ON ENGLISH LOCATIVE SUBJECTS

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ABSTRACT

The paper analyses English sentences with thematic locative subjects. These subjects were detected as translation counterparts of Czech sentence-initial locative adverbials realized by prepositional phrases with the prepositions *do* (into), *na* (on), *v/ve* (in), *z/ze* (from) complemented by a noun. In the corresponding English structure, the initial scene-setting adverbial is reflected in the thematic subject, which results in the locative semantics of the subject. The sentences are analysed from syntactic, semantic and FSP aspects. From the syntactic point of view, we found five syntactic patterns of the English sentences with a locative subject (SV, SVA, SVO, SV$_{pass}$A and SVCs) that correspond to Czech sentences with initial locative adverbials. On the FSP level the paper studies the potential of the sentences to implement the Presentation or Quality Scale. Since it is the "semantic content of the verb that actuates the presentation semantics of the sentence" (Dušková, 2015a: 260), major attention is paid to the syntactic-semantic structure of the verb. The analysis of the semantics of the English sentences results in the identification of two semantic classes of verbs which co-occur with the English locative subject.

Keywords: contrastive approach, locative subject, presentation scale, quality scale, presentative verbs

1. Introduction

The paper analyses English sentences with thematic locative subjects. These subjects were detected as translation counterparts of Czech sentence-initial locative adverbials realized by prepositional phrases with the prepositions *do* (into), *na* (on), *v/ve* (in), *z/ze* (from) complemented by a noun. In the corresponding English structure, the initial scene-setting adverbial is reflected in the thematic subject, which results in the locative semantics of the subject. The sentences are analysed from syntactic, semantic and FSP aspects. From the syntactic point of view, we focus on the various syntactic patterns of the English sentences with a locative subject that correspond to Czech sentences with initial locative adverbials. On the FSP level the paper studies the potential of the sentences to implement the Presentation or Quality Scale. Since it is the "semantic content of the verb

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that actuates the presentation semantics of the sentence" (Dušková, 2015a: 260), major attention is paid to the syntactic-semantic structure of the verb.

2. Theoretical background

The English subject has received considerable attention from the contrastive point of view with respect to its syntactically divergent counterparts and FSP function as compared with Czech (cf. Dušková, 1999b, 2015b). Drawing on this direction of research the present study focuses on the sentence-initial thematic clause elements with locative semantics in Czech and English, which perform the syntactic functions of the adverbial and the subject, respectively.[1]

(1) a. *This road* carries a lot of traffic.
     b. *Na této silnici* je velký provoz. (Dušková, 1998: 40)

Example (1) represents a prototypical instance of this type of correspondence. Syntactically, the English sentence displays the pattern SVO (ex. 1a). With the subject in the initial position, the syntactic structure of the English sentence complies with the grammatical word order. The Czech corresponding sentence (ex. 1b) has an initial locative adverbial and the subject in postposition (clause pattern AVS).

Another construction with a locative subject is illustrated by example (2a).

(2) a. *The garden* is swarming with bees.[2]
     b. Bees are swarming *in the garden*.[3]

Sentences such as (2a) have been described as resulting from 'locative alternation' (Salkoff, 1983; Levin, 1993: 53–55; Dowty, 2000a and 2000b; Fried 2005). Locative alternation is a kind of syntactic-semantic alternation which involves both intransitive (ex. 2) and transitive verbs.[4] In ex. (2) the two constructions differ in the assignment of semantic roles to the syntactic clause elements, i.e. valency complements of the verb (Panevová et al., 2014: 122–123): the role of location is assigned alternatively either to the subject (ex. 2a) or to the adverbial (ex. 2b). The two constructions, however, are not semantically equivalent. While (2b) can be described as a simple action (with the subject performing the role of the agent), ex. (2a) refers to a state resulting from the movement. This is closely connected with the 'holistic' vs. 'partitive' interpretation of the locative element (cf. Anderson, 1971). Example (2a) illustrates the 'holistic' interpretation of the locative subject, i.e. the whole garden is affected by the action; the movement taking place in the whole area of the garden constitutes in fact a characteristic of the location. Example (2b)

