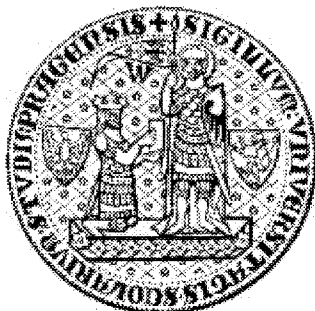


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ÚSTAV ANGLISTIKY A AMERIKANISTIKY



NON-PROJECTIVITY IN ENGLISH AND CZECH
DIPLOMOVÁ PRÁCE

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Prohlašuji, že jsem tuto diplomovou práci vypracovala samostatně a použila jsem jen pramenů, které cituji a uvádím v příložené bibliografii.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis analyzes non-projective constructions in English and Czech. It is based on the functional generative description of language and the analysis of material drawn from the Prague Czech-English Dependency Treebank, the Prague Dependency Treebank, and the British National Corpus. The theoretical part provides a brief characterization of phrase structure grammar and dependency grammar together with the definition of the fundamentals of the functional generative description, and the definition of non-projectivity. The analytical section presents a detailed comparative classification of non-projective structures in both languages. Individual types are studied from the perspective of differences between the surface structure and the underlying structure, demonstrating how the substitution of a non-projective clause for a projective one influences the topic-focus articulation and the meaning of the clause. The main objective is to define factors motivating non-projectivity in English and Czech, to compare them, and to determine whether it is marked or neutral type of discontinuity that prevails in each of the two languages.

ABSTRAKT

Tato práce se zabývá popisem neprojektivních konstrukcí v angličtině a češtině. Vychází z funkčně generativního popisu jazyka a studia materiálu získaného z Pražského česko-anglického závislostního korpusu, Pražského závislostního korpusu a Britského národního korpusu. Nejprve stručně charakterizuje dvě nejvýznamnější koncepce teoretického popisu syntaktické struktury věty, syntax závislostní a složkovou. Následuje výklad hlavních východisek funkčně generativního popisu jazyka a definice neprojektivní konstrukce. Analytická část se zabývá komplexní charakteristikou neprojektivních konstrukcí v angličtině a češtině. Podává jejich klasifikaci, u jednotlivých typů probírá rozdíly mezi hloubkovou a povrchovou strukturou věty a ukazuje, jak nahrazení konstrukce neprojektivní za projektivní ovlivňuje aktuální členění věty a její význam. Hlavním cílem práce je vymezit faktory motivující neprojektivitu v obou jazycích, porovnat je a určit, zda v daném jazyce převažuje neprojektivita příznaková či neutrální, motivovaná gramatickými aspekty jazyka.

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Introduction

The phenomenon of projectivity has been discussed in linguistics since the establishment of modern generative grammar and the development of computational linguistics. The term *projectivity* is primarily associated with dependency grammar, but discontinuity started to be discussed earlier in the phrase structure grammar under the term *discontinuous constituents*. Projectivity is a formal aspect of sentences in which elements related by syntactic dependency occur in the adjacent position in the surface structure word order. Non-projective constructions denote instances in which two elements within a sentence which relate both formally and semantically to each other are separated in the surface word order by one or more words which do not depend on either of them. Two types of discontinuous constructions can be distinguished – (a) regular structural discontinuity which is stylistically neutral, bears no signs of markedness, is firmly connected with certain constructions, and in most cases is conditioned grammatically, e.g. preposition of interrogative and relative pronouns; (b) discontinuity of the marked type which is regarded as a deviation from grammatical order (Dušková 1999:105). Discontinuity, in general, represents a phenomenon which splits into several types and subtypes, each of them being bound by specific language surrounding.

The aim of this thesis is to provide a synoptic comparative classification of both English and Czech discontinuous constructions, and to define factors motivating discontinuity in both languages. The approach to the subject is based on the Functional Generative Description of language, which originated from the tradition of the Prague School of Linguistics.

The first chapter provides an account of the theoretical basis of dependency syntax, the Functional Generative Description, and the theory of topic – focus articulation. The second chapter analyzes discontinuous structures specific to English, the third chapter compares discontinuities which occur both in English and Czech, and the fourth chapter analyzes discontinuity specific to Czech. Each type of discontinuity is analyzed from the perspective of TFA with particular attention paid to differences between surface structure and semantic structure. On the basis of this analysis we also attempt to specify the position of non-projectivity in the system of the languages compared from the perspective of the traditional centre-periphery concept.

1. Theoretical Outline

The theoretical part of this thesis provides a brief characterization of the two most significant concepts of formal description of syntax, i.e. phrase structure grammar and dependency grammar, on which the syntactic theory of Functional Generative Description (FGD) is based. The principle of projectivity together with the definition of a discontinuous construction is given in 1.6 followed by an overview of linguistic studies and investigations on the subject of word order and projectivity. Sections 1.8 and 1.9 specify formal aspects of our linguistic project, outline the hypothesis, methodology, and describe the sources of data.

1.1 Terminology

Terminology in this field varies according to individual authors and regional linguistic tradition. The following terms occur in studies on projectivity, word order and TFA: *non-projective construction*, *discontinuity (syntactic discontinuity)*, *discontinuous structure / phrase / constituent*, *unbounded dependency* or *long-distance dependency*. These terms are used in this paper synonymously to denote non-projective constructions as they are specified together with the condition of projectivity in 1.6.

1.2 Concepts of Formal Description of the Syntactic Structure of the Sentence

1.2.1 Phrase Grammar and Syntax of Immediate Constituents

Two basic syntactic conceptions are applied in the theoretical description of language, i.e. syntax of immediate constituents and dependency syntax. The former originated in the U.S., and it is associated with the theory of descriptivism, which pursued

a relatively explicit description of language without a subjective explanation (Hajičová et al. 2002:31). The beginnings of this structural school date back to the 1930s and they are associated with L. Bloomfield, Ch. Hockett and Z. Harris. Descriptivism provided the ground for Chomsky's theory of two types of formal grammars, i.e. phrase structure grammars and transformation grammars which were introduced on the basis of immediate constituents and transformations. A sentence in the original phrase structure was divided according to rewriting rules into a noun phrase (NP) and a verb phrase (VP). This distinction corresponds strictly speaking to a subject part and a predicate part of the sentence. Each of the phrases is further divided into lower binomial (or multinomial) constituents going as low as separate word forms, or their segments. The essential criterion for determining which word forms or segments form a constituent is immediacy, i.e. closeness (affinity) of the parts. However, no unequivocal linguistic rules can be applied to determine such immediacy, and therefore the determination of immediate constituent depends only on the intuition of native speakers, e.g. in case a predicative verb is modified by two adjuncts, the syntactic structure of the sentence does not make it possible to decide which of them is more closely connected to the verb (Sgall et al. 1969:14); (Hajičová 2006). Moreover, the syntactic concept of immediate constituents concentrated in the beginnings only on the surface structure of the sentence, leaving semantics and the deep structure aside. The significance of Chomsky's theory consists in the fact that it represented a first attempt to describe syntactic level of language and its recursive property by means of formal mathematical methods. Chomsky's *Syntactic Structures* (1957) presented a first formal linguistic approach based primarily on syntax, not phonology as was common to most preceding linguistic theories. The theory was

constructed for the study of English, and it was applied on English, therefore it does not concentrate primarily on word order and its alternatives in connection with changes of the semantic structure. Since word order in English is primarily grammatically fixed, the syntactic function of subject and object in a declarative sentence can be indirectly defined in positional terms as a noun phrase on the left and right of the predicative verb, respectively (Dušková 1994:518). This is one of the problematic issues when analyzing non-projectivity from the perspective of immediate constituents and phrase grammar. Under the influence of growing interest in certain semantic aspects and the problems emphasized by generative semantics, Chomsky incorporated the study of semantic information assigned to the underlying structure into his theory in his later works. The *extended standard theory* by Chomsky (1968), the elaborated version of his *standard theory* (1965) preserves the same three components as its predecessor, i.e. generative syntax, interpretative semantics and phonetics; the semantic component, however, is newly included also in certain features of the surface structure (Hajičová et al. 2002:47). This change was initiated by the requirement of distinguishing between sentences with a different topic-focus articulation (TFA). Chomsky introduced concepts of *presupposition*, *focus* and *range of permissible focus* (Chomsky 1971) which comes close to the scale of communicative dynamism described by Firbas (1978:6ff). Successive studies (Chomsky 1973, 1976, 1980) gradually enable a complex semantic interpretation. At the beginning of the 1990s the tendency to reduce formal descriptive devices in linguistics led to the origin of Chomsky's minimalist program (1993) which reduced the number of interface levels to two, i.e. the logical form and the phonetic form, cf. FGD and the hierarchy of language levels in 1.3.¹

¹ The aim of this section is to outline the main principles of Chomsky's theories with special attention to

1.2.2 Dependency Syntax

The second dominant approach to syntactic analysis is based on the relation of dependency. The dependency relation is considered to be the relation between the two members of the syntagm; the syntagm is a pair of syntactic words, one of which (the governing node) “stands” for the whole pair in its “outer relations” (Sgall et al. 1969:14). One of the criteria for determining which node is governing, and which node is dependent is the possibility to omit the dependent member of the dependency pair. In other words, dependent clause elements can be omitted without making the sentence ungrammatical. From the point of view of the dependency relation, there is no difference between a member’s modifying the whole syntagm and its modifying its governor only (ibid.). Dependency syntax is based on the concept of valency,² and therefore on the assumption that a verb is the major constituent of a sentence which selects its valency, i.e. obligatory complements in order to create a minimal complete structure and grammatical sentence (Daneš – Grepl – Hlavsa 1987:18ff). Obligatory (constitutive) complements represent the only exception regarding the principle of omitting, i.e. although they depend on the verb, they cannot be omitted. Apart from obligatory there are also facultative complements represented by all non-valency complements (ibid.).

Dependency syntax represents a traditional European approach, the first systematic description of which was provided by L. Tesnière (1959). Modern Czech grammars are also based on dependency syntax, cf. Šmilauer 1947 (later 1966); Havránek – Jedlička 1960; Daneš – Grepl – Hlavsa 1987. In the formal approach to dependency

the aspects which are further developed by other formal descriptive approaches, particularly by FGD. A more detailed description of development of generative grammars can be found in Hajičová et al. (2002:32ff).

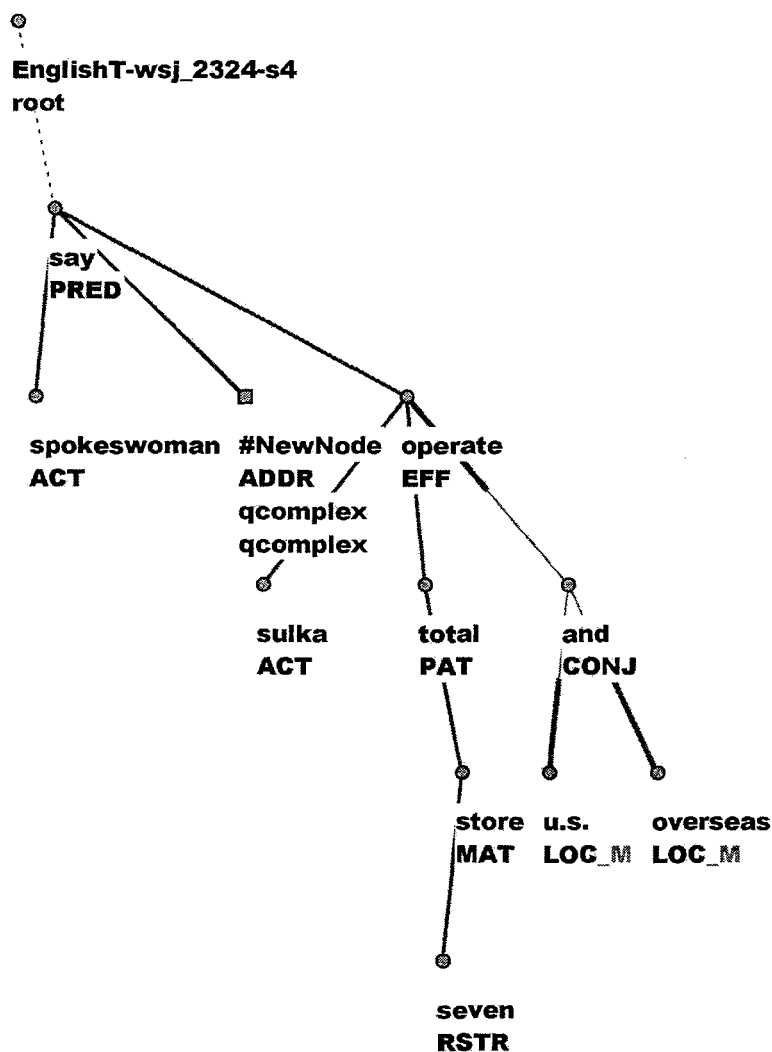
² We use the term *valency* in the way it was introduced by L. Tesnière (1959) and subsequently elaborated by F. Daneš 1974, 1987a, 1987b; cf. also D. J. Allerton (1982).

syntax, each sentence is represented by a dependency tree formed by an interconnected tree-like net of nodes representing individual words (lexical units), and edges representing syntactic dependencies between nodes. Each dependency tree branches in the direction from the governing elements to the governed elements. It has a single root-node, and each clause element is represented by a single node. Each node has only one parent, i.e. an immediately superordinate node. Nodes of a tree are organized both in the vertical direction (according to mother node - daughter node relation), and in the horizontal direction (according to the surface word order and TFA), e.g. Figure 1. The relation of dependency (determination) can be expressed by two means – hypotaxis and parataxis. The constitutive sentential relation is predication arising between a predicate and its subject; predication is considered a specific type of dependency, which is the reason for a subject to be recorded in a dependency tree as a daughter node of the predicate. Dependency can be formally expressed by (i) congruence; (ii) rection; (iii) juxtaposition, cf. also other terms: *adjunction*, Cz. *slabá závislost*, *přimykání* (Hausenblas 1958).

Dependency syntax is able to record all dependencies between individual clause constituents and simultaneously preserve the surface structure word order. The dependency tree edges unambiguously indicate which members form a syntagm; their vertical arrangement signals which of the nodes is superordinate, and which of them is dependent. The phrase grammar, on the contrary, assigns syntactic roles to individual clause constituents on the basis of surface word order position, and therefore an element placed to the left of the predicative verb will tend to be interpreted as a subject, instances of extraposition, fronting etc. causing problems in the formal record. Unlike dependency,

syntax phrase grammar is unable to record syntactic relations between members of a discontinuous syntagm; the only possibility of formal record in the phrase structure is the adjacent variant. The significant advantage of a corpus structured according to dependency syntax is the fact that a tectogrammatical (semantic, deep structure) representation is able to generate both projective and non-projective surface structures.

Figure 1



A spokeswoman said Sulka operates a total of seven stores in the U.S. and overseas.

Tisková mluvčí uvedla, že společnost Sulka spravuje celkem sedm obchodů ve Spojených státech a v zámoří. (PEDT 2324,4)

1.3 Functional Generative Description of Language

Functional generative description (FGD) represents a generative system based on the expression of semantic relations. This concept first appeared in the 1960s at Charles University Prague, following the functional approach of the Prague School and simultaneously reacting to Chomsky's transformational grammars. The fact that a function (meaning) cannot be described without its relation to form, however, was most explicitly expressed by V. Skalička (1935), cf. also other authors who emphasized certain concepts of the form-function relation, e.g. Mathesius (1924), Havránek (1940), Trnka (1953) (Sgall et al. 1969:5). A more detailed description of the relation between the syntactic and semantic level was provided in *A Three-level Approach to Syntax* (Daneš 1964) in which semantic level, grammatical level, and the level of TFA are distinguished. FGD is partially based on this analysis and operates with several interconnected language levels which are organized from the highest, i.e. tectogrammatical (deep structure, semantic level) level toward the lowest, i.e. phonetic level. Similarly to Chomsky's reduction of interfaces in the minimalist program, FGD removed the level of surface syntax and it operates with the level of phonetics and phonology, morphology (in the form of a linear string) and the tectogrammatical level.³ In contrary to Chomsky's theory, homonymy between grammatical and semantic structure is resolved differently in FGD where a homonymous sentence has one common representation on the level of grammatical structure but several different representations on the semantic level, e.g. *Kritika polského delegáta byla správná* (En. *Criticism of the Polish delegate was correct*)

³ Hajič, J. – Hajičová, E. – Pajas, P. – Panevová, J. – Sgall, P. – Vidová-Hladká, B. (2001): *The Prague Dependency Treebank*. CDRom LDC2001T10. Linguistic Data Consortium. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.

in which *delegate* can function either as actor or patient (Sgall et al. 1969:15). A record of the sentence in the surface structure is represented by a sequence (string) of linearly ordered items. In the tectogrammatical structure each sentence has at least one representation which expresses unambiguously the single meaning of the sentence, or one of its potential meanings.

In accordance with dependency syntax, FGD regards a verb with its valency potential to be the centre of a sentence. This approach was first applied by Ch. Fillmore and his *Case Grammar* (1968). Although his theory is based on syntax of immediate constituents, it borders on dependency syntax since it follows Tesnière's concept of valency; the term *case* does not refer to morphological case but to a deep case, i.e. semantic role (Agent, Object, Benefactor, Location or Instrument) (Fillmore 1968) which is required by a verb and its intentional potential, and therefore the case grammar reflects the relation between a verb and its complements. Fillmore classifies verbs according to deep cases, i.e. more or less according to what is called a valency frame in dependency grammar. From this perspective, the case grammar contributed to the connection of syntax and semantics. FGD distinguishes in the tectogrammatical structure between inner participants (arguments) and free modifications, which correspond to syntactically obligatory and optional complements, see 1.2.2. There are several operational criteria for determining inner participants (and therefore obligatory complements) within a sentence, e.g. the „*Nevím*“ test described by Panevová (1980:29ff). In a dialogue starting with a sentence *Parents have arrived* it is impossible to answer the question *Where to?* with *I do not know* (Cz. *Nevím*). Consequently, the direction with the meaning (*to*) *where* represents an obligatory complementation, i.e. inner participant of the verb *to arrive*.

However, the question *With whom?* can be answered with *I do not know*, therefore it represents a free modification of the verb. FGD distinguishes the following inner participants: Actor (Act), Patient (Pat), Addressee (Addr), Origo (Orig), Effect (Eff) (Panevová 1980:41f). Other complements of a verb are free modifications, e.g. Location, Manner, Time etc.

1.4 Development of the Theory of Word Order and TFA

The analysis of non-projectivity is connected to the analysis of word order and topic-focus articulation (TFA). We understand TFA (also Functional Sentence Perspective) as a segmentation of a sentence into topic (theme) and focus (rheme). According to FGD, TFA is an integral part of a language system since it influences the semantics of the sentence. Two sentences differing only in TFA are not mutually interchangeable in a fluent text; in certain cases such sentences differ even in their cognitive content (Sgall et al. 1969:67).

One of the first structural approaches to word order in Czech was provided by the Prague Linguistic Circle, esp. V. Mathesius⁴, who summarized (1947:327ff) linguistic research in word order since the beginning of 20th century and confronted three studies by J. Zubatý (Zubatý 1901), V. Ertl (Ertl 1914) and F. Trávníček (Trávníček 1937). According to Mathesius, Zubatý was the first Czech linguist to denote a different way of presenting known and unknown information in the sentence. Mathesius then distinguished that “the element about which something is stated may be said to be the basis of the utterance or the theme, and what is stated about the basis is the nucleus of the

⁴ However, it should be noted that the importance of the phenomenon now subsumed under the heading of the topic-focus dichotomy has been known since H. Weil and G. von der Gabelenz (Firbas 1978:3; Sgall et al. 1986:175).

utterance or rheme” (Mathesius 1975:81). Mathesius also determined what later started to be called TFA to be the most significant word order factor, other factors being rhythm, grammatical word order and the adjacency principle described by Ertl. Almost all subsequent linguistic studies on word order have been based on the definition and hierarchization of these word order factors. Ertl’s distinction of types of word order stems from the development of intonation and from the presence or absence of stress (Ertl 1914). Another substantial contribution to the analysis of word order is given by Mathesius’s description of the main word order tendencies in English (Mathesius 1975:153ff).

A very detailed analysis of word order factors and their hierarchization is provided by V. Šmilauer, see Šmilauer (1966:63ff). Šmilauer’s view corresponds in most aspects with Mathesius’s. Šmilauer also considers TFA the most important motivation for the change of the surface structure word order, followed by grammatical aspects of word order including adjacency. The adjacency principle induces the impossibility to separate certain members in the surface structure from each other because of their close affiliation. Other word order factors are represented by phonetic character of the sentence and marginally also by traditionalisms and foreign influences (ibid.). It is Šmilauer’s detailed and accurate definition of word order factors that most studies on Czech word order started to be based on. Regarding structural approach, later studies of TFA were published by J. Firbas (1957, 1978, 1992), F. Daneš (1970, 1974), A. Svoboda (1978) and linguists bound with FGD, particularly Sgall et al. (1980, 1986), Hajičová et al. (1998). Firbas analyzed the sentence structure showing that not only a topic-focus dichotomy, but a whole scale of communicative dynamism (CD) is present, distinguishing degrees of

CD, e.g. in the unmarked cases, each lexical unit has a higher degree of CD than those standing to the left of it. Daneš investigated the relation of ‘theme’, ‘rheme’ and intonation, as well as the structure of a text in terms of ‘thematic’ progressions.

1.5 TFA in English and Czech

The information structure of the sentence can be defined on the basis of three aspects: (i) the division of lexical units into contextually bound and non-bound; (ii) the division of the tectogrammatical structure into topic and focus; (iii) the hierarchization of communicative dynamism, cf. Sgall et al. (1986:178f). An individual lexical unit in the sentence is context dependent if it is regarded as “given”, easily accessible in the hearer’s memory, i.e. salient, activated above the upper threshold in the stock of shared knowledge. A contextually non-bound element is regarded as new, or not recoverable (Sgall – Hajičová - Panevová 1986:179). Contextually bound elements appear typically in the topic while non-bound elements in the focus. Quirk et al. (1985:1356ff) identifies information units with tone units, and information focus with intonation nucleus; the neutral position of the focus is at the end of the sentence, any other position is described as marked, cf. also the term *intonation centre*⁵ (Sgall – Hajičová - Buráňová 1980:14) and Mathesius’s term *objective word order* (Mathesius 1975:153ff). Concerning TFA, there are usually several variants of a single sentence and minor changes of word order are able to induce significant changes in TFA, and thus in semantics.

It should be noted that word order as means of TFA does not assert itself equally in English and Czech due to different typological features of both languages. In Czech,

⁵ The intonation centre is carried by the focus proper, i.e. the most dynamic element within the sentence (Sgall 1999).

the information structure is hierarchically superordinate to the syntactic structure while in English, it is primarily grammatical structure that influences the position of clause elements, cf. Dušková (1994:518)⁶. TFA in English can be indicated by various means. A major role in TFA is played by context and semantic structure along with intonation in speech; due to greater importance of intonation in English, the identification of TFA in written texts can be more problematic, giving rise to ambiguous instances, cf. Sgall et al. (1985:134ff); Hajičová et al. (1998:125)⁷. A frequent device of the change of TFA in English is passivization, which is prototypically used to express a contextually bound patient,⁸ and the existential construction with ‘there’, which serves to the introduction of a rhematic subject. The role of verbal semantics expressing or implying appearance or existence on the scene is discussed by Firbas (1966:243). It needs to be pointed out that sentences whose intonation centre is not carried by the final element in the surface structure are more likely to occur in English than in Czech without any signals of stylistic or emotional markedness. Determiners also function as an important means of signalling degrees of CD, e.g. the non-generic indefinite determiner as a rule signals contextual independence, whereas the definite determiner can mark nouns both as belonging to the topic, or to the focus. TFA in English can also be indicated by various lexical means, e.g. rhematizers, thematizing elements, or specific syntactic constructions such as cleft, pseudo-cleft sentences, topicalization, and left-dislocation (Sgall et al. 1980:126f). There is a set of general rules which can be claimed to be valid of all sentences (Hajičová

⁶ Deviations from grammatical word order are extremely rare in English, only 3.2%. More than 60% of English clauses correspond to the basic TFA, i.e. the topic precedes the focus (Dušková 1999:251f).

⁷ Consequently, in English a written text represents a less reliable ground for TFA analysis than in Czech (Sgall et al. 1980:135).

⁸ cf. also functions of passivization in Czech, e.g. suppression of the prominence of the agent (Havránek 1928:16)

1984): (i) if the predicative verb or any of the nodes directly dependent on it is contextually non-bound, all these nodes form a part of the focus in the underlying structure; (ii) if a node different from the root node belongs to the focus, all nodes which depend on it do also belong to the focus; (iii) if the root node and simultaneously all its daughter nodes are contextually bound, it needs to be examined whether any daughter nodes of the node which is placed most to the right are not contextually non-bound; (iv) all nodes which are not part of the focus belong to the topic.

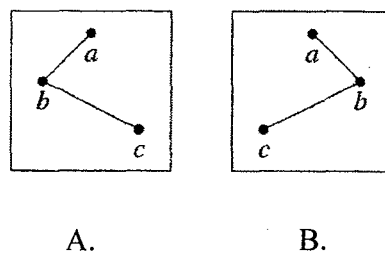
1.6 The Definition of Non-Projective Constructions

According to FGD the tectogrammatical representation of the sentence has the form of a dependency tree with a single root node, see 1.1.2. Individual nodes are connected by means of edges. Linear arrangement of nodes from the left to the right meets the condition of projectivity. A sentence is projective if between a governing node and an immediately subordinate node there are only nodes immediately or mediately dependent on the governing node (Hajičová et al. 2002:88). All clauses interrupting any syntactic dependency in the surface structure by another element that does not directly depend on either of them violate the projectivity condition, and they are called non-projective. Non-projectivity is caused by two main reasons: i) any two edges cross; ii) a perpendicular leading from a node in vertical direction crosses an edge (Uhlířová 1972).

Non-projective clauses in English and Czech have a different status, they occur in discourse under different conditions. Most Czech discontinuous constructions can occur only in a specific context, i.e. under specific language conditions while English clauses may display structural discontinuity, cf. Hajičová 2006, Dušková 1999:105. A wide range

of inflectional means and the free word order in Czech enable significant changes in the surface structure of a sentence according to the communication needs and goals of the speaker; therefore in Czech, it is possible to front or otherwise extrapose even such elements whose syntactic dependency could in English be determined only by their word order. Figure 2 demonstrates the two types of non-projectivity, i.e. right-branching and left-branching.

Figure 2



The types of projectivity violation in A and B can be represented by examples (1) and (2) respectively.

- (1) Of all the one-time expenses incurred by a corporation or professional firm, few are larger or longer term than the purchase of real estate or the signing of a commercial lease. (PEDT: 2444,1)
- (2) Everybody was still confident, including most institutional investors. (PEDT: 2210,25)

1.7 Projectivity in Linguistics

A detailed systematic typology of discontinuity in English is provided by Dušková (1999:106ff). This typology corresponds to that presented by R. Quirk et al. in *Comprehensive Grammar of English Language* (1985:496ff; 1302; 1397ff). The following types of discontinuity are discussed:

- (i) discontinuous prepositional phrase: *He worked, without for the most part any reward.* (Quirk et al. 1985:1401)
- (ii) clauses of comparison: *They visit her more frequently than they used to now that she's ill.* (Quirk et al. 1985:1399)
- (iii) discontinuous adjective phrase: *This is a different result from ours.* (Quirk et al. 1985:1400)
- (iv) divided apposition: *An unusual present was given to him, a book on ethics.* (Quirk et al. 1985:1302)
- (v) discontinuous postmodification of the governing noun: *The time had come to decorate the house for Christmas.* (Quirk et al. 1985:1397)
- (vi) split infinitive: *For me to suddenly resign my job is unthinkable.* (Quirk et al. 1985:496)
- (vii) transitive phrasal verbs with pronominal object: *He turned it down.* (Dušková 1999:107)

Dušková's study also compares individual types in English with their potential counterparts in Czech. Major attention is paid to discontinuous postmodification.

Another modern descriptive theory based on dependency syntax which discusses discontinuity is *Word Grammar* by R. Hudson (1984, 2000). In contrary to Chomsky, Hudson refuses to divide a word form into inflectional parts and a root; morphology is left aside in his approach. Apart from standard requisites which need to be covered by every theory of syntax, *Word Grammar* discusses *structure sharing*⁹ and consequently also discontinuity. Structure sharing, i.e. multiple dependency structure in which a member can have more than just one governing node, is the major motivation for

⁹ The term *structure sharing* refers to *Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar* (Pollard and Sag 1994:19).

discontinuity according to Hudson (Hudson 2000). He also identifies reasons why a language demands primarily continuous structures, and introduces 8 conditions of projectivity:

- (i) the no-tangling principle, i.e. dependency arrows must not tangle;
- (ii) the no-dangling principle, i.e. every word must have a parent;
- (iii) the sentence-root principle, i.e. in every non-compound sentence there is just one word whose parent is not a word but a contextual element;
- (iv) the coordination principle, i.e. if a surface dependency from a word outside a coordination to one inside it is tangle-free, the same dependency is possible for all conjuncts regardless of tangling;
- (v) the competition principle, i.e. a sentence has a surface structure which contains just one parent-link for each word;
- (vi) the surface-structure principle, i.e. the no-tangling and no-dangling principles apply only to surface structure;
- (vii) the surface order principle, i.e. word order constraints only apply to surface structure
- (viii) the raising principle, i.e. a word's surface parent is never subordinate to an extra parent, e.g. in **you read it must* the pronoun *you* represents the subject of both *read* and *must* but as *read* depends on *must*, it is only *must* that can be a surface parent of *you* (Hudson 2000).

Projectivity conditions defined by Hudson approximate those determined by FGD, cf.1.6.

The first Czech study whose subject is non-projectivity in particular is the 1972 article by L. Uhlířová published in *Prague Bulletin of Mathematical Linguistics*. Uhlířová

analyzes language data on three levels – syntactic, stylistic and the level of discourse – and she distinguishes 6 syntactically different types of non-projective constructions. Moreover, she presents the typology also of the so-called divided nominal groups, and provides description from the perspective of TFA. The study presents results of the first systematic research into this phenomenon. Her later work on tendencies in Czech word order (1987) concentrates more on word order in general, and it is only discontinuous postmodification and clitics separated from the head that are discussed in detail. The TFA structure and communication functions of discontinuity are left aside in this study.

A more specific problem connected with non-projectivity is discussed by V. Petkevič who points out problems with the disambiguation during automatic parsing of texts in Czech National Corpus (Petkevič 2001). The author distinguishes three main types of discontinuity, and analyzes how strict the rules should be that need to be implemented for automatic parsing in order to ensure correct identification of syntactic relations, e.g. between members of an interrupted syntagm. Petkevič demonstrates that unequivocal determination of syntactic dependencies on the basis of morphological form or the position in the surface structure word order is accompanied by far more complications in the case of non-projective constructions than in the case of projective ones. Such determination involves not only the analysis of the discontinuous pair but also of the wider context (Petkevič 2001). The three types described by Petkevič are: (i) a verb and its object are separated by the insertion of another verb form (*Soubor se nepodařilo otevřít*, lit. *The file [it] did not manage to open*); (ii) an interrogative adjective is separated from the governing noun by an inserted verb (*Jaké máš úkoly?*, lit. *What have*

[you] homework?); (iii) “tangled complex sentence” (*Koho si myslíš, že mám rád?*, lit. *Who do [you] think I like?*).

Apart from Uhlřřová (1972) the most complex inventory of discontinuity in Czech is provided by Hajičřová (Hajičřová 2006) and Oliva (Oliva 2001). Hajičřová’s typology is based on the analysis of language data drawn from the Prague Dependency Treebank (PDT). It should be noted that non-projective constructions in PDT violate the projectivity principle on the analytical level, i.e. the level of surface syntax. The following types of discontinuous constructions were found in PDT¹⁰: The first and most frequent type is represented by function words, e.g. the auxiliary *to be*, rhematizers, the clitic conjunction *–li*. The second type of discontinuity is caused by context-linking particles which are represented as nodes governing the predicative verb on the analytical level of PDT. The third type is represented by dislocated dependents of infinitives, cf. Petkevič’s type *Soubor se nepodařilo otevřít*. The following types of discontinuity are clauses of comparison, discontinuous coordination, divided nominal groups,¹¹ unmarked phrasemes with a dislocated dependent, fronted detached relatives or interrogatives, numerals with a dislocated dependent, compound predicates, and numerals with genitive.

Oliva operated in his analysis of discontinuity with the terms *syntactic domain* and *immediate syntactic domain of a governing element* (Oliva 2001). The syntactic domain includes all elements that depend directly or indirectly on the governing node (including the governing node); the immediate domain includes the governing node and all elements that immediately depend on it. Non-projective constructions are then

¹⁰ The list reflects also the frequency of occurrence, starting with the most frequent types and continuing to the least frequent ones.

¹¹ This term refers to discontinuity in which the adjacency principle is violated for the purpose of TFA; members of the discontinuous pair are a pre-posed contrastive topic and a context independent element (Hajičřová 2006).

described as violation of continuity of the domain of a governing element. Three types of non-projectivity are distinguished in this way: (i) the initial position in the discontinuous domain is occupied by a relative or interrogative pronoun; (ii) discontinuity is caused by clitic climbing, i.e. a clitic bound to an infinitive climbs to the position of clitics bound to the predicative verb; (iii) the division of domain in order to integrate one of its parts into topic and the other into focus, e.g. *Těchto ptáků přilétají každý rok tisíce* (lit. *Of these birds perch each year thousands*) and *Tento lék se Jan po celý den marně snažil otci sehnat* (lit. *This medicine John all day long unsuccessfully tried [for] the father to get*). Oliva also points out the possibility to interrupt the domain of a governing node several times by the same type of discontinuity, e.g. *Co se kdy Pavel komu rozhodl koupit k Vánocům?* (lit. *What when Paul to whom decided to buy for Christmas?*).

Specific aspects of the projectivity phenomenon have been studied also by other authors. Štícha analyzed the so-called tangled complex sentences, which represent one of the most frequent types of discontinuity both in English and Czech (Štícha 1996). Research of non-projective constructions with clitics was carried out by Dotlačil (Dotlačil 2004).

1.8 Main Objectives

This thesis focuses on the analysis of discontinuous structures in English and Czech in order to provide a synoptic comparative classification, and to define factors which motivate discontinuity. The aim of the analysis is to define which factors assert themselves in English discontinuities, and which in Czech discontinuities, and to compare whether the types which occur in both languages are caused by identical factors.

The hypothesis is that English long-distance dependencies lay significant limitations on the possibility to pre-pose and/or otherwise extrapose the dependent member of a discontinuous pair. The objective is to examine whether this can be systematically distinguished according to the type of discontinuous structure, i.e. whether individual types of discontinuities display any structural differences which are reflected in the possibility of forming discontinuous constructions. We presume the prevailing motivation factors differ in English and Czech according to typological features of each language, and most types of discontinuity in English are motivated by factors of grammatical nature while Czech discontinuities are largely connected with the information structure. The thesis attempts to determine whether there are any types of long-distance dependencies in English which are caused primarily by the adjustment of TFA, and what position they occupy within the language system of the two languages.

