

an den Determinativen, amselstenen wird das Genus am Kern der Gruppe - dem Substantiv-gekennzeichnet.

Anmerkungen

1. Brinkmann Hennig - Die deutsche Sprache, S. 49
2. a-f zitiert nach Helbig-Buscha-Deutsche Grammatik, VEB Enzyklopedie Vlg, Leipzig 1972, S. 240
3. g-h zitiert nach J. Erben - Abriss der deutschen Grammatik, Akademie Vlg, Berlin, 1967, S. 106
3. a-e nach Helbig, S. 241  
f -nach J. Erben, S. 109
4. a-e zitiert nach Helbig, S. 242  
f-g zitiert nach J. Erben, S. 109
5. nach Helbig - S. 242-243
5. Duder - Grammatik der deutschen Gegenwartssprache, 3. Auflage, Bd 4, Bbl. Inst. Mannheim-Wien-Wiirch, DudenVlg, 1973, S. 150
7. Wils Hans - Die innere Form des Deutschen, Bern-München, Francke Vlg, 1955, S. 281
8. Vater Heinz - Das System der Artikelformen im gegenwertigen Deutsch - Max Niemeyer Vlg, Tübingen, 1963, S. 32/33
9. Rauch Hans Jürgen - Zum Informationsgehalt der Kategorie Genus im Deutschen, Englischen und Polnischen - in: Binlewyn Fonograficzny, Warszawa-Poznań, 1972, S. 109.

Streszczenie

Artykuł zajmuje się problemem wyrażenia rodzaju rzeczownika za pomocą środków formalnych.

W języku niemieckim rolę takich środków pełnił wyjątkowo subiektywny Morfem rodzajowy, chociaż określał rodzaj rzeczownika: występują nie bezpośrednio przy nim, lecz przy słabimianach, tam, rodzajnikach, zaimkach śluzozmymy i wskazujących, przysłówkach.

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Marked thematic fronting of simple sentence constituents in English and Polish

Modern linguistic theories /e.g. the functional grammar / claim that the word-order patterns existing in a language are the result of the interacting of the three forces:

1. The grammatical principle, which describes the word-order in grammatical terms or syntactic functions such as Subject/S/, Verb/V/, Object/O/, etc.;

2. The principle of semantic organization of the sentence operating on semantic categories such as Agent, Source, Recipient, etc., which establishes the correlation between a semantic function of an element and its position in a sentence;

3. The principle of contextual organization, e.g. the functional Sentence Perspective<sup>1/</sup>, which organizes the sentence in such a sequence that "known" or "given" element /theme/, displaying the lowest degree of Communicative Dynamism<sup>2/</sup> and linking the sentence with the discourse, goes first and the item that carries "new" information /rheme//, with the highest degree of CD, has a tendency to be moved to the sentence final position.

The first two principles disregard the context and the order they produce / S-V-O, Actor-Action-Goal, respectively / is treated as primary. The third rule operates in the very act of communication and it determines the word-order with respect to the context.

It can be noticed that in English the "usual" word-order is frequently violated and an element other than a grammatical subject is placed in the initial position in a sentence<sup>3/</sup> /for the sake of simplification only simple and declarative sentences are taken into account/:

1. Karty her name is.

2. This topic we have examined in chapter II.

3. To her brother she sent all her money.

The element is fronted with nuclear stress and thus "marked" /or given special emphasis/ both thematically and informationally. This device has been called "marked thematic fronting" /cf. Huddleston 1971, Quirk et al. 1972:945/. It should be noticed that the understanding of the terms "theme", "thematic", differs from the meaning attributed to them by the Prague school<sup>4/</sup>. In more recent literature /Halliday 1967, 1967-68, Huddleston 1971, Quirk et al. 1972, etc./ the theme is defined as the leftmost element of the clause which is "the communicative point of departure for the rest of the clause" /Quirk et al. 1972:945/, the "givenness" of the element no longer taken as the primary criterion of its thematic character. "Marked" thematic fronting will thus be treated as a surface process elicited by an assignment of pragmatic functions or special emphasis<sup>5/</sup> /frequently contrastive/.