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[1] The primary concern is the English construction with a locative subject, the corresponding Czech sentences are commented on only marginally where relevant.
[2] Cf. Dowty's (2000a: 112) "LOCATION-SUBJECT FORM (or L-Subject Form)"
[3] Cf. Dowty's (2000a: 112) "AGENT-SUBJECT FORM (or A-Subject Form)"
[4] Cf. Dowty's (2000a: 112) examples *Mary sprayed paint on the wall.* vs. *Mary sprayed the wall with paint.* However, in the case of transitive verbs in the active voice ("spray/load" verbs) locative alternation does not involve the subject but the postverbal elements, namely the object and adverbial.

illustrates the 'partitive' interpretation, i.e. only a part of the garden is affected by the action. The intransitive verbs which co-occur with a locative subject in the construction arising from the locative alternation (ex. 2) can be grouped into the following semantic classes (Dowty, 2000a: 115):

a. physical movements visually recognizable readily and at a 'small scale', usually occurring repetitively (*crawl*, *drip*, *foam*, *heave*, *vibrate*, etc.);
b. animal sounds and other perceptually simple sounds (*hum*, *buzz*, *rustle*, *resound*, etc.);
c. conceptually simple visual perception of some kind of light emission (*beam*, *flame*, *glow*, *glisten*, etc.);
d. smells (*reek*, *smell*, *be fragrant*, etc.);
e. predicates indicating degree of occupancy or abundance (*abound*, *teem*, *be rich (with)*,[5] etc.).

They are all atelic, intransitive verbs which can be characterized as 'process verbs'.[6] "They designate perceptually simple activities usually recognizable from temporally and spatially limited input." (Dowty, 2000a: 116) The activity "fills the space denoted by the Location subject" (ibid.: 120). Another characteristic feature of the construction concerns the *with*-phrase. According to Dowty (2000a: 117) the complement of the preposition must be realized by a plural or mass noun (e.g. *bees* in ex. 2a), and not by a definite, indefinite or quantified noun (e.g. **The garden is swarming with a bee.*).

From the FSP point of view, both the Czech and the English sentence in example (1) implement linear modification, i.e. the sentence elements manifest a gradual rise in communicative dynamism (CD) in the direction from the beginning to the end of the sentence. In other words, the least dynamic elements (i.e. elements that carry the lowest amount of information) *this road* / *na této silnici* precede the most dynamic elements (i.e. elements that carry the greatest amount of information) *a lot of traffic* / *velký provoz*. Thus, the element towards which the communication is perspectived occupies the final position. It is "through a locative subject construction of the adverbial element" that the English sentence achieves the basic distribution of the degrees of CD (Adam, 2013: 148; cf. also Quirk et al., 1985: 747–748; and Dušková, 1999b: 248ff.). Both the English and Czech sentences display the same linear increase in the degrees of CD despite their different syntactic structure. "Here the role of FSP as the motivating factor of the syntactic divergence is self-evident." (Dušková, 2015b: 39)

In the theory of FSP every sentence can be seen to implement one of the dynamic semantic scales: Presentation Scale or Quality Scale (Firbas, 1992: 87). Since the focus of the present paper lies in studying the potential of the locative constructions to implement the Presentation or Quality Scale, it is necessary to provide a more detailed characterization of these scales. In the dynamic semantic scales, each element is ascribed one of the dynamic-semantic functions (DSFs). The scales functionally reflect the distribution of CD and operate irrespective of word order (Firbas, 1992; Adam, 2013: 14; Chamoniko-

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5   The examples given by Dowty involve not only verbal predicates but also copular predications (*be fragrant*, *be rich/rife/rampant (with)*).
6   The verbs typically imply neither change nor intentionality, although some may involve a certain degree of volition and control (cf. Kettnerová, 2015: 215)

lasová, 2010: 87). In the Quality Scale the English verb ascribes a quality to the subject, the communication being perspectived away from the subject. As Adam (2013: 46) points out, "[s]omething new (Specification) is said about the subject (Bearer of Quality)". In the Presentation Scale the verb performs the dynamic semantic function of presentation (i.e. it presents something new on the scene), the communication being perspectived towards the subject, which is the most dynamic element (Phenomenon), the least dynamic element being the Setting of the action ("usually temporal or spatial items of when and where the action takes place"(Adam, 2013: 45)). "For a verb to perform the presentation function, the subject must be context-independent: it then has the DSF of a phenomenon presented on the scene." (Dušková, 2015a: 260)

In the English construction with a locative subject (ex. 3a) the subject is context-dependent, performing the DSF of a setting. Thus, the construction "seems to implement the Quality rather than the Presentation Scale, displaying a thematic subject and a rhematic object" (Adam 2013: 148).