1.9 Material and Methodology

The analysis is based on data from several sources. Czech examples in Chapter 4 are drawn from the Prague Dependency Treebank (PDT), which was established in the Institute of Formal and Applied Linguistics at the Faculty of Mathematics and Physics, Charles University Prague and contains texts from several Czech newspapers and magazines from the first half of the 1990s. PDT (version 2.0) is a dependency corpus in which texts are annotated with rich linguistic information ranging from morphology through syntax and semantics including TFA and coreferential relations.

The sources of English examples are the Prague English Dependency Treebank (PEDT) and British National Corpus (BNC). PEDT is the subsection of the Prague

Czech-English Dependency Treebank, it contains articles from the Wall Street Journal¹² used for experiments with structural machine translation between English and Czech. However, it should be noted that the annotation of English data is carried out only on the tectogrammatical level; lower levels are adopted from PennTreebank, a corpus which was created at the University of Pennsylvania. Regarding the fact that only 4.67%¹³ of the entire corpus data have been annotated so far, a complex set of texts from PEDT was used only as a source of discontinuous postmodification. Other types of discontinuity in English need to be searched due to their scarcity by means of context search scripts in BNC¹⁴. The total of 363 English and 237 Czech long-distance dependencies is analyzed in this thesis.¹⁵

The analysis focuses on the description of TFA of each discontinuous structure with special attention to potential word order alternatives and their TFA. Each discontinuity is analyzed from the perspective of comparison of the non-projective form and its projective counterpart, and also from the perspective of potential limitation of occurrence in either of the two languages. Attention is also paid to the influence of other word order factors which may intervene and partially determine the surface structure, e.g. semantic, rhythmical, grammatical motivations etc. Chapter 3 is based on the confrontation method between Czech and English. It confronts not only individual aspects mentioned above regarding both languages separately, it also confronts differences in TFA bound to various devices of TFA used in English and Czech.

¹² The Wall Street Journal (WSJ) is an international daily financial newspaper; it covers primarily issues of U.S. and international business and finance.

¹³ This state was recorded on 30/04/2007.

¹⁴ All data from BNC were acquired by means of the corpus managing software *Bonito*. The concordance description is given in the sections discussing particular types of discontinuity.

¹⁵ The difference in the quantity of the examined data results from necessary difference in the way of data retrieval; concordance descriptions and the way of sample search are provided in individual sections in which particular types of discontinuity are analyzed.

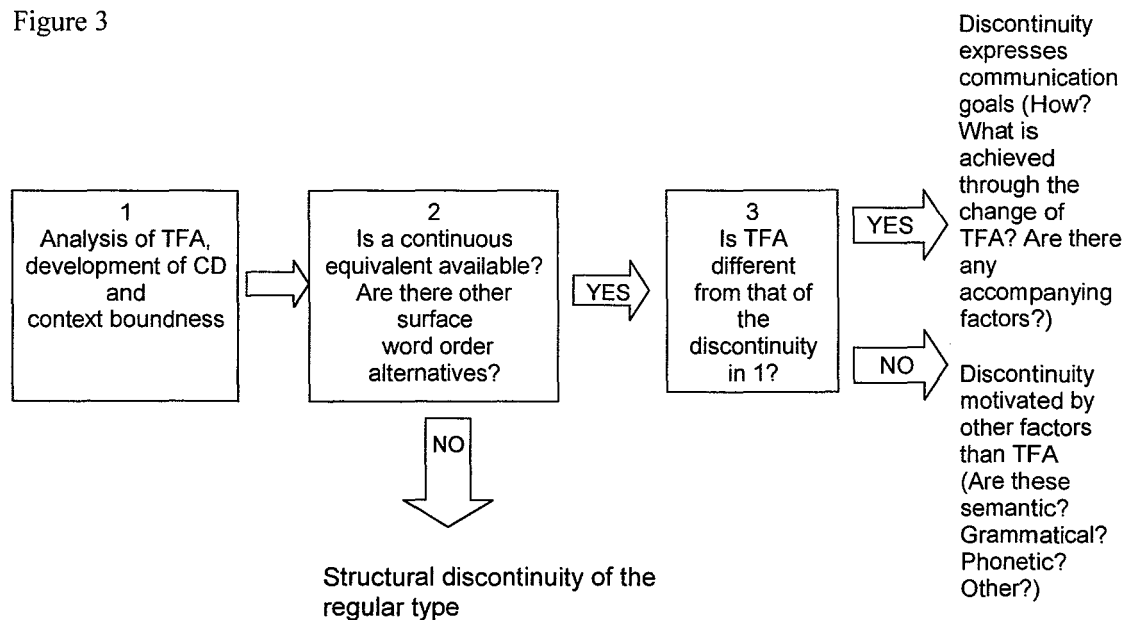
2. Analysis of Non-Projectivity Specific to English

This chapter is concerned with discontinuous structures that are specific to English with special interest in determining factors motivating syntactic discontinuity. There are several types of discontinuity that are specific to English. They include discontinuous postmodification, discontinuity within a prepositional phrase, transitive phrasal verbs, and split infinitive (Dušková 1999:106ff)¹⁶. All these types will be discussed in 2.1- 2.4, respectively.

In section 1 above we stated that non-projectivity is primarily motivated by the topic-focus articulation (TFA). In the present section we concentrate on determining for which of the types enumerated above this statement holds true and which types of discontinuity are motivated by other factors. The types of discontinuity that are motivated by structural aspects of English and are grammatical in their nature will be discussed only in a brief outline; those motivated by other aspects will be analyzed from the perspective of TFA. Figure 3 demonstrates a simplified scheme of the procedure.

¹⁶ The discontinuous apposition is discussed in 3.4 as a marginal case of non-projective construction that occurs both in English and Czech.

Figure 3



The analysis focuses on determining (a) whether each type of discontinuity represents a left-branching or right-branching non-projectivity; (b) whether TFA is influenced by the presence of rhematizers, quantifiers, elements typical of topicalization etc.; (c) what position within TFA do the head and the complement of a discontinuous pair occupy, e.g. focus proper, contrastive topic etc.; (d) whether the surface word order is influenced by the principle of end-weight and/or end-focus; (e) what degrees of communicative dynamism (CD) are assigned to individual elements within the clause; (f) whether there are any intervening factors, e.g. grammatical word order, semantic differentiation, tendency to a well-balanced surface structure etc.

2.1 Discontinuous Postmodification

Discontinuity within a noun phrase appears to represent predominantly a marked type of non-projective structures, arising as a result of the adjustment of the scale of CD and TFA and simultaneously representing a counterpart of an adjacent form. It represents

one of the instances in which English surface word order can be changed without any grammatical transformations to emphasize certain elements in respect to their information value. This type of discontinuity can be realized by various formal means, e.g. prepositional phrase, infinitive, participle, dependent relative or content clause. It is apparently not subject to any syntactic restrictions in the sense that it occurs with all clause elements which can be realized by a noun phrase, e.g. subject, object, adjunct, subject complement, object complement. Discontinuous postmodification is rather rare in English, and it is characteristic of formal writing, cf. Dušková (1999:113). Due to the nature of discontinuous postmodification it is impossible to collect linguistic data of this type on the basis of a lemmatized context search. Therefore the analysis was based on the research of a set of complex texts¹⁷ from PEDT consisting of the total of 941 sentences. This set of texts displayed 28 instances of discontinuous postmodification (2.98%).¹⁸ However, it is to be noted that our aim is not to provide a frequency analysis of individual types of discontinuity but to determine motivations for a phrase to occur in a non-projective position.

Surface word order of discontinuous clauses is often influenced by several factors in cooperation, the most frequent being apparently the cooperation of the principle of end-focus and end-weight, cf. (3).

- (3) She said there is “growing realization” around the world that denial of intellectual-property rights harms all trading nations, and particularly the “creativity and inventiveness of an (offending) country’s own citizens.”
(PEDT: 0020,5)

¹⁷ The researched sample consists of the following sections, each comprising 10 files of various lengths: 221, 231, 232, 241.

The discontinuous postmodification realized by a dependent content clause represents the most dynamic part of the focus and simultaneously it is too long to be placed in juxtaposition to the head. An adjacent form would impair the balance within the sentence structure, cf. Quirk et al. (1985:1398). There is a general tendency to place a discontinuous part of the phrase finally, or to shift it to the right in the surface structure either because it bears the intonation centre, or because it is more dynamic than other elements dependent on the same governing node, or because it is more dynamic than another element which precedes it in the linear word order. Although both the principle of end-focus and the principle of end-weight occur in combination in most instances, the occurrence of the former does not imply the occurrence of the latter and vice versa, cf. (4) and (5).

(4) The impact of the changes is to eliminate many of the most excessive cases where the government has been paying more than \$ 200 for each passenger in SUBSIDIES.¹⁹ (PEDT: 2234,25)

(5) (a) He said such results should be measurable in dollars and CENTS in reducing the U.S. trade deficit with Japan. (PEDT: 2321,6)

(b) Řekl, že takové výsledky ve snižování obchodního deficitu Spojených států vzhledem k Japonsku by měly být měřitelné v dolarech a CENTECH.

The discontinuous postmodification in (4) realized by a prepositional phrase is assigned the highest rank of CD, its violating the adjacency principle makes it possible to place the element with the highest informational value finally, which would not be achieved without the intervening prepositional phrase *for each passenger*. Hence, it is the end-

¹⁹ Capitals indicate the intonation centre and focus proper.

focus that decides on the surface word order. The focus proper in (5) on the contrary occupies a different position from the typical final one. The principle of end-focus appears to be overridden by the tendency to balance the surface structure by placing the postmodifying prepositional phrase finally. If a question test described by Sgall – Hajičová - Panevová (1986:207ff) and a negation test with continuation (ibid.) are applied, the following set of questions and continued negations is achieved to define the permissible range of focus, see Figure 4.

Figure 4²⁰

Question test		Negation test with continuation		
Question	Answer	Negation + Continuation	Range of permissible focus	
(i)	What about such results with regard to reducing the US trade deficit with Japan?	(Such results) should be measurable in dollars and cents.	Such results in reducing the US trade deficit with Japan should not be measurable in dollars and cents – but they need to be included in the international index.	should be measurable in dollars and cents
(ii)	Such results in reducing the US trade deficit with Japan should be measurable in what?	(In) dollars and cents.	Such results in reducing the US trade deficit with Japan should not be measurable in dollars and cents– but in Euros.	(in)dollars and cents

The operational criteria used to define TFA in (i) and (ii) produce the range of permissible focus that is acceptable in this particular context. Consequently, it is to be noted that individual ranks within TFA cannot be defined merely on the positional basis regarding pre-verbal and post-verbal positions. Concerning postmodification in (5), the parts of a discontinuous pair occupy different positions in the pre- and post-verbal

²⁰ The analysis concerns only the dependent clause of (5)(a).

segmentation of a clause, i.e. one of them occurs pre-verbally while the other post-verbally. From the perspective of TFA, however, they appear to pertain to the same part of information structure, i.e. both belong to the topic. According to Barešová (1994:98) the most frequent element that disrupts the adjacency of a subject and its postmodification is a verb, indicating that not only is the discontinuous modification assigned higher degree of CD, it is also placed post-verbally. Since our analysis displayed only 7 instances of discontinuous subject, a partial survey was carried out on the basis of context search scripts in the British National Corpus (BNC) to achieve more detailed information on TFA of such cases. The analysis of the total of 65 instances of discontinuous subject²¹ displays the following distribution of TFA, see Figure 5 and examples (4) to (8).

Figure 5

	Subject (head)	Postmodification (complement)	Tokens	% ²²
(i)	topic	focus proper	56	86,2
(ii)	topic	topic (the most dynamic element within topic)	3	4,6
(iii)	focus (notional subject)	focus proper	4	6,2
(iv)	topic (the most dynamic element within topic)	topic (the least dynamic element within topic)	2	3,1

²¹ The BNC was accessed by means of the corpus managing software *Bonito*. The concordance description: Query lc,[lemma="opinion"] Positive filter 1 4 1 [tag="PR."] analogically transformed for other lemmas. Three nouns (*opinion*, *reaction*, *time*) were analysed to ensure that the most frequent formal means of discontinuous postmodification are likely to occur in the results, i.e. prepositional phrase, infinitive, dependent clause. The distribution of the results is the following: *opinion* 3 tokens, *reaction* 10 tokens, *time* 45 tokens.

²² Ratio of all instances of discontinuous postmodification analysed in this paper.

Most discontinuous subjects extrapose the postmodification in order to emphasize its information value and place the focus proper finally. Although projectivity of the clause is violated in most discontinuous subjects by an infinitive without any other complements subordinated to the infinitive, in certain instances the postposition is influenced also by end-weight, cf. (6).

- (6) Why is it that when the time comes to refit the kitchen or bathroom, replace the lounge suite, plan the family holiday, or an irresistible opportunity arises to indulge in one of your hobbies, you invariably find yourself short of money? (BNC: EE0,694)

The most frequent intervening element in (i) is, in accordance with Barešová (1994:98), the predicative verb, distinguishing the typically pre-verbal topic from the typically post-verbal focus. The TFA distribution in (ii) reflects a discontinuity within topic, in which the most dynamic element violates projectivity and shifts from the governing node to the right in the linear word order, cf. (7).

- (7) Meanwhile, BSDI's only reaction so far to our story last week is to claim Bill Jolitz was a founder of BSDI. (BNC: CTS,260)

A reversed situation arises in (iv) in which a preposition postmodifying phrase is fronted, enabling the more dynamic head to occupy the final surface position within the topic and at the same time to contrast with the initial postmodification, cf. (8).

- (8) (a) Of all the one-time expenses incurred by a corporation or professional firm, few are larger or longer term than the purchase of real estate or the signing of a commercial lease. (PEDT: 2444,1)

(b) Ze všech jednorázových výdajů způsobených korporací nebo profesionální firmou je málo větších nebo dlouhodobějších než nákup nemovitosti nebo podpis komerčního pronájmu.

Non-projectivity in which both parts of a discontinuous pair belong to the focus such as in (iii) is represented by two main types of predication – copular predication with anticipatory *it*, and existential constructions with *there*, cf. (9) and (10).

(9) ...he'd come back and you think it is the beginning of the erm God I hope not but it is a reaction obviously er to the radiation treatment...
(BNC: KP1,9745)

(10) She said there is growing realization around the world that denial of intellectual-property rights harms all trading nations, and particularly the creativity and inventiveness of an (offending) country's own citizens. (PEDT: 0020,5)

The existential constructions with *there* are a special device for focalization of subjects in English. The intervening element is often a locative adjunct, which represents a scene setting element, and is typically placed in a post-verbal position if not functioning as connective device to prior context, cf. Dušková (1999:114).

Other factors that are able to motivate discontinuity within a noun phrase are internal discontinuity, grammatical word order, semantic distinction, and partially also coordination. All of them represent factors which usually play a partial role in motivating discontinuity, being accompanied by some of the major factors discussed above such as end-focus, end-weight, and rank of CD. Internal discontinuity and grammatical word order appear to share certain aspects as they are both connected with structural ordering

of clause elements within English sentences. The former causes discontinuity in case another phrase postmodifying the same governing node precedes in the surface structure, cf. Quirk et al. (1985:1397f). Phrases whose form indicates a closer relationship to the head tend to be placed first in the linear arrangement, e.g. of-genitive, as opposed to phrases whose form is more or less independent. The ordering in this case is also influenced by the development of CD and/or end-weight, cf. (11).

- (11) The Bush administration, trying to blunt growing demands from Western Europe for a relaxation of controls on exports to the Soviet bloc, is questioning whether Italy's Ing. C. Olivetti & Co. supplied militarily valuable technology to the Soviets. (PEDT: 2326,1)

Grammatical word order motivating non-projectivity involves instances in which usually an adverbial is inserted into a noun phrase. This motivation asserts itself typically in post-verbal positions, particularly in a discontinuous object, in which the head of the discontinuous phrase belongs to the focus and the complement constitutes the focus proper, e.g. (12).

- (12) Mrs. Hills said the U.S. won't accept any delays after Nov. 13 because U.S. fish-processing firms enter into contracts in the fall to purchase the next season's catch. (PEDT: 2214,12)

The insertion of the temporal adjunct reflects the word order pattern SVOA and therefore a temporal setting, which is less dynamic than the object, does follow the object.

Semantic distinction as a factor motivating discontinuity occurs where there is need to add some scene-setting circumstances to a particular element which does not occupy the final surface position, e.g. (13).

- (13) Non-interest income fell 6 % in the quarter, mainly because of an unusual gain a year earlier from the sale of Hong Kong banking operations. (PEDT 2211,46)

Placing the temporal modification *a year earlier* in (13) between the head and its complement is incurred by the fact that placing it finally would change the meaning of the sentence. In a discontinuous position the temporal setting relates to the noun *gain*, if placed finally it would indicate a relation to the noun *operations*.

Coordination represents a marginal factor motivating a non-projective position of a noun phrase, the primary reason for motivation being usually one of the major TFA adjusting factors. Its role consists in the tendency to have coordinated structures the form of whose members is identical, cf. (14).

- (14) (a) Concorde trans-Atlantic flights are \$ 2,400 to Paris and \$ 3,200 to London. (PEDT: 2311,1)

(b) Lety Concordem přes Atlantic stojí 2 400 dolarů do Paříže a 3 200 dolarů do Londýna.

To summarize, discontinuous postmodification represents predominantly a right-branching non-projectivity with a head of the phrase being placed more to the left in the surface word order than the complement. There are several aspects which motivate this type of discontinuity. Generally, it can be distinguished between primary and secondary factors, the former being represented by the principle end-focus, end-weight and the degree of CD, the latter being represented by internal discontinuity, grammatical word order, semantic distinction, and coordination. Frequently, these factors do not operate separately but occur in cooperation, cf. Figure 6.

Figure 6

Factor motivating non-projectivity in discontinuous postmodifications	%²³
End-focus	14.29%
End-focus + end-weight	28.57%
End-weight + well-balanced structure	7.14%
Internal discontinuity	21.43%
Grammatical word order + end-focus	10.71%
CD (position different from focus-proper)	7.14%
Semantic distinction	7.14%
Coordination	3.57%

2.2 Discontinuous Prepositional Phrase

A prepositional phrase is treated in a different way in grammatical description of English and of Czech. In English grammars, a preposition is prototypically considered a head, which is complemented by a noun or pronoun whereas in Czech a preposition is supposed to be closely linked to a noun (both for syntactic and rhythmic reasons), and therefore it cannot stand in a discontinuous position.²⁴ It also cannot be assigned a degree of CD or a function within the TFA that differs from that of the noun. All these features make it difficult to provide a formal description of this type of discontinuity. On the basis of our language material we attempt to explain whether it is a continuous or a discontinuous prepositional phrase that is preferred in English and in which cases non-projectivity displays, at least partial, motivations connected to the information structure. Discontinuity within a prepositional phrase is represented by five subtypes: (i) tough-

²³ Ratio of all instances of discontinuous postmodification analyzed in this paper.

²⁴ However, it needs to be pointed out that there are exceptions in which a prepositional phrase can occur in a discontinuous position even in Czech, e.g. *Američané si trpce stěžovali na pod cenou prodávané napodobené výrobky z Japonska.* (PDT 2406,16)

movement; (ii) discontinuity with a *wh*-word; (iii) discontinuity following an intensified adjective in the surface word order; (iv) infinitive with postmodifying function; (v) passive of prepositional verbs (Dušková 1999:106).

In terms of comparison to Czech, English discontinuous prepositional phrase has no equivalent which is also the reason for complications that arise in a formal description. In a dependency tree in all corpora structured according to dependency syntax principles and FGD, a preposition cannot occur in the position of a head, and therefore it is treated as a form of a grammateme. It should also be noted that in Czech, the case of nouns is indicated both by a preposition and an inflectional ending; in English and other analytical languages in which case markers in nouns are lacking, the relation between a preposition and a noun is looser (Dušková 1999:107).

2.2.1 Tough-movement

The English data were achieved from BNC on the basis of context search scripts. All examples of tough-movement were searched on the basis of the occurrence of particle *to* preceded by an adjective in the left context and followed by a verb and a preposition in the right context.²⁵ The whole examined sample of 1400 hits produced by this search script included 45 instances of tough-movement.

A tough-movement represents a subject raising transformation which shifts an object into a subject position; it occurs in sentences with a copula verb and an evaluative adjective. The standard form of tough-movement with a discontinuous prepositional phrase is represented by (15).

²⁵ The concordance description: Query lc,[lemma="to"] Positive filter-2 -1 -1 [tag="AJ."] Positive filter 1 2 1 [tag="PR."] Positive filter 1 2 1 [tag="VV."]. Clauses with a *wh*-word, or *that* are not included because of its obligatory initial position.

(15) He was great to work with -- I'd do anything to work with him again.

(BNC: A0E,57)

In an object-subject transformation of this type, subject is a context dependent element, therefore it forms a part of the topic. The predicative copula and the following adjective belong to the focus but they are less dynamic than the focus proper, which is represented by an infinitive denoting activity functioning as a criterion or rather an aspect of assigning the thematic subject a particular evaluation. The total of 62.2% of the instances gained from BNC are analogical to this standard form with this particular TFA, the remaining percentage being represented by tough-movement with elided subjects (4.4%), contrastive topics (11.1%), referential duplication (20%), and two possible underlying structures (2.2%). All adjectives included in the data are qualifying, the most frequent being *easy* (10 instances), *hard* (8 instances). The only exception is represented by (16)(a), in which an adjective is replaced by a noun.

(16) (a) If you grew something like CARROTS it'd make some sense. It'll be a

long time before you'd eat any of those flowers. They're fun to LOOK at.

Looking won't get you far in this world... (BNC: A6N,1748)

(b) To look at them is FUN.

(c) It is fun to LOOK at them.

Concerning the TFA and its variants, it needs to be stressed that the (16)(a) through (16)(c) are not considered synonymous since they differ in TFA. The first sentence in (16)(a) introduces *carrots* as the focus proper. In the following sentences with the tough movement, *carrots* and *those flowers* are referred to (as contextually bound elements) by a personal pronoun which is shifted to the topic in the subject position, and carries the

lowest degree of CD within the clause. Additionally, the sentences have a different stylistic value – by using a sentence with anticipatory *it*, speakers acquire a more informal variant while tough-movement shifts the context dependent element directly into the subject function, which is typically part of the topic in English sentences, and makes the entire utterance more formal. Moreover, should the transformed subject continue in the role of the theme of discourse in the following context, its position and also degree to which it is salient within the shared stock of knowledge is supported by tough-movement. The description of (16) can be generalized and applied on all instances of tough-movement with the standard form. Although each individual example in our research has its individual particular TFA dependent on the preceding and following context (such as that of (16)), we attempt to enumerate all context alternatives in which tough-movement can occur to analyze whether all types are represented in the data and to what extent. If a question test and a negation test with continuation are applied, the following set of questions and continued negations is achieved to define the possible context of (17)(a), cf. Figure 7.

(17) (a) Hollywood stars were safe to fall in love with, dead or a million dollars away. (BNC: A0L,16)

(b) It was safe to fall in love with Hollywood stars...

Figure 7

Question test		Negation test with continuation	
Question	Answer	Negation + Continuation	Range of permissible focus
What were Hollywood stars safe to do?	(to) fall in love with	Hollywood stars weren't safe to fall in love with – but to spend a night with.	(to) fall in love with
What did you find out?	Hollywood stars were safe to fall in love with.	Hollywood stars weren't safe to fall in love with – but famous producers were easy to get on with.	Hollywood stars were safe to fall in love with.
What were Hollywood stars like in what respect?	safe to fall in love with	Hollywood stars weren't safe to fall in love with – but dangerous to spend a night with.	safe to fall in love with

Both sets of operational criteria for distinguishing TFA demonstrate the same results. The infinitive together with the preposition represents focus in all of the underlying representations of the sentence; therefore it constitutes the focus proper.

The tough movement proves the single possibility to focalize the infinitive, assign it the highest degree of CD and simultaneously place it finally. Therefore non-projectivity represents the only way of compliance to TFA in case of focalized infinitive. However, it is also possible to adjust the rank of CD and focalize the finally placed prepositional phrase which may in certain contexts be less dynamic than a preceding infinitive in case it is realized by a personal pronoun, cf. (17)(b) and (16)(c).

(18) He can be impossible to bowl against. (BNC: AAW,88)

In case of subject-ellipsis represented in (19) the nominal part of the prepositional phrase is not present in the surface structure, it is indicated, however, by the finally placed preposition. The fact that such ellipsis is possible to occur in English demonstrates the close relation between an English verb and a preposition, and the tendency of the preposition to lean generally more towards verb than to a noun (Dušková 1999:107).

(19) The comfort of having the big glass here at last, he wrote, of living in the shadow of its coldness, its emptiness. No Hildas. No Goldbergs. No words. Just the glass. Cold to the touch. Cold to look at. (BNC: A08,208)

Moreover, it explicitly proves the context dependence of the raised elided subject. It is the preceding context that implicates its unique recoverability.

Another exception from the standard TFA is represented by clauses with a contrastive topic. 11.1% of all tough-movement examples in our data display contrastive topic. We use the term contrastive topic for such a node which is characterized by several specific features: although it is a part of the topic of the sentence, it is necessary to use a strong morphological form if the contrastive node is rendered by a pronoun; it can be signalled by a contrastive stress; semantically, it refers to choice of a set of alternatives and it can be in a contrastive relation to some part of the preceding context (Hajičová et al. 2004). The instances found in BNC constitute contrast on the basis of oppositeness, generalization, compared elements and enumeration, cf. (20) to (23), respectively.

(20) Honest crap you can flush down the lavatory, he wrote, but dishonest crap, of the kind produced by so-called artists, is more difficult to dispose of. (BNC: A08,72)

(21) He did always want to get away when he was with Gina. On the other hand, he realized that if he did, there would be financial penalties. He was also cynical enough to believe that any other woman might be as unpleasant to live with. (BNC: AC3,1194)

- (22) Competitive kicks. Kicks are harder to score with than punches and in recognition of this, a greater latitude in judgement is applied by the refereeing panel. (BNC: A0M,899)
- (23) Partly because the machinery of repression has been so all-embracing for so long, stifling any messages of opposition before they reached a platform, and partly because Romania has for so long been cut off from the mainstream of European thinking and political change, constructive ideas have been hard to come by. (BNC: AAK,368)

The first element of the contrasted pair in the linear word order need not be present in context immediately prior to the second one, but it must be salient and unambiguously identifiable in the shared stock of knowledge. Example (22) demonstrates a context-bound raised subject contrasting with the following context. This discontinuity interferes with a regular discontinuity within comparative clauses.

As has been shown above each tough-movement has two continuous counterparts, each of the surface word order alternatives having a different TFA. From this perspective they cannot be considered synonymous and their use is motivated clearly by end-focus and by the speaker's communication goals. However, there are certain contextual conditions, which partially limit the use of some of the alternatives. An initial infinitive followed by a prepositional phrase may be excluded in cases where the beginning of a clause might be too long and heavy and would violate the tendency of end-weight. Regarding the process of communication, the development of the information structure is faster and more explicit in clauses with subject raising. Not only is the tough-movement shorter in terms of surface word order but also its initial degree of CD is significantly

higher than in clauses with anticipatory *it*, the main reason being a lower informational value of cataphoric *it* than that of an anaphoric pronoun. According to Quirk et al. (1985:89), the role of the anticipatory pronoun *it* in this case is essentially a structural one in the sense that it carries virtually no information in itself, but merely supplies the structural requirement for an initial subject. Therefore clauses with tough movement reach the informational peak²⁶ earlier in the process of communication, cf. (24). In other words, tough-movement represents a more compact and constricted way of expression.

(24) (a) “Christmas is very hard to deal with,” says 22-year-old Mark. (BNC: AA8,287)

(b) It is very hard to deal with – spoilt children/Christmas.

Another significant aspect in deciding whether to use a discontinuous or adjacent variant appears to be the form of subject since the three alternatives bear also certain distinctive semantic features. The process of tough-movement enables the speaker to use the simplest thematic progression, i.e. topicalization of a preceding focus, and to maximize the focus, to load the final surface word order positions with the most important elements, but it also enables the speaker to assign certain quality to the subject of the clause. Therefore (25)(a) assigns certain negative qualities directly to the subject, emphasizing the personal nature of the subject while (25)(b) presents a more or less general statement that ascribes the negative quality to the entire process of dealing with someone, cf. Quirk et al. (1985:1394).

(25) (a) Nissan claimed that Octav Botnar, the reclusive owner of Nissan UK, is too difficult to deal with. (BNC: ABD,2906)

²⁶ We introduce the term *informational peak* only to denote the point in the course of a communication act when the recipient of a message is able to understand the conceptual meaning of the entire sentence although it need not be finished yet.

(b) Nissan claimed that it is too difficult to deal with Octav Botnar, the reclusive owner of Nissan UK.

Tough-movement with referential duplication and two underlying structures mentioned above does not represent any significant deviation from the standard form. The former adds a nominal subject complement directly behind the adjective in the surface structure, e.g. (26); the latter can be interpreted either as subject raising or as infinitive of result because of the initial pronoun *it* which may function as an anticipatory or referential pronoun, e.g. (27).

(26) “German Shepherds are great dogs to work with,” he declared.

(BNC: A17,1538)

(27) It’s too beautiful to look at. (BNC: A74,3061)

To conclude, non-projectivity within tough-movement is motivated by several factors, a major one of them being the nature of English prepositions which lean more toward a verb than to its complement, and the fact that a preposition within tough-movement is complemented by an element that functions as a subject, and therefore it occurs clause-initially. Another motivation arises in relation to semantics and the way of ascribing certain qualities to the subject, as discussed above. General motivations to use tough-movement are purely of communication nature, the transformation enables the development of CD and TFA to be adjusted to emphasize an infinitive which is closely linked with a preposition in the surface word order, and to topicalize the nominal part of a prepositional phrase.

2.2.2 Discontinuity with a *Wh*-word

Discontinuity with a *wh*-word occurs typically in both dependent and independent interrogative and exclamative clauses as well as in relative clauses. The data were searched on the basis of a *wh*-word followed by a verb and a preposition in the right context.²⁷ The search was limited to *what, who, which, how much/many* and *where*. The sample of 1440 hits found by means of this search script included 39 instances of discontinuous prepositional phrases. A *wh*-word or a noun premodified by a *wh*-word is shifted to the initial position while the preposition is placed in a juxtaposed position to the verb²⁸.

(28) (a) You show me what you're talking about. (BNC: A05,1648)

(b) You show me about what you're talking.

In (28)(a) the traditional initial position of a *wh*-word bearing the intonation centre is respected.²⁹ The focus proper in interrogative sentences can be represented either by the lexical verb or by the interrogative expression. Concerning the discontinuous prepositional phrase, if the focus proper is on the lexical verb followed by a preposition, the preposition is assigned a certain degree of intonation prominence; it is closely connected to the preceding verb, and it tends to form a single unit with it not only from a rhythmical perspective, but also from a lexical point of view (Dušková 1999:107). Prepositions in the initial linear position appear to resemble proclitics to a certain extent as they are deprived of their own stress and they represent a single rhythmical unit

²⁷ The concordance description: Query lc,[lemma="what"] Positive filter 1 5 1 [tag="PR."] Positive filter 1 5 1 [tag="VV."]

²⁸ N.B. The relative pronoun *that* can occur in a discontinuous position, however, it bears certain features of a particle and therefore it cannot occur in juxtaposition to a preposition (Dušková 1994:116) Moreover, not all prepositions can occur in postposition, this exception includes multi-word prepositions, several one-word prepositions, e.g. *except, during, up, down*. (Dušková 1994:622)

²⁹ The description of TFA that is relevant to our analysis applies only to the dependent clause.

together with the following *wh*-word (in case the *wh*-word is the focus proper) or even with the following noun.

A discontinuous prepositional phrase appears not to be restricted only to valency³⁰ complementation of a governing verb, it occurs also with free complements. The question whether discontinuity is always signalled by a certain degree of markedness is resolved at this point. English discontinuous prepositional phrases appear to be preferred to continuous word order, and in case of passive they represent even the only possible variant. Moreover, adjacent alternative in the active voice is marked, according to Quirk et al. it is formal and rare (1985:834). The initial position of a *wh*-word is regular, unmarked, influenced also by the fact that it also performs a connective function within discourse.

2.2.3 Discontinuous Prepositional Phrase with an Adjective Intensified by *Too*

This type of non-projectivity was searched on the basis of occurrence of the intensifier *too* followed by an adjective, verb and preposition in the right context. The examined sample of 1440 hits included 5 occurrences of the non-projective structure.³¹ Clauses with a non-finite clause³² of result violate the projectivity principle twice within a single sentence. Discontinuity arises not only within the prepositional phrase but also between the intensifier and the infinitive since in a dependency tree it is the intensifier that is the parent of the infinitive. This discontinuity has two possible surface structures,

³⁰ Based on the Functional Generative Description (FGD) of language, we use the term valency as described by Daneš (1974, 1987a, 1987b) within the theory of dependency syntax.

³¹ Concordance description: Query lc,[lemma="too"] Positive filter 1 4 1 [tag="AJ."] Positive filter 1 4 1 [tag="PR."] Positive filter 1 4 1 [tag="VV."]

³² An inner participant of the predicate is modified by intensifiers *too*, *very* etc.; the construction describes the extent to which the event denoted by the predicate is in relation to the circumstance rendered by the consecutive non-finite clause.

i.e. with or without a deep structure subject present. Instances analogical to (30) display a regular development of CD with focus proper placed finally on the infinitive. The TFA of clauses in which a deep structure subject of the embedded predication is present in the surface word order is slightly different, cf. (29).

(29) (a) Stowbridge was the nearest town, but there was no bus at all between their village of Applewick and Stowbridge, because a railway bridge crossing the road was too low for a bus to go under. (BNC: B0B,1024)

(b) Nejbližší[t] město[t] byl[f] Stowbridge[F], ale mezi[t] jejich[t] vesnicí[t] Applewick[t] a Stowbridge[t] nejezdil[f] vůbec[f] žádný[f] autobus[F], protože železniční[t] most[t] vedoucí[t] přes[t] silnici[t] byl[f] příliš[f] nízký[F] na_to,_aby pod[t] ním[t] autobus[t] projel[F].³³

(30) Well, they're very big things to grapple with, and I don't know that there are any answers. (BNC: A5B,29)

If a negation test is applied, the following range of permissible focus can be identified, e.g. (31).³⁴

(31) (a) to go under

(b) for a bus to go under

(c) too low for a bus to go under

In this particular case (31)(a) can probably be divided into two individual variants since *under* in (29)(a) is a secondary preposition, it functions also as adverb and is more likely to carry stress as opposed to monosyllabic primary prepositions. However, discontinuity with a monosyllabic primary preposition would not allow such division, the only possible

³³ [t] topic, [f] focus, [F] focus proper, [ct] contrastive topic

³⁴ Thetic judgements are not considered relevant at this point although they are theoretically possible to occur.

variant being infinitive + preposition. Both the (31)(a) and (b) are represented in the data since the deep structure infinitive can be both contextually bound or non-bound and therefore the embedded dependent finite clause has in certain contexts its own TFA scheme such as (29)(a).

