)) (including the examples above) and also as the postponed Subject (as in example (68)):

(65) *I never realized* ***what a big deal this boat race has developed into****.*

(66) *I have seen* ***what a wonderful and devoted wife you have been.***

(67) *I didn't think* ***how wrong I was.***

(68) *It's amazing* ***how realistic it was****. (postponed Subject)*

4.2 Relative dependent clauses (II)

Relative dependent clauses add characteristics to their heads wh&ich can be either overt or covert, and the clauses can be subdivided into adjectival relative clauses and nominal relative clauses accordingly. Both types of relative clauses are introduced by *wh*-relative pronouns. Adjectival relative clauses function as postmodifiers of their explicit heads and are therefore incorporated in noun phrases. In contrast, the heads of nominal relative clauses are implicit,

activating concrete referents. Nominal relative clauses can be paraphrased by their underlying adjective relative counterparts, and this explains why both adjective and nominal relative dependents are ranked with the relative subtype (although some authors treat the nominal relative clauses as a sub-type of nominal clauses (see Quirk et al.,1985) or treat them as a special type of relative clauses which Huddleston and Pullum (2005:191) term as "fused relatives". Although the nominal relative clauses are inherently bi-componential (as an implied Head + Postmodifier relative clause), externally they act as noun phrases realizing the Subject, Object, Subject Complement, Prepositional Complement and Postmodifier slots. The following compound sentence features both types of relative clauses; their coordination emphasizes their common but also distinct features:

(69) [*She liked* $_{NOM\ REL}{}^{O}$***/what he wrote/*** *and* $_{NP}{}^{O}$*/the* ^{Head}*|life|* $_{ADJ\ REL}{}^{Postm}$***|that he led|/.***]

	Nominal relative clauses	**Adjectival relative clauses**
Common features	introduced by *wh*-pronouns activating a feature of their implied head	explicit head
Differences	*what he wrote*	*the life that he led*
Function	syntactic noun: S, O, Cs, Postmod, PrepCompl	syntactic adjective: postmodifier
Head	implied The $^{\text{Implied Head}}$*(stories,novels)* $^{Implied\ Postmod}$*(that he wrote)*	Explicit The $^{Head(}$life) $^{Postm(}$that he led)
Components of	matrix clause	noun phrase

Table 32 Features of nominal and adjectival relative clauses

4.2.1 Nominal relative clauses (II.A)

In each of the following syntactic slots, nominal relative clauses are paraphrasable as an implied Head + transposed Adjectival Relative clause (the so called "***That*/*Which* Test**")

Subject:

(70) ***What they're doing*** *is outrageous.* → /That which they are doing/ is outrageous.

(71) ***What they had witnessed in the last hour*** *required the silence of personal reflection.* → /That which they had witnessed in the last hour/ required the silence of personal reflection.

(72) ***What you should do*** *is quit lying to yourself.* → /That which you should do/ is quit lying to yourself.

Object:

(73) *She enjoyed* ***what he was doing****.* → She enjoyed /that which he was doing/.

(74) *She had finished* ***what she wanted to say.*** → She had finished /that which she wanted to say/.

(75) ***What you don't measure****, you can't manage.* → You can't manage /that which you don't measure/.

Subject Complement:

(76) *That is* ***what I said****.* → That is /that which I said/.

(77) *That's* ***what I miss more than anything****.* → That's /that which I miss more than anything/.

(78) *This is* ***what your animal testing does to innocent animals all for beauty.*** → This is /that which your animal testing does to innocent animals all for beauty/.

Prepositional Complement as Postmodifier:

(79) *Signs of* ***what could go wrong*** *are already obvious.* → Signs of /that which could go wrong/ are already obvious.

(80) *In fact, the list of* ***what he did*** *is really quite impressive.* → The list of /that which he did/ is impressive.

Prepositional Complement as Adjunct:

(81) *Service Provider shall not be liable for any loss or damage resulting from errors or delays in transmitting the information,* ***regardless of what caused such errors or delays.*** **(PrepP - Adjunct of Concession)** → regardless of /that which caused such errors/…

The apparent surface similarities between nominal relative clauses and Nominal/Content Interrogative clauses are somewhat confusing. Both are introduced by the same type of *wh*-pronouns (*who, if, what, when, where, how…*) and can function as syntactic nouns, i.e., as Subjects, Objects, Subject Complements in matrix clauses and Postmodifiers. Semantically, Interrogative dependent clauses express facts and events or ideas as an indivisible proposition, and they can also involve an enquiry about missing information. In contrast, nominal relative dependent clauses imply a head that is known to the speaker and which is characterised by the postmodifying adjectival relative paraphrase, the so called "*That/Which* Test".