(3) a. The letter bears your signature. (Dušková, 1999b: 248)
    b. Na tom dopise je váš podpis.
    c. There is your signature on the letter.

However, it has been pointed out by several authors (cf. Dušková, 1998; Adam, 2013: 148; Rohrauer, 2013) that the English construction with a locative subject should be regarded as one of the syntactic forms of the Presentation Scale. As mentioned above, the Presentation Scale is characterized by three basic DSFs (Adam, 2013: 14), and example (3a) displays all three features: i. the act of communication is set by the scene of the action (DSF of a setting – a spatial item, i.e. where the action takes place), syntactically constructed as the subject *the letter*; ii. the object *your signature* represents the most dynamic element (Phenomenon) ushered onto the scene; iii. the existence on the scene is conveyed by the verb *bears*.

Figure 1. DSFs in the Presentation Scale

Setting	Presentation of Phenomenon	Phenomenon Presented
theme	transition	rheme
The letter	*bears*	*your signature.*

That the sentence in example (3a) implements the Presentation Scale is revealed not only by the dynamic semantic functions of the clause elements (Figure 1), but also by the possible alternative expression of the same content using the existential construction (ex. 3c). The existential construction is regarded as the most frequent realization form of the Presentation Scale (cf. Adam, 2013: 62; Rohrauer, 2013: 147; Dušková, 1998: 36). In the existential construction the scene is set by the adverbial (*on the letter*), "while the phenomenon appearing on the scene (the rheme, *your signature*) assumes the syntactic function of a subject" (Dušková, 1998: 40). As the paraphrase with the existential construction demonstrates, the syntactic form SVO with a locative subject is a surface structure implementing in its deep structure the Presentation Scale.

To sum up the ordering of the clause elements in the English construction with the initial locative subject we may say that although the English structure is syntactically divergent from the Czech structure, the elements are ordered in accordance with both the basic distribution of CD and the grammatical word order: "Without the syntactic divergence the English sentence structure would deviate either from the grammatical word order or from the basic distribution of CD. As a result of the syntactic divergence it complies with both" (Dušková, 2015b: 44).

From the semantic point of view, a crucial role appears to be played by the English verb, as it is the "semantic content of the verb that actuates the presentation semantics of the sentence, the so-called presentation scale" (Dušková, 2015a: 260). Verbs that can express the presentation function are traditionally defined on the basis of their static semantics. They generally belong to two classes; they express existence or appearance either explicitly or implicitly (cf. Firbas, 1992: 60). The group of presentation verbs that express existence or appearance explicitly is relatively well-defined, prototypical verbs of this group being *come, arrive, enter, appear, occur, turn up*, etc. The other group of verbs that are also capable of expressing the existence or appearance on the scene, yet in an implicit way (i.e. "with sufficient implicitness", cf. Firbas (1992: 65)) is much more difficult to delimit. According to Adam this class includes a relatively large group of different verbs that "come from different semantic groups of verbs and do not have much in common" (Adam, 2010: 22), e.g. *strike, await, buzz, shine, seize, pour, feed, blow*. As regards their valency, the presentation verbs are typically intransitive (e.g. *come, arrive, enter, appear*). Nevertheless, previous studies (Firbas, 1992: 61; Adam, 2011: 22; Adam, 2013: 158; Dušková, 2015a: 262) have shown that the presentation function can also be ascribed to transitive verbs (e.g. *fill, flood, brim*).

As for the verbs occurring in the construction with a locative thematic subject, their repertoire appears to be rather limited. They were shown to be typically monotransitive verbs exhibiting similar semantic features. The verbs most frequently attested in the literature are *have* (ex. 4) and *bear* (ex. 3a). Adam (2013: 150) points out that these verbs "seem to be quite general and auxiliary-like, denoting existence/appearance on the scene". They may even be considered "quasi-copulative for they merely provide a link between the participants in verbal action without contributing any relevant lexico-semantic feature" (Dušková, 1999b: 250).