2.2.4 Discontinuous Prepositional Phrase with a Postmodifying Infinitive

The search of all examples of postmodifying infinitives was based on the occurrence of the particle *to* followed by a verb and a preposition in the right context.³⁵ The total examined sample of 1440 hits included 40 tokens of this type of discontinuity. A continuous counterpart is represented by a dependent relative adjectival clause; a non-finite alternative is not available, which makes this type of discontinuity fully structural, cf. (32) (a) and (b).

(32) (a) There are several birth control methods to CHOOSE from.

(BNC: A0J,538)

(b) There are several birth control methods from which one can CHOOSE.

Both alternatives display the same TFA structure. What speakers choose primarily is not the use of a continuous or discontinuous variant but the use of a shorter non-finite clause or a longer finite clause. This type of discontinuity may be motivated by stylistic and partially also pragmatic aspects, e.g. economy of discourse, compactness of expression.

³⁵ The concordance description: Query lc,[lemma="to"] Positive filter 1 5 1 [tag="PR."] Positive filter 1 5 1 [tag="VV."]

2.2.5 Discontinuous Prepositional Phrase with Passive Prepositional Verbs

The search of this type of discontinuous prepositional phrase was based on the occurrence of the participle, e.g. *asked*, *accounted* etc. with a preposition in the immediate right context.³⁶ The following verbs were analyzed: *ask for*, *account for*, *rely on*, *search for*, *arrive at*. The examined sample includes 52 tokens. As opposed to active voice, the focus proper of passive is represented by the participle connected with the preposition. A continuous active variant has a prepositional phrase in the focus. This type of discontinuity is again fully grammatical, without any deviant nature or markedness. Along with relative clauses both nominal and adjectival, this surface word order is obligatory in passive.

2.3 Discontinuous Phrasal Verbs

The examined sample included 43 tokens of discontinuous phrasal verbs, which were searched as a lexical verb having an adverb or preposition in its right context.³⁷ Figure 8 demonstrates the proportion of optional discontinuity caused by the adjustment of information structure and obligatory discontinuity caused by the use of a pronominal object and possibly also by prosodic factors.

³⁶ The concordance description: Query lc,[lc="asked"] Positive filter 1 1 1 [tag="PR."] analogically transformed for individual verbs.

³⁷ The concordance description: Query lc,[lemma="turn"] Positive filter 1 2 1 [tag="AV."].

Figure 8

Phrasal verb	Optional discontinuity	Obligatory discontinuity	Phrasal verb	Optional discontinuity	Obligatory discontinuity
Turn down	1	1	Get across	-	1
Turn on	1	1	Get off	1	-
Turn off	1	1	Get up	1	-
Take off	1	-	Put up	-	4
Take out	-	1	Put off	-	2
Take up	1	-	Put down	1	1
Bring up	1	4	Give away	3	1
Bring round	-	1	Give up	-	7
Bring about	-	1	Give over	1	-
Bring out	-	1	Look up	1	-
Bring down	1	-	Get in	1	-

Sentences with two possible surface word order alternatives reflect the development of CD rising from left to right regarding linearity, placing the elements with more significant information weight finally in correspondence with the principle of end-focus, cf. (33)(a) and (b).

(33) (a) Busy busy busy...For the first time, she turned Lucy down for lunch. She would not be squeezed in. Or out. (BNC: A0L,2170)

(b) For the first time, she turned down Lucy for lunch.

Discontinuity with a phrasal verb is motivated by TFA only if the object is not realized by a pronoun, in which case discontinuity is obligatory. When in a non-projective position, a particle preserves the nature of an adverb; and it is able to carry stress and function partially similarly to an individual lexical item, cf. Dušková (1999:108).

2.4 Split Infinitive

Split infinitive represents discontinuity with significant stylistic markedness and there are strong objections to its use among English teachers and stylists, cf. Quirk et

al. (1985:496). Our data comprising the total of 41 instances was searched by means of a context search script in BNC.³⁸ Two main factors appear to influence the use of split infinitive, i. e. avoiding an ambiguous expression and placing a less dynamic element before a more dynamic one. To avoid ambiguity is the prevailing motivation; it represents 65.9% of all split infinitives included in the data, e.g. (34).

(34) She had always felt insulated from pain with him, as if the condoms served to forever prevent them from getting unhealthily close. (BNC: A0U,914)

The other motivation, i.e. placing an adjunct or a focalizing element between the particle *to* and the verb enables the most dynamic element to be retained in the final position, e.g. (35). Moreover, discontinuity in this case implies a closer relation between the verb and the intervening element.

(35) I do feel it was a mistake to include Bill Wiseman's fascinating but appallingly dangerous hold-down device, and to then endorse it in a recommendatory way by awarding it special recognition. (BNC: A0X,214)

The intervening elements that occurred in the data are presented in Figure 9.

³⁸ The concordance description: Query lc,[lemma="to"] Positive filter 1 1 1 [tag="AV."]

Figure 9

Avoiding ambiguity	Adjustment of CD
rapidly	even (2x)
fully (2x)	just
righteously	only
really (3x)	deliberately (2x)
briefly	gently
suddenly	always
forever	seriously
actually (2x)	then
continually	slightly
greatly (2x)	regularly
immediately	fully
once again	confidently
faithfully (2x)	
totally	
never	
still	
further	
partly	
simply	
surely	
equally	

Examples representing both motivations are of similar nature, most of them having the semantic function of manner or temporal setting, with the exception of a group of rhematizers.

2.5 Conclusion

Discontinuous phrases that are specific to English display a various scale of motivation factors. An overall summary is provided in Figure 10.

Figure 10

Postmodification	Prepositional phrase	Phrasal verb	Split infinitive
End-focus	Close relation between a preposition and a verb	End-focus	Perspicuity
End-weight	End-focus	Prosody	Degree of CD
Internal discontinuity	Topicalization of the nominal part		
Grammatical word order	Contrastive topic		
Degree of CD	Stylistic value		
Semantic distinction	Assignment of distinctive semantic quality		
Coordination	Connective function of a <i>wh</i> -word		

The only type of discontinuity specific to English which is almost fully motivated by TFA is the discontinuous postmodification. Other types are motivated by TFA only partially. Concerning discontinuity within the prepositional phrase, it needs to be stressed that the use of e.g. tough-movement is motivated by the adjustment of TFA, but the discontinuity as such is structural. Other subtypes of discontinuous prepositional phrases are also regular with no signals of markedness. Split infinitive represents the only type of discontinuity whose major motivation factor is not end-focus.

3. Analysis of Non-Projectivity Occurring in both English and Czech

This chapter analyzes discontinuous structures that occur both in English and in Czech. They are represented by the following types: (i) dislocated dependents of infinitives; (ii) discontinuity within an adjective phrase; (iii) discontinuous apposition; (iv) pre-posed relative or interrogative expression. The analysis is based on Czech data from PDT and their English counterparts. The examined sample comprises 1000 non-

projective sentences. The primary aim is to determine whether English sentences are able to display the TFA and the form that corresponds to the Czech one, and whether the discontinuous form is a preferred device to express the particular TFA in English.

3.1 Dislocated Dependents of Infinitives

Dislocation of dependents of infinitives is in both Czech and English motivated by the adjustment of the information structure. A dislocated dependent is shifted in the surface word order to a position in which it acquires a certain degree of prominence. Generally speaking, the two most significant positions from the perspective of TFA are the focus proper and the contrastive topic since they carry the highest degree of CD within the focus and the topic, respectively. The dislocation of a dependent of infinitive into a non-projective position is restricted to modal verbs,³⁹ phase verbs, and verbs with a similar meaning,⁴⁰ e.g. *want - chtít, intend - zamýšlet, manage - dovést, let – dát se, begin - začít, plan - plánovat, propose – hodlat* etc., and multiword synonymous expression of modal and phase verbs such as *be able - být schopen (moci), be obliged - mít povinnost (muset)* etc. (srov. Hajič et al. 2001:347; Šmilauer 1947:236ff; Hajičová 2006). The examined sample from PDT comprises 86 instances of dislocated infinitive dependents. This type of discontinuity applies to fronted elements which occur typically in the post-verbal position, i.e. objects, subject complements, adverbials⁴¹, see Figure 11a and 11b.

³⁹ The group of English modal verbs comprises the following verbs: *can, may, must, shall, will, ought, need, dare, used to* and their suppletive forms (Dušková 1994:180f).

⁴⁰ Such verbs are called quasi-modal and quasi-phase in FGD (Hajič et al. 2001).

⁴¹ We are aware that the position of adverbials is relatively movable within the sentence, but it is post-verbal placement that we consider basic and neutral in case of the adverbials which occurred in the non-projective position in the data.

Figure 11a

Syntactic function of the dislocated element		Tokens
(i)	Direct object	51
(ii)	Prepositional object	17
(iii)	Adverbial	9
(iv)	Indirect object	7
(v)	Subject complement	2

Figure 11b

	Czech example	English counterpart
(i)	Přímými jednáními mezi firmami lze vytvořit podmínky pro spolupráci v přenosu know-how... (PDT: 262)	By direct negotiations between companies, one can create conditions for the cooperation in the transfer of know-how...
(ii)	Značně trpělivý musel být předseda České strany sociálně demokratické Miloš Zeman... (PDT: 312)	No discontinuous counterpart of this type (Significant patience had to be exercised by the chairman of ČSSD Miloš Zeman.)
(iii)	Rozdíl byste byl nucen uhradit sám. (PDT: 244)	The difference you would have to pay by yourself.
(iv)	U posledně jmenovaných jde o výkon, o kterém se jim po dlouhou dobu mohlo jen zdát. (PDT: 1833)	No discontinuous counterpart of this type (...performance which they could only dream about.)
(v)	S někým stačí promluvit... (PDT:286)	Someone it suffices to talk to...

Fronting as a process changing the information structure is subject to a discourse constraint: the pre-posed element needs to be contextually bound, cf. Tárníková (2002:101). The primary function of this type of dislocation is to topicalize the dislocated dependent; the examined data display 77 instances of topicalization, i.e. 89.5% of all infinitive dependents which occur in the non-projective position. A detailed description of all TFA variants present in the Czech data is provided by Figure 12 and the successive examples.

Figure 12

TFA of the dislocated dependent		TFA of the governing infinitive	Tokens
(i)	contrastive topic	focus	30
(ii)	topic (clitic)	focus proper	11
(iii)	topic (clitic)	focus	7
(iv)	topic	focus proper	10
(v)	focus proper	focus	7
(vi)	contrastive topic	focus proper	9
(vii)	topic	focus	10
(viii)	focus proper	topic	1
(ix)	focus	topic	1

The most frequent TFA of this type of discontinuity is (i). A dependent is shifted to the initial position, in which it contrasts with prior context, and contributes to the cohesion of the whole text. The governing infinitive occurs typically post-verbally since it constitutes part of a multiword predicate and belongs to the focus, occupying either any position within the focus, or constituting focus proper, e.g. (36) and (37), respectively.

(36) (a) Za jeden forint již není možné v současnosti koupit prakticky nic.

(PDT: 191)

(b) For one florin one can buy practically NOTHING⁴² today.

(37) (a) Tak velké množství trh zřejmě není schopen absorbovat. (PDT:

91)

(b) Such a large amount the market is apparently unable to ABSORB.

As for English counterparts of Czech discontinuous verb phrases of this type, three points present themselves. First, a typically post-verbal element can be fronted only in sentences in which subject does not stand in the focus proper since such cases occur typically in the passive form, e.g. (38). Second, English counterparts of Czech discontinuity with a dislocated dependent in the form of a clitic do not display

⁴² Capitals indicate the focus proper.

discontinuity, e.g. (39). Third, the fronted element in English must not be preceded by any other clause constituent, e.g. (40).

(38) (a) Váš obecně platný dotaz je připraven zodpovědět spolupracovník Profitu. (PDT: 128)

(b) Your generally valid inquiry is ready to be answered by a fellow worker from Profit.

(39) (a) Po každé směně jsme je museli ostřit. (PDT: 248)

(b) After each work shift we had to sharpen them.

(40) (a) Firma tuto loajalitu dovede ocenit. (PDT: 377)

(b) *The company this loyalty can appreciate.

(c) This loyalty the company can appreciate.

If not realized by a clitic and not constituting the contrastive topic, the dislocated dependent can occupy any position within the topic, the governing infinitive standing either in the focus proper such as in (40), or in any other position within focus such as in (41).

(41) (a) V uvedeném příkladu jsme látku na potah museli shánět sami, výrobce potřebný vzor neměl, vyprávěl majitel firmy. (PDT: 512)

(b) In the given example, the textile for the cover we had to seek ourselves.

Only 10.2% of all dislocated dependents in our data belong to the focus, cf. (v), (viii), and (ix) in Figure 12, and they also include all the examples which do not represent fronting of a typically post-verbal element, e.g. (42).

(42) (a) Například jako vůbec první významná letecká společnost začala poskytovat v první třídě místa ke spánku. (PDT: 125)

(b) For instance, as the first prominent airline they started to provide in the first class couchettes.

The TFA recorded in (viii) and (ix) has again no counterpart in English since the fronted element is the infinitive, the dependent belonging to the focus, e.g. (43).

(43) (a) Myslet si můžete leccos. (PDT: 399)

(b) *Think you can anything.

All the examples discussed above demonstrate topicalization of the pre-posed element; it needs to be added, however, that fronting of a canonically post-verbal element in English can also be caused by giving a higher prominence to the focus proper, e.g. (44).

(44) Person A: He cannot stand MARY.

Person B: PETER he cannot stand.⁴³

⁴³ Cf. also the cleft-sentence: *No, it is PETER he cannot stand.*

3.2 Discontinuous Adjective Phrase

Discontinuity within an adjective phrase arises in sentences which involve comparison, and in clauses in which an adjective and its complementation are separated from each other in the surface structure. The examined sample includes 55 instances of a discontinuous adjective phrase.

3.2.1 Clauses of Comparison

“Some degree of discontinuity is the rule rather than exception in sentences containing comparative clauses” (Quirk et al. 1985:1399). In both languages, this type of discontinuity concerns constructions in which a dependent comparative clause (or element) expresses what the element in the governing clause is similar to, or different from. A quality on the basis of which both actions are compared is present in the underlying structure. Comparison is typically expressed by conjunctions *jako* and *než* in Czech, *as* and *than* in English, and by adjectives or adverbs in their positive, comparative as well as superlative form. Projectivity is violated also in sentences with the connective expression *čím – tím* and the English equivalent of the type *the more – the better*.

In comparison on the basis of similarity, the adjective in the function of attribute occurs frequently in the neutral position before the noun. The requirement of neutral position in the surface word order appears to be stronger than the need for a contact position of the adjective and its complement, e.g. (45).

- (45) This story line might resonate more strongly if Mr. Lane had as strong a presence in front of the camera as he does behind it. (PEDT: 0039,25)

The comparison on the basis of difference and proportionality is analogical in both languages. Synthetic comparative occurs more frequently in Czech than in English, which is why Czech clauses of comparison display discontinuity less often than the English ones, e.g. (46)(a) (46)(b) and Figure 13.

(46) (a) Slovensko dosáhlo v uplynulém roce příznivějších výsledků, než se v odborných kruzích očekávalo. (PDT: 151)

(b) Slovakia reached in the last year more favourable results than academic circles expected.

Detailed frequency of occurrence of individual formal means in the data is recorded in Figure 13.

Figure 13

CZECH	Tokens	ENGLISH	Tokens
<i>spíš – než</i>	9	<i>rather – than</i>	10
adverb+adjective – <i>než</i>	1	analytical comparative – <i>than</i>	3
adjective (comparative) – <i>než</i>	11	synthetic comparative – <i>than</i>	9
<i>čím – tím</i>	5	<i>the – the</i>	5
adverb – <i>než</i>	6	adverb – <i>than</i>	5
adverb – <i>oproti</i>	1	adverb – <i>compared to</i>	1
adjective – <i>jako</i>	3	adjective – <i>as</i>	1
adverb – <i>jako</i>	2	<i>as – as</i>	2
adverb+adjective – <i>jako</i>	1	<i>similar to</i>	1
		<i>equal to</i>	1

3.2.2 Dislocated Complementation of an Adjective

According to the analysis of 16 instances of non-projectivity within the adjective phrase included in the data, discontinuity between an adjective and its complementation appears to be caused by four different reasons: (i) transferring the adjective from post- to

pre-position, leaving the complement of the adjective after the noun (12.5% of all instances with dislocated complementation of an adjective in the data) (cf. Dušková 1999:110); (ii) shifting the complement to a discontinuous position on the left of the governing adjective in the surface word order in order to topicalize it (37.5%); (iii) adverbial with the semantic role of respect (31.3%); (iv) discontinuous post-modification of a numeral which functions as a syntactic adjective (18.8%). Individual types are represented by examples (47) to (51), respectively.

(47) (a) Apple II owners, for example, had to use their television sets as screens and stored data on audiocassettes. (PEDT: 0022,4)

(b) Např. majitelé Apple II museli používat své televize jako obrazovky a uložená data na audiokazetách.

(48) O věrohodnosti ohlášené belgické sestavy náš trenér příliš přesvědčený není, zdá se mu přece jen příliš defenzivní. (PDT: 7223)

Instances analogical to (47) are motivated by the system ordering in which a premodifying attribute is typically placed before the adjective. According to Uhlířová (1987:34), discontinuity of this type is caused by the interference with expressions of the type „nový plakát na vývěsce” (En. “a new poster on the notice board”), and it is unacceptable. Regarding TFA, in both the projective and non-projective variant the finally placed prepositional phrase represents the focus proper. Another type of dislocated modification is represented by adverbials with the semantic role of respect, e.g. (49). It should be noted that in the underlying structure, the dependency arises between the adverbial and the adjective, or the ordinal.

(49) (a) Meanwhile, about 125 refugees flew to Duesseldorf, West Germany, from Warsaw, the first airlift in East Germany's refugee exodus. (PEDT: 2102,11)

(b) Mezitím přeletělo asi 125 uprchlíků z Varšavy do Düsseldorfu v Západním Německu, což byl první let v dějinách exodu východoněmeckých uprchlíků.

This word order is regular both in English and in Czech, bearing no signals of markedness. It occurs as a typical modification of adjectives in the superlative form, expressing the respect on the basis of which the highest degree of quality is ascribed to a noun, e.g. (50).

(50) (a) Nature, patrně nejvýznamnější mezinárodní přírodovědecký časopis na světě, nedávno oslavil 125. narozeniny. (PDT: 8332)

(b) Nature, probably the most significant international natural science magazine in the world has celebrated its 125th anniversary recently.

Another fully regular type of discontinuity is represented by numerals and their complements, e.g. (51) in which a prepositional phrase *in a row*, Cz. *za sebou* complements the ordinal.

(51) (a) He said that for the second month in a row, food processors reported a shortage of non-fat dry milk. (PEDT: 0036,61)

(b) Řekl, že druhý měsíc za sebou výrobci potravin vykazali nedostatek odtučněného sušeného mléka.

3.3 Discontinuous Apposition

In this section, attention is paid to the analysis of discontinuous appositive structures in English and Czech. We focus on the discontinuity which is caused by the separation of two phrases, leaving discontinuity with indefinite pronouns and emphatic reflexive pronouns aside. Discontinuous apposition appears to represent a rather marginal phenomenon in Czech since the examined data from PDT comprise only 7 instances of separation of two phrases constituting one element with the same syntactic function.

Czech discontinuous appositive structures that represent a marked deviation from neutral word order are caused primarily by TFA, esp. by topicalization and the tendency to a well-balanced structure, e.g. (52) through (54).

(52) Tři družstva považujeme za vyrovnaná - vás, Rumunsko a Belgii.

(PDT: 7238)

(53) Zvýšeno by mělo být rovněž tzv. pohřebné, a to na 3000 korun.

(PDT: 1443)

(54) Informaci jsme získali z policejního tiskového oddělení jen
přibližnou – popis pachatele ze vzdálenosti dvaceti metrů. (PDT:

7209)

(52) and (53) introduce subject and predicate, respectively as contextually bound, the appositive element carrying new information, and therefore constituting the focus. As opposed to a continuous variant, e.g. *za vyrovnaná považujeme tři družstva – vás, Rumunsko a Belgii*, the object complement *vyrovnaná* belongs to the focus in the non-projective variant; and it carries a higher degree of CD. The focus proper is placed finally in both examples, i.e. on the apposition. Example (54) violates the projectivity principle

twice as it represents both a discontinuous apposition and also a divided noun phrase. The pre-posed noun is topicalized while its attribute stands in the focus.

However, it needs to be stressed that most discontinuous appositions which occur in English do not have a non-projective Czech counterpart, e.g. (55).

- (55) (a) Imports of the types of watches that now will be eligible for duty-free treatment totalled about \$37.3 million in 1988, a relatively small share of the \$1.5 billion in U.S. watch imports that year, according to an aide to U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills. (PEDT: 0026,8)

The intervening element in (55)(a) is a temporal setting with a lower degree of CD, which would be typically placed initially, or in another position within the sentence in Czech, e.g. (55)(b).

- (55) (b) Dovoz těch typů hodinek, které budou nyní kvalifikovány jako zboží nepodléhající clu, dosáhl v roce 1988 výše 37,3 milionu dolarů, což je podle Carly Hillsové, poradkyně zástupce U.S. Trade, relativně malý podíl z jedné a půl miliardy dolarů z amerického dovozu hodinek

3.4 Pre-posed Relative or Interrogative Expression

The pre-position of an interrogative or relative pronoun is in both English and Czech grammatically obligatory.⁴⁴ The examined sample of data from PDT includes 27 instances of this type of discontinuity. However, it needs to be emphasized that pre-position of a relative or interrogative expression can be divided into three subtypes of

⁴⁴ The only exception is emphatic surface order in Czech, e.g. *A ty jsi přišel KDY?* in which the interrogative expression represents the focus proper (Hajičová 2006).

which two occur both in English and in Czech, and one is Czech specific. ‘Tangled complex sentences’ and relative or interrogative expressions occur in both languages while a pre-posed attribute realized by a pronoun is specific to Czech, and therefore it is discussed in 4.2.3.

Pre-posed relative or interrogative pronouns which depend on the predicative verb represent typically a neutral word order alternative, the non-projectivity being possibly violated by more factors in cooperation. This type of discontinuity can interfere with dislocated dependents of infinitives, e.g. (56), cf. 3.1, or with discontinuity with complex predicates, e.g. (57), cf. 4.1.

- (56) (a) Soudím, že mimořádnost - ano, mimořádnost - našeho protinacistického odboje vytvářela svého druhu ghetto, z něhož ani po válce mnozí a mnohé nedokázali či nechtěli vystoupit. (PDT: 269)
- (b) I infer that exceptionality – yes, exceptionality – of our anti-Nazi movement created a ghetto which even after the war many men and women did not manage, or did not want to leave.

- (57) Popisují - li jevy, o nichž je dnes shoda, slovem “údajně”, je tu přece jen cosi k zamyšlení. (PDT: 14808)

Concerning TFA, the relative pronoun is contextually bound, the governing element standing in the focus proper.

Instances of tangled complex sentences did not occur in the examined sample of data, a detailed description is provided by Štícha (1996), Czech complex sentences with non-standard form, e.g. *na každé zakoupené plyšové hračce je nálepka, kterou když dítě*

odevzdá v ZOO, obdrží navíc drobný dárek, are discussed also by Lešnerová and Oliva (2003).

3.5 Conclusion

The types of discontinuity which occur in both languages can be roughly divided into those which represent a regular structural type both in English and Czech, and those which prevail in one of the languages but are acceptable in both of them. The former is represented by discontinuous adjective phrase and pre-posed relative or interrogative pronouns,⁴⁵ the latter by dislocated infinitive dependents and discontinuous apposition. The regular types display identical TFA in both languages while the deviant types may display differences. Dislocation of dependents of infinitives, and discontinuous apposition are in close relation to the information structure; and there is usually a projective variant which is considered neutral and preferred, deviations being bound to particular context and communication intentions. As for pre-posed relative and interrogative pronouns, and dislocated complementation of an adjective realized by adverbials with the semantic role of respect, no continuous alternative is usually available. Discontinuous comparative clauses usually have a projective variant, but it is neither neutral nor preferred.

⁴⁵ This does not apply to premodification realized by a relative or interrogative pronoun, which is discussed in 4.2.3.

4. Analysis of Non-Projectivity Specific to Czech

Discontinuous constructions which have no discontinuous equivalents in English can be divided into three main groups: (i) discontinuous phrases with complex predicates; (ii) discontinuous noun phrases; (iii) quantitative expressions with genitive case. They are discussed in 4.1 through 4.3, respectively.

4.1 Discontinuous Phrases with Complex Predicates

Complex predicates are special multi-word predicates consisting of a semantically empty verb which expresses the grammatical meanings in a clause, and a noun (frequently denoting an event or a state of affairs) which carries the main lexical meaning of the entire phrase. A complex predicate forms a single complex lexical unit (but not a single syntactic unit) for which an appropriate synonymous expression can usually be found in the form of a one-word predicate, e.g. *to announce – to make an announcement; to limit – to impose a limitation; to decide – to make a decision* etc. However, the existence of an adequate synonymous expression involving a single-word predicate is not obligatory for considering a certain collocation of a semantically empty verb with a meaning-bearing noun to be a complex predicate (Hajič et al. 2001). One of the reasons for replacing a one-word predicate by a verbonominal complex predicate may be the fact that one-word predicates cannot be used intransitively (Dušková 1999:407) while in the complex predicate the object shifts to the position of complementation of the nominal part. Phraseme-like predicates⁴⁶ in Czech often occur in the form with a pre-posed nominal part of the predicate, e.g. *důraz bude klást na kulturu projevu*, or with a pre-

⁴⁶ In PDT they are assigned a valency frame: ACT (actor, agent) CPHR (compound phraseme, i.e. the nominal part that bears the lexical meaning of the whole predicate); the complement of the nominal part is assigned semantic role of PAT (patient) and it depends on the CPHR node.

posed element dependent on the nominal part, e.g. *na kulturu projevu bude klást důraz*. Each of them has a different topic-focus articulation and can be used in a different context. The situation in English is different. No concord expressed by means of inflectional endings can be used to determine syntactic relations between the nominal part and its complement; thus it is more frequently the word order that indicates which element is governing, which is dependent, and which syntactic relations can arise between them. The examined sample of data from PDT included 11 instances of this type of discontinuity, which represents 1.1% of all non-projective structures in the examined sample.

It is necessary to point out a significant difference between English and Czech that arises at this point. Czech clauses with complex predicates can occur in the following three word order variants:

- (58) (a) ...bude klást velký důraz na kulturnost projevu.
- (b) ...velký důraz bude klást na kulturnost projevu. (PDT: 1570)
- (c) ...na kulturnost projevu bude klást velký důraz.

(58)(a) is a basic form with objective word order and the scope of communicative dynamism rising from the left to the right in the linear structure. Both (58)(b) and (58)(c) are discontinuous, and therefore exceptional from the TFA perspective. The pre-posed element, either the nominal part (O_d ; semantic role: CPHR) or its complement (O_{prep} ; semantic role: PAT) represents typically contrastive topic if it is placed initially while the other member of the discontinuous pair occurs frequently in focus proper if it is placed finally. The frequency of occurrence of individual word order variants is recorded in Figure 14.

Figure 14

Syntactic pattern		Tokens
(i)	$O_d - V - S / (S) - O_{prep}$	2
(ii)	$O_{prep} - V - O_d - S$	2
(iii)	$O_{prep} - V - (S) - O_d$	6
(iv)	$S - O_{prep} - V - O_d$	1

The variants (i) and (iii) comply with the TFA described above, i.e. the pre-posed element is topicalized while the finally placed element is the focus proper, e.g. (59) and (60).

(59) Ponechme stranou, zda podobnou povinnost má stát k životnímu prostředí. (PDT: 5605)

(60) Na povolení účasti v tomto případě nemá právní nárok. (PDT: 7536)

The variants (ii) and (iv) are demonstrated by (61) and (62), respectively.

(61) S tímto průběhem diskuse [ct]⁴⁷ vyjádřil souhlas [f] i britský ministr Kenneth Clarke [F]. (PDT: 3045)

(62) A YMCA jako majitel by pro to [t] měla porozumění [F]? (PDT: 7467)

The situation in English is different – most complex predicates can usually occur only with one word order variant as can be seen in (63), i.e. the $O_d-S-V-O_{prep}$ pattern in the passive voice.

(63) Doubt will be cast on the validity and justifiability of the principle of induction. (BNC: FBE,217)

⁴⁷ [t] topic; [f] focus; [ct] contrastive topic; [F] focus proper

The variant which would correspond to the Czech example (58)(c) is rare in English, if possible at all, e.g. (64).

(64) On all points apart from the last the union gave specific consent. To the last it raised no objection but it did point out that it might lead to long-serving drivers being made redundant whilst drivers with shorter service at other quarries were retained. (BNC: CDP,1127)

The prepositional phrase in (64) is contextually bound and belongs to the topic; the nominal part is placed finally to contrast with the following context, which bears emphasis both in the structure (auxiliary verb *to do* in indicative function) and in the intonation. In all other instances, however, it is complicated to extrapose an English prepositional phrase to the beginning of a clause for several reasons. Prepositions in English are one of the most frequent means of expressing syntactic relations between clause constituents; therefore, they stand between them in the surface word order. If a prepositional phrase is pre-posed to the beginning of the sentence, the relation is disrupted, i.e. it is no longer word order that establishes the syntactic relations within the sentence but lexical semantics. Another objection against pre-posing prepositional phrases dependent on the nominal part of complex predicates might be phonetic. In the adjacent position, a preposition is reduced and phonetically linked to the preceding word, which would be impossible in the initial position.

It seems there is a certain hierarchy in the degree to which a prepositional phrase is semantically fixed to the nominal part. Therefore the nominal part of certain complex predicates cannot be fronted and the entire lexical unit seems to be more cohesive than others. Their idiomaticity, on the one hand, lies in the fact that their meaning cannot be

composed of meanings of their separate parts but it is lessened, on the other hand, by the fact that some of them can be modified and passivized, cf. (65) and (66).

(65) Only a much less comprehensive record had hitherto been kept of
business done in Parliament. (BNC: GT1,34)

(66) Full advantage should be taken of the interest and availability of the
press, as well as of radio and television. (BNC: FPY,1423)

The possibility to modify the nominal part is connected to the extent of lexicalization these verbs undergo. It is not only the question of premodification of the nominal part but also of the plural form of the nominal part in certain verbs. Although complex predicates represent a single lexical unit, which constitutes a counterpart to a one-word predicate, they act partially as a collocation of several individual lexical units, and therefore they acquire grammatical features typical of their word class. In Czech, active and passive constructions with these verbs are both quite frequent. In English, the active voice is extremely rare within a discontinuous clause while the passive is rather frequent and regular. Passive discontinuous constructions in English bear no evidence of markedness, and they represent structural discontinuity.

4.2 Discontinuous Noun Phrase

4.2.1 Dislocated Postmodification (Non-Agreeing Attribute)

This type of discontinuity violates the projectivity condition by the dislocation of a postmodifying phrase from its head; it occurs frequently (but not always) with deverbal nouns with the meaning of actions and their results. The examined sample of data from PDT comprises 23 instances of this type of discontinuity. The dislocated

postmodification is in most cases expressed by a prepositional phrase (73.9% of all dislocated postmodifications in our data). This type of discontinuity appears to be motivated by topicalization of one of the elements, and simultaneously by focalization of the other, e.g. (67); a detailed distribution of TFA is demonstrated in Figure 15.

(67) (a) O sluneční aktivitě a jejích dozvucích na Zemi v březnu 1991 byly publikovány desítky prací. (PDT: 14814)

Figure 15

	TFA of the dislocated postmodification	TFA of the head	Tokens	%
(i)	contrastive topic	focus proper	13	56.5%
(ii)	contrastive topic	focus	1	4.3%
(iii)	focus	focus proper	1	4.3%
(iv)	topic	focus proper	8	34.8%

Example of the most frequent TFA is given in (67)(a). The TFA in (ii), (iii) and (iv) are represented by (68) to (70).

(68) O úloze volených zástupců jsou mínění různá. (PDT: 7294)

(69) Podle našich informací nebylo po J. Čadkovi vyhlášeno celostátní pátrání. (PDT: 1544)

(70) Naopak svůj náskok neustále zvyšoval před druhým Hradcem na konečných jedenáct bodů. (PDT:194)

Examples of comparison of this type of discontinuity in Czech and English are given in (71) and (72).

(71) (a) O mučedníky víry nebyla ve středověkém prostoru nikdy nouze.
(PDT: 14913)

(b) Martyrs have never been scarce in the medieval space.

(c) Martyrs the medieval space has never been short of.

(d) *Of martyrs the medieval space has never been short.

(72) (a) O jménu Jana z Pomuku není nikde ani zmínky. (PDT: 14926)

(b) The name of John of Pomuk has not been mentioned anywhere.

(c) *Of John of Pomuk there was no mention.

Czech sentences in these examples include nouns *nouze*, *zmínka*, which are complemented by a prepositional phrase. One of their English equivalents can be represented by expressions *be short of sth*, *mention of sth*. The extent of affiliation between the governing noun and its complement appears to vary. In (71), it is the contact position that indicates that the expression *short of* should be interpreted as one lexical unit with the meaning of *shortage*, *lack of sth*. Consequently, (71)(c) is preferred to (71)(d). In (72), the contextually bound complement is typically pre-posed and the verb is passivized. However, it should be noted that the dislocation in (72)(c) is acceptable under specific context conditions, e.g. parallel constructions of the type *Of Mary they spoke a lot. Of John there was no mention*. Outside such context constraints this variant is hardly acceptable; this results from the fact that in the neutral contact position (*There was no mention of John of Pomuk*) the whole phrase *no mention of John of Pomuk* belongs to the focus. The degree of CD rises within the focus from the left to the right in the surface word order, and therefore it is impossible to dislocate a prepositional phrase with a higher degree of CD, to place it initially, divide the focus into two discontinuous parts, and simultaneously to respect the newsworthiness of the pre-posed part. The specificity of English context in which these variants are acceptable is also proved by typical avoidance of non-projective constructions of this type. The use of the discontinuous variant in

English appears to be motivated by the speaker's special stylistic reasons as the violation of the adjacency principle in a language with as grammatically determined word order as English affects the surface structure more significantly than in languages with a relatively free word order.

A marginal subtype of dislocated postmodification is represented by discontinuous phrasemes (4 instances in the examined sample), which partially interfere with the dislocated non-agreeing attribute, e.g. (73) and (74).

(73) S darwinistickou biologií má určité problémy podobně jako s hazardními hráči. (PDT: 14825)

(74) Tomáše je škoda, protože na jeho průbojnosti druhý útočník vždycky vydělá. (PDT: 701)

4.2.2 Agreeing Attribute Divided from its Governing Noun

Agreeing attribute can be divided from its head in Czech in two cases: (i) copular predications with a divided nominal part; (ii) predications with a pre-posed object. The examined sample of data includes 8 instances with this type of discontinuity. In (i), the violation of projectivity is caused by discontinuity between a noun and its agreeing attribute, both of which constitute the nominal part, e.g. (75)(a).