The problem has been dealt with by a number of scholars, however only few attempts /e.g. Huddleston 1971, Golczek 1980/ have been made to examine various sentence constituents from the point of view of their susceptibility to the marked thematic fronting. The aim of the present paper is to check whether there exist restrictions of syntactic, semantic or pragmatic nature imposed on this operation. Our investigation will be based on examples from two languages, English and Polish. In spite of the traditional opinion /e.g. Klemensiewicz 1949, 1953, Jodkowski 1957, Szober 1953, etc./ that with respect to such grammatical categories as S, V, O the Polish word-order is rather free, being more susceptible to RSP than English, some statistical investigations /e.g. Bartmiński 1973/ favour the claim that the majority of Polish sentences display the Subject-Predicate ordering. It will be interesting to see how the two languages compare with regard to the susceptibility of various sentence constituents to the marked thematic ordering.

We assume that in both languages there is a position P<sub>1</sub> reserved for preposed marked elements. After Quirk (1972:945/ we distinguish the following basic types of unmarked word-order:

1. SVCs Mary is a nurse. /Marysia jest pielęgniarką/.
2. SVO<sub>1</sub>C<sub>0</sub> We think him a fool. /Pważamy go za głupca/.
3. SVO<sub>0</sub>A/ I put the plate/on the table./ /Położyłam talerz/na stole//.
4. SVO<sub>1</sub>Od She gives me expensive presents. /Ona daje mi kosztowne prezenty//.
5. SV The baby was crying. /Dziecko płakało/.
6. SVA 6/ Mary is in the cinema. /Marysia jest w kinie/.

where S=Subject, V=Verb, C<sub>0</sub>=Subject Complement or Predicate, A=Adverb, Od=Direct Object, O<sub>1</sub>=Indirect Object, C<sub>0</sub>=Object Complement.

It can be shown that basically all the presented syntactic functions can be found in P<sub>1</sub>, however with some restrictions imposed on the elements that occur in these functions.

Type SVCg --> C<sub>0</sub>VS/C<sub>0</sub>SV

Thematization of predicatives or subject complements is a very common process in both languages, most frequently motivated by the RSP principle:

- 4.a/ Best of all was the first speaker.
- b/ Najlepiej ze wszystkich był pierwszy mówca.
- 5.a/ Fer worse are the sufferings of his dependants.
- b/ Wiele gorsze są cierpienia jego podwładnych.
- 6.a/ That teacher was John.
- b/ Tamtym nauczycielem był Jan.

The fronted element is an identifying nominal or an adjective in the comparative or superlative degree, combining with the copula verb "to be". The marked theme functions as a connective with the preceding sentence. Its preposing seems to be a very natural means of organizing the sentence into the thematic-rhematic sequence with no high emphasis placed on the theme.

The principle of emphasis, though, is responsible for the fronting of other adjectival and nominal complements in sentences which on the textual level display the theme-theme organization:

- 7.a/ Strange creatures are women.
- b/ Dziwne stworzenia te kobiety.
- 8.a/ Great was the labour.
- b/ Wielką była ta praca.

In the above sentences it is the rhematic element which is emphasized and preposed. It should be noticed that all the fronted items have an attributive function. Marked thematic fronting of a non-attributive element appears impossible in English:

- 9. x A boy he is.
- ? Chłopcem jest.

It seems that in English predicative adjectives undergoing thematization for emphatic reasons must be attributive and evaluative /sentences 7a, 8a./. Other adjectives which relate to some objective state of affairs /sentence 10a/ are not so easily front-positioned. No such constraints seem to hold true for Polish /10 b/:

- 10.a/ x Sick he was.
- b/ Chory był.

With other copula verbs the situation is more complicated.

"Current" copulas /Quirk et al. 1972:821/, i.e. stative verbs like "appear, feel, lie, look, remain, rest, seem, sound, taste", seem to thematize their predicatives easily:

- 11.a/ An utter fool I felt.
- b/ Skończonym stupniem się czułem.
- 12.a/ Very surprized he looked.
- b/ Na bardzo zdziwionego wyglądał.
- 13.a/ Bitter tasted the beer.
- b/ Gorzko smakowało piwo.

The predicatives, both nominal and adjectival, have an evaluative function.

"Resulting" copulas, i.e. dynamic verbs like "become, come, get, go, grow, fall, run, turn" impose certain restrictions on the fronting process. Only two of them, "become" and "turn" take nominal complements /e.g. 14/, others occur only with adjectival complements, which are so tightly bound to the verbs that they cannot be preposed /15 a - 17 a/:

- 14.a/ A famous doctor he became.
- b/ Sławnyim doktorem stał się.

- 15.a/ True her dreams came.
- b/ Sprawdzają się jej sny.
- 16.a/ xMad he ran.
- b/ Zwirował.
- 17.a/ xSick he fell.
- b/ Zachorował.