(4) Inside, the cave was dark and cold and *had* the damp feel and smell of a place that had not been lived in for several days. (Adam, 2013: 149)[7]

Example (5) illustrates another important feature of the semantic content of the English presentation verbs, namely semantic affinity between the predicative verb and its subject (cf. Firbas, 1992: 60; Dušková, 2015a: 262; Adam, 2011: 22 and 2013: 160).

(5) A bee buzzed across their path.

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7 The choice of the construction with *have* (rather than the *there*-existential construction) may be influenced by the tendency towards a constant subject in English.

Adam (2011: 22) describes semantic affinity as one of the most significant features "of what may be considered to express existence or appearance on the scene in an implicit way". Semantic affinity is typically found with one syntactic type of Presentation Scale, namely Rhematic subject in preverbal position (ex. 5). In ex. (5) the action of the verb *buzz* is "so semantically inherent to the subjects (subject-related) that it is the subject [*bee*] that takes over the communicative prominence at the expense of power of the verbal content… The static semantics of the verb then – even if expressing a specific type of action – is reduced to that of presentation" (Adam, 2011: 23). Thus, through this affinity the verb prepares the way for the presentation of a new phenomenon (cf. Firbas, 1992: 60). Although Dowty (2000a: 117) does not mention this explicitly, the examples he gives to illustrate the semantically 'unquantified' nature of the *with*-phrase object in the locative subject construction display a similar semantic affinity between the verb and the complement of the preposition *with* (e.g. *crawl – roach, buzz – flies, tinkle – bells, blaze – lights/stars/bonfires/flashbulbs* in ex. 6).

(6) a. The wall crawled with roaches.
    b. The bottle buzzed with flies.
    c. The city square tinkled (resounded) with the sound of many bells (on the horses and carts).
    d. The sky blazed with lights/stars/bonfires/flashbulbs.

3. Material and method

The present study takes as its starting point the assumption that "linguistic structure is language-specific while the cognitive and functional-communicative substance which constrains it is potentially universal" (Boye, 2012: 7, cf. Haspelmath, 2010; Martinková, 2014). While the same semantic structure of the sentence occurs both in Czech and in English, serving the same "needs of expression and communication" (Mathesius, 1936: 95), it is likely to be represented partly by different linguistic structures in each of the languages (cf. Gast, 2015).

The material used to study the correspondences between the two languages was drawn from the fiction core of the Czech-English sub-corpus of the parallel translation corpus InterCorp (version 8).[8] Czech originals were selected as source texts, and the Czech sentence-initial adverbials as 'markers' of the locative (adverbial) meaning (Malá, 2013), or 'methodological anchors', i.e. formal correlates of the functional operation of localization (Gast, 2015: 8).

The study focuses on syntactically divergent translation counterparts of Czech adverbials, namely on the correspondences between a Czech adverbial and an English subject. As pointed out by Dušková (1999b: 254), "if an adverbial is to be convertible into the subject it must be a potential participant in the verbal action and its form must be such as to allow the concomitant formal changes." To comply with the first requirement, only

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8 The subcorpus used for the present study comprises 19 Czech books and their English translations. The size of the Czech part of the subcorpus is 2,014,551 tokens, and that of the English translations 2,293,237 tokens.

adverbials integrated in the sentence structure were considered. The form of the adverbial was restricted to prepositional phrases with prepositions occurring frequently in locative uses, i.e. *do* (into)*, na* (on)*, v/ve* (in)*, z/ze* (from) (cf. Klégr et al., 2011: 18). The use of the parallel corpus made it possible to excerpt a sufficient number (130) of translation pairs of sentences comprising a Czech sentence-initial locative adverbial[9] and a corresponding English subject to identify several syntactic patterns employed in English to convey the sentence-semantic concept in question. Where needed, additional excerption was performed from the English original fiction texts in the same corpus. The additional queries focussed on specific English patterns in order to either rule out the translation effects or to provide additional material, expanding on the rather limited number of instances in some of the categories. The correspondences will be described in terms of their syntactic structure, static semantics and distribution of CD.