	Interrogative nominal clause	**Nominal relative clause**
Subject	(82) ***What the solution will be*** *cannot now be determined.* I want to know the answer to the question: "What will the solution be?"	(83) ***What has been said*** *cannot be unsaid.* /That which has been said/ cannot be unsaid.
Object	(84) *I wonder* ***what they did to them***. I want to know the answer to the question: "What did they do to them?"	(85) *Her mask was slipping away but I couldn't yet see* ***what was underneath.*** I couldn't see /that which was underneath/.
Subject Complement	(86) *My concern is* ***what will happen in 20, 30 years.*** I want to know the answer to the question: "What will happen in 20,30 years?"	(87) *"That's* ***what I worry about****.* That is /that which I worry about/.
Postmodifier	(88) *He had no idea* ***what was going on***. I want to know the answer to the question: "What was going on?"	(89) *His story of* ***what happened*** *was horrific.* His story of /that which happened was horrific/.

Table 33 Interrogative versus nominal relative clauses

In some cases, only the specific context can disambiguate the actual reading of the dependent clause:

(90) *I study* ***what makes people happy.***

1. I want to know the answer to the question: "What makes people happy?"
2. I study /that which makes people happy/. I know what it is.

In the absence of appropriate context, the two syntactic interpretations remain ambiguous and should be seen as cases of categorial transition:

(91) *I don't remember* ***where I first saw it****.*

1. I don't know the answer to the question "Where did I see it first?"
2. I don't remember /the place where I first saw it/. (That Which Test)

(92) *Sometimes I forget* ***where I am.***

1. I don't know where I am. I forget the answer to the question: "Where am I?"
2. I forget /the place where I am/.

4.2.2 Adjectival relative clauses (II.B)

Adjectival Relative Clauses which function as Postmodifiers of explicit heads in the NP can be subdivided further into restrictive and non-restrictive, depending on whether they are indispensable for the identification of the referent of the head. This distinction is pragmatic rather than syntactic in terms of chains and frames, which means that their interpretation depends on the situational and experiential contexts.

Restrictive	**Non-restrictive**
pragmatically	
indispensable	dispensable
for the identification of referent of the head	
not separated with a comma	separated with a comma

(93) *I have a sister, /who is a computer engineer/, and a brother, /who is a football player./*

(I only have one sister and one brother)

I have a sister /who is a computer engineer/ and a sister /who is a football player/.

(I have two sisters and the postmodifying clauses allow the recipient to identify who is who).

4.2.3 Sentential Relative Clause (II.C)

Sentential relative clauses can be treated as postmodifying the whole of the preceding clause as their head forms the entire main clause). However, these clauses actually evaluate the content of the proposition in the preceding clause rather than postmodifying it, a function which is similar to that of evaluating content disjuncts.

(94) *Some employees know how to cheat the inspections,* ***which I could not stand for.***

(95) *The next round of surgeries started almost immediately,* ***which I found cruel****.*

(96) *He walks for an hour each morning,* ***which would bore me****.*

Sentential relative clauses may therefore be used as a testing paraphrase for content disjuncts.

(97) ***Unfortunately,*** *there's no writing in the notebook.→*

There's no writing in the notebook, ***which I find unfortunate.***

(98) ***Interestingly****, subsequent chapters deal with run-in processes. →*

Subsequent chapters deal with run-in process, ***which I find interesting.***

4.3 Adverbial clauses (III)

Adverbial dependent clauses can be subclassified according to the semantic classes of the adjuncts which they convey. Adverbial clauses can qualify as Arguments or Non-Arguments depending on whether they complete a matrix clause or are incorporated into the main clause:

Adverbial dependent clauses as MATRIX clause fillers

(99) *There was only an empty bed* ***where Audrey laid moments ago****/.* SVA space localizer

(100) *With amazing sleight of hand she put it* ***where it was supposed to be****, and no one was any the wiser.* SVOA directional localizer

(101) *Langdon felt* ***as if time has stopped***. SVA Manner Qualifier

(102) *She looked* ***as though she was trying to do everything she could think of to stop her pain***. SVA Manner Qualifier

Adverbial Clauses as MAIN clause fillers

(103) ***Where the fire had been,*** *we saw nothing but blackened ruins.* SVO(A place)

I parked my car ***where I usually leave it***. SVO(A place)

(104) *Don't call us* ***until you're ready to send the check***. SVO(A time)

(105) *Leave* ***before it gets awkward***. SV(A time)

(106) *I wear a necklace,* ***because I wanna know when I'm upside down***. SVO(A reason)

(107) *I didn't answer* ***because I didn't have an answer***. SV(A reason)

(108) ***If you attack my son again****, I shall ensure that it is the last thing you ever do.* SVO(A contingency/condition)

(109) *The school closes earlier* ***so that the children can get home before dark.*** SV(A time)(A purpose)

(110) ***Wherever it was,*** *she had no doubt that by day's end, her world would look a lot different.* SVCs(A concession)

(111) *She could use my body* ***however she wanted***. SVO(A manner)

Adverbial dependent clauses are also introduced with *wh*-items, and therefore in order to distinguish them syntactically from similar structures such as nominal interrogative, nominal relative and adjectival clauses, several tests must be performed. Firstly, the Nominal Question Test (explains what?, the only reason is what?, he should have told her what?...) and the subsequent Nominal Replaceability Test (it explains that, the only reason is this/such, he should have told her this) examine the nominal syntactic function of interrogative dependent clauses (O, S, Cs). The adverbial syntactic function (Adjuncts) of adverbial dependent clauses is tested using the Circumstantial Question Test and the Adverb Replaceability Test. In the case of nominal interrogative dependent clauses, it should be possible to identify the missing information, i.e., to use the paraphrase "I want to know the answer to the question". In the

following examples, dependent clauses are interrogative rather than adverbial (as is also the case in the examples above), functioning as Objects in their matrix clauses:

(112) *But none of this explains* ***where she went yesterday***. SVO (the answer to the question "Where did she go?")