The predicatives assume a resulting function. The Polish counterparts of the English resulting copulas+adjectives are lexicalized inchoative verbs /15 b - 17 b/.

As can be observed, in the case of the copula verb "be" the fronting of a predicative element usually triggers off the inversion of the copula and the subject, the copula being too "empty" to occur in the final position. With all the remaining copulas the syntactic order is GSV. The subject obligatorily expresses "known" information and is either pronominalised or designated with the definite articles.

Type SVO<sub>0</sub>C<sub>0</sub> --> G<sub>0</sub>SVO<sub>0</sub>d / QdSVO<sub>0</sub> / G<sub>0</sub>O<sub>0</sub>dSV / Q<sub>0</sub>G<sub>0</sub>oSV

Marked thematic fronting of an object complement frequently complies with the RSP principle. However some emphasis is placed on the fronted element and also on the rhematic object, which is moved to the final position with the focus pitch. This type of marked theme is found in rhetorical or heightened language and helps to point a parallelism between two elements of the clause /"a good friend" and "Peter", in 18/, and two related elements in some neighbouring clause of contrastive meaning:

- 18.a/ A good friend I find Peter /but I do not find John/.
- b/ Za dobrego przyjaciela uważam Piotra.

When the object is pronominalized /known/, the preposed element receives a high amount of emphasis and has the value of a theme:

- 19.a/ A good friend I have always found him.
- b/ Za dobrego przyjaciela zawsze go uważałem.

Nominal complements of verbs such as "name, call, prove, find, consider, etc." may quite easily be front-positioned when marked:

- 20.a/ John they named their baby.
- b/ Janem nazwali dziecko.

- 21.a./ A good teacher they consider him.
- b/ Ze dobrego nauczyciela go uważają.

With verbs such as "choose, elect, make" the fronting of  $C_0$  is impossible in English. No such restrictions seem to occur in Polish:

- 22.a./# Chairman they made John.
- b/ Przewodniczącym wybrali Jana.
- 23.a./# President they elected Reagan.
- b/ Prezydentem wybrali Reagana.

There are no restrictions on thematizing the adverbial and adjectival  $C_0$  for emphatic purposes:

- 24.a./ Happier they made him.
- b/ Szczęśliwszym go uczynili.
- 25.a./ Blue we have painted the walls.
- b/ Na niebiesko pomalowaliśmy ściany.

In type  $SVO_0C_0$  also the object  $O_d$  can be preposed as a marked theme:

- 26.a./ The baby they named John.
- b/ Dziecko nazwali Janem.
- 27.a./ Reagan they elected president.
- b/ Reagana wybrali prezydentem.

It seems that in the cases where it is possible to thematize either  $C_0$  or  $O_d$  a higher degree of "markedness" and emphasis is achieved when the rightmost constituent is preposed /20 a/ than when the object is front-positioned /26 a/.

In both languages there is a possibility of fronting both  $O_d$  and  $C_0$  at a time, with the resulting patterns  $O_dC_0SV$  /28/ and  $C_0O_dSV$  /29/ :

- 28.a./ The baby John they named.
- b/ Dziecko Janem nazwali.
- 29.a./ John the baby they named.
- b/ Janem dziecko nazwali.

Not all verbs, however, allow for this process in English:

- 30.a./# Reagan president they elected.
- b/ Reagana prezydentem wybrali.
- 31.a./# President Reagan they elected.
- b/ Prezydentem Reagana wybrali.

In Polish the sentences with the thematized  $C_0$  or  $O_d$  do not seem to have a high degree of markedness. It appears that Polish sentences require lexical and suprasegmental aids for a given element to be really interpreted as emphatic.

Type  $SVO_0$  -->  $O_dSV$

Object preposing is a very common process in both languages, especially in Polish, where thematic fronting by means of passivization is less active than in English. However a number of English verbs, although basically transitive, do not normally allow passivization /e.g. "have"/, or render the passivized sentences deviant /for a discussion of the operation of the rule see Huddleston 1971, chapter 3./:

- 32.a./? Szymach is not liked by the baby.
  - b/? Szynak nie jest lubiany przez dziecko.
- Front-positioning of an object is frequent with verbs expressing emotion such as "like, dislike, despise, forget, remember, trust," which are stative and combine with an Experiencer subject /Fillmore 1969:116/:

- 33.a./ Dates I could never remember.
- b/ Dat nigdy nie mogłem zapamiętać.
- 34.a./ Football he likes.
- b/ Footballa on lubi.
- 35.a./ Brandy he drinks.
- b/ Koniak on pije.
- 36.a./ Meat my cat will eat.
- b/ Mięso mój kot zje.
- 37.a./ These books you can have.
- b/ Te książki możesz mieć.