Table 1. Numbers of translation pairs comprising a sentence-initial locative adverbial prepositional phrase in Czech and a corresponding English locative subject

preposition	sentence-initial A_{loc} – S correspondences
do (into)	3
na (on)	38
v/ve (in)	77
z/ze (from)	12
Total	130

4. Analysis

The following section focuses on the English translation counterparts of Czech sentences with sentence-initial locative adverbials realized by prepositional phrases. The dominant pattern in Czech sentences is the AVS pattern. All the patterns attested in our data are presented in Table 2. The analysis of the translation counterparts of the Czech sentences revealed five different English clause patterns (see Table 3). Two of these patterns comprise intransitive verbs (patterns SVA and SV), two are based on transitive verbs (patterns SVO and $SV_{pass}A$) and one on copular verbs (pattern SVCs). These patterns will be dealt with below in the order in which they are presented in Table 3.

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9   The correspondences between Czech adverbials realized by prepositional phrases and English subjects also occur at the beginning of clauses within a sentence, e.g. *Strážmistr vytáhl ze stolku dvě svíčky, na kterých byly stopy od pečetního vosku, jak pečetil úřední spisy ...* – *The State police Station Chief pulled out of the little table two candles which bore traces left by the sealing wax as he would seal official files ...* The dominant realization form of the prepositional complement / subject in these cases is pronominal, unlike in the sentence-initial position. These correspondences were therefore excluded from the present study, although patterns of correspondence parallel to those identified in sentence-initial position can be expected (cf. also *Auta... zmenšila chodníky, na kterých se tlačí chodci. – The cars... have narrowed the pavements, which are crowded with pedestrians.*)

Table 2. Czech clause patterns with initial locative adverbials

Czech pattern	Number of occurrences	Czech sentence	English translation counterpart
AVS	83	*Ve velkém sále bylo mnoho stolů a mnoho židlí…*	*The hall had lots of tables, lots of chairs…*
subjectless	24	*V nemocnici bylo čisto...*	*The hospital was clean…*
AVSO(O)	16	*Na tváři měl klidnej úsměv.*	*His face wore a peaceful smile.*
AVCsS / AV$_{pass}$S	7	*V její intonaci nebylo zatím přítomno žádné hodnocení.*	*Her intonation betrayed no hint of judgement as yet.*
Total	**130**		

Table 3. English clause patterns with locative subjects

English pattern		Number of occurrences	English examples	Czech source sentences
intransitive	SVA	13	*The restaurant was humming with life.*	*V restauraci bylo poměrně živo.*
	SV	9	*The room reeked.*	*V pokoji byl puch.*
transitive	SVO	59	*Every chair had an inscription.*	*Na každé židli je nápis.*
	SV$_{pass}$A	11	*The walls were hung with interesting pictures…*	*Na zdech byly zajímavé obrazy…*
copular	SVCs	38	*The flat was quiet.* *This realm was alive with all sorts of women…*	*V bytě bylo ticho…* *Na tomto území se pohybovaly různé ženy…*
Total		**130**		

4.1 Intransitive verb patterns (SVA and SV)

4.1.1 SVA

In twelve out of the 13 cases[10] the source of the English SVA pattern was the Czech pattern AVS. Thus, the Czech locative adverbial is mirrored in the English subject and the Czech subject finds an expression in the adverbial (as a complement of the preposition) in the English sentence. The sentences with this pattern can be characterized by a semantic frame that is associated with perception and experience, namely the 'sensory experience' frame. The frame "must contain minimally three elements: a perceiver, an entity that triggers the sensory effect (= stimulus), and a place in which the perception holds" (Fried, 2005: 489). Since the perceiver is usually the speaker, it remains unexpressed. The trigger of perception (stimulus) is linked with the syntactic function of the adverbial (*with peaceful joy* in ex. 7). The place in which the perception holds is syntactically realized as the subject (*her eyes* in ex. 7).