(113) *He shouldn't have mentioned the prophecy. He shouldn't have told her* ***where it had come from***. SVOO

(114) *I do not know* ***when he will be back***. SVO

(115) *I don't know* ***where I want to go for my vacation***. SVO

(116) *You might forget to wonder about* ***why the prosecutor is letting the victim's parents make this choice.*** SVO

In the following example, although the dependent clause is introduced by the reason conjunction *because*, it can nonetheless be identified as a nominal declarative clause as its matrix clause is SVC – the reason is that fact/the reason that she wants it that badly:

(117) *The only reason she's doing it is* ***because she wants it that badly***. Nominal declarative Cs

The borderline between adverbial and nominal relative clauses is even more obscure in cases where it is possible to interpret the clause as characterising a covert head and as being replaceable by both a nominal item and also by an adverb activating a circumstantial meaning:

(118) *And I went out to* ***where we buried them***. → two interpretations possible

(119) *I went out to the place where we buried them.* nominal relative dependent clause

and also *I went out there.* adverbial dependent clause

With an explicit head the dependent clause is considered as adjective relative clause:

(120) *Tom knew the* ^{Head}*(place)* ^{Postmod}*(where the pirates had hidden treasures).*

5. Recap

The Sentence stands at the top of the Syntactic Pyramid and serves as an independent communicative unit. It can be composed of either single or multiple clauses. The fundamental relations between the clauses in a two-clause sentence are those of parataxis and hypotaxis; parataxis is present in compound sentences in which the clauses are syntactically equivalent, they maintain separate valencies and can serve as independent sentences. Compound sentences can be subcategorized into copulative, adversative, disjunctive, reason, consequence and condition sentences. Hypotaxis occurs in complex sentences in which one of the clauses is superordinate and the other is subordinate. The superordinate clauses can be either main or matrix, and they both determine the superordinate valency of the unit as a whole. The dependent clause occupies a Non-Argument position in the main clause, but it functions as an Argument in the matrix clause. Complex sentences can be split into Nominal/Content, Relative and Adverbial categories based on the type of their subordinate clauses.

CHAPTER 10

SEMI-CLAUSES

1. Nomenclature of semi-clauses

Returning to the system of the Syntactic Pyramid outlined in Chapter 1, it can be seen that semi-clauses rank between the Phrase and Clause ranks on account of their hybrid structure. Semi-clauses are typically headed by ***-ing*** and ***to*-infinitival forms** (and *-ed* forms). Some linguists (Quirk et al. 1985; Huddleston and Pullum, 2005) refer to these structures as non-finite clauses due to the fact that they are headed by verb-phrases which are considered non-finite (for more on the difference between finite and non-finite verb-phrases, see Chapter 2).

-ing-headed non-finite clause

(1) ***/Setting up a company/*** *is governed by the Company Act 1985*.

A. *to*-infinitive headed non-finite clause

(2) */**To reinvent** the wheel/ is /**to duplicate** a basic method that has already previously been created/.*

In the Prague School tradition, these forms are known as semi-clauses or semi-clausal constructions, terms which are adapted from the original Czech titles of *polovetné konštrukcie* or *polopredikatívne väzby* (Mathesius, 1966, also see Nosek, 1954, Nižníková, 1994, Oravec and Bajzíková ,1982) The denomination ***semi-clause*** reflects the fundamental characteristic feature of these structures which is the fact that they involve valency ties exerted by the verb phrases which head them. The non-finite grammatical character of their heads means that these structures are not capable of realizing independent sentences; they are instead incorporated into non-single clause sentences (súvetie) as dependent components of their main or matrix clauses. Mathesius points out that the incorporation of these nominal structures, which he terms ***condensers***, enables the sentence to do without a hypotactically or paratactically arranged clause, the use of which would otherwise be essential (Hladký, 1961). Mathesius and his followers in the Prague Linguistic Circle termed this phenomenon *complex sentence condensation*, and they distinguished between *-ing participles, -ed participles, gerunds, verbal nouns,* and *to-infinitives* (Mathesius, 1913, Trnka, 1956, Firbas, 1961, Hladký, 1961; Vachek, 1961; Dušková, 1988). Even though the *ing*-forms have equivalents in underlying finite clauses,

they are not considered as structures with an ellipsis of a finite verb but rather as full-fledged hybrids enjoying full syntactic status in the English language system. Hladký notes that if "the sentences containing condensers were 'discondensed' it would be necessary to introduce into them some formal words (conjunctions, etc.) and/or words conveying grammatical categories, already conveyed, however, by the subject and the finite verb" (Hladký, 1961:114) which are dynamically weak in terms of communicative dynamism in a Functional Sentence Perspective (also see Firbas, 1992:105). "Therefore the introduction of a condenser into a sentence also prevents the repetition of some dynamically weak sentence elements." (Hladký, 1961: 114).