(75) (a) Nicméně shoda je to velmi podnětná. (PDT: 670)

(b) To je velmi podnětná shoda.

The subject of sentences with this type of discontinuity is frequently realized by an anaphoric pronoun. In the projective variant, e.g. (75)(b), the pronoun is placed initially as context-bound subject, the noun together with its attribute standing finally in the focus.

In (ii), an object is shifted to a pre-verbal position, leaving its attribute placed finally, e.g. (76).

(76) Ale záruky nemám žádné. (PDT: 5)

Both types display the same TFA. The pre-posed element is contextually bound and topicalized while the attribute stands in the focus proper.

No equivalent counterpart of this type of discontinuity is available in English, which is due to lack of inflectional endings indicating the congruence, and therefore dependency between the two parts of a discontinuous pair.

4.2.3 Premodification Realized by a Relative or Interrogative Pronoun

Premodification realized by a relative or interrogative pronoun is in Czech motivated both grammatically, i.e. the pre-position of a relative or interrogative premodifying pronoun is obligatory, and by TFA, i.e. the head of the discontinuous phrase is focalized and placed post-verbally. Our data sample includes 23 instances of this type of discontinuity. The discontinuous phrase functions most frequently as an object (69,6% of all instances with this type of discontinuity), but it can also occur in the function of a subject (26%), and nominal part of a verbonominal predicate (4,35%).

As for an English counterpart, a head and its premodification again is unable to violate projectivity in this case for reasons identical with those described above, i.e. lack of inflectional devices to indicate which elements form a syntagm, cf. (77)(a) and (77)(b).

(77) (a) V případě, že je nemá, záleží na úředníkovi, jaké zaujme stanovisko.
(PDT: 18)

(b) In case he does not have them, it depends on the clerk what attitude he takes.

4.3 Quantitative Expression with a Genitive Case

This type of Czech-specific discontinuity arises between a quantitative expression and a noun in the genitive case, or between a quantitative expression and a pronoun in the numerative form.⁴⁸ Discontinuity in this case enables both topicalization of the contextually bound noun or pronoun, and simultaneously, focalization of the quantitative expression, see Figure 16 and examples (78) through (80), respectively.

Figure 16

	Noun / Pronoun	Quantitative expression	Tokens
(i)	contrastive topic	focus proper	10
(ii)	topic (not contrastive)	focus proper	5
(iii)	topic (not contrastive)	focus	2

(78) Podobných otázek, na něž samotní díkové, bez patřičných informací jen těžko hledají odpověď, je daleko víc. (PDT: 82)

(79) Co hodláte udělat, aby jich bylo dost? (PDT: 60)

(80) Lepí ji do průkazky a když jich má 20 v hodnotě 100 Kč, odečte se mu tato částka při dalším nákupu. (PDT: 21)

⁴⁸ The term *numerative* is used to denote the form of a Czech noun in collocation with numerals higher than 4, e.g. *pět knih*.

It should be noted that the position of the pronoun in (79), (80) and other analogical sentences is determined by so-called clitic climbing, i.e. a clitic separates from the element to which it is linked by a dependency relation, and it “climbs” to a rhythmically convenient position in the surface.

English quantitative expressions of this type have usually the form of a quantifier and a prepositional phrase, e.g. *enough of sth*, or a quantifier is immediately followed by the governing noun, e.g. *few books*. The only discontinuous variant is the discontinuous postmodification realized by a prepositional phrase as was demonstrated by (8)(a) in 2.1. However, the Czech counterpart does not represent the type of discontinuity which is discussed in this section.

4.4 Conclusion

Types of discontinuity which appear specifically in Czech are caused predominantly by the division of a syntagm into two parts which occupy typically the two most significant positions within TFA, i.e. the contrastive topic and the focus proper. The specificity lies in the discontinuity of even such elements whose syntactic dependency would be indicated in English merely by their contact position. The highest degree of markedness and deviation is displayed by agreeing attributes divided from their heads since this type is subject to strict context constraints. Moreover, the agreeing attribute in Czech is typically realized by an adjective and it is placed in pre-position while in this type of discontinuity, it is placed both after the head and in a non-projective position.

5. Conclusion

Our comparative analysis of discontinuity in English and Czech, as presented in the preceding chapters, results in the definition of 11 types of discontinuity, four of which occur typically in English, four in both languages, and three in Czech⁴⁹. It should be noted that the classification based on the outcomes of our analysis distinguishes also several types that are not explicitly discussed and distinguished in previous linguistic studies which provide an overview of discontinuity either in English or in Czech, cf. 1.7. Our classification includes also discontinuous adjective phrases whose discontinuous complement functions as an adverbial of respect; dislocated dependents of infinitives (although not all of them are able to occur in a discontinuous form in English), and discontinuous apposition is regarded as discontinuity occurring in both English and Czech albeit marginally in the latter. Based on the results of the analysis, it is possible to compile the following synoptic classification of non-projective constructions in English and Czech, see Figure 17, and to postulate the following concluding remarks:

(a) Most types of English long-distance dependencies represent the right-branching non-projectivity, the only exception being discontinuity within a prepositional phrase, which is caused by the nature of English prepositions and their tendency to relate more closely to the verb than to its dependent. Non-projective constructions in Czech, on the contrary, display more often the left-branching non-projectivity, the primary reason being fronting of the dependent member in order to achieve contrastive topic. English discontinuous constructions lay strict limitations on the possibility to extrapose the dependent member of a discontinuous pair in the active voice. Most instances of

⁴⁹ However, it needs to be emphasized that exceptions may occur, and they should also be taken into consideration, e.g. discontinuous phrase with a complex predicate in English etc.

discontinuous structures in English occur typically in passive constructions, constituting a regular structural discontinuity with no indication of markedness. The only exceptions are represented either by discontinuous postmodification, which is the only type fully motivated by the information structure and TFA, or by the types which are subject to specific context constraints. Such instances are extremely rare, and their acceptability is restricted to only certain types of discontinuity, e.g. discontinuous phrases with complex predicates and contrastive topic. It remains to be further analyzed to what extent contrastive topic as such is present in English, and whether it occurs more frequently (albeit rarely) in discontinuous structures, or in the continuous ones. Regarding TFA, the analysis also demonstrates that if either the topic or the focus of an English clause need to be divided in order to achieve, e.g. a well-balanced structure, it is usually the former, not the latter. Division of the focus into two discontinuous parts appears to be hardly acceptable.

Figure 17

English-specific discontinuity	English and Czech disc.	Czech-specific disc.
<p>Discontinuous Postmodification</p> <p>Primary motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight, internal discontinuity</p> <p>Typical orientation: right-branching</p>	<p>Dislocated Dependents of Infinitives</p> <p>Primary motivation factors: (contrastive) topicalization</p> <p>Typical orientation: left-branching</p>	<p>Phrases with Complex Predicates</p> <p>Primary motivation factors: contrastive topicalization</p> <p>Typical orientation: left-branching</p>
<p>Discontinuous Prepositional Phrase</p> <p>Primary motivation factors: tightness of relation between a preposition and a verb; end-focus; grammatical word order</p> <p>Typical orientation: left-branching</p>	<p>Discontinuous Adjective Phrase</p> <p>Primary motivation factors: CD+focalization; grammatical ordering</p> <p>Typical orientation: mostly right-branching</p>	<p>Discontinuous Noun Phrase</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • dislocated postmodification <p>Primary motivation factors: contrastive topicalization</p> <p>Typical orientation: left-branching;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • agreeing attribute <p>Primary motivation factors: end-focus; topicalization of the head</p> <p>Typical orientation: right-branching</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • premodif. pronoun <p>Primary motivation factors: grammatical position+end-focus</p> <p>Typical orientation:left-branching</p>
<p>Discontinuous Phrasal Verbs</p> <p>Primary motivation factors: end-focus; prosody</p> <p>Typical orientation: right-branching</p>	<p>Discontinuous Apposition</p> <p>Primary motivation factors: topicalization; well-balanced structure</p>	<p>Quantitative Expression with Genitive Case</p> <p>Primary motivation factors: contrastive topicalization; end-focus</p> <p>Typical orientation: left-branching</p>
<p>Split Infinitive</p> <p>Primary motivation factors: perspicuity; degree of CD</p> <p>Typical orientation: right-branching</p>	<p>Pre-posed Relative or Interrogative Expression</p> <p>Primary motivation factors: grammatical word order</p> <p>Typical orientation: left-branching</p>	<p>Quantitative Expression with Genitive Case</p> <p>Primary motivation factors: contrastive topicalization; end-focus</p> <p>Typical orientation: left-branching</p>

(b) The set of factors motivating discontinuity that are generally available in the two languages appears to be restricted; therefore, they are partially shared by both languages in the analysis. Nevertheless, it is possible to determine certain prevailing tendencies in motivation of discontinuity in each of the two languages. We have also demonstrated that individual types of discontinuity are usually motivated by a single factor rather than by several factors in cooperation, showing that primary (or major) motivation factors, and secondary (or complementary) motivation factors have to be distinguished.

In English, the most widely spread factor motivating discontinuity is the principle of end-focus, which plays a substantial role in all types but split infinitive. Frequent incidence is also present by language-specific factors such as a close relation between the verb and the preposition. As opposed to Czech, the principle of end-weight asserts itself more significantly in English, often cooperating with end-focus. Prosodic factors occur partially both in English and Czech. In English, rhythm influences the use of a discontinuous structure in case of phrasal verbs and discontinuous prepositional phrase; in Czech, prosody asserts itself in various types of discontinuity in which a dependent member of a discontinuous pair is realized by a clitic. A prevalent Czech factor motivating discontinuity is topicalization with the achievement of contrastive topic.

The motivation factors asserting themselves in individual types of discontinuity differ according to typological features of English and Czech. Most types of discontinuity in English are motivated by at least some factors of grammatical nature while Czech discontinuities are largely connected with the information structure. In Czech, grammatical motivation can be observed only with pre-posed relative and interrogative

expressions, and partially with discontinuity within an adjective phrase in which word order is determined by analogy to a regular grammatical structure, e.g. both the types *první let v dějinách*, and *unikající vody ze silážních jímek*. Consequently, we can claim that the hypothesis stated in 1.8 is feasible.

(c) The analysis also proves the existence of the types of long-distance dependencies in English which are caused primarily by the adjustment of TFA. They are represented by discontinuous postmodification, dislocated dependents of infinitives, and discontinuous apposition. All of them usually have a projective variant which is considered neutral and preferred, deviations in the form of non-projective constructions being bound to particular context and communication intentions.

As for the position occupied by discontinuous structures within the language system of English, they tend to be placed more to the centre. The prevalent reason is the proportion of grammatically motivated and TFA-motivated discontinuities. If only marked types with deviant word order were taken into consideration, their position would be more on the margin. Czech discontinuities on the contrary are predominantly marked, acceptable only in specific context. The marked types of discontinuity both in English and Czech represent a rather peripheral phenomenon in written language. An interesting point presents itself when comparing these types of discontinuity in English and Czech. Although the concept of centre-periphery is relevant principally when considering phenomena of a single language, not so much when comparing two or more languages in mutual relations, English deviant discontinuity appears to be more peripheral than Czech. It results from the degree of markedness and acceptability assigned to them. English marked discontinuity of certain types, e.g. dislocated infinitive dependents, occurs rather

rarely while Czech contrastive topicalization occurs relatively frequently and its incidence lessens the degree of markedness.

RESUMÉ

Jako neprojektivní (diskontinuitní, nespojité) konstrukce se označují případy, kdy mezi dvě slova ve větě, která spolu formálně i významově souvisí, je vsunuto jedno nebo více slov takových, která nevstupují do bezprostředních syntaktických vztahů se členy tohoto „rozděleného“ páru. Jedná se o jev rozvětvený do mnoha typů a podtypů, které jsou obvykle vázány na konkrétní jazykové podmínky. Tato práce analyzuje neprojektivní konstrukce v angličtině a češtině, vymezuje typy, které se v obou jazycích vyskytují, definuje faktory, kterými je porušení projektivity způsobeno, a porovnává, zda se tyto faktory v obou jazycích shodují či liší a do jaké míry se uplatňují.

Vycházíme z hypotézy, že předsunutí závislého členu na začátek klauze nebo jeho jakékoli přemístění od členu řídicího je v angličtině omezeno více než v češtině. Předpokládáme také, že důvody porušení projektivity se v angličtině a češtině liší podle typologických vlastností každého z jazyků. Pro angličtinu předpokládáme motivaci převážně gramatického charakteru, zatímco pro češtinu převážně motivaci aktuálním členěním věty. K tématu přistupujeme z hlediska funkčně generativního popisu jazyka vycházejícího z tradice Pražské lingvistické školy.

Veškeré závěry v této práci vycházejí z analýzy jazykového materiálu získaného z Pražského závislostního korpusu (Prague Dependency Treebank, PDT), který vznikl v Ústavu formální a aplikované lingvistiky Univerzity Karlovy v Praze a obsahuje nezkrácené texty článků z několika českých novin a časopisů z první poloviny devadesátých let dvacátého století. PDT verze 2.0 je korpus, v němž se provádí anotace českých textů rozsáhlou lingvistickou informací, která zahrnuje jak morfologii a syntax, tak i sémantiku včetně anotace aktuálního členění a koreferenčních vztahů. Příklady

z anglického jazyka pocházejí z Pražského česko-anglického závislostního korpusu, zejména jeho anglické části (Prague English Dependency Treebank, PEDT), určeného pro experimenty se strojovým překladem mezi angličtinou a češtinou. Vzhledem k tomu, že některé typy anglických neprojektivních konstrukcí bylo nutné vyhledat pomocí kontextových vyhledávacích skript, pocházejí anglické příklady několika typů neprojektivit z Britského národního korpusu.

Přehlednou typologii diskontinuit v angličtině podává stat' L. Duškové *On the Language Specific vs. General Nature of Syntactic Discontinuities* (Dušková 1999:106ff). Autorka vychází z pojetí syntaktických diskontinuit prezentovaného R. Quirkem et al. v *Comprehensive Grammar of English Language* (1985:496ff; 1302; 1397ff). Popisu neprojektivních konstrukcí v češtině se jako první věnovala L. Uhlířová (Uhlířová 1972), kromě této statě najdeme dosud nejúplnější přehled inventáře neprojektivních konstrukcí v češtině v tisku u Hajičové (Hajičová 2006) a Olivy (Oliva 2001).

Tato práce vychází ze závislostní syntaxe a funkčně generativního popisu jazyka (FGP). Funkčně generativní popis jazyka je koncepcí, která představuje generativní systém založený na vyjádření sémantických vztahů. Tato koncepce začala vznikat na Univerzitě Karlově v Praze v 60. letech jako reakce na Chomského transformativní gramatiky. Na povrchové rovině je zápis věty řetězcem (posloupností) k sobě přiřazených jednotek, které jsou uspořádány lineárně. Na nejvyšší rovině, sémantické, má každá gramatická věta alespoň jeden zápis jednoznačně vyjadřující jeden z možných nebo jediný význam věty. Za centrum věty je v FGP stejně jako tradičně v závislostní syntaxi považováno sloveso se svou valencí. Studium neprojektivních konstrukcí souvisí se studiem slovosledu, a tudíž i aktuálního členění. Pod aktuálním členěním nebo také

funkční větnou perspektivou rozumíme členění věty na téma (základ, východisko, angl. topic, theme) a réma (ohnisko, jádro, angl. focus, rheme). FGP považuje aktuální členění za právoplatnou součást jazykového systému, neboť ovlivňuje sémantiku věty. Dvě věty, které se liší pouze aktuálním členěním, nejsou v textu vzájemně zaměnitelné, v některých případech se dokonce liší kognitivním obsahem (Sgall et al. 1969:67).

Reprezentací syntaktické struktury věty je ve formálním přístupu k závislostní syntaxi závislostní strom, který se větví od členů nadřizovaných ke členům podřizovým, má jeden vrchol a v němž každý větný člen je reprezentován jedním uzlem, přičemž platí, že každý uzel má jediného rodiče, tedy uzel bezprostředně nadřizovaný. Uzly jsou ve stromě uspořádány nejen vertikálně podle vztahů rodič – potomek, ale i horizontálně zleva doprava podle slovosledu. Uzly stromu jsou spojeny hranami, přičemž mezi dvěma uzly probíhá jediná hrana. Lineární uspořádání uzlů zleva doprava splňuje podmínku projektivity. Projektivitou rozumíme, že mezi uzlem řídícím a na něm bezprostředně závislým mohou ležet jen uzly bezprostředně nebo zprostředkovaně podřizované tomuto řídícímu uzlu (Hajičová et al. 2002:88). Věty, které podmínku projektivity porušují, se nazývají neprojektivní a v závislostním stromě pro ně platí, že se buď protínají dvě hrany stromu nebo se protíná hrana stromu s některou z čar vedených svisle z každého uzlu.

Na základě analýzy získaného jazykového materiálu jsme rozlišili tři skupiny neprojektivních konstrukcí: (i) konstrukce specificky anglické zastoupené oddělenou postmodifikací, nespojitou předložkovou skupinou, nespojitými frázovými slovesy a rozděleným infinitivem; (ii) konstrukce zastoupené v obou jazycích reprezentované přemístěným členem závislým na infinitivu, neprojektivní adjektivní skupinou, rozdělenou apozicí a předsunutým vztažným či tázacím výrazem; (iii) konstrukce

specificky české zastoupené nespojitými frázemi s komplexními predikáty, rozdělenými syntagmaty s řídicím substantivem a kvantitativními výrazy s odděleným jménem v genitivu.

Jako první jsou v této práci analyzovány specificky anglické neprojektivní konstrukce. U oddělené postmodifikace se projevuje tendence umístit oddělenou část na konec klauze v povrchové struktuře nebo ji posunout na pozici více vpravo v povrchovém slovosledu, buď protože je nositelem intonačního centra, a tedy zároveň vlastním rématem, nebo protože má vyšší stupeň výpovědní dynamičnosti než ostatní členy závislé na tomtéž řídicím uzlu či ostatní členy umístěné více vlevo v povrchovém slovosledu. U nejčastějšího nespojitého větného členu, podmětu, dochází k oddělení postmodifikace za účelem zdůraznění jeho informační hodnoty a zároveň umístění vlastního rématu na konec klauze. Oddělená postmodifikace představuje převážně pravý typ neprojektivity, tj. závislý člen se v povrchovém slovosledu posune doprava od svého řídicího členu. Tento typ neprojektivity je motivován několika faktory. Obecně můžeme říci, že u většiny typů neprojektivních konstrukcí lze rozlišit faktory primární (hlavní) a sekundární (doplňkové), přičemž obvykle lze u neprojektivních konstrukcí určit jeden, příp. dva primární faktory a několik faktorů sekundárních. Za primární považujeme v případě oddělené postmodifikace princip vlastního rématu na konci klauze (end-focus), tendenci umístit delší a rozvítené členy na konec klauze (end-weight) a stupeň výpovědní dynamičnosti. První dva z těchto faktorů spolu s tendencí k vyvážené struktuře věty se projevují u 50% všech oddělených postmodifikací v analyzovaných datech. Sekundární motivační roli tu má vnitřní diskontinuita, gramatický slovosled, sémantická distinkce a částečně také koordinace. Vnitřní diskontinuita vzniká při řazení více postmodifikačních

frází závislých na tomtéž řídicím členu a spolu s gramatickým slovosledem má blízko k systémovému uspořádání jednotek v anglické větě.

Nespojité předložkové skupiny představují pravidelný strukturní typ neprojektivity, který není primárně motivován aktuálním členěním, ačkoli jeho jednotlivé podtypy informační strukturou motivovány být mohou, např. tzv. *tough-movement*. Dalším specificky anglickým typem neprojektivní konstrukce jsou frázová slovesa a rozdělené infinitivy. U nespojitých frázových sloves se objevuje diskontinuita fakultativní, spjatá s informační strukturou, a diskontinuita obligatorní způsobená vložením zájmeného předmětu mezi dvě části frázového slovesa a částečně také rytmickými faktory, přičemž obligatorní postavení v našich datech převažuje nad fakultativním (62,8% obligatorních diskontinuit). Ve větách s fakultativní diskontinuitou stupeň výpovědní dynamičnosti zleva doprava v povrchovém slovosledu stoupá a členy, které více přispívají k rozvoji informace nesené větou, jsou umístěny více vpravo.

Rozdělený infinitiv je jediným typem specificky anglických neprojektivních konstrukcí, který není motivován primárně principem vlastního rématu na konci klauze. K rozdělení infinitivu dochází v angličtině zejména ze dvou důvodů: (i) mluvčí se snaží vyhnout nejednoznačnému vyjádření, nebo (ii) je méně dynamický člen umístěn v povrchovém slovosledu před členem dynamičtější. Převažujícím faktorem je (i), projevuje se u 65,9% příkladů rozděleného infinitivu v analyzovaném vzorku dat. Faktor výpovědní dynamičnosti se tu doplňuje s principem vlastního rématu na konci klauze. Vložením adjunktů mezi částici *to* a vlastní sloveso se docílí nejen umístění rématu na konec, ale zároveň se mezi slovesem a vloženým členem vytvoří užší sémantická vazba, která jednoznačně určuje interpretaci závislosti vloženého adjunktů.

Neprojektivní konstrukce, které se vyskytují v angličtině i češtině zároveň, lze rozdělit do čtyř skupin. První z nich představují přemístěné členy závislé na infinitivu. Tento typ neprojektivity se v obou jazycích objevuje v konstrukcích s modálními a fázovými slovesy a se slovesy s podobným významem. Nejčastěji přemístěným závislým členem je přímý předmět (59,3%). Člen oddělený od řídicího infinitivu je nejčastěji předsunut na počátek klauze, zatímco řídicí infinitiv stojí obvykle za slovesem a z hlediska aktuálního členění patří k rématu věty. Projektivita je porušena především za účelem tematizace (topikalizace) závislého členu (89,5% ze všech případů tohoto typu neprojektivních konstrukcí). Pro anglické neprojektivní protějšky tohoto typu českých vět platí tři následující podmínky: (i) v angličtině lze větné členy, které stojí typicky za slovesem, na začátek klauze předsunout jen ve větách, v nichž nestojí podmět ve vlastním rématu, protože v takových případech se v angličtině typicky objevuje pasivum; (ii) české věty s přemístěným členem ve formě příklonky nemají anglický neprojektivní ekvivalent; (iii) před předsunutý člen se v angličtině nesmí dostat v povrchovém slovosledu žádný jiný větný člen.

Neprojektivní adjektivní skupiny zahrnují klauze s významem srovnání, v nichž dochází k porušení projektivity zcela pravidelně, a případy s odděleným doplněním adjektiva. Tento podtyp diskontinuity je způsoben čtyřmi faktory: (i) přemístěním adjektiva z post-pozice do pre-pozice, přičemž doplnění adjektiva zůstává v pozici za substantivem, např. *uložená data na audiokazetách*, angl. *stored data on audiocassettes*; (ii) předsunutím doplnění adjektiva za účelem jeho tematizace; (iii) příslovečným určením zřetele, např. *první let v dějinách*, angl. *the first flight in the history*; (iv)

diskontinuitním rozvitím číslovky, která funguje jako syntaktické adjektivum, např. *šestý měsíc za sebou*, angl. *sixth month in a row*.

Dalším typem neprojektivity zastoupené, byť okrajově, v obou jazycích je rozdělená apozice. Analyzovány jsou jen případy oddělení dvou frází se stejnou syntaktickou funkcí, anglická apozice s neurčitými a emfatickými reflexivními zájmeny je ponechána stranou pozornosti. V češtině je tento neprojektivity zastoupen jen řídce. Hlavními motivačními faktory jsou tematizace a tendence k vyvážené větné struktuře.

Posledním typem vyskytujícím se v obou jazycích je předsunutý vztažný či tázací výraz. Postavení na začátku klauze je v angličtině i češtině gramaticky obligatorní. Vztažné a tázací výrazy závislé na predikativním slovese představují neutrální slovoslednou variantu a neprojektivita může být způsobena několika faktory působícími zároveň, tento typ se totiž může částečně překrývat např. s přemístěnými členy závislými na infinitivu.

Prvním typem neprojektivních konstrukcí, které se vyskytují v češtině, ale nemají nespojitě anglické ekvivalenty, jsou skupiny s komplexním predikátem. Jako komplexní predikáty označujeme speciální víceslovné predikáty složené ze sémanticky vyprázdněného slovesa, které je nositelem gramatických kategorií, a substantiva, které nese lexikální význam celého predikátu. Komplexní predikát tvoří jednu lexikální jednotku, která má obvykle synonymní jednoslovný ekvivalent, např. *oznámit – učinit oznámení*, *to announce – to make an announcement*. Z hlediska syntaktické závislosti je komplexní predikát tvořen řídicím slovesem, na něm závislou jmennou částí a na ní závislým doplněním. V češtině je nejčastější slovoslednou neprojektivní variantou $O_{\text{prep}} - V - (S) - O_d$, a neprojektivita je tu stejně jako u ostatních specificky českých typů

motivována převážně kontrastivní tematizací jednoho členu rozděleného páru a rematizací druhého členu. Anglické komplexní predikáty umožňují předsunutí předložkové skupiny do neprojektivní pozice jen ve výjimečných případech, kdy předchozí kontext vyžaduje kontrastivní zdůraznění tématu. V takovém případě může dojít k příznakovému porušení projektivity, v ostatních případech však angličtina běžně používá pasíva a vzniklá diskontinuita je strukturního typu.

Nejvyšší míra příznakovosti se v češtině projevuje v rozdělených substantivních skupinách u neshodného a zejména shodného přívlastku odděleného od řídicího jména. I zde je většina případů (56,5% oddělených neshodných přívlastků) způsobena přesunutím závislého členu, tj. přívlastku do pozice kontrastivního tématu, zatímco řídicí jméno tvoří vlastní réma. Přívlastek shodný může být v češtině oddělen od svého řídicího jména ve dvou případech: (i) ve větách se sponovou predikací, např. *shoda je to velmi podnětná*; (ii) ve větách s preponovaným předmětem, např. *záruky nemám žádné*. Oba tyto typy mají shodné aktuální členění, první člen roztrženého páru v povrchovém slovosledu je kontextově zapojený a patří k tématu, zatímco oddělený přívlastek tvoří vlastní réma.

Shodný přívlastek realizovaný vztažným či tázacím výrazem je v češtině motivován souhrou dvou faktorů, a sice gramatickou obligatorností a aktuálním členěním věty. Řídicí člen nestojí v kontaktní pozici ke vztažnému či tázacímu výrazu, který je obligatorně umístěn na začátku klauze, ale stojí za slovesem jakožto součást rématu, např. *není zcela jasné, jaký má politický program*.

Kvantitativní výrazy se substantivem v genitivu jsou posledním typem specificky českých neprojektivních konstrukcí. Diskontinuita v tomto případě umožňuje tematizovat

kontextově zapojené substantivum či zájmeno a zároveň rematizovat kvantitativní výraz, např. *podobných otázek je daleko víc*.

Na základě naší analýzy jsme rozlišili 11 typů neprojektivních konstrukcí v angličtině a češtině. Je přitom třeba poukázat na to, že narozdíl od dosud zveřejněných studií o neprojektivitě v angličtině vyčleňujeme v této práci jako samostatné typy či podtypy nespojitě adjektivní skupiny s příslovečným určením zřetele a přemístěné členy závislé na infinitivu. Rozdělenou apozici chápeme jako typ, který se objevuje v obou zkoumaných jazycích, ačkoli v češtině je spíše jevem okrajovým a řídkým.

Většina typů anglických neprojektivních konstrukcí představuje pravý typ neprojektivity, jedinou výjimkou jsou nespojitě předložkové skupiny, v nichž k porušení projektivity dochází z důvodu povahy anglických předložek a jejich tendence přiklánět se více ke slovesu než ke jménu. České neprojektivní konstrukce oproti tomu představují spíše levý typ, neboť nejčastějším motivačním faktorem v češtině je předsunutí členu za účelem dosažení kontrastivního tématu. V angličtině je oddělování závislého členu od řídicího značně omezeno, má-li predikativní sloveso aktivní formu. Většina případů neprojektivity v angličtině se objevuje v pasivních konstrukcích, přičemž takto vzniklá neprojektivita je zcela pravidelná, nenese prvky příznakovosti. Jedinou výjimkou jsou oddělené postmodifikace, které jsou jako jediný anglický typ motivovány primárně informační strukturou a aktuálním členěním věty, a typy podléhající specifickým kontextovým podmínkám. Takové případy jsou však v angličtině poměrně vzácné a objevují se jen u některých typů neprojektivních konstrukcí, např. u komplexních predikátů s kontrastivním tématem nebo u přemístěných členů závislých na infinitivu. Bude třeba dále zkoumat, do jaké míry se kontrastivní téma v angličtině vyskytuje a zda

je záležitostí spíše neprojektivních či projektivních vět. Naše analýza zároveň ukazuje, že réma anglické věty tvoří celistvější, soudržnější celek než téma. Je-li totiž třeba některou část věty rozdělit, aby věta měla vyrovnanou strukturu, dochází obvykle k rozdělení tématu na dvě nekontaktní části, nikoli rématu. Z prozkoumaných příkladů zároveň vyplývá, že diskontinuita je obvykle motivována několika zároveň působícími faktory.

V angličtině je nejrozšířenějším motivačním faktorem princip rématu na konci klauze. Jediným typem, v němž nehraje primární roli, jsou rozdělené infinitivy. Vysoká frekvence výskytu je patrná i u jazykově specifických faktorů, jako je např. těsnost vztahu mezi předložkou a slovesem. Dalším hlavním faktorem motivujícím neprojektivitu v angličtině je princip dlouhých a rozvitých členů na konci klauze (end-weight), který se často uplatňuje společně s koncovým postavením rématu. Prozodie se jako motivační faktor diskontinuity projevuje v obou zkoumaných jazycích. V angličtině ovlivňuje rytmus diskontinuitu např. u frázových sloves a předložkových skupin, v češtině vstupují prozodické aspekty do hry zejména tam, kde má závislý člen rozděleného páru formu příklonky. Nejfrekventovanějším českým motivačním faktorem je kontrastivní tematizace.

Obecně můžeme říci, že většina typů neprojektivity v angličtině je motivována alespoň některými faktory gramatické povahy, zatímco české typy jsou spjaty především s informační strukturou věty. V češtině se gramatická motivace objevuje jen u vztažných a tázacích výrazů a částečně u nespojitých adjektivních skupin, ve kterých je slovosled dán analogií k pravidelné struktuře typu *první let v dějinách* nebo *unikající vody ze silážních jímek*.

Tradiční koncepce rozlišování centra a periferie se sice užívá spíše při posuzování jevů jednoho jazyka než jevů mezi dvěma porovnávanými jazyky, přesto však můžeme říci, že příznakové neprojektivní konstrukce jsou v angličtině jevem okrajovějším než v češtině. Převážná většina neprojektivit v angličtině má povahu strukturní, pravidelnou, nepříznakovou. Příznakové konstrukce se v angličtině vyskytují spíše zřídka, zatímco v češtině se příznaková neprojektivita s kontrastivním tématem objevuje u některých typů probraných v této práci relativně běžně. Vyšší míra příznakovosti a větší množství kontextových podmínek tak činí z anglických skutečně neprojektivních konstrukcí jev stojící na okraji anglického jazykového systému. Podobně vysoká míra příznakovosti se v češtině objevuje jen u oddělených shodných přívlastků.

SOURCES OF DATA:

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- 3) British National Corpus (BNC). Ústav českého národního korpusu FF UK, Praha. Accessible via www: <http://ucnk.ff.cuni.cz>.

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Appendix

Bold face indicates members of a discontinuous pair. The following symbols are used to describe TFA: [t] topic; [f] focus; [ct] contrastive topic; [F] focus proper.

Discontinuous postmodification

(1) The impact of the changes is to eliminate many of the most excessive cases where the government has been paying more than **\$200** [f] for each passenger **in subsidies** [F]. (PEDT: 2234,25)

Cz. Účinkem změn je eliminace mnoha z nejvíce nepřiměřených případů, kdy vláda platí za každého pasažéra víc než 200 dolarů [f] v dotacích [F].

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: prepositional phrase

Motivation factors: end-focus, well-balanced structure

(2) They recently announced **increases** [f] of a few cents a pound **to take effect** [f] in the next several weeks [F]. (PEDT: 2314,31)

Cz. Nedávno oznámili nárůst [f] několika centů na libru, který se projeví v několika příštích týdnech [F].

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: infinitive

Motivation factors: CD, internal discontinuity

(3) It proved a perfect **time** [f] for Radio Free Europe **to ask** [f] for permission to set up office [F]. (PEDT: 2406,25) (alternative possible interpretation: It proved a **perfect** time for Radio Free Europe **to ask** [f] for permission to set up office [F].)

Cz. Ukázalo se to jako ideální doba [f] pro podání [f] žádosti Rádía Svobodná Evropa o povolení ke zřízení redakce [F]. / ...jako doba ideální pro podání žádosti...

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: infinitive

Motivation factors: end-focus, CD

(4) She said there is growing **realization** [f] around the world **that denial of intellectual-property rights harms all trading nations** [F], and particularly the creativity and inventiveness of an (offending) country's own citizens. (PEDT: 0020,5)

Cz. Uvedla, že ve světě roste uvědomění [f], že odmítnutí práva na intelektuální vlastnictví poškozují všechny obchodující národy [F]...

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: dependent nominal content clause
Motivation factors: end-weight, end-focus, well-balanced structure

(5) Tsuruo Yamaguchi, secretary general of the Socialist Party, acknowledged that nine party lawmakers had received **donations** [f] from the pachinko association [f] **totalling** 8 million yen [F] (about \$55,000) but said the donations were legal and none of its members acted to favour the industry. (PEDT: 2417,76)

Cz. Tsuruo Yamaguchi, generální tajemník Socialistické strany, oznámil, že devět stranických právníků dostalo dary [f] od asociace pachinko v celkové výši 8 miliónů jenů [F] (asi [55 000]55000\$), ale řekl, že dary byly legální a žádný z jejích členů nejednal k upřednostnění průmyslu.

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: participle
Motivation factors: end-focus, grammatical word order direct object – indirect object

(6) **Of all the one-time expenses** [t] incurred by a corporation or professional firm, **few** [t] are larger [f] or longer term than the purchase of real estate or the signing of a commercial lease [F]. (PEDT: 2444,1)

Cz. Ze všech jednorázových výdajů [t] způsobených korporací nebo profesionální firmou je jen málo [f] větších nebo dlouhodobějších než nákup nemovitosti nebo podpis komerčního pronájmu [F].

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching
Form of the dependent member: prepositional phrase
Motivation factors: head with a higher degree of CD, contrastive fronting

(7) Non-interest income fell 6% in the quarter, mainly because of an unusual **gain** [f] a year earlier **from the sale of Hong Kong banking operations** [F]. (PEDT: 2211,46)

Cz. Neúročené příjmy klesly ve čtvrtletí o 6% hlavně kvůli neobvyklému zisku [f] z prodeje hongkongských bankovních operací v loňském roce [F].