The verbs in this pattern fall into several semantic types which correspond to those listed as being typical of the construction with a locative subject (cf. Dowty, 2000a: 115;

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[10] In one case the SVA pattern corresponds to a Czech subjectless verbonominal clause: *The restaurant was humming with life. – V restauraci bylo poměrně živo.*

Panevová et al., 2014: 123): light emission (*glow* in ex. 7), physical movement, typically occurring repetitively (*swarm* in ex. 8), animal and other sounds (*buzz* in ex. 9), smells and tastes (*reek* in ex. 10).

(7) Her eyes *glowed* with … peaceful joy.
    V očích jí zářila … klidná radost.
(8) The country *was swarming* with innumerable doughty foes of Communism.
    Ve vlasti se vyrojily mraky čackých bojovníků proti komunismu.
(9) My head stopped *buzzing* with words and I tried to speak to him kindly.
    V hlavě mi přestala hučet slova a já k němu zkusil promluvit laskavě.
(10) The boy's breath *reeked* of alcohol.
    Z chlapcova dechu odporně páchl alkohol.

All the subjects carry the semantic role of location, which "is attributed a distinctive property, namely a sensory effect generated by the stimulus and thoroughly affecting the place" (Fried, 2005: 492). The stimulus is expressed by the prepositional phrase (typically *with*-phrase). In compliance with Dowty's observations the complement of the preposition is a plural (e.g. *words* in ex. 9) or an uncountable noun (e.g. *alcohol* in ex. 10). As regards its semantics, the prepositional phrase denotes "an unquantifiable secondary agent (a mere instrument)" (Fried, 2005: 493).

Some of the examples were found to display close semantic ties between the verb and the noun occurring in the prepositional phrase. This is reminiscent of the semantic affinity between the subject and the verb mentioned already by Firbas (1992: 60) and Adam (2013: 160). In most of our examples, however, the affinity does not hold between the verb and its subject but between the verb and the noun in the prepositional phrase (e.g. exx. 9–10: *buzz – words, reek – alcohol*). It seems that semantic affinity can be found only with nouns used in their literal sense (ex. 10). This explains why no affinity can be observed between the verb *swarm* and the following noun *foes* (ex. 7).[11] It has to be pointed out that in some cases a certain degree of semantic affinity can also be detected between the verb and the locative subject (*ring – voice* in ex. 11, where *ring* is the counterpart of an implied Czech verb).

(11) The virtuoso's voice *rings* with uncounterfeited astonishment.
    Ve virtuosově hlase nefalšované překvapení.

The sentences with the SVA conform to the grammatical word order. At the same time, they implement linear modification, i.e. there is a gradual rise in CD in the direction from the locative subject to the most dynamic element, namely the adverbial realized by the prepositional phrase. Based on the surface structure the communication seems to be perspectived away from the subject with the sentence therefore implementing the Quality Scale. However, in its deep structure it implements a Presentation Scale (ex. 7, repeated here as 12a; Figure 2). The subject (*her eyes*) is context-dependent and it

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[11] In its literal meaning, the verb *swarm* evokes the movement of insect. Therefore, in examples like *The garden is swarming with bees* (Fried, 2005: 476) the affinity between the verb and the noun in the prepositional complement is retained.

performs the DSF of a setting. The DSF function of the verb *glowed* is that of presentation. It presents a new phenomenon (*with peaceful joy*) on the scene. The Presentation Scale interpretation of the SVA sentences with a locative subject can be supported by paraphrases using existential constructions with the verbs *be* and *have*[12] (exx. 12 b and c, respectively):

(12) a. Her eyes *glowed* with ... peaceful joy.
b. There was peaceful joy in her eyes.
c. Her eyes had peaceful joy in them.

Figure 2. DSFs in the SVA pattern

Setting	Presentation of Phenomenon	Phenomenon Presented
theme	transition	rheme
Her eyes	*glowed*	*with peaceful joy.*

4.1.2 SV

Locative subjects were also attested in the SV pattern (exx. 13–15) with the verbs pertaining to the same semantic classes as in the SVA pattern. These examples are translation counterparts of Czech sentences displaying the pattern AVS (5 instances, ex. 13) and subjectless patterns (4 instances, exx. 14–15). Syntactically, in both types the English subject corresponds to the Czech locative adverbial. The English verb corresponds to the Czech verb in the subjectless patterns (exx. 14, 15) and covers the meaning of both the verb and the Czech subject in the AVS pattern (ex. 13).[13]