Another term that is used in relation to the structures in question is "*nominalizations*", especially in terms of transformative grammar. Lees refers to these forms as nominalizations or nominals; "[these forms are] generated by the nominalization rules [that] are not themselves sentences, but rather […] noun-like versions of sentences" (1960:54). Lees' nominalizations include nominal *that*-clauses and *wh*-clauses, derived verbals, gerundive nominals, etc. (Lees, 1960:59-74). In contrast, Chomsky argues that Lees's transformational rules explaining various kinds of nominalizations are not comprehensive, and he notes various syntactic and semantic differences between nominalizations and sentences. Advocating a "lexicalist" approach over Lees' "transformationalist" system, Chomsky distinguished between gerundive nominals (*John's refusing the offer*), derived nominals (*John's refusal of the offer*) and mixed forms (*John's refusing of the offer*) (Chomsky, 1975:215). On the other hand, Colen argues that "[…] nominalizations function not as noun phrases, but as complements to verbs (and to predicative elements in general), and they have internal structure not of sentences but of predicative phrases." (1984:36).

While Quirk et al. (1985, 1996) draw a distinction between *-ing* verbal nouns functioning as true nouns and *ing*-non-finite and infinitival clauses, in the Prague School tradition semi-clauses are split into gerundial, participial and infinitival (Mathesius, 1975). Other labels used in linguistics for these forms include nominal gerunds, verbal gerunds and participles (Jespersen, 1965, Curme, 1979,1980, Gove, 1965), verbal nouns and true verbal gerunds (Marková, 1986), gerunds covering both verbal nouns and gerunds (Kjellmer,1980, Wonder, 1970), mixed forms and gerundive nominals (Greenbaum, 1973).

2. Semi-clauses – a rank hybrid

Semi-clauses can be said to resemble clauses through the ability of their verb-phrase head to determine the kinds and numbers of Arguments which fit in the frame/chain (i.e., valency). Similarly, they also share some features with nouns, such as their nominal function within the sentence. However, the condensing nature of these structures means that they are unable to display the full repertoire of surface verbal features.

As was suggested in the previous section, there is no academic consensus over the classification and terminology of *-ing* forms. Nevertheless, regardless of whether they are schooled in generative-grammar or affiliated with functional structuralism, linguists generally agree that these syntactic units display varying degrees of nominality and verbality in their morphology and structure and in the types of syntactic functions which they performed: "These degrees range from a pure nominal character through the mixture of nominal and verbal features to pure verbality" (Janigová, 2008:17). These hybrid features are exemplified in the following examples:

(a) /The successful **baking** of cakes/ lies in accurate measurements. verbal nouns
(b) **/Baking** cakes (successfully)/ can be fun. gerundial semi-clauses
(c) Jane was singing /while **baking** a cake/. participial semi-clauses
(d) Jane /**was baking/** a cake. *-ing* as head of a finite verb form

In order to explain the difference between verbal nouns, gerundial semi-clauses, *-ing*-participial semi-clauses and *-ing*-heads of finite verb forms, I will now examine the lists of their verbal and nominal features whose combinations account for the unique nature of semi-clauses.

2.1 Nominal versus verbal features

Nominal features

a) Plural inflection
b) Determiners (indefinite articles, definite articles, demonstrative pronouns, possessive case pronouns, indefinite pronouns)
c) Adjective premodification
d) Post-modification by an *of*-construction
e) Occurrence after prepositions

Verbal features

a) Agent/Experiencer expressed by the object case of pronouns/common case of nouns
b) Preservation of verbal governance
c) Tense, voice and aspect contrasts
d) Modification by an Adjunct
e) Occurrence after conjunctions

Nominal features (N) **Verbal features (V)**		(a) Verbal nouns	(b) Gerunds	(c) Participles	(d) Verb forms
N	Plural inflection	-	-	-	-
N	*A*, *an*	-	-	-	-
N	*The*	+	-	-	-
N	*This*, *that*	+	-	-	-
N	Possessive case	+	+	-	-
N	*No*, *any*	+	+	-	-
N	*of*-phrase Postmod	+	-	-	-
N	Adjective Premod	+	-	-	-
N	Can follow prepositions	+	+	-	-
V	Can follow conjunctions	-	-	+	+
V	Objective/common case of Agent/Experiencer	-	+	+	+
V	Modification by an Adjunct	-	+	+	+
V	Complementation by an Object	-	+	+	+
V	Voice contrast	-	+	+	+
V	Aspect contrast – im/perfect	-	+	+	+
V	Aspect contrast – non/progressive	-	-	+	+
V	Tense contrast	-	-	-	+
Number of nominal features		7	3	0	0
Number of verbal features		0	5	7	8