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: prepositional phrase
Motivation factors: end-focus, internal discontinuity, semantic distinction

(8) McCaw's revised tender offer would require McCaw to begin an auction **process** [f] in July 1994 **that would buy** [F] out remaining holders at a per-share price roughly equivalent to what a third party might then have to pay for all of LIN. (PEDT: 2212,3)

Cz. Zrevidovaný tendr společnosti McCaw by požadoval, aby McCaw zahájil v červenci 1994 aukci [f], která by vykoupila zbývající akcionáře za podílovou cenu přibližně odpovídající tomu, co by třetí strana možná musela zaplatit za všechny akcie LIN [F].

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: relative adjectival dependent clause
Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight, grammatical word order

(9) LIN is asking McCaw to clarify its tender offer, which challenges an **agreement** [f] between BellSouth Corp. and LIN **to merge their cellular-telephone businesses** [F]. (PEDT: 2212,4)

Cz. LIN žádá společnost McCaw, aby objasnila svůj tendr, čímž zpochybňuje dohodu [f] mezi BellSouth Corp. a LIN o sloučení jejich obchodů s mobilními telefony [F].

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: infinitive
Motivation factors: end-focus, internal discontinuity

(10) Mrs. Hills said the U.S. won't accept any delays after Nov. 13 because U.S. fish-processing firms enter into **contracts** [f] in the fall **to purchase the next season's catch** [F]. (PEDT: 2214,12)

Cz. Paní Hillsová uvedla, že USA nebudou akceptovat žádné prodlení po 13. listopadu, protože americké firmy zpracovávající rybí maso vstupují na podzim do smluvních závazků na nákup úlovku příští sezóny.

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: infinitive
Motivation factors: end-focus, grammatical word order

(11) **Everybody** [t] was still confident, **including most institutional investors** [F]. (PEDT: 2210,25)

Cz. Všichni [t] byli stále sebevědomí včetně většiny institucionálních investorů [F].

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: prepositional phrase
Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight, well-balanced structure

(12) ...such **results** [t] should be measurable in dollars and cents [F] **in reducing the U.S. trade deficit with Japan** [t]. (PEDT: 2321,6)

Cz. Řekl, že tyto výsledky [t] ve snižování obchodního deficitu Spojených států vzhledem k Japonsku [t] by měly být měřitelné v dolarech a centech [F].

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: infinitive
Motivation factors: end-weight, well-balanced structure

(13) Mrs. Hills' remarks did raise **questions** [f], at least among some U.S. officials, **about what exactly her stance is on U.S. access to the Japanese semiconductor market** [F]. (PEDT: 2321,22)

Cz. Poznámky paní Hillsově vyvolaly, alespoň mezi některými americkými státními úředníky, otázky [f] o tom, jaký přesně je její postoj k přístupu USA na japonský trh polovodičů [F].

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: preposition+dependent content clause

Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(14) Under an **agreement** [t] filed in federal court in August **to settle FTC objections to some Traditional sales practices** [t], Traditional said it would establish a \$ 250,000 trust fund to provide refunds to certain customers. (PEDT: 2322,9)

Cz. Podle dohody [t] zaregistrované v srpnu federálním soudem, týkající se urovnání námitek FTC proti některým prodejním praktikám společnosti Traditional [t], se společnost Traditional zavazuje založit záruční fond ve výši 250,000 dolarů, aby zajistila vrácení peněz určitým zákazníkům.

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: infinitive

Motivation factors: CD, internal discontinuity, end-weight

(15) Oil company refineries ran flat out to prepare for a robust holiday driving **season** [f] in July and August **that didn't materialize** [F]. (PEDT: 2325,18)

Cz. Ropné rafinérské společnosti běžely naplno, aby se připravily na masivní prázdninovou řídičskou sezónu [f] v červenci a srpnu, která však nakonec nenastala [F].

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: dependent relative adjectival clause

Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight, internal discontinuity

(16) The Bush administration, trying to blunt growing **demands** [t] from Western Europe **for a relaxation of controls on exports to the Soviet bloc** [t], is questioning whether Italy's Ing. C. Olivetti & Co. supplied militarily valuable technology to the Soviets. (PEDT: 2326,1)

Cz. Bushova administrativna, která se pokouší oslabit vzrůstající požadavky ze západní Evropy na zmírnění kontroly exportu do sovětského bloku, zjišťuje, zda italská společnost Ing. C. Olivetti & Co. zásobovala Sověty vojenskou technikou.

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: prepositional phrase

Motivation factors: internal discontinuity, CD

(17) Financial Corp. purchased the bonds, the suit alleged, after Mr. Boesky and Drexel negotiated an **agreement** [f] for Vagabond Hotels **to purchase a 51% stake in the thrift** [f] for about \$34 million [F]. (PEDT: 2328,3)

Cz. Finanční korporace nakoupila obligace, jak uvádí žaloba, po tom, co pánové Boesky a Drexel sjednali dohodu pro Vagabond Hotels o koupi 51% částky při úspoře zhruba 34 milionů dolarů.

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: infinitive

Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(18) BSN Corp. said it will begin an **offer** [f] tomorrow **to exchange** [f] up to one million of its common shares and all of its \$ 16.6 million in 7 3/4% convertible debentures due 2001 for a package of new debt and common stock warrants [F]. (PEDT: 2218,1)

Cz. Společnost BSN Corp. uvedla, že zítra zahájí nabídku k výměně až jednoho milionu svých kmenových akcií a veškerých svých 16,6 milionů dolarů v 7 3/4% konvertibilních dluhopisech splatných v roce 2001 za balíček nových poukázek na pohledávky a kmenových akciových certifikátů.

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: infinitive

Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(19) Concorde trans-Atlantic **flights** [t] are \$ 2,400 **to Paris** and \$ 3,200 **to London**. (PEDT: 2311,1)

Lety Concorde přes Atlantic stojí 2 400 dolarů do Paříže a 3 200 dolarů do Londýna.

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: infinitive

Motivation factors: end-focus, coordination – tendency of both parts to have an identical form

(20) Some analysts saw the payment as an **effort** [f] also **to dispel takeover speculation** [F]. (PEDT: 2314,42)

Cz. Někteří analytici chápali platbu jako úsilí [f] rozptýlit také spekulace kolem převzetí [F].

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: infinitive

Motivation factors: end-focus

(21) Some of these countries have in recent years made informal **agreements** [f] with the U.S. **that are similar to quotas** [F]. (PEDT: 2316,8)

Cz. Některé z těchto zemí uzavřely v posledních letech s USA neformální dohody[f], které jsou podobné kvótám [F].

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: dependent relative adjectival clause

Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(22) Britain, France and Italy announced technical reasons for withdrawing, but some officials pointed to growing **reluctance** [f] among the allies **to commit themselves to big defense spending** [f] while East-West disarmament talks show signs of success [F]. (PEDT: 2417,81)

Cz. Británie, Francie a Itálie oznámily technické důvody odstoupení, ale někteří úředníci poukázali na mezi spojenci rostoucí neochotu [f] zavázat se k velkým investicím do obrany [f], zatímco rozhovory mezi východem a západem o odzbrojení vykazují známky úspěchu [F].

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: infinitive

Motivation factors: end-focus, CD

(23) People of all ages and all classes should be encouraged to serve, but there are many **ways** [f] for middle-class kids, and their elders, **to serve at little public cost** [F]. (PEDT: 2412,65)

Cz. Lidé všech věkových kategorií a všech společenských vrstev by se měli podporovat k prospěšným pracím, ale existuje mnoho způsobů, jak mohou děti a starší lidé ze střední vrstvy přinášet užitek za malé veřejné výdaje.

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: infinitive

Motivation factors: end-focus, CD

(24) Government officials here and in other countries laid **plans** [f] through the weekend **to head off a Monday market meltdown** [F] -- but went out of their way to keep their moves quiet. (PEDT: 2413,1)

Cz. Vládní úředníci u nás a v jiných zemích předložili během víkendu plány [f], jak odvrátit pondělní oteplení na trhu [F]...

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: infinitive

Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(25) The disadvantage at this point is that **anything** [f] you do **that looks like** [f] you are doing too much tends to reinforce a sense of crisis, said one government official, insisting on anonymity. (PEDT: 2413,6)

Cz. Nevýhodou v tuto chvíli je, že cokoli, co vypadá, jakože děláš příliš mnoho, má tendenci utvrzovat pocit krize, uvedl jeden vládní úředník, který si přál zůstat v anonymitě.

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: dependent relative clause

Motivation factors: internal discontinuity

(26) The reticence of federal officials was evident in the **appearance** [f] Sunday of **Budget Director Richard Darman** [f] on ABC's This Week [F]. (PEDT: 2413,12)

Cz. Mlčenlivost vládních úředníků byla zřejmá z toho, že se rozpočtový ředitel Richard Darman objevil [f] v neděli na stanici ABC v pořadu Tento týden [F].

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: prepositional phrase

Motivation factors: end-focus, CD

(27) The three men worked together on the so-called Brady **Commission** [f], headed by Mr. Brady, **which was established** after the 1987 crash to examine the market's collapse [F]. (PEDT: 2413,30)

Cz. Ti tři muži pracovali společně na tzv. Bradyho komisi vedené panem Bradym, která byla založena po krachu v roce 1987, aby vyšetřila pád trhu.

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: dependent relative adnominal clause

Motivation factors: internal discontinuity, end-focus

(28) And Justin, in a news release, says, "Once competitive, Sony now resorts to strong-arm **tactics** [f] in American courtrooms **to carve out and protect niche markets** [F]." (PEDT: 2418,48)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: infinitive

Motivation factors: end-focus, grammatical word order

Discontinuous postmodification of the noun TIME in the syntactic function of subject

The Czech translation of all instances is analogical to that of (29), displaying no discontinuity. (Source of all instances: BNC)

(29) For many of the East Germans arriving in Prague, there is a unique emotional wrench when the **time [t] comes to make their way to the embassy doors [F]**. (A1V,953)

Cz. Pro mnoho východních Němců, kteří přijíždějí do Prahy, nastává jedinečné emocionální vytržení, když přijde čas protlačit se ke dveřím velvyslanectví [F].

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: infinitive

Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(30) But when the **time [t] comes to leave [F]**, she can't help going in a showbiz way, negotiating the steps of the Ritz in her towering leopard-skin stilettos like she's on the set of a Busby Berkeley musical. (A3X,21)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: infinitive

Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(31) But if he could not persuade her when the **time [t] came to move [F]**, Jean-Paul could. (C8S,540)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: infinitive

Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(32) The tranquiliser and the bottle are poor comforters when the **time [t] comes to part for ever from those we love [F]**. (ACA,231)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: infinitive

Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(33) But even so, for the Jones and the Riddifords it was a terrible wrench to leave the rest of the close knit Welsh family behind and there were floods of tears when the **time [t] came to say goodbye [F]**. (ADR,78)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: infinitive

Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(34) But when the **time [t]** came **to compose a quarrel between people [F]**, it was the representatives of the groups to which they belonged who made the peace. (ADW,855)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: infinitive
Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(35) When the **time [t]** came **to go [F]**, Harvey's father said. (ALH,2116)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: infinitive
Motivation factors: end-focus

(36) When the **time [t]** came **to greet the newly-weds [F]**, Prince Napoleon bowed to the Emperor but pointedly ignored the Empress, while Prince Pierre Bonaparte saluted neither the one nor the other. (ANR,371)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: infinitive
Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(37) ...and when the **time [t]** came **to leave [F]**, he assured the Queen that If we stayed longer we should end up by forgetting France altogether... (ANR,949)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: infinitive
Motivation factors: end-focus

(38) When the **time [t]** came **to close the office [F]**, he took great pleasure in posting us all as far away from our homes as he possibly could. (B3F,986)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: infinitive
Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(39) When the **time [t]** comes **to remove the muzzle [F]**, it is a simple matter to cut the neck strand of the string with a knife and the whole thing then falls free. (BNY,370)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: infinitive
Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(40) When the **time [t]** came **to launch a leading brand of canned pork and beans in the Canadian market [F]**, the advertising company decided to continue the campaign... (BP4,343)

(41)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: infinitive
Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(42) But when the **time** [t] came **to buy it** [F], I heard he had 'invested' the money and hadn't even paid the rent on our room. (C8A,1560)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: infinitive
Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(43) For agents in complex and quickly changing circumstances, that no more than will be as important as the as much as, until the **time** [t] comes **to judge** [F], in retrospect... (CB1,147)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: infinitive
Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(44) ...he waits until the **time** [t] comes **to complete it on paper** [F]. (CB1,229)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: infinitive
Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(45) She and Uncle Matthew had agreed, in spite of her strong disapproval of Ruth's plans for the future, that she should live with them until the **time** [t] came **to leave** [F]. (CB5,844)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: infinitive
Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(46) He won't know for sure whether it's a success until the **time** [t] comes **to deal with the excess stock** [F]. (CBX,1024)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: infinitive
Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(47) The senator obviously just wants us to drown his children so they can't embarrass him when the **time** [t] comes **to run for President** [F], she told me next morning. (CCW,1421)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: infinitive

Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(48) The upper section of the sheet was left parted to expose the features to view and remained so until the **time [t]** came **to secure the lid [F]**. (CD3,914)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: infinitive

Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(49) Had the **time [t]** come **to forget the promise they had made each other [F]**, the guarantee they had given never to meet or speak? (CDB,1630)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: infinitive

Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(50) According to Leopold, young Thomas wept bitterly when the **time [t]** came **to part [F]**. (CEW,209)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: infinitive

Motivation factors: end-focus

(51) ...and it also assists with her capture when the **time [t]** comes **to remove her [F]**. (CGH,1560)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: infinitive

Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(52) School teachers suffer a good deal from having to listen to this sort of twaddle from proud parents, but they usually get their own back when the **time [t]** comes **to write the end-of-term reports [F]**. (CH4,10)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: infinitive

Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(53) But of course I'd had a few drinks, and I hadn't worn my glasses anyway, so when the **time [t]** came **to meet her [F]** I wasn't quite sure what she looked like. (CH8,1850)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: infinitive

Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(54) It was unlikely that he would find it necessary to leave his office until the **time [t]** came **to visit the missing girl's parents [F]**... (CJX,9)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: infinitive
Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(55) Indeed when the **time [t]** came **to leave Germany [F]** I made a mental decision never to return. (EA8,49)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: infinitive
Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(56) When the **time [t]** came **to re-sell the site [F]**, UPH sold the company which owned the property (Chestvale) and not the site itself. (ED7,452)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: infinitive
Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(57) When the **time [t]** comes **to settle your Access account [F]**, you have the option of paying off the whole amount owing... (EE0,601)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: infinitive
Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(58) Why is it that when the **time [t]** comes **to refit the kitchen or bathroom, replace the lounge suite, plan the family holiday [F]**, or an irresistible opportunity arises to indulge in one of your hobbies, you invariably find yourself short of money? (EE0,694)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: infinitive
Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(59) When your FlexiLoan is arranged, we will give you a special cheque book so that when the **time [t]** comes **to spend some or all of your borrowing limit [F]**, all you have to do is make out a cheque for the right amount. (EE0,805)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: infinitive
Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(60) Where possible, you should choose a period that is in line with how long you want to deep the car, so that when the **time** [t] comes to **replace it** [F], you can start again from scratch. (EE0,868)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: infinitive
Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(61) This comes in useful when the **time** [t] comes to **mark the position of the mortises** [F]. (EFH,502)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: infinitive
Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(62) Unfortunately, when the **time** [t] came to **devour the cakes** [F], she found she had difficulty in eating hers because of its hardness. (EFH,1323)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: infinitive
Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(63) ...now when the **time** [t] comes to **go into that great big C D tea room in the sky** [F], could you change something? (F7R,445)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: infinitive
Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(64) But when the **time** [t] comes to **close** [F], this delicate balance between gleaming efficient machinery and the secret world of nature can relent the man made... (F8H,91)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: infinitive
Motivation factors: end-focus

(65) Within three weeks they die, having laid the eggs of the next generation which will be in the soil until the **time** [t] comes to **repeat the cycle** [F]. (FEV,1894)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: infinitive
Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(66) Has the **time** [t] come to **change course** [F]? (FT3,933)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: infinitive
Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(67) When the **time** [t] comes **to experience the events that Tod's dreams foretell** [F] (when we find out, for instance, how the baby came to wield such power), then maybe I will take it harder. (FYV,1200)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: infinitive
Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(68) When the **time** [t] comes **to take a decision** [F], one member should take the part of 'devil's advocate' challenging the majority viewpoint. (G0U,1566)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: infinitive
Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(69) Edible things tended to crumble when packaged and someone was going to have to remember where they all were when the **time** [t] came **to unpack them** [F]. (G0X,3168)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: infinitive
Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(70) When the **time** [t] comes **to settle up** [F] (this can be after 25 years) you may owe money or have made some. (G2K,343)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: infinitive
Motivation factors: end-focus

(71) She lost her home, was apart from her own family and my father, and did not fare very well at all when the **time** [t] came **to divide Aunt Bessie's property** [F]. (G39,371)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: infinitive
Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(72) I couldn't let Rosa go when the **time** [t] came **to sell up** [F].(G39,1163)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of dependent member: infinitive
Motivation factor: end-focus

(73) I was thankful when the **time** [t] came **to go to the City** [F]. (H0D,2519)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: infinitive
Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(74) It is abundantly clear that when the **time** [t] came **to construct defences around many of these sites** [F], the reason was not always primarily to protect the community. (H7Y,312)

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: infinitive
Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

Discontinuous postmodification of the noun REACTION in the syntactic function of subject

(Source of all instances: BNC)

(75) A Downing Street spokesman said yesterday that there was absolutely no **reaction** [f] at all **to Dr Runcie's latest broadside** [F]... (A1J,407)
Cz. Mluvčí Downing Street včera uvedl, že nepřišla žádná reakce na poslední slovní útok dr. Runcieho.

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: prepositional phrase
Motivation factors: end-focus, focalizing locative-existential construction

(76) What has my **reaction** [t] been **to criticism** [F]? (BNA,55)
Cz. Jaká byla moje reakce na kritiku?

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: prepositional phrase
Motivation factors: end-focus, well-balanced structure

(77) I gave him a frown and told him to mind his manners because I wasn't sure what the old lady's **reaction** [t] would be **to my brother** [F]. (CDM,1265)
Cz. Zamračil jsem se na něj a řekl mu, ať si dává pozor na své způsoby, protože jsem si nebyl jist, jak bude stará dáma reagovat na mého bratra.

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: prepositional phrase
Motivation factors: end-focus

(78) Meanwhile, BSDI's only **reaction** [t] so far **to our story last week** [t] is to claim Bill Jolitz was a founder of BSDI. (CTS,260)

Cz. Mezitím, doposud jediná reakce BSDI na náš příběh minulý týden je prohlášení, že Bill Jolitz je zakladatelem BSDI.

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: prepositional phrase
Motivation factors: CD

(79) When you are interviewed for a job which may involve press relations (and most do) your potential employer will often call a few journalists on major publications to see what **reaction** [f] they have **to your name** [F]. (ECF,1465)

Cz. ... Váš potenciální zaměstnavatel často zavolá pár novinářů z hlavních publikací, aby viděl, jak budou novináři na Vaše jméno reagovat.

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: prepositional phrase
Motivation factors: end-focus, CD, grammatical pre-position

(80) In a **reaction** [t], therefore, **to these problems** [t] the last few years have seen two major changes in approach. (FR2,673)

Cz. Tudíž v reakci na tyto problémy došlo v několika posledních letech k velkým změnám.

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: prepositional phrase
Motivation factors: CD

(81) ...he had asked Ockleton to explain his **reaction** [f] earlier **to Harry's revelation that Alan Dysart had once worked for him in Swindon** [F]. (H8T,1001)

Cz. ...požádal Ockletona o vysvětlení jeho dřívější reakce na Harryho odhalení, že Alan Dysart pro něj kdysi pracoval ve Swindonu.

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: prepositional phrase
Motivation factors: end-focus

(82) I'll see what **reaction** [f] there is **to a number of minor knocks** [F] but I'll keep the options open, said Bingham. (HJ4,9084)

Cz. Uvidím, jaká je reakce na řadu menších napadení, ale nechám možnosti otevřené, tvrdí Bingham.

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: prepositional phrase
Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight, obligatory grammatical pre-position

(83) ...and we've still not got a report from Tech or any indication of, of erm, what their **reaction** [f] would be **to the, to the report which comes out** [F]. (HYX,537)

Cz. ... a stále nemáme z Techu zprávu ani žádný náznak toho, mmm, jaká bude jejich reakce na, na zprávu, která vyjde.

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: prepositional phrase
Motivation factors: end-focus, obligatory grammatical pre-position

(84) Consequently, had the dye in Ingham provoked a **reaction** [f] even to a “**normal**” **customer** [F]... (J7D,843)

Cz. Následně vyvolala barva u Inghama reakci dokonce i na „normálního“ zákazníka...

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: prepositional phrase
Motivation factors: end-focus, focalizer

(85) ...what [f] would your **reaction** [f] be to **that**? (JK8,181)

Cz. ... jak bys na to reagoval?

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: prepositional phrase
Motivation factors: obligatory grammatical pre-position, well-balanced structure

(86) So out of yesterday it was how to put the structure together as the delivery of how it came across and what the audience’s **reaction** [f] was to **it**. (JSA,868)

Cz. ... jak na to obecnost reagovalo.

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: prepositional phrase
Motivation factors: obligatory grammatical pre-position

(87) I was not sure what the general public’s **reaction** [t] would be to **Swan Lake** [F]. (K4Y,673)

Cz. Nebyl jsem si jist, jak bude široká veřejnost reagovat na Labutí jezero.

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: prepositional phrase
Motivation factors: end-focus, obligatory grammatical pre-position, well-balanced structure

(88) **Reaction** [t] was mixed yesterday to **President Clinton’s confirmation** [f] that the US will introduce a tax on energy in a double-edged attack on global warming and the cost of oil imports. (K59,2269)

Cz. Včera byly smíšené reakce na Clintonovo schválení, že USA zavede daň z energie ...

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching
Form of the dependent member: prepositional phrase

Motivation factors: end-focus, end-weight

(89) ...he'd come back and be you think it is the beginning of the erm God I hope not but it is a **reaction** [f] obviously er **to the radiation treatment** [F]... (KP1, 9745)

Cz. ...ale je to zřejmě reakce na ozařování...

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: prepositional phrase

Motivation factors: end-focus, CD

Discontinuous postmodification of the noun OPINION

(Source of all instances: BNC):

(90) **Opinion** [t] differs widely **on value of these methods** [F]. (A0J,477)

Cz. Názory [t] na hodnotu těchto metod se liší [F].

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: prepositional phrase

Motivation factors: end-focus

(91) **Opinion** [t] is sharply divided **on the edibility of the results** [F]. (A3G,222)

Cz. Názory [t] na stravitelnost těchto výsledků se ostře liší [F].

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: prepositional phrase

Motivation factors: end-focus

(92) I have always accepted that a referendum could be an appropriate mechanism for sounding out **opinion** [f], particularly **on constitutional issues** [F]. (AK9,1120)

Cz. Vždy jsem připouštěl, že referendum by mohlo být vhodným mechanismem pro zjištění názoru [f], zejména na ústavní záležitosti [F].

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: prepositional phrase

Motivation factors: end-focus, focalizer

(93) In sharp contrast, **opinion** [t] was more divided **on whether she was trustworthy, caring, or willing to listen** [F]. (A62,612)

Cz. V ostrém protikladu se názor [t] víc rozcházel v tom, zda je důvěryhodná, starostlivá nebo ochotná naslouchat [F].

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: prepositional phrase

Motivation factors: end-focus

Discontinuous postmodification of the noun EMPHASIS

(Source of all instances: BNC)

(94) But acting and all that it means is very much a doing thing, so the **emphasis** [t] is always **on practical work** [F]. (A06,128)

Cz. Ale hraní a všechno, co to obnáší, je z velké části činnost, takže důraz [t] je vždy na praktické práci [F].

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: prepositional phrase

Motivation factors: end-focus (regular word order)

(95) The **emphasis** [t] will be **on developing an actor's mental and physical concentration** [F], and giving him/her sufficient craftsmanship to sustain a performance. (A06,1313)

Cz. Důraz bude na rozvíjení [f] hercova mentálního a fyzického soustředění [F]...

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: prepositional phrase

Motivation factors: end-focus (regular word order)

(96) The new **emphasis** [t] was to be **on dining rather than drinking** [F]... (A0B,399)

Cz. Nový důraz [t] měl být spíš na jídle než na pití [F]...

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: prepositional phrase

Motivation factors: end-focus (regular word order)

(97) The **emphasis** [t] here is **on developing the front deltoid** [F]... (A0W,405)

Cz. Důraz [t] je tu na rozvoj předního deltoidu [F]...

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: prepositional phrase

Motivation factors: end-focus (regular word order)

(98) All the way through Railfreight's emergence as a viable, forward-looking concern, the **emphasis** [t] was **on improving** [f] the service to the customer [F]. (A11,1155)

Cz. ...důraz [t] byl na zlepšování [f] služby zákazníkovi [F].

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

Form of the dependent member: prepositional phrase

Motivation factors: end-focus (regular word order)

Discontinuous Prepositional Phrase (The source of all instances: BNC)

Tough-movement

The projective variants of all instances are analogical to those in (99) and (100).

(99) Honest crap you can flush down the lavatory, he wrote, but **dishonest crap** [ct], of the kind produced by so-called artists, is more difficult to dispose [F] **of**. (A08,72)

Cz. Poctivý odpad můžeš spláchnout do záchoda, napsal, ale nepoctivý odpad toho typu, který produkují takzvaní umělci, je obtížnější vyhodit.

Projective variant: It is more difficult to dispose of dishonest crap [f]...

(100) The comfort of having the big glass here at last, he wrote, of living in the shadow of its coldness, its emptiness. No Hildas. No Goldbergs. No words. Just the **glass**. Cold to the touch. Cold to look [F] **at**. (A08,208)

Cz. ...Žádní Goldbergové. Žádná slova. Jen sklo. Chladné na dotyk. Chladné na pohled.

Subtype: ellipsis of subject and copula

Projective variant: It is cold to look at the glass [f]...

(101) **The dish** [t] was also eminently suitable for service in a restaurant, good to look [F] **at** and practical to assemble. (A0C,1599)

Cz. Nádobí bylo také nasmírně vhodné pro službu v restauraci, dobré na pohled a praktické na srovnání.

(102) **He** was great to work [F] **with** – I'd do anything to work with him again." (A0E,57)

Cz. ...Skvěle se s ním pracovalo...

(103) But as I keep trying to tell you, **publishing** [t] is not that easy to get [F] **into** -- especially at your sort of salary level when you've no experience. (A0F,352)

Cz. Ale jak ti stále říkám, dostat se do nakladatelské činnosti není snadné...

(104) **Counsellors** [t] are available to talk [F] **to** and advise individuals and couples about marital or partnership problems... (A0J,1738)

Cz. S poradci je možné mluvit a také radí jednotlivcům a párům ohledně manželských nebo partnerských problémů...

(105) She'd taken him literally, although now she questioned whether that had been wise. **Hollywood stars** [t] were safe to fall in love [F] **with**, dead or a million dollars away. (A0L,16)

Cz. Zamilovat se do hollywoodských hvězd bylo bezpečné, byly totiž mrtvé nebo je od nás oddělovaly milionů dolarů.

(106) Competitive kicks. **Kicks** [ct], are harder to score [f] **with** than punches and in recognition of this, a greater latitude in judgement is applied by the refereeing panel. (A0M,899)

Cz. Soutěžní kopance. Kopnutím se skóruje obtížněji než ranami pěstí...

(107) Larkin's own oast **house** [t] is not so good to look [F] **at**. (A14,493)
Cz. Larkinova sušárna není tak hezká na pohled.

(108) Loop-in wiring is more straightforward to do, but **junction box wiring** [ct] is a better system for light fittings (other than simple pendant lights) and is easier to add [F] **to**. (A16,295)
Cz. Smyčkové vedení se dělá snadněji, ale vedení přes odbočnici je lepším systémem pro malá elektropříslušenství...

(109) **They** [t] are extremely hard to dispose [F] **of**. (A1U,6)
Cz. Je velmi těžké se jich zbavit.

(110) We're still fighting that one,' Bromley says, "but **peak-time scheduling** [t] has got harder and harder to break [F] **into**." (A22,281)
Cz. ...ale v plánování špičky je stále těžší a těžší se prosadit.

(111) **The one position** [t] he or she should avoid is of being a kind of co-conspirator with the politician against the legitimate interests of the audience and that, it has seemed to me lately, is an increasingly easy trap to fall [F] **into**. (A3A,339)
Cz. Pozicí, které by se měli vyhnout, je stát se jakýmsi spoluspiklencem politika proti legitimním zájmům veřejnosti a to, jak se mi poslední dobou zdá, je past, do které je velmi snadné spadnout.
Subtype: referential duplication (position – trap)

(112) Like many creative people, **she** [t] can be impossible to reason [F] **with**, and the experience can be very painful. (A5K,115)
Cz. Jako s mnoha kreativními lidmi není možné se s ní přít a může to být velmi bolestná zkušenost.

(113) Still, **any stick** [t] is good enough to beat [F] **with**. (A69,513)
Cz. Přesto jakákoli tyč je dost dobrá na to, aby se s ní dalo mlátit.

(114) Yet, in fact **they** [t] were really easy going and fine to get along [F] **with** (A6E,325)
Cz. Přesto byli ve skutečnosti opravdu velmi přátelští a vycházelo se s nimi bez problémů.

(115) I knew quite a number of people who had gone into the Civil Service and **it** [t] seemed a good thing to get [F] **into**. (A6L,1616)
Cz. Znal jsem několik lidí, kteří odešli do státní správy a zdálo se to jako dobré místo, kam jít.
Subtype: referential duplication (it – thing)

(116) **She** [t] was much younger than he, strong, not unpleasant to look [F] **at**. (A6N,719)
Cz. Byla mnohem mladší než on, silná, ne nepříjemná na pohled.

(117) **They'** [t] re fun to look [F] **at.** (A6N,1748)

Cz. Je legrační se na ně dívat.

(118) ...Or if there is, **he** [t] turns out to be impossible to live [F] **with,**' she says. (A70,1298)

Cz. ...A jestli je, ukazuje se, že je nemožné s ním žít.

(119) She ain't crying or nothing, but **her face** [t] is horrible to look [F] **at.** (A74,146)

Cz. Ani nebrečí, ale její tvář je hrozná na pohled.

(120) **It'** [t] s too beautiful to look [F] **at.** (A74,3061)

Cz. Je příliš krásné se na to dívat. Vs. Je to příliš krásné na to, aby se na to koukalo.

(121) Having known the Royal Family all her life, **she** [t] was easy to talk [F] **to,** and was one of the few people who knew what Diana was talking about when she spoke about her day-to-day life. (A7H,1357)

Cz. Protože znala královskou rodinu celý život, bylo snadné s ní promluvit...

(122) It can not be right that a tenant in Middlesbrough, where housing is cheap, pays more than a tenant in Camden, where costs are very much higher, where **well-paid jobs** [t] are much easier to come [F] **by,** and there is such a concentration of commercial facilities. (A96,47)

Cz. ...Camden, kde jsou ceny mnohem vyšší, kde je mnohem snadnější sehnat dobře placenou práci...

(123) **Christmas** [t] is very hard to deal [F] **with,**' says 22-year-old Mark. (AA8,287)

Cz. Je velmi těžké vyrovnat se s Vánoce, říká dvaadvacetiletý Mark.

(124) The contradictions fall into something like a natural order of things, in a flamboyant era when **the natural** [t] was not always easy to come [F] **by.** (AA9,713)

Cz. ...v pestré éře, kdy nebylo vždy snadné přijít k něčemu přirozenému.

(125) Not a wildly exciting play, though with the production in the safe hands of Alfred Bradley and charming performances all round, **it** [t] was always easy to listen [F] **to.** (AAH,137)

Cz. ...bylo vždy snadné to poslouchat.

(126) Partly because the machinery of repression has been so all-embracing for so long, stifling any messages of opposition before they reached a platform, and partly because Romania has for so long been cut off from the mainstream of European thinking and political change, **constructive ideas** [ct] have been hard to come [F] **by.** (AAK,368)

Cz. Částečně proto, že byla mašinérie represí všudypřítomná po tak dlouhou dobu, že umlčovala jakékoli zprávy od opozice předtím, než se dostaly na veřejnost, a částečně proto, že bylo Rumunsko tak dlouho odtrženo od hlavního proudu evropského myšlení a politické změny, bylo obtížné setkat se s konstruktivními myšlenkami.

(127) **He** [t] can be impossible to bowl [F] **against**. (AAW,88)

Cz. Je nemožné hrát proti němu kuželky.

(128) ... **it** [t] was an incredible show, quite wonderful to look [F] **at**. (AB5,1528)

Cz. ...byla to neuvěřitelná podívaná, naprosto úchvatná na pohled.

(129) Nissan claimed that **Octav Botnar** [t], the reclusive owner of Nissan UK, is too difficult to deal [F] **with**. (ABD,2906)

Cz. Nissan prohlásil, že s Octavem Botnarem, výhradním majitelem firmy Nissan UK, je příliš těžké jednat.

(130) He did always want to get away when he was with Gina. On the other hand, he realized that if he did, there would be financial penalties. He was also cynical enough to believe that **any other woman** [ct] might be as unpleasant to live [f] **with**. (AC3,1194)

Cz. ...Byl také dostatečně cynický, aby věřil, že žít [t] s jakoukoli jinou ženou by bylo stejně nepříjemné [F].

(131) There are not all that many King Charles Spaniels born each year, and consequently **puppies** [t] are hard to come [F] **by**. (ACM,1403)

Cz. Kokršpanělů krále Charlese se nerodí ročně mnoho, a tudíž je štěnata obtížné sehnat.

(132) Slavering foxes will be stopped from trotting down 30 miles of tunnel by ten-foot fences, electric 'stun mats' and being shot with humane killers. **The airborne threat** [t] is harder to deal [F] **with**, but bat patrols will be mounted. (ACP,2414)

Cz. ...S hrozbou ze vzduchu je těžší se vypořádat...

(133) Though at least **the Bluebird** [t] was distinctive to look [F] **at**, whereas the Primera looks like a successful cross between several of its rivals. (ACR,1781)

Cz. Ale aspoň Bluebird byl dobře rozpoznatelný, zatímco Primera vypadá jako úspěšný kříž mezi několika svými nepřáteli.

(134) As a dog handler, Keith has worked with two German Shepherds in the past five years. **German Shepherds** [t] are great dogs to work [F] **with**, he declared. (A17,1538)

Cz. Němečtí ovčáci jsou psi, se kterými se skvěle pracuje.

Subtype: referential duplication (shepherds – dogs), the construction borders on infinitive postmodifying a noun

(135) Apart from that, **he**'[t] s a good enough man, a nice man to talk [F] **to**. (A3N,298)

Cz. Kromě toho je dost dobrý chlap, hezky se s ním mluví.

Subtype: referential duplication (he – man)

(136) **I**'[t] ve been difficult material to work [F] **with**, haven't I? (A0F,618)

Cz. Jsem materiál, se kterým se těžko pracuje, že ano?