In sentences 35, 36 the activity verbs "drink, eat" occur in their stative use /-like to drink, eat/. Marked thematic fronting is possible with true activity verbs, too, and with Agent subjects:

- 38.a./ This book I have read / am reading/.
- b/ Te książkę czytałem /czytam/.

It has been observed that thematization by means of the marked theme is characteristic of informal style/ Huddleston 1971:315/. As far as the scientific language goes, thematization is nearly exclusively effected by means of passivization, 39 a/ being

preferable to 39 b/:

- 39.a./ This sum might be called the total torque.
- b/ This sum we might call the total torque.

It would be well beyond the scope of the present paper to attempt a comprehensive description of verbs in terms of transitivity relations, the semantic functions of the accompanying nominals and the effect these have on the thematization processes. Within the sets of verb-object constructions we can distinguish a number of close-knit structures, where the noun cannot be modified and cannot be moved to the left of the verb by either passivization or thematization: "pay attention, make use of something, give rise, take place, etc." There is such a great amount of syntactic cohesion between the verb and the object, that the two can hardly be said to be independent elements. This is true of both English and Polish.

Type SVO<sub>1</sub>O<sub>d</sub> ---> O<sub>d</sub>SVO<sub>1</sub>/O<sub>1</sub>SVO<sub>d</sub>/O<sub>d</sub>O<sub>1</sub>SV/O<sub>1</sub>O<sub>d</sub>SV

Structures of this type, with ditransitive verbs, relatively easily undergo passivization to comply with the FSP principle, especially in English, so the device of the thematic fronting must be motivated by the assignment of special emphasis / frequently contrastive / to the preposed element:

- 40.a./ He bought a new car. / His old one he sold to his neighbours.

b/ Kupił nowy samochód. / Stary sprzedał sąsiadom.

Sometimes, however, passivization is impossible and marked fronting is the only means of thematization:

- 41.a./ Her office they envied her. /c.f. # Her office was envied her. /

b/ Posady zazdrośczone jej./c.f. # Posada była jej zazdrośczonea./

The indirect object, when preposed, must occur with the preposition *stc/for*":

- 42.a./ To his neighbours he sold his old car.
- b/# His neighbours he sold his old car.
- 43.a./ For Mary he bought a present.
- b/# Mary he bought a present.

In Polish only one type of passivization /direct passive/ is possible, hence the indirect object, when thematized, is obligatorily preposed. In both languages there is a possibility of fronting O<sub>1</sub> and O<sub>d</sub> at a time:

- 44.a./ His old car to his friend he sold.

b/ Stary samochód przyjacielowi sprzedał.

- 45.a./ To his friend his old car he sold.

b/ Przyjacielowi stary samochód sprzedał.

Type S<sub>r</sub>V<sub>r</sub>/SV/ ---> VSV<sub>r</sub>/VS/

In the FSP theory the degree of CD carried by verbs is regarded as mediating between highest and lowest /rheme -theme/. In the linear arrangement they occur as transition elements although they can sometimes constitute the rheme proper. In some constructions they can be thematically fronted. However normal reversing of S and V in type SV is impossible in English /perfectly grammatical in Polish/:

- 46.a./#Was crying a baby.

b/ Płakało dziecko.

English has a possibility for verbs in the sequence S<sub>r</sub>V<sub>r</sub>/V<sub>r</sub> = functional, auxiliary or modal verb/ to be front-positioned:

- 47.a./ Return I dare not.

b/ Powrócić nie odmielaę się.

- 48.a./ Do it I will.

b/ Zrobię to.

- 49.a./ Leave him I could not.

b/ Zostawić go nie mogłem.

Infinitives can be emphatically preposed in concessive clauses:

- 50.Come what may...

- 51.Try as I could...

- 52.Say what you will of him...

In Polish the reordering of S and V is quite common and no high emphasis is attached to the verb /e.g.46 b/.