Table 34 Mixture of nominal and verbal features of *-ing*-forms (adjusted from Janigová, 2008)

2.2 Verbal nouns

(a) *Subject/NP/Det(The) Premod(successful) Head* ***(baking)*** Postmod(*of cakes*)/ V/*lies/* A/*in accurate measurements/.*

As indicated in Table 34, verbal nouns can be considered full nouns, except for those which use indefinite articles and plural forms which are incompatible with their generalizing and abstract nature. In example (a), *baking* can be determined by a definite article, premodified by an adjective phrase and postmodified by an *of*-phrase. Although it behaves on the surface as a noun heading a noun phrase, it can still be associated with the underlying clause/Patient frame *somebody bakes cakes* (*successfully*), in which the Agent is implied at a deep level without its absence on the surface being felt as ungrammatical (the concept of the Attachment Rule is discussed below). Verbal nouns have an "inherent predicative character and function as sentence condensers" (Janigová, 2008:33); they feature secondary predication (Dušková, 1988:542) and have "an underlying sentence-like structure" (Chomsky, 1975:187).

Diachronically, combinations of a definite article and a Direct Object were still found in Early Modern English, but from a synchronic perspective the only possible combinations are those which use *the* + *of*-postmodification (in noun phrases) and Direct Object (preserved verbal governance) without articles or adjectival premodifiers (in semi-clauses)

(3) *for the stealing sheep* (Trnka, 1956:106) (Early Modern English)

(4) *for the stealing of sheep* (Trnka, 1956:106) (Modern English)

(5) *for stealing sheep* (Trnka, 1956:106) (Modern English)

Curme sees the gerund of *ing*-forms Curme as originating from the *-ung*/*-ing* verbal noun ending of Old English. In Middle English this form started to take a Direct Object and later developed tense and voice forms in Early Modern English (Curme, 1980:244-245).

Verbal nouns allow premodification by adjectives and nominals:

(6) *He'd be back at three for a seminar on* ***forum*** *shopping – how to find the best jurisdiction for your case.*

(7) *Five years in OPD had certainly sheltered Clay from many aspects of* ***modern-day*** *lawyering.*

2.3 Gerundial and participial semi-clauses

(b) $^{S/\text{ gerundial semi-cl}/V}$(***Baking***) ^{O}(*cakes*)/ ^{V}/*can be*/ ^{Cs}/*fun*/.

(c) ^{S}/*Jane*/ ^{V}/*was singing*/ $^{\text{A participial semi-cl}/conj}$(*while*) ^{V}(***baking***) ^{O}(*a cake*)/.

In contrast with verbal nouns, gerunds and participles used as heads of semi-clauses show a mixture of nominal and verbal properties, and it is often difficult to categorize them as either nouns or verbs. As is indicated in Table 34, they cannot be determined by articles, demonstrative pronouns, nor can they be premodified by adjective phrases or postmodified by *of*-phrases. Both groups also share verbal features, including modification by Adjuncts, preservation of verbal governance, voice contrast and perfect/non-perfect aspect contrast. The aspect contrast is also combined with tense contrast to a limited extent; the non-perfect form activates simultaneity with the superordinate finite verb, and the perfect form activates precedence.

Onomasiologically, the Patient valency frame *somebody makes cakes* underlies all four nominalizations ((a), (b), (c), (d)), however, only (b), (c), and (d) share the SVO surface valency chain. Verbal nouns do not display surface valency; on the surface the Subject is either absent or takes the possessive case form, while the surface Object becomes a postmodification and the surface Adjunct becomes a premodification:

Jane baking cakes successfully	→	*Jane's successful baking of cakes*
$^{\text{Subject}}$/*Jane*/	→	$^{\text{Det}}$/*Jane's*/
$^{\text{Head of semi-cl/V}}$/*baking*/	→	$^{\text{Head of NP}}$/*baking*/
$^{\text{Object}}$/*cakes*/	→	$^{\text{Postmod}}$/*of cakes*/
$^{\text{Adjunct}}$/*successfully*/	→	$^{\text{Premod}}$/*successful*/

Gerundial and -*ing*-participial semi-clauses differ in that the former are more nominal in nature. In contrast with participles, gerunds can be determined by *no* or *any*, and their Subject can be realized by the possessive case. Furthermore, gerunds do not display non/progressive aspect contrast. Only gerundial semi-clauses function as Subject, Object, and Subject Complement, which are the surface functions diagnostically realized by noun phrases. Gerundial semi-clauses can follow prepositions, and they can therefore function as Prepositional Complements/PrepComp, while -*ing*-participial semi-clauses can be introduced by conjunctions. After certain predicative adjectives (be + no good/no use/worth/fun) Subject gerundial semi-clauses tend to be extraposed: *It´s all right* ^{S}*/living in such a house with a*

husband who´s handy/. (Mair, 1988:58). For extraposition of infinitival semi-clauses also see Naďová (2014, 2015).