Subtype: referential duplication (I – material)

(137) Sure, and **Wenders** [t] is an expert in flannel. Nice to look [F] **at** though, and Yohji won the game...(ACN,320)

Cz. Jistě, a Wenders je rádoby expert. Ale pěkný na pohled...

Subtype: ellipsis of subject and copula

(138) The latter offence is an inchoate offence of a familiar kind: possession with intent, in circumstances where **an innocent reason for possessing explosives** [t] is fairly hard to come [F] **by**... (ACJ,585)

Cz. ...za okolností, kdy ospravedlnitelný důvod pro držení výbušnin je těžké najít...

(139) **He**[t] wasn't an easy man to talk [F] **to**. (ABW,1517)

Cz. Nebyl to muž, se kterým se snadno mluví.

Subtype: referential duplication (he – man)

(140) When this happens, **the records** [t] get harder to listen [F] **to**... (AB3,236)

Cz. Když se to stane, nahrávky jsou těžší na poslech...

(141) **Frank** [t] was an easy man to talk [F] **to**. (A7J,1475)

Cz. Frank byl muž, se kterým se snadno mluvilo.

Subtype: referential duplication (Frank – man)

(142) Although the arrival of Harry was a break in the gloom, **the Prince** [t] was a prickly man to live [F] **with**. (A7H,994)

Cz. Ačkoli příjezd Harryho byl průlomem v beznaději, byl prince popudlivý a bylo těžké s ním žít.

Subtype: referential duplication (Prince – man)

(143) It is a punishing job, and **Charles** [t] is no easy man to work [F] **for**. (A7H,1790)

Cz. Je to práce za trest a pro Charlese není snadné pracovat.

Subtype: referential duplication (Charles– man)

Discontinuity with a *Wh*-word

Regular, structural discontinuity (The source of all instances: BNC)

The Czech translation of all instances is analogical to that of (144).

(144) The Shah had made a showplace of his country with his colossal purchasing of weapons, and look **what** it had all come **to**: ... (A05,773)

Cz. Šáh ze své země udělal výstavní síň svým kolosálním nákupem zbraní a podívejte, k čemu to až došlo...

(145) You show me **what** you're talking **about**. (A05,1648)

(146) The quality of mercy is not strained from The Merchant of Venice -- and mercy was **what** I was asking **for**, literally, at that moment. (A06,2323)

(147) ...has to some extent faced the thought that he might be wasting his whole life, for that's **what** it comes down to in the end, he wrote... (A08,545)

(148) You only turn to it as people climb mountains and cross deserts -- to find out **what** you are made of by doing what you hardly dare to do. (A08,686)

(149) It becomes clear after one has been working at something for several weeks, he typed (as Harsnet had written), that one is not going to achieve **what** one had hoped for. (A08,891)

(150) Typical of artists to read nothing except **what** they happen upon and then to pontificate about life and art and the way the world is going. (A08,981)

(151) As I looked through the viewer I had the feeling, momentarily, that it really was **what** I had dreamed about for so long, a sort of crystal ball in which I could call up everything I had ever known. (A08,2759)

(152) 'That's **what** it sounded like,' agreed Mary. (A0D,2418)

(153) That was **what** he came up with. (A0D,2498)

(154) That's what's been going around the common room and that's **what** all this adds up to. (A0F,223)

(155) Would I be right in saying that we haven't provided you with **what** you were looking for when you came here? (A0F,546)

(156) She came back with **what** I'd asked for. (A0F,1816)

(157) If you were given 'carte blanche' so to speak, **what** would you go for? (A0F,2847)

(158) Have we leave to write down **what** you are all agreed upon? (A0N,719)

(159) **What** is childminding like as a job? (A0J,318)

(160) I was curious to see what shrift she would receive in Naipaul's novel: the work of a man **who** has been spoken of by an old friend, the novelist Paul Theroux... (A05,19)

(161) Generally, it is best to send out a strong opener, that is someone **who** can be relied upon to go all out for a victory. (A0M,108)

(162) The British reader, who is likely to have been spared certain of the varieties of suffering **which** are spoken of in the writings of Kundera and Klima, where a joke, or no joke, or nothing whatever, can sequester you for years from the people you grew up with, is in a position, for all that, to know what Sabina means here. (A05,612)

(163) Locking the gates, however, could do little to reverse the social trends **which** the dazibao complained **of**. (CG0,1581)

(164) Instead of introducing procedures **which** can be relied **upon** to identify and protect all those at risk of human rights violations in their own country, Government has introduced a range of measures which create obstacles in the path of those seeking asylum in the UK. (A03,950)

(165) These remarks concerning if this is a man do not describe the kind of book which runs easily to sequels, and **which** is easy to live up **to**. (A05,1441)

(166) Doyle's greyhound is a pair of electricians' pipes, **which** he lights **upon**, paints and plays, producing a doleful sound that soothes him -- it is like mumbling your mantra or telling your beads. (A05,1587)

(167) The kids are presented as decent and thoughtful, and there's an Arcadian absence of the stress and violence **which** some might look **for** in a class where the teacher swears and free-associates, and throws up and bunks off into the bargain. (A05,1605)

(168) There is an optional second year **which** students can apply **for** which joins up with the two-year diploma course. (A06,195)

(169) ...when I had applied and been chosen for a television play called It 's Too Late to Talk to Billy which was set in Belfast -- which is **where** I came **from** originally. (A06,1807)

(170) I know **from where** it comes and **where** it wishes to get **to**. (A08,1240)

(171) Those words of Kafka's, which have never ceased to haunt me: **Where** does the strength come **from** to write: I have no strength any more? (A08,2112)

(172) It did not really matter who we were or **where** we had come **from**; the fountain united us all in a common purpose and that was enough. (A0F,368)

(173) I didn't want to risk Mrs Long, and Mrs Travers knew **where** I had moved on **to**, so giving her name could cause problems as well. (A0F,976)

(174) It is not clear **where** this comes **from**. (A0P,714)

(175) **Where** did you get **to**?' Rodney looked up crossly. (A0R,2071)

(176) Sara asked, '**Where** did you get **to** last night?' (A0R,2229)

(177) You mightn't think it but it would be nice to feel proud of **where** you come **from**. (A0U,1050)

(178) After eating the piece of chicken dipped in cumin and saffron which he must have liked, he asked me **where** I came **from**. (A0U,1548)

(179) **Where** I come **from**, if we see a pigeon we throw a stone at it. If it falls we accept our good fortune, kill it and eat it. (A0U,1648)

(180) Enclosed with Training News are details of the services available and **where** they can be obtained **from**. (A10,106)

(181) **Where** the printed story came **from** I don't know, but basically it was made up somewhere along the line; a fairy story. (A15,1562)

(182) The drama school will give you some advice on when and **where** to write **to**, and how you organise your letters, but outside advice is very important in helping you to see yourself in perspective. (A06,1489)

Discontinuous Prepositional Phrase with an Adjective Intensified by *Too*

(183) Stowbridge was the nearest town, but there was no bus [F] at all between their village of Applewick and Stowbridge, because **a railway bridge** [t] crossing the road [t] was too low [f] for a bus to go **under** [F]. (B0B,1024)

Cz. Nejbližší město byl Stowbridge, ale mezi jejich vesnicí Applewick a Stowbridge nejezdil vůbec žádný autobus [F], protože železniční most [t] vedoucí přes silnici byl příliš nízký [F] na to, aby pod ním autobus [t] projel [F].

(184) **You** [t] are too beautiful for the wind to pick [F] **at**, or the sun to burn. (EWC,2599)

Cz. Jsi příliš krásná na to, aby se do tebe vítr opíral [F] nebo aby tě slunce sežehlo [F].

(185) **The nest** [t] is far too small for a bird to sit [F] **in**. (F9F,1825)

Cz. Hnízdo [t] je příliš malé na to, aby v něm mohl pták sedět [F].

(186) Visiting lady: Why so? PAMELA: Because I think one may with pleasure celebrate an anniversary of one's nuptials, but **the day** [t] itself I think too solemn a matter for the parties of our sex to be very gay [F] **upon**. (FU4,1077)

Cz. ...ale den sám považuji za příliš slavnostní záležitost pro naše pohlaví na to, abychom se příliš radovali [F].

(187) Well, **they** [t] are very big things [f] to grapple [F] **with**, and I don't know that there are any answers. (A5B,29)

Cz. No, jsou to hodně velké věci [f] na to, abychom se s nimi potýkali [F], a nevím, že existují nějaké odpovědi.

Discontinuous Prepositional Phrase with a Postmodifying Infinitive

The projective variant of all instances is analogical to that of (188) and (189).

(188) I think the present Government has **a lot** [f] to answer [F] **for**. (A06,2170)

Projective variant: I think the present Government has a lot for which it has to answer [F].

(189) In Shakespeare there are **many young men** to choose **from**. (A06,258)

Projective variant: In Shakespeare there are many young men from which one can choose [F].

(190) But this is only one aspect of the bifurcation he describes. Fraser's fork took several forms, as I say: or one might prefer to say that there was more than **one fork** [f] to reckon [F] **with**. (A05,287)

(191) You don't have **a family** [f] to think [F] **about** of course, he said. (A08,2754)

(192) International visitors to the Disney theme parks near Orlando, Florida, have **a wealth of new-build state-of-the-art hotels** [f] to choose [F] **from**, but none reaches the gaudy heights of the Walt Disney World Dolphin Hotel. (A0C,253)

(193) I was just being silly about **which ones** [f] to apply [F] **for**. (A0F,379)

(194) Alcoholism is a social thing, not a homelessness thing -- I mean, I knew a few university lecturers who were alcoholics, but they all had **homes** [f] to go [F] **to** -- or still had, last time they ever spoke to me. (A0F,2648)

(195) In search of oddity there is just one problem with that essential book Gardens of England and Wales Open to the Public 1991 -- there are over 2,600 **gardens** [f] to choose [F] **from**. (A0G,396)

(196) As well as the more familiar tall-growing daffodils and tulips, there are many **dwarf-growing bulbs** [f] to choose [F] **from**. (A0G,1822)

(197) There are several **birth control methods** [f] to choose [F] **from**. (A0J,538)

(198) These are the **birth control methods** [f] to choose [F] **from**: (A0J,512)

(199) There is also **a wealth of support and expertise** [f] throughout the health service to turn [F] **to** when you need help. (A0J,1361)

(200) This gives **an approximate value** [f] to work [F] **to**, so a 20-year-old will aim to generate a pulse rate of 175 beats per minute for a period of 20 minutes or so. (A0M,360)

(201) I have **my future** [f] to think [F] **about**. (A0R,1899)

(202) Jimmy Connors inherited **a lot** [f] to begin [F] **with**, Pancho says. (A0V,649)

(203) No one has **all the shots** [f] to begin [F] **with**. (A0V,736)

(204) Starting with a blank sheet of paper is perhaps easy for some, but for myself, I can neither draw accurately nor can I imagine without a **picture or actual model** [f] to start [F] **from**. (A0X,1193)

(205) I would be very grateful if any of your readers could assist me in obtaining an **address** [f] to write [F] **to**, or better still, a copy of the plans. (A16,1070)

(206) Are there any **snags** [f] to watch [F] **for**? (A16,1726)

(207) In Svidrigailov's America there is **no air** [f] to struggle [F] **for**... (A18,365)

(208) So that when Von Lemke came to us as governor and felt himself overwhelmed by our troubles and scandals, he had no **toy-making** [f] to turn [F] **to**, he had nowhere to go... (A18,637)

(209) Bridge-building is empty because it never happens, God-killing and god-making suicide is baffled because there is only a corpse to point at, there is **nobody** [f] to attach [f] a fulfilled free intention [F] **to**. (A18,1322)

(210) The contextualizing of even the simplest poem has **no obvious point** [f] to end [F] **at**, once begun. (A1A,1273)

(211) Others can't do that: they haven't got **the records** [f] to choose [F] **from**. (A1Y,147)

(212) In a finale the police colonel complements Gumedé as he describes his ideal home: Freedom, man. Nice walls and a **big sky** to look **at**. (A25,122) ellipsis of predicative verb

(213) ...there is nothing like an international cricket tournament for persuading the electorate that, with polling day just around the corner, Rajiv is **the boy** [f] to vote [F] **for**. (A3L,507)

(214) The fashionable dress varies, as do the fashionable drugs, but there are always at least **two problems** [f] for society [f] to deal [F] **with**: (A3T,275)

(215) Roads were turned to mud by days of rain and Fiorio had **the additional hardship** [f] of a bubbling radiator to contend [F] **with**. (A4P,434)

(216) Evans is convinced it ended up with a better dealer than it started with, and has **£2m of cash** [f] to play [F] **with**. (A55,14)

(217) He will be isolated, with **no other Kurds** [f] to talk [F] **to**, and I fear it will make his mental state even worse. (A59,701)

(218) Martin Cruz Smith has **an intriguing hero** [f] to play [F] **with**; if he could only Strive For a Decisive Upswing in Plot Design, his mastery of the chilly thriller would be complete. (A5F,124)

(219) Chania's visitors have a vast store of good, although not first-quality, **leatherware** [f] to choose [F] **from**. (A5X, 159)

(220) Right, you bloody lot, if you have **any homes** [f] to go [F] **to**, get out of those pits and down to the orderly room, sharpish, or you won't get a bloody pass. (A61,2370)

(221) For Christ's sake, Piper, surely you have **a home** [f] to go [F] **to**? (A61,2378)

(222) Elvis has **a lot** [f] to answer [F] **for**. (A6A,282)

(223) In Burma, where he had only the British Colonial Office and **colonial administrators** [f] to deal [F] **with**, he was more or less able to have his way. (A6G,1565)

(224) There were too **many things** [f] to look [F] **at**, Daddy,' Mona said apologetically. (A6N,2049)

(225) ... -- knowing the plane has the aerodynamics of a brick once the forward thrust is lost -- and the knowledge that at the other end of the journey there will be new sounds and smells and **things** [f] to look [F] **at**. (A6T,1439)

(226) There is, true enough, **no bank** [f] to poke[F] **into** -- get round the first headland and the next bank is the shore of Svalbard -- but it would still be a good idea to be able to go in a straight line. (A6T,1553)

(227) And among Punjabi peasants in Britain this Indian urban middle-class smartness, not westernisation, is **the thing** [f] to aim [F] **for**. (A6V,917)

Discontinuous Prepositional Phrase with Passive Prepositional Verbs

(228) **No particular accent** [t] is asked [F] **for**, but Mike is not the conventional public school type who has gone to Cambridge. (A06,882)

Projective variant: People [t] ask for no particular accent [F], but Mike is not the conventional public school type who had gone to Cambridge,

(229) It will succeed only if it changes the way **business** [t] is done and accounted [T] **for**. (A1J,195)

Projective variant: It will succeed only if it changes the way they do and account for business [F].

(230) LVMH added £30m to the £246m pre-tax profits Guinness announced yesterday for the period to 30 June, when only **a 16 per cent stake** [t] was accounted [F] **for**. (A2V,241)

Projective variant: ...when they accounted only for a 16 per cent stake [F].

(231) They said **everyone** [t] living in the building was accounted [F] **for**. (A30,611)

Projective variant: They said they accounted for everyone living in the building [F].

(232) Mr Stockdale had taken control of Eagle Trust in the wake of the resignation and subsequent departure from the country of John Ferriday, and had discovered that **£13.7m of funds** [t] could not be accounted [F] **for**. (A3S,436)

Projective variant: ...and had discovered that it is impossible to account for £13.7m of funds [F].

(233) In four episodes **Cassandra, Andromache, Helen and, most affectingly, Andromache's small son Astyranax** [t], are remorselessly accounted [F] **for**. (A4E,149)

Projective variant: In four episodes the author remorselessly accounts for Cassandra, Andromache, Helen and, most affectingly, Andromache's small son Astyranax [F].

(234) **About £20m** [t] of the original money is believed to have been accounted [F] **for**, although about another £6m is still missing. (A59,808)

Projective variant: It is believed that they have accounted for about £20m of the original money [F]...

(235) While it is a premium to the market, **it** [t] should be more than accounted [f] for by the property [F]. (A5G,261)

Projective variant: While it is a premium to the market, the property should more than account [f] for it.

(236) Corpus Christi College made the suggestion that he should sleep in Corpus but take his meals in his old college of Magdalene; **a proposal** [t] so bizarre that it should be accounted [f] **for** by a motive, not to have at dinner a famously silent person, imagined as a wet blanket. (A68,1366)

Projective variant: ... a proposal [t] so bizarre that a motive should account [f] for it...

(237) How can the blowing of such a bubble, and, once it was inflated and released, **its durability**[t], be accounted [F] **for**? (A69,1202)

Projective variant: How can one account for blowing of such a bubble, and, once it was inflated and released of its durability [F]?

(238) **The rise** [t] is largely accounted [f] **for** by rising incomes and profits [F] which bring more taxpayers and companies into higher tax brackets. (A6F,306)

Projective variant: They account for it by rising incomes and profits [F]...

(239) In that year **about 21 per cent** [t] of all Africa's earnings from exports were accounted [f] **for** by payment of principal and interest on debt [F]; by 1987 the figure had fallen to 14 per cent and was likely to decrease further. (A6M,1145)

Projective variant: In that year they accounted for about 21 per cent [f] of all Africa's earnings from exports [F]...

(240) **More than 60 per cent** [t] of Indian exports are accounted [f] **for** by the two Tata outfits[F], Tata Consultancy Services (TCS) and Tata Unisys Ltd, which employ around 1,500 professionals in Bombay and Bangalore. (A8R,278)

Projective variant: The two Tata outfits [t], Tata Consultancy Services (TCS) and Tata Unisys Ltd, which employ around 1,500 professionals in Bombay and Bangalore account for more than 60 per cent [f] of Indian exports.

(241) **Part of the fall** [t] is accounted [f] **for** by the pattern of transactions between Britain and the EC [F], but part must also reflect the cost of British borrowing from overseas investors. (AAS,403)

Projective variant: They account for part of the fall by the pattern of transactions between Britain and the EC [F]...

(242) Money was being spent, but **money** [t] could be accounted [F] **for**. (AB5,1505)

Projective variant: ...one can account for money [F].

(243) As a result of the expansion in foreign direct investment, trade deficits are no longer purely national concepts: **a large chunk** [t] of a country's exports and imports may be accounted **for** [f] by foreign firms with bases there. (ABK,2344)

Projective variant: Foreign firms with bases there account for a large chunk [f] of a country's exports and imports.

(244) **Another third** [t] is accounted **for** [f] by the goods shipped by foreign firms in America to their home country [F]. (ABK,2353)

Projective variant: The goods shipped by foreign firms in America to their home country account for another third [F].

(245) The results indicated that, with a high degree of probability, **more than 99.8 per cent** [t] of the total collection could be accounted [F] **for**. (AC9,1361)

Projective variant: The results indicated that, with a high degree of probability, that one can account for more than 99.8 per cent [f] of the total collection.

(246) In fact the reduction in home trade is far bigger than the reduction paid out exports, and **this** [t] is accounted [f] **for** by the ten million reduction paid out now would give a right big fillip to trade. (ACH,209)

Projective variant: The ten million reduction paid out now would give a right big fillip to trade, which accounts [f] for the reduction in home trade being far bigger than the reduction paid out exports.

(247) '**His more than usually lumpy appearance** [t] was accounted [f] **for** by a variety of new bulges about his person [F], all promising delightful treats.' (AEB,2865)

Projective variant: A variety of new bulges about his person [t], all promising delightful treats, accounts for his more than usually lumpy appearance [F].

(248) By the time of Edward I, **the major part** [t] of the Forest revenues was being raised and accounted [f] **for** by the sheriffs [F]. (AE9,43)

Projective variant: By the time of Edward I, the sheriffs [t] raised and accounted for the major part [f] of the Forest revenues.

(249) Measured by turnover, **almost half the business activity** [t] of Scotland's top 200 companies is accounted [f] **for** by 22 companies in the financial sector [F]. (AHT,642)

Projective variant: Measured by turnover, 22 companies in the financial sector [t] account for almost half the business activity [f] of Scotland's top 200 companies.

(250) The average labour input for a part-time farm was 1,752 hours, or 0.75 of a man-year: **some of this** [t] would be accounted [f] **for** by contract work carried out by the machinery group [F]. (ALC,1296)

Projective variant: ... contract work carried out by the machinery group is able to account [f] for some of this.

(251) **This** [t] is accounted [f] **for** by the rather different procedure adopted in child sexual abuse investigations [F]. (ALM,779)

Projective variant: One can account for this by the rather different procedure adopted in child sexual abuse investigations [F].

(252) However, **this increase** [t] in speed must not be relied [F] **on** if the launch is too slow and the pilot wants more speed... (A0H,618)

Projective variant: However, we must not rely on the increase [F] in speed if the launch is too slow and the pilot wants more speed...

(253) ...subjects are asked whether or not they perceive a stimulus, **their responses** [t], verbal or otherwise, can not be relied [f] **on** as accurate accounts of their conscious experiences [F]. (A0T,956)

Projective variant: ...one cannot rely on their responses [f], verbal or otherwise as accurate accounts of their conscious experiences [F].

(254) Manufactured to conform to British Standards, **the 57R** [t] can be relied [f] **upon** to meet stringent accuracy tolerances [F]. (A0X,1775)

Projective variant: Manufactured to conform to British Standards, one cannot rely on the 57R [f] to meet stringent accuracy tolerances [F].

(255) **She** [t] was accountable to no one and was no longer relied [f] **upon** by anyone [F]. (A17,1070)

Projective variant: She [t] was accountable to no one and no one relied [f] on her any more.

(256) **The article Jurisdiction in International Law** [t] is one of the most widely cited, and is extensively relied [F] **upon**, most recently before the court of the European Community in the landmark Wood Pulp case. (A3V,113)

Projective variant: People most widely cite from the article Jurisdiction in International Law and extensively rely on it [f], most recently before the court of the European Community in the landmark Wood Pulp case.

(257) As a general rule, where a **counterclaim** [t] could properly be relied [f] **on** as a set-off [F] and where it arose out of the same subject matter as the claim, the counterclaiming defendant ought not to be required to give security for costs of that counterclaim unless there were exceptional circumstances. (A3W,16)

Projective variant: As a general rule, where it is possible to rely properly on a counterclaim as a set-off [F]...

(258) While **Speelman** [t] can be relied [f] **upon** to finish just above half-way in any international event [F], Timman's name frequently features either at the top or near the bottom. (A1J,379)

Projective variant: While one can rely on Speelman [f] to finish just above half-way in any international event [F]...

(259) But **he** [t] can not be relied [f] **upon** for ever. (A5C,13)

Projective variant: But one cannot rely [f] on him for ever.

(260) The police commander judged **the cordon** [t] could not be relied [f] **upon** to withstand the increasingly aggressive crowd [F]. (A88,503)

Projective variant: The police commander judged one cannot rely on the cordon to withstand the increasingly aggressive crowd [F].

(261) The Florida County's ironic predicament illustrates the extent to which **drug testing** [t] is relied [f] **upon** by some US employers to screen the workforce [F]. (A98,88)

Projective variant: The Florida County's ironic predicament illustrates the extent to which some US employers rely drug testing to screen the workforce [F].

(262) Although the government has since promulgated guidelines to standardise analytical methods, doubts remain about whether **laboratories** [t] can be relied [f] **upon** not to make technical and clerical mistakes which could result in someone's discharge. (A98,117)

Projective variant: Although the government has since promulgated guidelines to standardise analytical methods, doubts remain about whether one can rely on laboratories [f] to make technical and clerical mistakes which could result in someone's discharge.

(263) Many unwanted touchings are technical batteries, and **prosecutors** [t] are relied [f] **upon** to avoid prosecutions of minor incidents [F]. (ACJ,743)

Projective variant: Many unwanted touchings are technical batteries, and one relies on prosecutors to avoid prosecutions of minor incidents [F].

(264) **His mere re-election** [t] can be relied [f] **on** to revive the market and solve those problems -- without costing the public purse one penny. (AJX,253)

Projective variant: One can rely on his mere re-election [f] to revive the market and solve those problems -- without costing the public purse one penny.

(265) No longer can **the state** [t] be relied [f] **upon** to provide funds [F]; money must be sought from elsewhere, from private sponsorship and from foreign tours. (AKB,266)

Projective variant: One can no longer rely on the state to provide funds [F]...

(266) **Statistics** [t] for the UK chemical industry, as provided by the government, can not be relied [F] **on**, warned Freeman. (ALW,451)

Projective variant: One cannot rely on statistics [f] for the UK chemical industry, as provided by the government, warned Freeman.

(267) Both [t] were villages with large numbers of Hinkley workers and **which**, a few years before, could have been relied [f] **on** to toe the company line [F]. (AN9,1344)

No projective variant available because of obligatory pre-position of the relative

(268) The point is that reasons [t] **that** could have been relied [f] **upon** to justify action before his decision can not be relied upon once the decision is given. (ANH,74)

No projective variant available because of obligatory pre-position of the relative

(269) Therefore, **either they or the directive** [t] should be relied [F] **upon**, but not both, that is not if relying on both means adding the weight of the directive to the force of the reasons justifying it when assessing the weight of the case for the directed action. (ANH,371)

Projective variant: Therefore, one should rely either on them or on the directive [F]...

(270) **Family help** [t] could not be relied [F] **on**, even in a crisis. (AP7,1106)

Projective variant: One could not rely on family help [F], even in a crisis.

(271) **Commercial farmers** [t] (increasingly Africans who have taken over in the wake of the slow European exodus since Independence) are still relied [f] **upon** to provide the bulk of the urban demand for foodstuffs [F], particularly luxury items such as beef, milk, and cheese. (APN,1233)

Projective variant: One still relies on commercial farmers [f] (increasingly Africans who have taken over in the wake of the slow European exodus since Independence) to provide...

(272) **Few** [t] can be relied [f] **upon** for any technical back-up or support services [F] although they can draw upon the services of their manufacturing suppliers for this purpose. (APV,125)

Projective variant: One can rely on few for any technical back-up or support services [F]...

(273) **Valuable coins** [t] would naturally be searched [f] **for** with more energy [F] and so tend to be recovered at a higher rate in ancient times. (ADH,671)

Projective variant: People would search for valuable coins with more energy [F]...

(274) **The graves** [t] had to be searched [f] **for** in what looked like a clearing in a pine wood [F], they were so thickly overgrown with grass and heather. (CBN,2089)

Projective variant: One had to search for the graves in what looked like a clearing in a pine wood [F]...

(275) If love eventually grows, so much the better. To us the whole process is upside down. To us **the flood of romantic love** [t] should be searched [F] **for** and found before marriage. (CDX,3108)

Projective variant: To us one should search for the flood of romantic love [F] and find it before marriage.

(276) **The resulting strings** [t] produced by applying the rules are searched [f] **for** in the lexicon in the normal way [F]. (CHF,1240)

Projective variant: We search for the resulting strings [f] produced by applying the rules in the lexicon in the normal way [F].

(277) **Leavis's judgements** [t] were very much his own, laboriously arrived [F] **at**, and presented with subtlety and rigour. (A1A,711)

Projective variant: Leavis's judgements [t] were very much his own, he laboriously arrived at them...

(278) Unless **an equitable premium** [t] can now be arrived [F] **at**, confidence in this new Lloyd's initiative -- as well as the long-term future of the market -- will be eroded. (ABE,342)

Projective variant: Unless one arrives at an equitable premium now [F]...

(279) By encouraging an individual to explore their ideas, correct, redefine and re-explore until **a workable solution** [t] is arrived [F] **at**... (ALB,331)

Projective variant: By encouraging an individual to explore their ideas, correct, redefine and re-explore until he/she arrives at a workable solution [F]...

Discontinuous Phrasal Verbs (Source: BNC)

(280) ... this rejection of intellectualism is so well understood throughout the service that it has even affected those to whom Bramshill scholarships to University have been offered, and many **turn them down**. (A0K,450)

Cz. ...toto odmítnutí intelektualismu je natolik známé, že ovlivnilo dokonce i ty, kterým byla nabídnuta Bramshillova stipendia na univerzitu, a odmítli je.

Type: obligatory

(281) Busy busy busy...For the first time, she **turned** Lucy [f] **down** for lunch [F]. She would not be squeezed in. Or out. (A0L,2170)

Cz. Práce, práce, práce...Poprvé odmítla Lucy [f] na oběd [F]. Nepodařilo by se jí vmáchnout ani do programu v práci, ani mimo ní.

Type: optional (motivation factor: CD)

(282) Who? Who else is there? It's you I want, you **turn me on**, darling. (A0L,2337)

Cz. Kdo? Kdo další? Já chci tebe, ty mě vzrušuješ, miláčku.

Type: obligatory

(283) She reached into a cabinet and **turned** the radio **off**. (A0U,2363)

Cz. Sáhla do skříňky a rádio vypnula.

Type: optional (motivation factor: CD)

(284) If you don't have them, use manual valves to adjust the radiators or **turn** them **off** in rooms not in use. (A0Y,471)

Cz. Pokud je nemáte, použijte ruční ventily k úpravě radiátorů nebo je v pokojích, které nepoužíváte, vypněte.

Type: obligatory

(285) To **turn** the grinder **on**, the switch is eased forward until it clicks downwards. (A16,1011)

Cz. Abyste mlýnek zapnuli, pohybujte vypínačem pomalu dopředu, dokud necvakne dolů.

Type: optional (motivation factor: CD)

(286) She and her friend Sharon have been pursued by some boys, who are taunting Carol to **take** her clothes **off**. (A06,1251)

Cz. Ji a její kamarádku Sharon pronásledovali nějací kluci, kteří popichovali Carol, aby si sundala šaty.

Type: optional (motivation factor: CD)

(287) The fact is I did **take** it **out** once or twice, determined to do something with it... (A08,1610)

Cz. Je pravda, že jsem to párkrát vyndal s úmyslem něco s tím udělat.

Type: obligatory

(288) ...a few murmured that if I did really feel strongly about the way I had been treated, I should indeed **take** the matter **up** with the Senate. (A0F,135)

Cz. ...několik jich zamumlalo, že jestli mi opravdu vadí způsob, jak se mnou zacházeli, měl bych ten případ opravdu projednat se senátem.

Type: optional (motivation factor: CD)

(289) He **brought** his fist **down** on his desk with a bang. (A0D,2978)

Cz. Praštil pěstí do stolu.

Type: optional (motivation factor: CD)

(290) Mother I don't need -- the one who **brought me up** cost a lot in therapy to get over. (A0L,2367)

Cz. Matku nepotřebuju – ta, která mě vychovala, mě stála hodně na terapiích, abych se z toho dostal.

Type: obligatory

(291) Surely, then, Kenneth, this great grudge of theirs will **bring them out** against the enlistment? (A0N,1686)

Cz. Jistě, Kennethe, tahle jejich velká zášť se otočí proti odvodu do armády.

Type: obligatory

(292) Father **brought me up** here on his back in the spring one year, and I sat in the moor while he and old Donald were digging peats. (A0N,1878)

Cz. Otec mě sem jednou na jaře vynesl na zádech a já seděl na vřesovišti, zatímco on a starý Donald kopali rašelínu.

Type: obligatory

(293) He was looking into vacancy with dull eyes. "James!" Cameron wanted to **bring him round**. (A0N,2208)

Cz. Díval se do prázdna vyhaslýma očima. „Jamesi!“ Cameron ho chtěl přivést k vědomí.

Type: obligatory

(294) ...he nevertheless **brought his children up** with a healthy respect for books and the independence they instil. (A0P,193)

Cz. ...nicméně své děti vychovával se zdravou úctou ke knihám a nezávislosti, kterou vštěpují.

Type: optional (motivation factor: CD)

(295) I listen to the World Federalists and the Communists talk about One World and The Brotherhood of Man and how much they are doing to **bring them about**. (A0P,780)

Cz. Poslouchám, jak na Světě federalisti a komunisti mluví o Jednom světě a Bratrství člověka a kolik toho dělají, aby jich dosáhli.

Type: obligatory

(296) Would you like me to speak to Colm? - Not unless he **brings it up**. (A0U,1024)

Cz. Chtěl bys, abych promluvil s Colmem? – Ne, dokud to nezmíní.

Type: obligatory

(297) That's not true, I've **brought him up** Irish. (A0U,1046)

Cz. To není pravda, vychoval jsem ho jako Ira.

Type: obligatory

(298) These statements are from The Wrench, where Faussone is good at his job and Levi is good at **getting this across**. (A05,1483)

Cz. Tyto výroky jsou z The Wrench, kde Faussone dělá dobře svou práci a Levi ji dobře vysvětluje.

Type: obligatory

(299) Many companies will only invest in the minimum training required to **get** the system **up** and running... (A0C,610)

Cz. Mnoho firem bude investovat jen do minima školení nutného pro to, aby systém postavily na nohy a uvedly ho do chodu.

Type: optional (motivation factor: CD)

(300) And if you think you're going to **get** all that **off** without a shower, you're wrong. (A0D,853)

Cz. A jestli si myslíš, že tohle všechno svlékneš, aniž by ses osprchoval, tak se mýlíš.

Type: optional (motivation factor: CD)

(301) They're for those upper-class twits who turn up halfway through seminars and who never bother to **get** their essays **in** on time. (A0F,425)

Cz. Jsou to takoví troubové z vyšších vrstev, kteří se objeví v polovině semestru a nikdy se neobtěžují odevzdat své eseje včas.

Type: optional (motivation factor: CD)

(302) Also, attorneys may be **putting** themselves **up** for huge amounts of emotional strain, knowing that their clients stand to lose more than. (A03,712)

Cz. Také advokáti se můžou zdrazit kvůli velkému množství emocionálního vypětí, protože vědí, že jejich klienti mohou ztratit víc než svou svobodu.

Type: obligatory

(303) Of course at school they always tell you that you should do a secretarial course, which was absolutely dreadful, and they **put** you **off** the idea of a career in the theatre just as much as they can. (A06,1721)

Cz. Ve škole ti samozřejmě vždycky řeknou, že bys měl dělat kurz kancelářské administrativy, který byl naprosto příšerný, a rozmluví ti kariéru v divadle, jak jen můžou.

Type: obligatory

(304) But why should one incident **put** him **off** for ever? (A08,2946)

Cz. Ale proč by ho měla jedna nehoda odradit navždy?

Type: obligatory

(305) The government would save so much money in the long run if they built us all homes instead of **putting** us **up** in this dump; it's ridiculous. (A0F,1271)

Cz. Vláda by dlouhodobě ušetřila tolik peněz, kdyby nám všem postavila domy místo toho, aby nás ubytovala na téhle skládce. Je to směšné.

Type: obligatory

(306) He **put** me **up** in a hostel, but it was filthy... (A0F,1759)

Cz. Ubytoval mě v hostelu, ale byl špinavý...

Type: obligatory

(307) ...the hero's homeless and somebody **puts him up** for the night. (A0F,2042)

Cz. ...hrdina je bezdomovec a někdo ho ubytuje na noc.

Type: obligatory

(308) A lot of women **put her down** for working with a man, especially one like Francis, camp as Christmas in Tangiers, a slow fuse of lasciviousness smouldered in every phrase. (A0L,41)

Cz. Mnoho žen ji potlačí, aby mohly pracovat s mužem, zejména s takovým jako Francis, přihřátý jako Vánoce v Tangier, pomalá rozbuška chlípnosti doutnající v každé frázi.