Type SVA ---> AVS/AV<sub>r</sub>SV

As can be noticed adverbials characteristically appear in the sentence initial position, hence they can hardly be called "marked". However for certain adverbials the thematic fronting must be treated as unusual and, therefore, marked. To those belong

prepositional adverbs with the semantic function of Direction:

- 53.a/ Up jumped the cat.
- b/ W górę skoczył kot.
- \*54.a/ Down flew the jets.
- b/ W dół poleciały odrzutowce.

In sentences with the pronominalized subjects, which are too empty to stand finally, the preposed adverbs acquire a higher amount of emphasis:

- 55. Off you go!
- 56. Round we went.

Marked thematic fronting of full adverbs expressing Direction, location or time serves the purpose of the FSP principle.

The rhematic subject can be shifted to the end of the clause with the focus pitch:

- 57.a/ On the first floor lives a famous musician.
- b/ Na pierwszym piętrze mieszka sławny muzyk.
- 58.a/ After the war came the problem of rehabilitation.
- b/ Po wojnie przyszedł problem rehabilitacji.

Any adverbial expression that is directly negative or which suggests a negative is compulsorily followed by an inversion with an auxiliary verb:

- 59.a/ In no country will you find more beautiful churches.
- b/ W żadnym kraju nie znajdziesz piękniejszych kościołów.
- 60.a/ Little did I think then that I would be here now.
- b/ Wcale nie sądziłem wtedy, że będę teraz tutaj.

Generally, however, the preposing of an adverb does not affect the ordering of the S and V, and not much emphasis is attached to the fronted element.

Summing up our considerations we can state:

- In English and Polish all sentence constituents can occur in the function of a marked theme;
- In both languages there exist restrictions of syntactic, semantic and pragmatic nature imposed on the marked thematic fronting of constituents, although they are more numerous in English;
- The Polish word order is less strict and more susceptible to the FSP principle than the English ordering, so the preposed

element reveals a lower degree of "markedness" than the corresponding English constituent. It seems that in Polish the expression of emphasis by word-order alone is a less effective rule and it must be assisted by lexical and suprasegmental devices;

- Greater emphasis is achieved by the fronting of an element with the higher degree of CD;
  - Elements which in the unmarked ordering occupy the final position in sentences display a greater tendency to be fronted.
- It seems that the problem of marked thematic fronting deserves a much more comprehensive study.

#### Footnotes:

- 1/ The basic assumptions of the theory were formulated by structuralists from the Prague School /c.f. Mathesius 1975, Firbaš 1964, 1966, 1972, Daneš 1964, 1974/ed./, etc./.
- 2/ CD is "a property of communication displayed in the course of the development of the information" /Firbaš 1972:78/.
- 3/ We disregard here special constructions English has found to organize the elements into thematic-rhematic sequences with unmarked ordering /Firbaš 1964:112, Quirk et al. 1972:951-955/:
- a/"preparatory"there": e.g. Once upon a time there lived a woman.
- b/passive constructions: The matter must be inquired into.
- c/structures of the kind: I am cold. She is a pleasure to teach.
- d/cleft sentences: It was the dog to which I gave the water, etc.
- 4/For various treatments of "theme, focus, emphasis" and related matters see Firbaš 1964, 1966, 1972, Halliday 1967, 1967-68, Huddleston 1971, Quirk et al. 1972, 14 1975, etc.
- 5/ The term "pragmatic function" as understood by Dik /1978:128/ seems to comprise also the function of emphasis.
- 6/ According to Quirk/1972:947/ it is not clear whether the notion of "marked theme" should be extended to adverbials. Some of them characteristically appear in initial position.

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### Streszczenie

Praca stanowi próbę kontrastywnej analizy elementów zdania prostego w językach angielskim i polskim pod względem ich podatności na proces tzw. nacechowanego przesunięcia na początek zdania /"marked thematic fronting"/, uwarunkowanego względami natury pragmatycznej lub emfazy. Szwierdzono co następuje:

- w językach angielskim i polskim wszystkie elementy zdania prostego mogą być reprezentowane w funkcji nacechowanego "tematu";
- w języku polskim, gdzie szyk zdania wykazuje dużą swobodę uszeregowania elementów, przesunięty na początek element ma niższy stopień nacechowania niż odpowiednik angielski;
- w obydwu językach /rzadziej w polskim/ występują restrykcje natury syntaktycznej, semantycznej i pragmatycznej w stosunku do elementów, które ulegają nacechowanej tematyzacji;
- większy stopień emfazy powoduje tematyzacja elementu o wyższym ładunku "dynamizmu komunikatywnego".