Gerundial semi-clauses

Determination by *no*/*any*:

(8) *They had compromised on an unwritten rule that there would be /**no** drinking until 6.*

Active/passive voice contrast:

(9) *He dislikes /people **asking** him about his job/.*

(10) *He dislikes /**being asked** about his job/.*

Non-/perfect aspect contrast:

(11) *I love /**going** to the cinema/.*

(12) *He denied /**having met** her/.*

Prepositional complements:

(13) *I don't believe /in **suing** doctors/.*

(14) *The accountant may be removed by the Manager /without **assigning** any cause/. Private legal instrument*

-Ing-participial semi-clauses

Active/passive voice contrast:

(15) *I saw her /**walking** down the street/.*

(16) *He watched himself on TV in jail /after **being arrested**/.*

Non-/perfect aspect contrast:

(17) */**Writing** her homework/, she was singing.*

(18) */**Having finished** her homework/, she went for a walk.*

Non-/progressive aspect contrast:

(19) */**Having been reading** till long after midnight/, I felt rather sleepy in the morning. (Dušková, 1988: 270)*

Following a conjunction:

(20) *Viscount Dilhorne, /although **agreeing** with the conclusion in respect of each case/, clearly took a different view as to the general proposition.*

(21) *The judge returned to this /when **setting out** his overall conclusion on whether the intended works satisfied the first part of section 30(i)(f)/.*

This discussion of their nominal and verbal features indicates that gerunds and participles are neither full-fledged nouns, nor verbs. They are instead hybrids lying between nouns and verbs, and thus the structures which they head cannot be safely ranked as either noun phrases or verb phrases. Their ability to display valency ties internally, the diagnostic feature for distinguishing between phrases and clauses, justifies their ranking with non-finite clauses or semi-clauses, which are situated in between the rank of Phrase and Clause in the Syntactic Pyramid.

2.4. Verb forms

(d) ^{S}/*Jane/* ^{V}/^{Aux}(*is*) ^{Head}(***baking***)*/* ^{O}/*a cake/* .

-*Ing*-participles as components of finite verb-phrases function as their heads (for a fuller discussion of finite and non-finite verb phrases, see Chapter 1), and they display the full list of verbal features summarized in Table 34.

2.5 Rank ambiguities

Further ambiguities arise in relation to the semi-clausal or verbal status of an item in the pre-head position in a noun phrase or in a post-copular position in a verb phrase:

(22*) Texting is killing language.*

Two possible interpretations are avialable:

1. ^{S}/Texting/ ^{V}/is killing/ ^{O}/language/. → SVO Agent – Causative Action – Affected Entity

2. ^{S}/Texting/ ^{V}/is/ ^{Cs}/killing language/. → SVCs Qualified Entity – Copula – Qualifier

Another source of ambiguity can be seen in the ongoing word-formative adjectivization process in which *-ing* forms in the adjective form can be interpreted as Cs rather than as heads of the VP:

(23a) ^{S}/*This*/ ^{V}/*is*/ ^{Cs}/***embarrassing***/. *versus*

(23b) ^{S}/*This*/ ^{V}/*is embarrassing*/ ^{O}/*her*/.

It is therefore necessary to distinguish between *-ing* forms functioning as Modifiers/Subject Complements in the full adjective form and those which have not yet been converted into full adjectives. The problem can be clarified using adjectival status tests which include the possibility of gradation (24) and intensification (25), the admissibility of a copular verb in SVCs chain other than *to be* (26) (Dušková, 1988), and the possibility of coordination with another adjective (27):

(24) *Writing lyrics is one of* ***the most challenging*** *parts of making songs.*

(25) *It's* <u>*really*</u> ***devastating***.

(26) *This film* <u>*seems*</u> ***interesting***.

(27) *As obnoxious as French had been from the podium, he'd also been* ***entertaining*** *and* ***informative***.

As with the ambiguity over adjective/progressive VPs, an adjectivized *-ed* form can correlate with the passive voice:

(28) *The cause of this strange bird behaviour* $^{V\text{-passive VP}}$*/was (never) revealed/* → No one ever revealed the cause of this strange bird behaviour (active voice counterpart possible)

(29) *My parents are* ***retired*** *now.* → They retired my parents* (no active voice counterpart possible)

(30) *The living room window was/looked* ^{Cs}/***broken/***. *(grammatically)* (the admissibility of a copular verb in SVCs chain other than to be)

(31) *We have (*^{Premod}***limited*** *and* ^{Premod}*fragile support systems)* (the possibility of coordination with another adjective)

3 Attachment rule and the surface Subject of semi-clauses

Since semi-clauses (whether gerundial, *-ing*-participial or infinitival) are inherently clause-like, their deep-level valency ties are projected on the surface by the requirement for a Subject. This requirement is subject to the imperative of language economy which means that the Subject does not need to be expressed twice in a complex sentence containing a semi-clause if the referents are identical. This rule, also known as "the Attachment Rule", forms part of Mathesius' definition of sentence condensation and states that gerundial and participial structures must express the Subject of the *-ing* form which is not identical in reference to the Subject of the finite verb in the main clause (Quirk et al., 1985:1121). **In simple terms, if a semi-clause is used without a Subject, it is attached to the Subject of the superordinate clause**. In examples (32) to (35) the Subjects of the superordinate clause and the semi-clause are identical in reference, while examples (36) and (37) show overt Subjects of condensers:

(32) ^{S}***/The old man/*** *sat there* $^{\text{gerund semi-cl A}}$*/without moving/.→* ***the old man*** *sat/did not move*

(33) $^{\text{participial semi-cl A}}$*/Standing straight/* ^{S}***/he/*** *made four more perfect steps near the door,* $^{\text{participial semi-cl A}}$ */holding his wine glass/ and* $^{\text{participial semi-cl A}}$ */still wearing his apron/.→* ***he*** *made/was standing straight/ was holding his wine / was still wearing his apron*

(34) ^{S}***/Nick/,*** $^{\text{participial semi-cl A}}$ */sitting between the two boys in the dark/, felt happy… → Nick felt/was sitting*

(35) ^{S}***/His father/*** *picked up the knife* $^{\text{infinitival semi-cl A}}$*/to cut the pie/. → his father picked up/cut*

(36) ^{S}***/They/*** *went down the long hill,* $^{\text{participial semi-cl A}}$*/* ^{S}***the wagon*** *bumping along the road/. →* ***they*** *went/* ***the wagon*** *was bumping*

(37) *We are going crazy on a daily basis /listening to* (***our neighbours*** *learning how to play the piano). →* ***we*** *are going crazy/****we*** *listen/****our neighbours*** *learn*

Under the Attachment Rule, both Suobjects and semi-clauses can be attached to Agents/Experiencers realized as Objects (38) or even as Adjuncts (39):

(38) *He heard* ^{O}***/his father/*** ^{Co}*/moving around in the living room/.*

(39) ^{S}*/It/* ^{V}*/would have been/* ^{Cs}*/natural/* ^{A}***/for him/*** ^{S}*/to go to sleep/.*

The identification of the Agent of the semi-clause can potentially be hampered by syntactic complexities, and the recipient therefore needs to focus on the sense relations between respective segments (40), cohesive devices (41) or the relevant context (42):

(40) *Teachers can respond to the writing of students who are learning English* ***by asking questions about meaning****.*→ who asks questions? → teachers or students ask questions, depending on a point of view

(41) ***She*** *was looking at him holding the glass and biting* ***her*** *lips.* →

who was holding the glass and biting lips? → **Her lips** → she was holding the glass, and she was biting her lips

(42) *The Defendant may require the other party* ^{Co}*/****to prove*** *the allegation/* ^{A}*/without specifically* ***denying it****/.*→ who need not specifically deny the allegation – the Defendant or the Claimant? → with the knowledge of the relevant context – the Defendant need not deny the allegation specifically, it will suffice for them not to admit it

In terms of the form of the overt Subject, gerundial and participial semi-clauses differ in that gerunds are able to activate their Agents/Experiencers by the surface Subject in the possessive case (the Possessive Case Subject Test for gerunds):

(43) ^{S}***/His*** *driving too fast/ caused an accident.* → ***he*** *drives/is driving*

(44) */We/ /like/* ^{O}***/your*** *being with us/.*→ ***you*** *are with us*

Beside the possessive form of Subject, the object case of pronouns or common case of nouns may be used:

(45) */We/ /like/ /****him/John*** *being with us/.*→ ***he/John*** *is with us*

Dušková states that "observations of usage have shown that the possessive forms are more frequent with personal pronouns than with nouns…, whereas the non-possessive form is overwhelmingly prevalent with nouns" (Dušková, 1999:26). Jespersen (1966:326) disputes the claim made by many theorists that the use of the objective case of a personal pronoun instead of the possessive case is incorrect.

Participial and infinitival semi-clauses allow only the common case of nouns and pronouns or the objective case of pronouns:

(46) */We/ /like/ /****you*** *to be with us/.* → *you are with us*

(47) */Ramp crews/ /carefully/ /guided/ /the jets past each other/, /**their wings** missing inches/.*
→ their wings missed inches

In cases where the Subject is not expressed overtly and it is not identical in reference to the Subject of the superordinate verb, the structure is referred to as "dangling participle/gerund" (Dušková, 1988: 585). This is unobjectionable if it implies a general Agent (48) or is implied by the context:

(48) ^{S}*/Writing lyrics/ is /one of the most challenging parts of* ^{Postmod}*(making songs)/.*

(49) *Thanks* ^{A}*/for taking me with you/.*

(50) *Then the electric lights came on, and it was pleasant along the streets* ^{S}*/looking in the shop windows/.*

Based on her legal corpora research, Janigová (2007, 2008) found that dangling forms are rather frequent in legal English in Adverbial functions. It was every third to fourth Adverbial gerund and participle that was unattached. The omission of the Subject in most cases implied the author or general Agent or the Agent was present in the matrix clause in the function other than that of the Subject of the finite verb. These syntagmas are not considered as defective if they do not cause any problems in identifying the proper Agent of the -ing action, but, on the contrary, they seem to be rather standard structural variants of gerundial and participial condensers. For further findings on dangling gerundial and participial clauses in legal genres also see Naďová (2014, 2015).