Type: obligatory

(309) "Stop **putting yourself down**," said Francis. (A0L,2728)

Cz. Přestaň se ponižovat.

Type: optional (motivation factor: CD)

(310) You **give yourself away** when you kiss like that. (A05,84)

Cz. Prozrazuješ se, když líbáš takhle.

Type: optional (motivation factor: CD)

(311) I remember when I left Central School in 1966 they said the average life for a woman in the theatre was three years and seven for a man before **giving it up**. (A06,1913)

Cz. Pamatuju si, že když jsem odešel z Central School v roce 1966, říkalo se, že průměrná doba strávená v divadle jsou tři roky u žen a sedm u mužů, než to vzdají.

Type: obligatory

(312) No, I **gave that up** as a bad job years ago. (A0F,3055)

Cz. Ne, vzdal jsem to jako špatnou práci už před lety.

Type: obligatory

(313) I am half-pissed and brilliant, Francis takes me for egg and chips and strong tea and tells me to **give it up**. (A0L,1284)

Cz. Jsem napůl opilý a geniální, Francis si mě drží kvůli vajíčkům a hranolkám a silnému čaji a říká mi, ať to vzdám.

Type: obligatory

(314) Dare I say **give it up**? (A0L,2086)

Cz. Odvažuju se říct vzdej to?

Type: obligatory

(315) Given that you can't **give it up**, and you seem unable to scrub round it at present, said Francis... (A0L,2719)

Cz. Za předpokladu, že to nemůžeš vzdát, a vypadáš, že teď nejsi schopný se na to vykašlat, řekl Francis...

Type: obligatory

(316) **Give it up!** (A0L,3416)

Cz. Vzdej to!

Type: obligatory

(317) How could she and how could she not **give it up**? (A0L,3418)

Cz. Jak to mohla vzdát a jaktože to nevzdala?

Type: obligatory

(318) Anyway, they would never **give a man away** to the soldiers. (A0N,1726)

Cz. Ale nikdy by člověka neprozradili vojákům.

Type: optional (motivation factor: CD)

(319) One moment of confusion and he might **give someone away**, or incriminate himself. (A0N,2464)

Cz. Okamžik zmatení a může někoho prozradit nebo se zkompromitovat.

Type: optional (motivation factor: CD)

(320) But the eyes **give him away**... (A0P,57)

Cz. Ale oči ho prozrazují...

Type: obligatory

(321) Having registered, he set about ordering his life as he saw it developing, by **giving himself over** to the muse... (A0P,1318)

Cz. Když se zaregistroval, dal se do uspořádání svého života, jak ho viděl se vyvíjet, tím, že se odevzdal múze...

Type: optional (motivation factor: CD)

(322) On the Saturday of my third weekend at the Palace Hotel I **looked their address up** in one of the telephone directories in my local library. (A0F,1335)

Cz. V sobotu o mém třetím víkendu v hotelu Palace jsem si vyhledal jejich adresu v jednom z telefonních seznamů v místní knihovně.

Type: optional (motivation factor: CD)

Split infinitive (source: BNC)

(323) Despite the publicity on transmission of the disease, ignorance was such that they became afraid **to even visit** me. (A02,95)

Cz. Navzdory pozornosti věnované v médiích přenosu choroby byla neznalost taková, že dostali strach mě i jen navštívit.

Motivation factors: closer position of the rhematizer to the emphasized verb, CD

(324) The global dimension of AIDS requires individual organisations and communities **to rapidly develop** their own local approaches and responses to the problem although often with limited resources. (A02,190)

Cz. Celosvětový rozmach AIDS nutí jednotlivé organizace a komunity, aby urychleně připravily vlastní postupy a reakce na problém, ačkoli často s omezenými zdroji.

Motivation factors: perspicuity

(325) They are not content **to just rest** on their laurels. (A06,1922)

Cz. Neuspokojí je jen usnout na vavřínech.

Motivation factors: closer position of the rhematizer to the emphasized verb, CD

(326) The next important lesson is to never **apologise** for being there. (A06,2099)

Cz. Další důležitou lekcí je nikdy se neomlouvat za zpoždění.

Motivation factors: perspicuity

(327) A plant left **to fully ripen** all its seeds will probably stop flowering or cropping before its neighbours. (A0G,2658)

Cz. Rostlina ponechaná, aby úplně dozrála, přestane pravděpodobně kvést nebo plodit dřív než rostliny v jejím okolí.

Motivation factors: perspicuity

(328) Colour may be an indication of maturity, but some seeds will probably remain green and it is better **to gently shake** or tap seed-heads to see if the contents are dropping. (A0G,2661)

Cz. Barva může být ukazatelem zralosti, ale některá semena zůstanou pravděpodobně zelená a je lepší jemně setřást nebo sklepat semeníčky, abychom se podívali, jestli obsah neopadává.

Motivation factors: CD

(329) After landing, the stick should be moved slowly right back to increase the tail load, unless there is good reason **to deliberately steer** the glider to one side. (A0H,522)

Cz. Po přistání by se tyč měla posunout pomalu úplně doprava, aby se zvýšilo zatížení zádi, jestliže neexistuje dobrý důvod úmyslně směřovat větroň na jednu stranu.

Motivation factors: CD

(330) In very high winds it is usually better **to deliberately let** the glider swing into wind so that it comes to a stop facing directly into wind. (A0H,525)

Cz. Při velmi vysoké větrnosti je obvykle lepší nechat větroň úmyslně klouzat po větru, aby se zastavil při čelním postavení ke směru větru.

Motivation factors: CD

(331) ... it would be necessary for anyone wishing **to fully understand** the process of policing... (A0K,278)

Cz. Pro každého, kdo chce plně porozumět policejní práci, bude nutné...

Motivation factors: perspicuity

(332) ...theirs is to do, not **to** righteously **philosophise**. (A0K,302)

Cz. ...jejich je pracovat, ne poctivě filozofovat.

Motivation factors: perspicuity

(333) Few former colleagues had much idea of what anthropology was and many seemed never **to even have heard** the word. (A0K,1188)

Cz. Málo bývalých kolegů mělo představu o tom, co antropologie je, a mnoho jich vypadalo, že to slovo nikdy neslyšeli.

Motivation factors: closer position of the rhematizer to the emphasized verb, CD

(334) Well, we're meeting next week, hopefully **to really get** this show on the road. (A0L,1876)

Cz. No, příští týden se sejdeme, doufejme, že tuhle show opravdu roztočíme.

Motivation factors: perspicuity

(335) And wishing, with a sunrise burst of longing to be with you always, **to always be** gentle as your hair is soft. (A0L,3122)

Cz. A přející si touhou, která se probouzí při východu slunce, být vždy s tebou, být vždy něžný, jako jsou jemné tvé vlasy.

Motivation factors: CD

(336) I want **to briefly explain** what I mean by the terms open and closed sides when referring to a stance... (A0M,643)

Cz. Chci krátce vysvětlit, co chápu pod pojmem otevřená a zavřená strana, když mluvím o postoji...

Motivation factors: perspicuity

(337) If this is the case, it is difficult **to suddenly change** it, so you should switch to a diagonal attack on the closed side. (A0M,1170)

Cz. Je-li toto ten případ, je těžké to náhle změnit, takže byste měli přepnout na útok po diagonále na uzavřené straně.

Motivation factors: perspicuity

(338) ...there was no way in which it was possible **to really assimilate**. (A0U,133)

Cz. ...neexistoval způsob, kterým by bylo možné se skutečně asimilovat.

Motivation factors: perspicuity

(339) She had always felt insulated from pain with him, as if the condoms served **to forever prevent** them from getting unhealthily close. (A0U,914)

Cz. Vždy se s ním cítila izolovaná od bolesti, jako kdyby je kondomy navždy chránily před tím, aby se k sobě dostali nezdravě blízko.

Motivation factors: perspicuity

(340) They had been hurt by it and have had **to seriously think** about how to make themselves better. (A0U,1789)

Cz. Zranilo je to a museli vážně přemýšlet, jak se zlepšit.

Motivation factors: CD

(341) As rain threatened throughout the week, but failed **to** actually **materialise** most of the time... (A0V,819)

Cz. Protože to celý týden vypadalo, že bude pršet, ale většinu času se to nenaplnilo...

Motivation factors: perspicuity

(342) If the latter option is taken, it is better to spread the intake throughout the day so as **to** continually **top** up the body's supply. (A0W,166)

Cz. Jestliže zvolíme druhou možnost, je lepší rozdělit denní příjem tak, aby stále doplňoval tělu dodávku.

Motivation factors: perspicuity

(343) With weights, the routine can be used **to** greatly **increase** the muscular endurance of the legs and the stomach muscles. (A0W,237)

Cz. Se závažím může tento běžný postup výrazně zvýšit svalovou výdrž nohou a břicha.

Motivation factors: perspicuity

(344) Conversely, if you are building up to a competition and wish **to** greatly **increase** your fitness and endurance, the FDR should be very intense and should make up a large part of your training. (A0W,242)

Cz. Naopak, jestli posilujete na soutěž a přejete si výrazně zvýšit svou fyziku a vytrvalost, FDR by mělo být velmi intenzivní a mělo by tvořit velkou část Vašeho tréninku.

Motivation factors: perspicuity

(345) The best exercise for the lateral deltoid is dumb-bell side-lateral raises (remember **to** only **raise** the arms to the horizontal because after this the upper trapezius will be used)... (A0W,605)

Cz. Nejlepším způsobem, jak procvičit deltoideový sval, je upažování s jednoručkou (pamatujte si, že máte zvedat paži jen do vodorovné polohy, protože výš už používáte trapézový sval)...

Motivation factors: closer position of the rhematizer to the emphasized verb, CD

(346) ... making it possible for you **to** immediately **release** the stretch should.. (A0W,660)

Cz. ...Vám umožní ihned uvolnit protažení.

Motivation factors: perspicuity

(347) The principle will also be dependent on the development of technology to allow people **to** once again **work** in the forests... (A0X,209)

Cz. Princip bude také záviset na vývoji technologie, která umožní lidem zase jednou pracovat v lese.

Motivation factors: perspicuity

(348) ... I do feel it was a mistake to include Bill Wiseman's fascinating but appallingly dangerous hold-down device, and **to then endorse** it in a recommendatory way by awarding it special recognition. (A0X,214)

Cz. Cítím, že to byla chyba zahrnout fascinující, ale děsivě nebezpečný omezovací prostředek Billa Wisemana a pak ho propagovat tím, že mu udělíme zvláštní uznání.

Motivation factors: CD

(349) ... it proved not possible to undertake the extensive research required **to faithfully replicate** the old clock. (A0X,861)

Cz. Ukázalo se nemožným provést rozsáhlý výzkum, který byl nutný k výrobě věrohodné repliky starých hodin.

Motivation factors: perspicuity

(350) ... it may be necessary **to slightly alter** the angle of the drawing to get the best effect by using the end-grain. (A0X,968)

Cz. ...možná bude nutné lehce změnit úhel kresby, abychom dosáhli nejlepšího efektu při použití tohoto druhu kresby.

Motivation factors: CD

(351) References were frequently made to the original model **to faithfully simulate** the soft effect of the creases. (A0X,998)

Cz. Často se odkazovalo na původní model, aby se věrohodně simuloval efekt přehybů.

Motivation factors: perspicuity

(352) Not only were these the first privately owned diesels **to regularly haul** freight trains over BR main lines, but they were also remarkable in having originated at La Grange, Illinois. (A11,1243)

Cz. Nejen že to byly první soukromé naftou poháněné lokomotivy, které pravidelně tahaly nákladní vlaky po hlavních tratích Britských drah, ale byly také pozoruhodné tím, že vznikly v La Grange, ve státě Illinois.

Motivation factors: CD

(353) Since the introduction of the business sectors of BR, railfreight has not been slow **to totally eliminate** certain freight-only routes where an alternative existed, albeit, invariably longer. (A11,1419)

Cz. Od zavedení obchodních sektorů Britských drah, není nákladní doprava pomalá, aby naprosto eliminovala některé výhradně nákladní trasy, kde existovala alternativa, byť stále delší.

Motivation factors: perspicuity

(354) The Barley Mow brewery was among the very last **to still brew** draught London porter... (A14,403)

Cz. Pivovar Barley Mow byl mezi těmi nejposlednějšími, které stále vařily londýnské tmavé pivo...

Motivation factors: perspicuity

(355) Flavours rapidly evaporate from hot wort while bitterness requires up to an hour **to fully develop**. (A14,576)

Cz. Příchutě se rychle vypařují z horkého sladu, zatímco hořkost potřebuje až hodinu na to, aby se plně rozvinula.

Motivation factors: CD

(356) Enriched hop powder pellets are also possible by sieving the powder at -- 35°C to remove coarser non-acid material and by blending with liquid extracts **to further enhance** the acid content. (A14,598)

Cz. Dražé obohaceného chmelového prášku jsou také možná při prosetí prášku při - 35°C, aby se odstranila hrubší nekyselá látka, a při smíchání s tekutými extrakty, aby se dál zvýšil obsah kyseliny.

Motivation factors: perspicuity

(357) Calcium and magnesium salts may then be added **to partly catalyse** conversion of acids so pre-empting the boiling reactions. (A14,600)

Cz. Pak se mohou přidat soli kalcia a magnezia, aby se částečně katalyzovala směs kyselin, čímž se předejde reakcím při varu.

Motivation factors: perspicuity

(358) Even the first pitch, escaping left from the steep corner, demands positive commitment and the ability **to confidently tackle** technical wall climbing. (A15,230)

Cz. Dokonce první úroveň po úniku doleva z příkrého rohu vyžaduje pozitivní odhodlání a schopnost sebevědomě se vypořádat s technickým lezením ve stěně.

Motivation factors: CD

(359) Ingleborough's many tops, pavements and moors occupy a large complex area which takes many visits **to really get to know**. (A15,447)

Cz. Mnohé vrcholy, chodníčky a slatiny Ingleborough se rozprostírají na velkém území, které musíte mnohokrát navštívit, abyste ho skutečně poznali.

Motivation factors: perspicuity

(360) I gave thanks that I had time and energy **to simply enjoy** and absorb. (A15,1055)

Cz. Poděkoval jsem, že jsem měl čas a energii, které jsem si mohl prostě užít a vstřebat.

Motivation factors: perspicuity

(361) The route takes cracks left of Le Bon Sauveur **to surely fill** the last remaining square metre of unclimbed rock on this wall. (A15,1303)

Cz. Cesta vede trhlinou vlevo od Le Bon Sauveur, aby vyčerpala poslední zbývající nezlezený čtvereční metr skály v této stěně.

Motivation factors: perspicuity

(362) However, problems arise when the author describes how **to actually use** the gear. (A15,1397)

Cz. Ale problémy se objeví, když autor popisuje, jak vlastně náčiní používat.

Motivation factors: perspicuity

(363) ... the section on rigging anchors seems very sketchy with no consideration of using the rope **to** equally **load** them... (A15,1398)

Cz. ...část o pořizování kotev se zdá velmi povrchní, bez uvážení toho, jak se lano používá, aby byly zatíženy rovnoměrně...

Motivation factors: perspicuity

Discontinuous dependents of infinitives

(1) **Pomocí** [ct] může **být** systém ECM [F]. (PDT: 1)

En. Help can be achieved through the ECM system.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: subject complement

Motivation factors: contrastive topic

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(2) Poněkud vyšší cena kombinovaných přístrojů by **vás** [t] neměla **odradit** [F]. (PDT: 22)

En. A slightly higher price of the combined machines should not discourage you.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factors: topicalization, clitic

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(3) Ztráty, vznikající proto, že se **k vám** [t] nemůže nikdo telefonicky **dovolat** [F], protože jste omylem nechali zapnutý fax, mohou být mnohem větší. (PDT: 23)

En. Losses arising because nobody can get through to you...

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: adverbial

Major motivation factor: topicalization, clitic

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(4) **Fax** [ct] smí **instalovat** [f] a **udržovat** jen firmy s příslušnou licencí [F]. (PDT: 29)

En. The fax can be installed and serviced only by firms with relevant licence.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: contrastive topic

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(5) Prodávající **vám** [t] musí **dát** [f] kromě návodu k obsluze v češtině také kopii schvalovacího dokumentu [F]. (PDT: 27)

En. The seller must give you apart from operating instructions in Czech also a copy of the approval document.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: indirect object

Major motivation factor: topicalization, clitic

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(6) Pokud nakupujete u firmy, která sama instalace a servis neprovádí, pak by **vám** [t] měla **doporučit** [f] servisní firmu [F], nejlépe takovou, se kterou pravidelně spolupracuje. (PDT: 31)

En. If you are buying from a firm which does not provide installation and service itself, then it should recommend you a service company...

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: indirect object

Major motivation factor: topicalization, clitic

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(7) **Rizikové úvěry** [ct] ... "stíhají" **krýt** [f] zvyšováním rezerv [F]. (PDT: 53)

En. Uncovered credits ... they manage to secure by increasing reserves.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: contrastive topic

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(8) Týká, protože je otázka času, kdy si zahraniční banky najdou cestu přímo do regionů, případně kdy si **zajímavé klienty** [t] z regionů začnou **zvat** [f] do své pražské pobočky [F]. (PDT: 63)

En. It does because it is a matter of time when foreign banks find their way directly to regions, or when interesting clients from the regions start to be invited to their Prague branch.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(9) Tak **velké množství** [ct] trh zřejmě není schopen **absorbovat** [F]. (PDT: 91)

En. Such a large amount the market is apparently unable to absorb.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: contrastive topic

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(10) Kdybychom **je** [t] mohli **prodat** [F], tak bychom **je** [t] dokázali **vyrobit** [F]. (PDT: 93)

En. If we could sell them, we could produce them.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: topicalization, clitic

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(11) Například jako vůbec první významná letecká společnost začala **poskytovat** [f] v první třídě **místa ke spánku** [F]. (PDT: 125)

En. For instance, as the first prominent airline they started to provide in the first class couchettes.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: focalization, end-focus

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

(12) **Váš obecně platný dotaz** [ct] je připraven **zodpovědět** [f] spolupracovník Profitu [F]. (PDT: 128)

En. Your generally valid inquiry is ready to be answered by a fellow worker from Profit.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: contrastive topic

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(13) Může **po mně** [t] takové údaje pojišťovna **vyžadovat** [F]? (PDT: 131)

En. Can the insurance company ask such data of me?

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: prepositional object

Major motivation factor: topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(14) **Za jeden forint** [ct] již není možné v současnosti **koupit** [f] prakticky nic [F]. (PDT: 191)

En. For one florin one can buy practically nothing today.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: prepositional object

Major motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(15) **Spolu s psychickým zhroucením a dalšími zdravotními potížemi** [t] může **přijít** i rozpad rodiny [F], stejně jako vlastní firmy. (PDT: 199)

En. Together with mental breakdown and other health problems can come also break-up of the family just as of the own company. (appearance on the scene, focalized subject)

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: adverbial

Major motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(16) **Pozornost** [ct] musí **věnovat** [f] svému životnímu prostředí [F]... (PDT: 200)

En. Attention it must pay to its environment...

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(17) **Zvláštní pozornost** [ct] je třeba **věnovat** [f] pohybu a protistresovým technikám [F]. (PDT: 201)

En. Special attention needs to be paid to exercise and antistress techniques.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(18) **Prevenčí** [ct] se lze takovým následkům **bránit** [F]. (PDT: 207)

En. By means of prevention one can resist such consequences.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: adverbial

Major motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(19) **To** [ct] by obchodníci **vědět** [f] měli [F]. (PDT: 216)

En. That the merchandisers should know.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: (contrastive) topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(20) Termíny výstav zveřejňujeme v této rubrice s předstihem, aby by se **na ně** [t] podnikatelé mohli **připravit** [F]. (PDT: 217)

En. Dates of exhibitions we publish in this section in advance so that businessmen had the chance to prepare for them.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: prepositional object

Major motivation factor: topicalization, clitic

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(21) **Přímými jednáními** [ct] mezi firmami lze **vytvořit** [f] podmínky pro spolupráci v přenosu know – how... (PDT: 262)

En. By direct negotiations between companies, one can create conditions for the cooperation in the transfer of know-how...

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: adverbial

Major motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(22) Myslím si, že svým dílem **k tomu** [t] mohou **přispět** [f] firmy [F], které mají dobrý přístup k západním finančním trhům a investorům. (PDT: 275)

En. I think the companies can contribute to it by their work which have a good access to western financial markets and investors.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: prepositional object

Major motivation factor: topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(23) **S někým** [ct] stačí **promluvit** [F] a on si to bude pro příště pamatovat, jindy je větším ponaučením krácení prémie. (PDT: 286)

(23) **S někým** [ct] stačí **promluvit** [F] a on si to bude pro příště pamatovat, jindy je větším ponaučením krácení přemíí. (PDT: 286)

En. Someone it suffices to talk to, and he/she will remember it for the next time...

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: prepositional object

Major motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(24) Právě **je** [F] bych chtěl **upozornit** [f], že jejich počínání by bylo soudem patřičně oceněno. (PDT: 308)

En. Right them I would like to warn that their actions would be duly evaluated by the court.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: focalization, focalizing particle

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(25) **S čím** [t] by měli **počítat** [F]? (PDT: 309)

En. What should they count with?

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: prepositional object

Major motivation factor: obligatory position of interrogative pronoun (interference with discontinuity discussed in 3.4)

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(26) Jde - li o vadu odstranitelnou, může kupující **uplatnit** [f] u prodávajícího následující **nároky** [F]. (PDT: 319)

En. If it is a repairable flaw, the buyer can assert by the seller the following claims.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: focalization, end-focus

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

(27) **Služeb veletrhu** [ct] však nemusí **využít** [f] jen vystavující [F]. (PDT: 223)

En. Services of the expo need not, however, be used only by the exhibitors.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(28) **Zákonnou záruční dobu** [ct] je možné právním úkonem **prodloužit** [F], nikoliv však zkrátit. (PDT: 296)

En. Legal warranty can be lengthened but not shortened by a legal transaction.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

(29) Jak na to, **vám** [t] může **poradit** [f] materiál na straně 4 - 5 následujícího čísla Profitu [F]. (PDT: 298)

En. How to proceed, you can be advised by the material on page 4- 5 of the next issue of Profit.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: indirect object

Major motivation factor: topicalization, clitic

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(30) **Po kachně na medu, šanghajském meči a žabích stehýnkách** [ct] se u mne mohou **utlouct** [F]. (PDT: 309)

En. Duck with honey, Shanghai sword and frog's legs they can fall for by me.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: adverbial

Major motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(31) **K tomu, aby by člověk mohl dělat to, co chce a jak chce** [t], musí **mít** [f] **zázemí** [F]. (PDT: 310)

En. To be able to do what one wants to do, and how one wants to do it, one needs to have a base.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: adverbial

Major motivation factor: topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(32) **Na sebe** [ct] však musím **prozradit** [f] jednu "neřádnost"[F]. (PDT: 311)

En. About myself I must give some wickedness away.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: prepositional object

Major motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(33) **Značně trpělivý** [ct] musel **být** [f] předseda České strany sociálně demokratické Miloš Zeman [F], když jeho mladomanželka Ivana takřikajíc přenášela jejich potomka. (PDT: 312)

En. Significantly patient the CSSD chairman Milos Zeman must have been when his newlywed Ivana so-called overgestated their offspring.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: subject complement

Major motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(34) **Software** [ct] jsme mohli **koupit** [f] za miliony od západní firmy [F]. (PDT: 322)

En. Software we could have bought for millions from a western firm.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(35) **České obchodníky** [ct] je možné **potkat** [f] po celém světě [F]. (PDT: 328)

En. Czech businessmen can be met all around the world.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(36) Letos se tak mohli thajští návrháři **pochlubit** [f] společně s italskými poprvé na bangkokském veletrhu **bohatou kolekcí jarního i zimního odívání** [F]. (PDT: 335)

En. So this year Thai designers together with the Italian ones could show off at the Bangkok expo rich collection of spring and winter clothes.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: end-focus

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

(37) Nyní jsem se dozvěděla, že jsem **o restituci** [t] mohla **žádat** [F]. (PDT: 341)

En. Now I got to know that restitution I could have asked for.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: prepositional object

Major motivation factor: topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(38) Abyste **tento nárok** [t] mohla s úspěchem ve stanovené lhůtě **uplatnit** [F], bylo by třeba, abyste byla nejen československou, a později českou občankou, ale měla i trvalý pobyt na území ČR. (PDT: 342)

En. To be allowed to assert this claim successfully in the period given, it was necessary not only to be Czechoslovak and later Czech citizen but also to have a permanent address in the CR.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: topicalization, end-focus

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(39) **Kolem 11000 hostů** [ct] může denně **přijmout** [f] perla severního Jadranu Rabac [F]. (PDT: 344)

En. About 11000 guests a day can be admitted by the pearl of Northern Adriatic Rabac.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(40) **Výši nákladů** [ct] na pořízení jednoho lůžka, které v roce 1989 dosahovaly 20000 DEM bez infrastruktury, nedovede v současnosti nikdo **odhadnout** [F]. (PDT: 347)

En. The level of expenditures on the acquisition of one bed, which were 20000 DEM without infrastructure in 1989, nobody can estimate today.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(41) **Zájemcům** [ct] můžeme **zprostředkovat** [f] kontakt [F]. (PDT: 357)

En. For those who are interested we can mediate contact.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: indirect object

Major motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(42) Firma **tuto loajalitu** [t] dovede **ocenit** [F]. (PDT: 377)

En. This loyalty the company can appreciate.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(43) A také věděl, jak má dobrý výrobek vypadat a jaké musí **mít** [f] pro zajištění prodejnosti **vlastnosti** [F]. (PDT: 389)

En. And he also knew how a good result should look like and what qualities it must have for the guarantee of marketability.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: end-focus, interference with pre-posed relative expressions

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

(44) **Toto zboží** [ct] musí prodávajícímu **vrátit** [f] v takovém stavu [F], v jakém jej od prodávajícího přijal. (PDT: 402)

En. This goods must be returned to the seller in such a state in which it was received from the seller.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(45) **Výběru makléřské firmy** [ct] je potřeba **věnovat** [f] jisté úsilí [F]. (PDT: 8028)

En. To the selection of a broker's firm it is necessary to devote certain effort.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: indirect object

Major motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(46) **Rozdíl** [ct] byste byl nucen **uhradit** [f] sám [F]. (PDT: 244)

En. The difference you would have to pay yourself.
Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object
Major motivation factor: contrastive topicalization
Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(47) **Přihlášku** [ct] je třeba **podat** [f] nejpozději do konce dubna [F]. (PDT: 262)

En. The application form needs to be handed in till the end of April at the latest.
Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object
Major motivation factor: contrastive topicalization
Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(48) Po každé směně jsme **je** [t] museli **ostřit** [F]. (PDT: 248)

En. After each work shift we had to sharpen them.
Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object
Major motivation factor: topicalization, clitic
Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(49) **Na polštáři** [t] zdevalvované koruny si exportéři mohou ještě pár let **hovět** [F]. (PDT: 256)

En. On the cushion of devaluated crown, exporters can lounge for a few years more.
Syntactic function of the dislocated element: adverbial
Major motivation factor: topicalization
Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(50) **Narovnávání cenových deformací a dokončování deregulace cen** [ct] bude však snižování inflace ještě jistou dobu **brzdit** [F]. (PDT: 259)

En. Eliminating price deformations and finishing price deregulations will, however, be slowed down for some time by decreasing inflation.
Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object
Major motivation factor: contrastive topicalization
Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(51) **O studium svého syna** [ct] jste se začal **zajímat** [f] pozdě [F], protože oficiální termín přihlášek na střední školy a učňovská zařízení vypršel s koncem února. (PDT: 261)

En. The studies of your son you started to be interested in too late since...
Syntactic function of the dislocated element: prepositional object
Major motivation factor: contrastive topicalization
Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(52) **To** [t] nelze **vyloučit** [F]. (PDT: 268)

En. This cannot be excluded.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(53) Autor se snažil napsat ji tak, aby by si **ji** [t] s užitkem mohl **přečíst** [f] každý [F], kdo má zájem získat širší přehled o kapitálových trzích a burzách ve světě. (PDT: 286)

En. The author attempted to write it the way it could be read by everyone who is interested in acquiring wider knowledge of capital markets and stock exchanges in the world.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: topicalization, clitic

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(54) **O monopolu** [ct] tedy nelze **hovořit** [F]. (PDT: 288)

En. Monopoly one cannot therefore speak about.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: prepositional object

Major motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(55) **Počítač** [ct] lze dokonce s pomocí držáku **upevnit** [f] pod hranu stolu [F]. (PDT: 293)

En. The computer one can even fix with a handle under the edge of a table.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(56) **Její PC Translator** [ct] hodlá dokonce Arxon **upravit** [f] pro prostředí Windows [F]. (PDT: 298)

En. Her PC Translator Arxon even intends to adjust for the Windows interface.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(57) **Co** [t] bych měl **koupit** [F], aby bych neprodělal , když bych **to** [t] potřeboval zase **prodat** [F]? (PDT: 295)

En. What should I buy not to lose if I needed to sell it again?

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object; direct object

Major motivation factor: topicalization, obligatory pre-position of the interrogative expression; topicalization, clitic

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(58) Někdy se stane, že nepřijde nikdo, kdo by měl zájem zrovna o Ullmanna a vám se **ho** [t] podaří **koupit** [f] za vyvolávací cenu [F]. (PDT: 302)

En. Sometimes it happens that nobody comes who would be interested particularly in Ullmann and you manage to buy it for the upset price.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: topicalization, clitic

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(59) **Na lidské důvěřivosti** [ct] se dá **vydělat** [f] hodně [F], jak o tom svědčí činnost některých zásilkových služeb. (PDT: 311)

En. Human trustfulness one can profit a lot from as is proved by the activity of some delivery services.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: prepositional object

Major motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(60) Aby akce dostala punc solidnosti, tak nechybí upozornění, že v případě nespokojenosti se zbožím **ho** [t] mohou zákazníci **vrátit** [F] a pak dostanou své peníze zpět. (PDT: 313)

En. To give the event a hallmark of respectability, a notice is given stating that in case of dissatisfaction with products they can be returned...

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: topicalization, clitic

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(61) Je - li potřebné z důvodu veřejného zájmu s bytem nebo s domem naložit tak , že **byt** [t] nelze **užívat** [F]... (PDT: 320)

En. If it is a consequence of public interest that it is necessary to handle the house so that the apartment cannot be used...

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(62) **Přesnou odpověď** [ct] je možné **dát** [f] až po podrobném prostudování společenské smlouvy obchodní společnosti. (PDT: 330)

En. A precise answer can be given after a detailed examination of articles of partnership of the company.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(63) Váš partner **vám** [t] však může výhru **vyplatit** [f] dobrovolně [F] a tak na vaší straně nevznikne neoprávněné obohacení. (PDT: 333)

En. Your partner, however, can pay you the winnings voluntarily...

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: indirect object

Major motivation factor: topicalization, clitic

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(64) Každý provoz si **na sebe** [t] musí **vydělat** [F]. (PDT: 342)

En. Each operation must pay its way.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: prepositional object

Major motivation factor: topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(65) **Po dálnici** [ct] bychom se měli **svézt** [f] z Prahy až do Českých Budějovic [F] ... (PDT: 348)

En. On the motorway we should drive from Prague up to České Budějovice...

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: adverbial

Major motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(66) **Další vývoj** [ct] HDP lze s větší, či menší přesností **odhadovat** [f] na základě analýzy vlivů hlavních faktorů [F]. (PDT: 353)

En. Future development of GNP can be more or less accurately estimated on the basis of analysis of main factors.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(67) Od 1. ledna 1993 bylo **za m²** [t] nutné **platit** [f] 137 Kč u neměřených dodávek [F], u dodávek měřených na vstupu do objektu 120 Kč/GJ. (PDT: 369)

En. From January 1, 1993 it was necessary to pay for a square meter 137 CZK by unmeasured supplies, 120 CZK by supplies measured at the entry.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: prepositional object

Major motivation factor: topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(68) Ale je to také monopol, který si může **se spotřebitelem** [f] pěkně **pohrávat** [F]. (PDT: 374)

En. But it is also the monopoly which the consumer can be nicely toyed with.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: lower degree of CD

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(69) Výrobci si také mohli **dát** [f] do kalkulace nákladů za teplo například jen **absolutní výši správní režie roku 1992** [F]. (PDT: 378)

En. Producers could also include, for instance, only the absolute level of 1992 administration in the calculation of their heating costs.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: focalization, focus proper

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

(70) **Že se pod tento plášť** schová leccos **dalšího** [t], netřeba **připomínat** [F]. (PDT: 380)

En. That many other things can be hidden under this coat need not be remembered.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(71) U **čtyřčlenné domácnosti** [ct] by se hodnota šeku mohla **pohybovat** [f] v rozmezí 8 - 10 tisíc Kč ročně [F]. (PDT: 383)

En. By a family with four members, the value of the cheque could be between 8 – 10 000 CZK per year.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: adverbial

Major motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(72) Nejdříve jsme museli pracovníky seznámit s tím, co certifikát systému řízení jakosti je a co **pro jeho získání** [t] musí každý na svém pracovišti **udělat** [F]. (PDT: 393)

En. First we had to acquaint the workers with what a quality management certificate is and what each needs to do at his/her workplace to acquire it.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: adverbial

Major motivation factor: topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(73) **Myslet** [t] si můžete leccos [F]. (PDT: 399)

En. You can think anything.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: topicalization of the context dependent head

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

(74) V dubnu se **k tomu** [t] má **vyjádřit** [f] Rada hospodářské a sociální dohody [F]. (PDT: 443)

En. In April a statement on this matter should be given by the Council of Economical and Social Agreement.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: prepositional object

Major motivation factor: topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(75) **Pamatovat** [t] bychom měli **na možnost ztráty svého jména i jména firmy** [F] . (PDT: 447)

En. We should remember the possibility to lose both our name and the name of the company.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: prepositional object

Major motivation factor: topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

(76) Z více důvodů **na rok 1992** [t] již můžete **zapomenout** [F]... (PDT: 493)

En. For several reasons the year 1992 could be freely forgotten...

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: prepositional object

Major motivation factor: topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(77) Ale popsany postup v žádném případě nenutí výrobce ke zlepšení kvality, protože **finanční ztrátu za zmetky** [ct] se snaží **přenést** [f] na nás - prodejce [F]. (PDT: 499)

En. But the described procedure does in no way force producers to improve the quality because the financial loss on faulty products it attempts to transfer on us – the sellers.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(78) V uvedeném příkladu jsme **látku na potah** [t] museli **shánět** [f] sami [F], výrobce potřebný vzor neměl , vyprávěl majitel firmy. (PDT: 512)

En. In the given example, the textile for the cover we had to seek ourselves.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(79) Zdánlivě nenáročná práce **nás** [t] totiž může ročně **přijít** [f] na pěkné peníze [F]. (PDT: 550)

En. A seemingly undemanding work can cost us yearly some money.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: topicalization, clitic

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

En. But from whom does he need to be protected?