(13) The room *reeked*.
V pokoji byl puch.
(14) The scarred face *twitched*, but that was all.
Ve zjizvené tváři zaškubalo, ale to bylo vše.
(15) Her eyes suddenly *sparkled*…
V očích jí zajiskřilo…

From the semantic point of view, the SV sentences refer to the same semantic frame of 'sensory experience' as the SVA ones, but only one of the three essential elements of the frame is present, the location. Due to the absence of the stimulus (the trigger of perception linked with the prepositional phrase in SVA) there is no successful competitor of the verb in terms of CD. Therefore, "the notional component of the verb abandons the transitional layer to complete the message as the most dynamic element of the distributional field" (Adam, 2013: 50). Thus these sentences clearly implement the Quality Scale[14] (Figure 3).

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[12] On *there-/have-*existentials, see Quirk et al., 1985: 1402–1414.
[13] In the Czech sentence the subject (*to*) may be semantically empty (Kettnerová, 2015: 229–231):
V kuchyni to páchlo – The kitchen reeked.
[14] This is also supported by the impossibility of the *there* existential construction.

Figure 3. DSFs in the SV pattern

Bearer of Quality	Quality
theme	transition/rheme
The room	*reeked.*

4.2 Transitive verb patterns (SVO and SV$_{pass}$A)

4.2.1 SVO

As was expected on the basis of previous research, SVO represents the most frequent pattern (45 per cent of sentences with the locative subject). The patterns of the Czech source sentences which occurred more than once comprise: AVS (42 instances, exx. 16, 19), AVSO (10 instances, exx. 17, 18) and AVCsS / AV$_{pass}$S (5 instances, ex. 23). Syntactically, the Czech locative adverbial is reflected in the English subject. The Czech subject in AVS and AVCsS / AV$_{pass}$S, (as well as the object in AVSO, in ex. 18) find an expression in the object in the English sentence (exx. 16, 22), retaining the clause-final position. The Czech subject in the AVSO pattern may be reflected in the possessive determiner within the English subject (*his* in ex. 18) but in some translation pairs it may have a zero English counterpart, being merely implied in the English sentence.[15]

Semantically, the English verbs in the pattern SVO fall into two classes. The first class can be described as 'contain/be covered'[16] verbs. The most frequent verb in this class was the verb *have* (18 instances, ex. 16a). In this construction, *have* is "stripped of its possessive meaning and is actually semantically emptied in this sense" (Adam, 2013: 149).

(16) a. Every chair *had* an inscription.
 Na každé židli je nápis.
 b. There was an inscription on every chair.

Our examples also contain other verbs which have already been described in literature: *bear* (ex. 17), *wear* (ex. 18)*, hold* and *contain* (ex. 19). The verb *house* (ex. 20) is similar to these verbs. While all these verbs fall in the 'contain/be covered' class, they form a cline from the most semantically empty verb *have* to the verbs of more specific meaning (*wear*, *house*).

(17) The fashionable T-shirt covering her well-formed chest *bore* a chartreuse message…
 Na módním tričku, pokrývajícím dobře vzrostlou hruď, měla jedovatě zelený nápis…
(18) His face *wore* a peaceful smile.
 Na tváři měl klidnej úsměv.

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[15] This typically applies to the Czech unexpressed subject (general human agent): *The papers say:… – V novinách píší:…*
[16] Levin (1993: 119) classifies the verbs as "*fill* verbs". The verbs in our sample can be more accurately described as 'contain/be covered' verbs.

(19) The white envelope *contained* a brief letter from Kral, our local millionaire…
    V bílé obálce byl krátký dopis od místního milionáře Krále…
(20) A dusty display case used to *house* a set of fancy shot glasses from Moscow.
    V zaprášený vitríně stálo pár zdobenejch moskevskejch stakanů.