4 Syntactic functions activated by semi-clauses

The syntactic functions which are reserved only for the gerundial and infinitival semi-clauses include those of Subjects, Objects, and Subject Complements. Object Complements, Adverbials and Postmodifiers can be realized by all three types of semi-clauses. Premodifiers can be realized by gerunds and participles, but they differ in terms of semantic interpretation as reflected in the prepositional and adjectival relative paraphrases, respectively.

Gerundial premodifier

(51) *He peered over his **reading** glasses…* → glasses for reading

(52) *A **letting** space* → a space for letting

Participial premodifier

(53) *Clay listened with **fading** interest…* → interest which was fading/faded

(54) *The **existing** floor* → the floor which exist

The repertory of syntactic functions

Subject

(55) Gerund: ***Staying close** would not be a problem*.

(56) Infinitive: ***To make generalizations about lyric writing** is difficult.*

(57) Postponed version: *It is difficult **to make generalizations about lyric writing.***

Object

(58) Gerund*: Clay vividly remembered **seeing the ad the morning it first ran***.

(59) Gerund – PrepO: *A reporter who was recently in Anchorage told **of traffic being held up following a collision – between a car and a moose!***

(60) Infinitive: *I love **to come here**, and I love **to leave***.

Subject Complement

(61) Gerund: *Going up and down the canyon sides can be /**a lot like being on a roller-coaster/**.*

(62) Infinitive: *They seemed **to know their stuff**.*

(63) Surface Cs/kernel Co: *She's rumoured **to be a switch-hitter**.*

Object Complement

(64) Gerund: *In winter heat from the geysers keeps the grass **from being covered by snow***.

(65) Participle: *He could see the story **taking shape,** and it would be spectacular.*

(66) Infinitive: *They are entitled to their views, but I believe them **to be wrong***

Premodifier

(67) Gerund: *Pace wanted a late drink in a bar in Georgetown, within **walking** [Head]distance of Clay's town house.*

(68) Participle: *However, the land in question was privately owned by some* ***aging*** *Head farmers…*

Postmodifier

(69) Gerund: *He had no Head hesitation* ***in giving Pace the details*** *because Pace knew more than anyone.*

(70) Participle: *The old Head man* ***sitting in the shadow*** *knocked on his plate with his glass*.

(71) Infinitive: *The absolute best Head way* ***to write better lyrics*** *is to keep writing.*

Adverbial

Adjunct of time

(72) Gerund: ***Before turning to consider the law****, it is necessary to set out briefly the facts of this case*.

(73) Participle: *"Finished," he said, speaking with that omission of syntactical forms that stupid people use* ***when talking to drunk people or foreigners****.*

Adjunct of accompanying circumstances

(74) Gerund: *He drinks* ***without spilling***.

(75) Participle: *Not surprisingly, the Post praised these groups* ***while saying nothing good about Bennett***.

Adjunct of manner/means/instrument

(76) Gerund: *We solved the problem* ***by driving the car ourselves instead of David***.

Adjunct of respect

(77) Gerund: *They succeeded* ***in arriving at their destination on time****.*

(78) Infinitive: *Josie was even afraid* ***to light a cigarette.***

Adjunct of reason

(79) Gerund: Nedercook was still excited from the trip and **from being home again**.

(80) Gerund: *"He won't even talk to me". "Serves you right* ***for lying to him"****.*

Adjunct of purpose

(81) Gerund: *We did not want to use the precious petrol (on)* ***driving around Madrid.***

(82) Participle: *The first whites who came to the Pacific Northwest came* ***looking for a sea route joining Europe and Asia.***

(83) Infinitive: *He had just run* ***to get away****. He picked up the knife* ***to cut the pie.***

Adjunct of goal/result

(84) Gerund: *The salesman talked us* ***into buying the car.***

(84) Infinitive: *My girlfriend left me suddenly* ***to focus on her study.***

5. Recap

Semi-clauses lie between the Phrase and Clause ranks in the Syntactic Pyramid due to the hybrid word-class nature of their heads which count as gerunds, *-ing*-participles, infinitives and *-ed* participles. They can also be referred to as non-finite clauses or nominalizations. These groups show different degrees of combinations of nominal and verbal features but retain the valency capacity of their underlying verbs. They function as clause elements in their superordinate main or matrix clauses, but they cannot be realized as independent sentences. The Subject of the semi-clause does not need to be expressed overtly, if it is identical in reference to the Subject of the superordinate verb (the Attachment Rule). Gerunds and participles differ in that the gerundial Subject can take the possessive case form and the gerundial semi-clauses can function as Prepositional Complements, while *-ing* participles can follow conjunctions. Also, the gerunds and infinitives are more nominal than -ing-participles in that they can realize the nominal syntactic functions of Subject, Object, and Subject Complement.

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