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: prepositional object

Major motivation factor: grammatically obligatory position

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(81) U posledně jmenovaných jde o výkon, o kterém se **jim** [t] po dlouhou dobu mohlo jen **zdát** [F]. (PDT: 1833)

En. As for the last listed ones, it is a performance which they could long only dream about.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: topicalization, clitic

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(82) Způsoby, jak **je** [t] chce **získat** [F], jsou dobré. (PDT: 1846)

En. The ways how he wants to achieve them are good.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: topicalization, clitic

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(83) Tato varianta by **našemu čtenáři** [t] mohla **přinést** [f] na nájemném[F]... (PDT: 219)

En. By this variant, our reader could profit from the rent.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: indirect object

Major motivation factor: topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(84) **Toto právo** [ct] však můžete **uplatnit** [f] jednou za tři měsíce [F]. (PDT: 204)

En. This right you can, however, enforce once every three months.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

Major motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

(85) **Té náhodě** [ct] však může pan Kouba účinně **napomoci** [F]. (PDT: 214)

En. This coincidence, however, Mr. Kouba can effectively help to.

Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object

Major motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(86) **Toho** [ct] by se federální pomoc měla snažit **dosáhnout** [f] co nejušilovněji [F]. (PCEDT: 2406,80)

En. It is what federal support should try hardest to achieve.

En. It is what federal support should try hardest to achieve.
Syntactic function of the dislocated element: direct object
Major motivation factor: contrastive topicalization
Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

Discontinuity within an Adjective Phrase:

(a) Clauses of comparison

(87) Je to otázka **spíš** životního postoje **než** nějaké kalkulace. (PDT: 782)

En. It is a **rather** a question of life attitude **than** of some calculation.

(88) Ale nechci souhlasit, že by tatra byla **méně kvalitní** vůz **než** jiné západní vozy.
(PDT: 3)

En. But I don't want to agree that Tatra would be a car of **worse quality than** other cars from the West.

(89) Kdyby bylo tak prosté se domluvit, asi by svět byl **příjemnějším** místem, **než** je.
(PDT: 4)

En. If it was so easy to reach an agreement, the world would be a **more pleasant place than** it is.

(90) Je to **radostnější** objev **než** vidět slunce v temném lese. C

En. It is a **more joyful** discovery **than** to see sun in a dark forest.

(91) Takový podnik působí dojmem **spíš** jakéhosi vetešnictví, **než** solidního obchodu s uměleckými předměty. (PDT: 12)

En. Such enterprise looks **rather** as some kind of a second-hand shop **than** as a creditable artificial products shop.

(92) Jejich frekvence **spíš** vzrůstá, **než** aby se tenčila. (PDT: 16)

En. Their frequency **rather** increases **than** decreases.

(93) Rozpad ČSFR způsobil **větší** potíže Slovensku **než** České republice. Bigger difficulties in Slovakia than in the Czech Republic. (PDT: 25)

En. The decline of CSFR caused **bigger** trouble to Slovakia **than** to the Czech Republic.

(94) Nevýhodou je, že tady mohu uplatnit jen **menší** marži **než** v Praze. (PDT: 35)

En. The disadvantage is that I can assert here only a **lower** margin **than** in Prague.

(95) Stojí za připomenutí, že **čím** je ofenzíva kvalitnější, **tím** spíš se proti destruktivnímu způsobu hry prosadí. (PDT: 288)

En. It is worthy reminding that **the higher** quality the offensive has **the more probable** it is that it will break through against the destructive way of game.

(96) Je **lepší** jednou vidět, **než** stokrát slyšet. (PDT: 37)

En. It is **better** to see once **than** to hear a hundred times.

(97) Zajímá mě **více** tvůrčí, kreativní práce, **než** mechanický výkon. (PDT: 59)

En. I am **more interested** in creative work **than** mechanical performance.

(98) Kdo si zahrává s nacionalismem, nikdy neví, kdy se objeví ještě **větší** nacionalista, **než** je on sám. (PDT: 71)

En. Who toys with nationalism, can never know when even a **bigger** nationalist occurs **than** himself.

(99) **Spíše** ve městech **než** v menších obcích má kolem 200 členů zastupitelstev. (PDT: 94)

En. **Rather** in cities **than** in smaller towns it has about 200 members of local authorities.

(100) I když je zde celkový úpadek snáze čitelný, o co **horší** je nešťastný narkoman **než** panelákový televizní zombí. (PDT: 96)

En. Although a total decline is easier recognizable here, how much **worse** an unhappy junkie is **than** a prefab TV zombie.

(101) Slovensko dosáhlo v uplynulém roce **příznivějších** výsledků, **než** se v odborných kruzích očekávalo. (PDT: 151)

En. Slovakia reached **more favourable** results last year **than** academic circles had expected.

(102) Zní mu **víc** jako Jeníkova matka **než** jako jeho nevěsta. (PDT: 8048)

En. She sounds to him **more** like Johnny's mother **than** like his bride.

(103) **Menší** procento obyvatel **než** v minulosti se také domnívá, že s řešením problému územněsprávního uspořádání je nutné spěchat. (PDT: 207)

En. A **lower** percentage of inhabitants **than** in the past think that the problem of the local authority organization needs to be solved quickly.

(104) Po půlroční informační bariéře ze strany Tatry lze odhadovat, že se to **spíše** nedaří **než** daří. (PDT: 208)

En. After a half-year information barrier on Tatra's side one can estimate that it is going **rather** badly **than** well.

(105) Je to ale **spíše** otázka politická **než** právní... (PDT: 213)

En. It is **rather** a question of politics **than** law...

(106) Je nepochybné, že pro ekonomiku každé země je **lepší** nežít na dluh a mít rozpočet vyrovnaný s nízkou mírou inflace **než** naopak. (PDT: 223)

En. It is undoubted that for the economy of every country it is **better** not to run into debt and to have balanced budget with low inflation rate **than** vice versa.

(107) Většinou platí, že **čím** je ho víc, **tím** je alergie výraznější. (PDT: 238)

En. It is mostly true that **the more** there is of it **the more** noticeable the allergy is.

(108) Děti mají ze školy stále **spíše** strach, **než** aby měly radost z nabývání vědomostí. (PDT: 242)

En. Children are **rather** still afraid of school **than** enjoying the acquisition of knowledge.

(109) O dvanáct tisíc návštěvníků méně přišlo letos do jeskyní Moravského krasu oproti stejnému období loňského roku. (PDT: 293)

En. By 12 thousand **fewer** visitors came to the caves of Moravian karst this year **compared to** this time last year.

(110) To, co se tehdy zrodilo, je **spíše** mýtus skleníkového efektu **než** realita. (PDT: 320)

En. What originated then, is **rather** a myth of the greenhouse effect **than** reality.

(111) Tam se bude odpovídat na **stejně** otázky **jako** v neděli v Hesensku. (PDT: 3051)

En. The **same** questions will be answered there **as** were on Sunday in Essen.

(112) Pochopitelně, **čím** je tetováž hlubší, **tím** je složitější její odstranění a slabší výsledný kosmetický efekt. (PDT: 8292)

En. Naturally, **the deeper** the tattoo is, **the more complicated** its removal and **the weaker** the final cosmetic effect is.

(113) ...**stejně** v Čechách, **jako** na Slovensku chybí politická síla... (PDT: 8302)

En. ...**as** in the Czech Rep. **as** in Slovakia political power is missing...

(114) Například řečové funkce jsou u naprosté většiny lidí vázány **více** na levou mozkovou hemisféru **než** na pravou. (PDT: 369)

En. For instance speech functions are by most people bound **more** to the left hemisphere **than** to the right one.

(115) Předpověď zní, že výskyt podobností by v případě aspoň některých z nich byl **podobně** epidemický **jako** výskyt napodobování zevních znaků. (PDT: 8356)

En. The predication is that the occurrence of similarity in case of at least some of them would be **similarly** epidemic **as** the occurrence of the imitation of external symptoms.

(116) Lékaři se obávají, že další **podobná** nehoda **jako** v Mugellu by při nedoléčeném poranění obratlů mohla znamenat trvalé ochrnutí. (PDT: 1535)

En. Doctors are worried about the fact that another accident similar to the one in Mugell could result in permanent paralysis in case of unfinished treatment of vertebra.

(117) Jestliže „honba za divokou ovčí“ nese nějaké nepřímé poselství pro mezinárodní vztahy, pak je to, že Japonci jsou nám **podobnější**, **než** si většina z nás myslí. (PEDT: 0037,9)

En. If “A Wild Sheep Chase” carries an implicit message for international relations, it’s that the Japanese are **more** like us **than** most of us think.

(118) Vypočtená hodnota nám říká, kolik oxidu uhličitého by bylo zapotřebí, aby by způsobilo **stejný** skleníkový efekt **jako** všechny tyto plyny dohromady. (PDT: 9079)

En. The calculated number tells us how much carbon dioxide would be needed to cause a greenhouse effect **equal to** all these gases together.

(119) Navíc, soutěž o posluchače se stává **tvrdší** v mnoha ohledech, **než** když bylo vysílání přísně kontrolováno. (PEDT: 2406, 9)

En. In addition, the competition for listeners is getting **tougher** in many ways **than** when broadcasting here was strictly controlled.

(120) ...obchodníci si všímají, že trh se v posledních týdnech nechal pošťuchovat **víc** Wall Street **než** ukazateli americké ekonomiky. (PEDT: 0059,17)

En. ...traders note that the market in recent weeks has taken its cues **more** from Wall Street **than** U.S. economic indicators.

(121) Tento příběh by mohl působit silněji, kdyby pan Lane předváděl před kamerou **stejně** jisté vystupování **jako** za ní. (PEDT: 0039,25)

En. This story line might resonate more strongly if Mr. Lane had **as** strong a presence in front of the camera **as** he does behind it.

(122) Fyzikové přitom jako by **raději** obětovali víru v přirozenou logiku světa **než** aparát kvantové mechaniky. (PDT: 10025)

En. The physicists appear to sacrifice **rather** belief in natural logic of the world **than** the apparatus of quantum mechanics.

(123) **Čím více** se ale Evropa mění, **tím méně** jistot, jak se zdá, nabízí. (PDT: 7570)

En. **The more** Europe changes, **the fewer** certainties it apparently offers.

(124) **Čím** větší odchylka, **tím** víc čeká firmu práce navíc, protože je třeba výpadek kompenzovat jiným zbožím. (PDT: 85)

En. **The bigger** the deviation, **the more** extra work the firm has to do because the cut-off needs to be compensated by other goods.

(b) Dislocated complementation of an adjective

(125) Nature, patrně **nejvýznamnější** [t] mezinárodní přírodovědecký časopis **na světě** [t], nedávno oslavil 125. narozeniny. (PDT: 8332)

En. Nature, probably **the most significant** [t] international natural science magazine **in the world** [t] has celebrated its 125th anniversary recently.

Subtype: adverbial of respect; regular word order

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

(126) Např. majitelé Apple II museli používat své televize jako obrazovky a **uložená** [f] data **na audiokazetách** [F]. (PEDT: 0022,4)

En. Apple II owners, for example, had to use their television sets as screens and **stored** [f] data **on audiocassettes** [F].

Motivation factor: the tendency to typically pre-pose agreeing attribute

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

(127) Součet znamená **šestý** [f] měsíční pokles **za sebou** [F]. (PEDT: 0033,2)

En. The total marks the sixth consecutive monthly decline. (projective counterpart) vs. ...sixth monthly decline in a row (non-projective)

Subtype: a numeral functioning as a syntactic adjective

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

(128) Řekl, že **druhý** [t] měsíc **za sebou** [t] výrobci potravin vykazali nedostatek odtučněného sušeného mléka. (PEDT: 0036,61)

En. He said that for the **second** [t] month **in a row** [t], food processors reported a shortage of nonfat dry milk.

Subtype: a numeral functioning as a syntactic adjective

Motivation factor: motivated by the tendency to typically pre-pose agreeing attribute

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

(129) „**Po čemkoli moderním** [ct] jsou letos studenti obzvláště **hladoví** [F],“ říká student pan Deak. (PEDT: 2406,49)

En. “We are starving for all the news [F],” says Mr. Deak, the student. (projective variant)

Motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(130) FNM má svoje devítičlenné prezídium..., které je s **prací vedení Fondu** [f] již delší dobu **nespokojeno** [F]. (PDT: 241)

En. FNM has its presidium of nine members...which has been for some time dissatisfied with the work of the Fund management [F]. (projective variant)

Motivation factor: CD

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(131) Ty nemají s **módou** [f] příliš **společného** [F]. (PDT: 8278)

En. ?**With fashion** [ct] they don't have much in **common** [F]. vs. They don't have much in **common with fashion** [F].

Motivation factor: CD, internal discontinuity vs. En. contrastive topic

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(132) **O věrohodnosti** [ct] ohlášené belgické sestavy náš trenér příliš **přesvědčený** [f] není, zdá se mu přece jen příliš defenzivní. (PDT: 7223)

En. **Credibility** [ct] of the announced Belgian team our coach is not particularly **convinced of** [F], it seems to him too defensive.

Motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(133) „**S vývozem vrtulníků** [ct] do Chorvatska nemáme nic **společného** [F].“ (PDT: 7440)

En. ?**With the export of helicopters** [ct] to Croatia we have nothing in **common** [F]. vs. **The export of helicopters** [ct] to Croatia we have nothing in **common** [F] **with**. vs. We have nothing in **common with the export of helicopters** to Croatia.

Motivation factor: contrastive topic

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

(134) U telefonu byl útočník Skuhravý, který sekretáři ČSFA ing. Baťovi i trenéru Máčalovi sdělil, že jeho **zraněné** [t] rameno **v nedělní lize** [t] proti Juventusovi si podle klubového lékaře vyžádá dvacetidenní klid (byl za něj povolán Timko). (PDT: 7479)

En. ...that his **injured** [t] shoulder **in the Sunday league** [t] against Juventus will need according to the club's doctor a twenty-day rest.

Motivation factor: CD, the tendency to typically pre-pose agreeing attribute

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

(135) Mezitím, přeletělo asi 125 uprchlíků z Varšavy do Düsseldorfu v Západním Německu, což byl **první** [f] let **v dějinách** [f] východoněmeckých uprchlíků. (PEDT: 2102,11)

En. Meanwhile, about 125 refugees flew to Duesseldorf, West Germany, from Warsaw, the **first airlift in East Germany's refugee exodus**.

Subtype: adverbial of respect; regular word order

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

(136) Gaučovní fanouškové sledující Pondělní noční fotbal na stanici ABC mohou nyní během poločasu volit ze zhruba čtyř nebo pěti nahrávek **největší** [f] zápas **za dvacet let** [F]. (PEDT: 2100,2)

En. Couch-potato jocks watching ABC's "Monday Night Football" can now vote during halftime for the **greatest** [f] play **in 20 years** [f] from among four or five filmed replays.

Subtype: adverbial of respect; regular word order

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

(137) Návrh předpokládá, že prezident bude volen na pět let a může funkci zastávat nejdéle **dvě** [f] volební období **po sobě** [F]. (PDT: 1430)

En. The suggestion presumes that the president will be elected for five years and he can hold the function no more than **two** [f] tenures **in a row** [F].

(138) Chanan Rozen s primátorem projednal také připravovanou smlouvu o spolupráci mezi Ostravou a izraelským městem Rechovot, kde je jeden z **největších** [f] vědeckých ústavů **na světě** [F]. (PDT: 7341)

En. Chanan Rozen also negotiated the prepared cooperation contract with the prime minister between Ostrava and the Israeli town of Rechovot, where one of the **biggest** research centres **in the world** is situated.

Subtype: adverbial of respect; regular word order

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

(139) SDL jako druhá **nejsilnější** [t] parlamentní strana **na Slovensku** [t] nemá - například na rozdíl od SNS - zastoupení ve vládě. (PDT: 7505)

En. SDL as the second **strongest** [t] Parliament party **in Slovakia** [t] has, for example, unlike SNS no representation in the government.

Subtype: adverbial of respect; regular word order

Orientation of discontinuity: right-branching

(140) Tento jedenapadesátiletý Američan totiž představuje svůj projekt, který s **výtvarným uměním** [t] v tradičním pojetí nemá vlastně nic **společného** [F]. (PDT: 7558)

En. This 51-year old American introduces his project, which has actually nothing in **common with fine art** [f] in the traditional sense.

Motivation factor: topicalization

Orientation of discontinuity: left-branching

Discontinuous Apposition

(141) Nyní Američané **experimentovali** [f] s motorem [F], který by měl anténu rozevřít, **a sice pokoušeli se** [f] do něj na dálku "praštit". (PDT: 14832)

En. The Americans now experimented with the engine which should open the aerial, that is they attempted to hit it from a distance.

Motivation factors: CD

Projective variant: Nyní Američané s motorem, který by měl anténu rozevřít, **experimentovali** [F], **a sice pokoušeli se** [f] do něj na dálku "praštit".

(142) Modelem by mohl být **Rodolfo Valentino** [f], pravděpodobně **homosexuál**. (PDT: 8358)

En. The model could be represented by Rodolfo Valentino, possibly a gay.

Commentary: apposition borders on parenthesis

(143) **Zvýšeno** [t] by mělo být rovněž tzv. pohřebné, **a to (zvýšeno) na 3000 korun**. (PDT: 1443)

En. Increase should also concern the so-called death allowance, factually to 3000 CZK.

Motivation factors: topicalization

(144) Stejně netradiční je jeho paní Dominika, která se také velice **společensky** angažuje, **a to v boji proti drogám**. (PDT: 10055)

En. His wife Dominika is as unconventional, who is also very much socially involved, particularly in the antidrug campaign.

Motivation factors: CD

(145) Navržená strategie je však založena na stejném **říglu** jako judo: **využít síly nepřítele** ve svůj prospěch... (PDT: 10080)

En. The suggested strategy, however, is based on the same trick as judo: to use the rival's power to your advantage.

Motivation factors: regular word order

(146) **Informaci** [t] jsme získali z policejního tiskového oddělení jen **přibližnou** [f] – **popis** [f] pachatele ze vzdálenosti dvaceti metrů. (PDT: 7209)

En. We received only approximate information from the police's press relations department – a description of the culprit from a twenty-meter distance.

Motivation factors: topicalization

(147) **Tři družstva** [ct] považujeme za vyrovnaná - **vás** , **Rumunsko a Belgii**. (PDT: 7238)

En. Three teams are considered balanced by us – you, Romania and Belgium.

Motivation factors: contrastive topicalization

Discontinuity Specific to Czech Discontinuity with Complex Predicates

(149) ... velký **důraz** [ct] bude klást **na kulturnost projevu** [F]. (PDT: 1570)

Motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

(150) Ponechme stranou, zda podobnou **povinnost** [ct] má stát **k životnímu prostředí** [F].

(PDT: 5605)

Motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

(151) **Na J. Čadka** [ct] podala trestní **oznámení** dozorčí rada Banky Bohemie [F]...

(PDT: 1543)

Motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

(152) V biologii se o **jeho uplatnění** [t] vede dlouhý **spor** [F]. (PDT: 14822)

Motivation factor: topicalization

(153) ...slyšeli jsme díla autora, **o němž** [t] si lze u nás udělat **představu** [f] pouze na základě slovníkových hesel [F]. (PDT: 4476)

Motivation factor: topicalization, obligatory pre-position of a relative expression

(154) **S tímto průběhem diskuse** [ct] vyjádřil **souhlas** [f] i britský ministr Kenneth Clarke [F]. (PDT: 3045)

Motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

(155) **O Letnou** [ct] má v poslední době velký **zájem** [F]. (PDT: 1485)

Motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

(156) ...pak už **na ostatní výkyvy** [ct] jeho nálad není třeba brát **ohled** [F]. (PDT: 7296)

Motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

(157) **O "neodkladné" situace** [ct] má totiž tisk jaksi přirozený **interes** [F]. (PDT: 7353)

Motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

(158) A YMCA jako majitel by **pro to** [t] měla **porozumění** [F]? (PDT: 7467)

Motivation factor: topicalization

(159) **Na povolení účasti** [ct] v tomto případě nemá právní **nárok** [F]. (PDT: 7536)

Motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

Discontinuous Noun Phrase

Dislocated Postmodification (Non-agreeing Attribute)

(159) **O jménu** [ct] Jana z Pomuku není nikde ani **zmínky** [F]. (PDT: 14926)

Motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

Type: left-branching

(160) **O úloze volených zástupců** [ct] jsou **mínění** [f] různá [F]. (PDT: 7294)

Motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

(161) Podle našich informací nebylo **po J. Čadkovi** [f] vyhlášeno celostátní **pátrání** [F]. (PDT: 1544)

Motivation factor: CD

(162) Však se také **o to** [t], **kde bude SSC umístěn**, před lety rozhořela úplná ekonomická a politická **bitva** [F]. (PDT: 10059)

Motivation factor: topicalization

Commentary: the principle of end-weight does not assert itself as often in Czech as it does in English

(163) **Z čs. žen** [ct] se s turnajem rozloučily **Novotná, Zrubáková a Habšudová** [F]. (PDT: 7204)

Motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

(164) Starosta obce Javorník, **jehož** [t] je osada U Sabotů **součástí** [F], řekl včera ČTK, že situace je stále napjatá. (PDT: 272)

Motivation factor: obligatory pre-position of the relative expression

(165) **O situaci** [ct] v Abcházii nadále přicházely rozporné **informace** [F]. (PDT: 7325)

Motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

(166) **O každém policistovi** [ct], který zasahoval na stadiónu, budou shromažďovány **údaje**[F]. (PDT: 7489)

Motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

(167) **Jaká šance** [ct] se v tomto směru otevírá i **pro české obchodníky** [F] a výrobce, o tom mnoho napoví reportáž redaktora Profitu, který Thajsko navštívil. (PDT: 22)

Motivation factor: contrastive topicalization, obligatory pre-position of the relative expression

(168) **...o tom** [t] jsou však ve Štrasburku nejvážnější **pochyby** [F]. (PDT: 7598)

Motivation factor: topicalization

(169) **Napínavý příběh** [ct] vypráví **o pilotovi a jeho navigátorovi** [F], jejichž letadlo bylo sestřeleno několik hodin po vypuknutí války o Kuvajt 17. ledna 1991... (PDT: 717)

Motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

Commentary: exceptional instance analogical to the right-branching discontinuous postmodification that occurs specifically in English

(170) ...únorové komplikace kolem celní unie jsou **toho** [t] v souvislosti se stavem slovenské platební bilance jen **dokladem** [F]... (PDT: 64)

Motivation factor: topicalization

(171) **Průpravu** [ct] jsem měl všeho **druhu** [F]. (PDT: 71)

Motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

(172) ... to **pro podnik** [t] byla druhá velká **rána** [F]. (PDT: 86)

Motivation factor: topicalization

(173) **Těchto regulačních systémů** [ct], které šetří energii a dlouhodobě i naši kapsu, je více **druhů** [F]. (PDT: 160)

Motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

(174) Naopak svůj **náskok** [t] neustále zvyšoval **před druhým Hradcem** [f] na konečných jedenáct bodů [F]. (PDT: 194)

Motivation factor: topicalization

(175) Znamená to snad, že **o staré lidi** [ct] není **zájem** [F]? (PDT: 5661)

Motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

(176) **O účinnosti** [ct] systému jediného útočnicka provedla nedávno **instruktáž** [f] česká reprezentace [F]. (PDT: 5698)

Motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

(177) **O sluneční aktivitě** [ct] a jejích dozvucích na Zemi v březnu 1991 byly publikovány desítky **prací** [F]. (PDT: 14814)

Motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

(178) **O mučedníky** [ct] víry nebyla ve středověkém prostoru nikdy **nouze** [F]. (PDT: 14913)

Motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

(179) Spravedlivější **otázka** [ct] by byla **o rozdělení státu** [F]... (PDT: 663)

Motivation factor: contrastive topicalization

(181) Přesto se jimi začala zabývat teprve letos, a to až z podnětu bezpečnostního výboru ČNR, **jehož** [t] jsem byl **členem** [F]. (PDT: 659)

Motivation factor: obligatory pre-position of the relative expression

(182) Nemohu si v této souvislosti odpustit zeptat se A. Pludka, proč se v období normalizace nikdy podobně neozval proti porušování lidských práv, **jehož** [t] byl denně **svědkem** [F]. (PDT: 187)

Motivation factor: obligatory pre-position of the relative expression

Agreeing Attribute Divided from its Governing Noun

(183) Přestože si kupuji jen občas jednotlivé jízdenky, **výdaj** [t] to je dost **velký** [F] a připadá mi nepřiměřený. (PDT: 29)

Motivation factor: topicalizing pre-position of the head+focalization of the attribute

(184) Tatarští poslanci dospěli k závěru, že vstup do SNS **krok** [t] je **nezbytný** [f] vzhledem k politické a vnitřní hospodářské situaci, vzniklé po rozpadu Sovětského svazu. (PDT: 180)

Motivation factor: topicalizing pre-position of the head+focalization of the attribute

(185) **Konstatování** [t] je to **smutné** [f] a velmi bolestné pro celý český fotbal. (PDT: 5693)

Motivation factor: topicalizing pre-position of the head+focalization of the attribute

(186) **Problém** [t] je to **obecný** [f], daný špatným přístupem k primárním informacím a k informacím vůbec, malým rozměrem specializované badatelské obce... (PDT: 14804)

Motivation factor: topicalizing pre-position of the head+focalization of the attribute

(187) **Věc** [t] je to zdánlivě **okrajová** [F]... (PDT: 622)

Motivation factor: topicalizing pre-position of the head+focalization of the attribute

(188) Nicméně **shoda** [t] je to velmi **podnětná** [F]. (PDT: 670)

Motivation factor: topicalizing pre-position of the head+focalization of the attribute

(189) Ale **záruky** [t] nemám **žádné** [F]. (PDT: 5)

Motivation factor: topicalizing pre-position of the head+focalization of the attribute

(190) **Opata** [t] tady nemáme **žádného** [F]... (PDT: 13)

Motivation factor: topicalizing pre-position of the head+focalization of the attribute

Discontinuous Phrasemes

(190) **Tomáše** [ct] je **škoda**[F]... (PDT: 701)

Motivation factor: contrastive topic

(191) Všichni to věděli a všichni **na ně** [t] byli **krátci** [F], protože Dunků bylo moc a každý z nich měl svá lidská a občanská práva. (PDT: 5720)

Motivation factor: topicalization, clitic

(192) **S darwinistickou biologii** [ct] má určité **problémy** [f] podobně jako s hazardními hráči. (PDT: 14825)

Motivation factor: contrastive topic

(193) Ekonomika v recesi přece potřebuje méně energie, a **té** [ct] je teď jakoby **nazbyt** [F]. (PDT: 173)

Motivation factor: topicalization

Relative and Interrogative Expressions

(a) in a function different from the agreeing attribute (discontinuity present in both languages)

Motivation of all instances: obligatory pre-position of the relative expression

(194) Soudím, že mimořádnost - ano, mimořádnost - našeho protinacistického odboje vytvářela svého druhu ghetto, **z něhož** ani po válce mnozí a mnohé nedokázali či nechtěli **vystoupit**. (PDT: 269)

En. I infer that exceptionality – yes, exceptionality – of our anti-Nazi movement created a ghetto which even after the war many men and women did not manage, or did not want to leave.

(195) V Mostě už si nejsou jednoznačně jisti, **jak** činnost chanovského správce **hodnotit**. (PDT: 7271)

En. In Most, they are not absolutely sure any more how to evaluate the activity of the caretaker from Chanov.

(196) Popisují - li jevy, **o nichž** je dnes **shoda**, slovem “údajně”, je tu přece jen cosi k zamyšlení. (PDT: 14808)

En. If I describe the phenomena which are agreed upon today by the word ‘allegedly’, there is something to think about.

(198) Jaké hodnotné látky výhonky obsahují, jak se upravují, **k jakému jídlu** se dají použít jako **příloha**, jak je servírovat. (PDT: 290)

En. What significant substances are contained by the outgrowths, how they are treated, to what dish they can be used as side dish, how to serve them.

(b) in the function of pre-modification (agreeing attribute; discontinuity specific to Czech)

(199) Může být občanská válka kvůli Slávii a Spartě, **jaký** toho máme pěkný **příklad** [f] v byzantských dějinách. (PDT: 223)

Syntactic function: object

(200) Hodnocení udává v procentech, **jaká** by měla být za určitou závadu poskytnuta **sleva** [F]. (PDT: 115)

Syntactic function: object

(201) Opozice sice dostala určitý podíl na moci, ale není zcela jasné, **jaký** má politický **program** [F]. (PDT: 7322)

Syntactic function: object

(202) Pište nám o tom, jaké chyby jste se při podnikání dopustili a **jaké** z toho plyne **poučení** [F]. (PDT: 7)

Syntactic function: subject

(203) V případě, že je nemá, záleží na úředníkovi, **jaké** zaujme **stanovisko** [F]. (PDT: 18)

Syntactic function: object

(204) Zajímalo nás, **jakou** zvolili **metodu** [F], že se tak rychle vrátili na ztracené pozice. (PDT: 32)

Syntactic function: object

(205) Se stále rostoucím úžasem se dozvídáme, **jaké** máme vlastně **názory a potřeby** [F]. (PDT: 201)

Syntactic function: object

(206) Nevím, **jaké** mají hudební **nadání** [F], ale vtírá se otázka... (PDT: 202)

Syntactic function: object

(207) ...radí, co nesmí chybět na svátečním silvestrovském stole a **jaké** máte mít slavnostní **oblečení** [F]. (PDT: 207)

Syntactic function: object

(208) **Jaké** čekáte největší **potíže** [f] při zániku konfederace? (PDT: 699)

Syntactic function: object

(209) **Jaký** bude podle vás **dopad** [f] zániku ČSFR na náš sport? (PDT: 700)

Syntactic function: subject

(210) **Jakou** dáváte zákonu **naději** [F]? (PDT: 710)

Syntactic function: object

(211) Víte, **jaká** by to pro mne byla **vizitka** [F], kdyby by mi nedal gól kanonýr z italské ligy? (PDT: 724)

Syntactic function: subject

(212) **Jakého** máte **koníčka** [F]? (PDT: 726)

Syntactic function: object

(213) **Jakou** jste dosud udělil nejvyšší **prémii** [f] za zápas? (PDT: 742)

Syntactic function: object

(214) **Jaký** měly tyto snímky **účinek** [f] na pacienty, není zatím jasné, ale skutečnost, že jsou v Egyptě přísně zakázané, zajišťovala podnikavému lékaři určitě bohatou klientelu. (PDT: 189)

Syntactic function: object

(215) **Jaký** mají **zájem** [f] o české autory? (PDT: 639)

Syntactic function: object

(216) **Jaká** je mezi nimi **hranice** [F]? (PDT: 79)

Syntactic function: subject

(217) Čas od času totiž potřebují zjistit, **jaké** jsou platné **limity** [f] té které cizorodé látky v těch kterých potravinách - a prakticky nemají možnost. (PDT: 80)

Syntactic function: subject

(218) Dobře se již odhadne, jak je kámen uvnitř zbarvený, **jakou** má **kresbu** [F]. (PDT: 166)

Syntactic function: object

(219) Pan Starý dobře ví, že lidé získávají vztah k firmě také podle toho, **jaká** ve firmě vládne **atmosféra** [F], co pro ně firma dělá navíc. (PDT: 34)

(219) Kupující, který se snaží posoudit cenu, by si měl také položit otázku, v **jakém** je obraz **stavu** [F]. (PDT: 55)

Syntactic function: nominal part of a verbonominal predicate

(220) Potřeboval bych vědět, jak mám od svého společníka vyžadovat vyrovnání nákladů na chod veřejné obchodní společnosti, případně **jaký** mám zvolit **postup** [F]. (PDT: 59)

Syntactic function: object

Quantitative Expressions

(221) **Těch prvních** [ct] je naštěstí nesouměřitelně **víc** [F]. (PDT: 292)

Motivation factor: contrastive topic

(222) Pracovali v nich i lidé, kteří sledovali své zájmy, ale podle Ministerstva pro správu národního majetku a jeho privatizaci **jich** [t] bylo **minimum** [F]. (PDT: 19)

Motivation factor: topicalization, clitic

(223) Není mým cílem tyto firmy obhajovat, nicméně si myslím, že **spokojených zákazníků** [ct] je **dost** [F]. (PDT: 30)

Motivation factor: contrastive topic

(224) Všimněte si, že **otevřených fondů** [ct] není na peněžním trhu **hodně** [F], neboť ne každý je tak silný, aby by si dovolil zpětný odkup kdykoliv nabídnout. (PDT: 40)

Motivation factor: contrastive topic

(225) Zdravá by byla pětiprocentní nezaměstnanost, ale **nezaměstnaných** [ct] je v Praze ani ne **půl procenta** [F]. (PDT: 51)

Motivation factor: contrastive topic

(226) Co hodláte udělat, aby **jich** [t] bylo **dost** [F]? (PDT: 60)

Motivation factor: topicalization, clitic

(227) Mnohá atraktivní místa jsou už obsazena, přesto **jich** [t] stále ještě **mnoho** [f] zbývá. (PDT: 62)

Motivation factor: topicalization, clitic

(228) Jestliže v roce 1993 **jich** [t] bylo **8650** [F], což je vytížení kapacity lázní asi na 65 až 70 procent, tak v letošním roce by jich mělo být již 9745. (PDT: 65)

Motivation factor: topicalization, clitic

(229) **Regulovaných cen** [ct], týkajících se přímo domácností, je okolo **16 procent** [F]. (PDT: 66)

Motivation factor: contrastive topic

(231) **Důvodů** [ct] je jistě celá **řada** [F], takže říci - vinou jsou nízké platy, nebo naopak příliš měkká záchytná sociální síť, by bylo zjednodušením. (PDT: 81)

Motivation factor: contrastive topic

(232) **Podobných otázek** [ct], na něž samotní dikové, bez patřičných informací jen těžko hledají odpověď, je daleko **víc** [F]. (PDT: 82)

Motivation factor: contrastive topic

(233) Zatímco **obchodů s obuví** [t] přibylo v okolí **několik** [F], další nejbližší opravna je až o několik tramvajových zastávek dál. (PDT: 83)

Motivation factor: topicalization

(234) Byla však i starostka, která bez řádného přečtení dopisu tvrdila, že **podobných nabídek** [ct] mají denně **mraky** [F]. (PDT: 90)

Motivation factor: contrastive topic

(235) Ze 3500 firem, které působily na našem trhu v tomto oboru před dvěma roky, **jich** [t]dnes zůstala jen necelá **polovina** [F]. (PDT: 113)

Motivation factor: topicalization, clitic

(236) **Schopných lidí** [ct] má Gala stále **málo** [F]. (PDT: 138)

Motivation factor: contrastive topic

(237) **Sensacionalistů** [ct] všech oborů, včetně historie, je a asi vždy bude na světě **přespočet** [F]. (PDT: 178)

Motivation factor: contrastive topic

(238) Lepí ji do průkazky a když **jich** [t] má **20** [f] v hodnotě 100 Kč, odečte se mu tato částka při dalším nákupu. (PDT: 21)

Motivation factor: topicalization, clitic