The second semantic class of verbs in the SVO pattern comprises verbs which may be described as "verbs of transfer of a message" (Levin, 1993: 202) or "manifestation verbs"[17]. All these verbs are related to sensory perception, since the message is perceived through the senses, e.g. *show* (9 instances, ex. 21)*, display* (3 instances, ex. 22)*, read* (2 instances, ex. 23)*, say* (3 instances, ex. 24), *betray* (2 instances, ex. 25), *give off, radiate, echo.*

(21) The photograph *showed* a naked child on a sheepskin rug.
    Na fotce bylo děťátko pasoucí ovce.
(22) The next page *displayed* a large wedding picture…
    Na další stránce se zaskvěla veliká svatební fotka…
(23) The sign *read*: Do not enter, this door is self-entering.
    Na tabulce bylo napsáno: Nevstupovat, vstupuje samo!
(24) He sent … two letters for me. One *said* he was doing well…
    V jednom stálo, že se má dobře…
(25) His voice *betrayed* not the slightest regret.
    V jeho hlase nebyl sebemenší náznak pokání.

It seems that all the verbs in this pattern are semantically similar to *have*, yet their meaning is more specific and more closely related to the meaning of the subject. The verbs link the subject with the object which denotes an inalienable part of the subject (e.g. the *naked child* is a part of *the photograph* in ex. 21). This semantic affinity between the verb and the subject is clearly illustrated in exx. 21–23 (*show – photograph, display – page, read – sign*).

Since the meaning of the verb is already implied in the subject, the degree of CD of the verb is low and its DSF is reduced to that of presentation (cf. Adam, 2011: 23). The subject is inanimate, denoting the location. The object represents the phenomenon presented on the locative scene. The SVO sentences with the locative subject can therefore be regarded as one of the realization forms of the Presentation Scale (Figure 4).The presentational nature of the construction can be manifested by a paraphrase using an existential *there*-construction (ex. 16b).

Figure 4. DSFs in the SVO pattern

Setting	Presentation of Phenomenon	Phenomenon Presented
theme	transition	rheme
Every chair	*had*	*an inscription.*

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[17] This category label was suggested to us by Martin Adam.

In three instances of the SVO pattern the locative reference is expressed twice (exx. 26–27), once in the locative subject and once in the clause-final adverbial. The adverbial is realized by a prepositional phrase with a complement coreferential with the subject. "The doubled expression of the locative reference" (Adam, 2013: 149) is found with the verb *have* only, specifying the location.

(26) The table *had* a lamp *on it*.
    Na stolku stála rozsvícená lampa…
(27) … the corrals didn't *have* any trees *in them*.
    V ohradách nebyly žádné stromy.

4.2.2 SV$_{pass}$A

The English constructions with a locative subject described in literature are always (to our knowledge) in the active voice. However, our analysis revealed that the locative subject is found not only in active, but also in passive constructions (11 instances, ex. 28a). The original Czech sentence patterns which occurred more than once are AVS (7 instances, ex. 28) and AVCsS / AV$_{pass}$S (2 instances[18]). Similarly to the AVS – SVA correspondence, the Czech locative adverbial is mirrored in the English subject and the Czech subject is expressed in the adverbial in the English sentence.

(28) a. The room *was filled* with a dim and oppressive twilight…
        V pokoji panovalo dusné a temné přítmí…
    b. A dim and oppressive twilight filled the room.
    c. There was a dim and oppressive twilight in the room.
(29) a. A cold blue light *filled* the window panes. (Firbas, 1992: 61)
    b. The window panes were filled with a cold blue light.

These passive constructions are analogous to Firbas's active voice example (29a), which can be demonstrated by the active transformation (28b). Firbas describes the DSFs of clause elements in ex. (29a) as follows: "the object [window panes] expresses a phenomenon that is filled, permeated or covered by another phenomenon [a cold blue light]. The latter [a cold blue light] appears within the space provided by the former [window panes]. The latter [a cold blue light] is the phenomenon to be presented; the former [window panes] serves as the setting (scene) for the presentation" (Firbas, 1992: 61). Despite the different syntactic arrangement of the elements in ex. (28a), their DSFs remain identical, i.e. the locative subject denotes the setting (*the room*), the prepositional phrase (*with a dim and oppressive twilight*) expresses the phenomenon which is presented within the space of the room through the presentation verb in the passive (*was filled*) (cf. Figure 5). This interpretation is illustrated by the possible passive transformation of Firbas's example in ex. (29b). The passive construction (28a) also allows the *there*-existential transformation (ex. 28c), which may serve as a test of the Presentation Scale.

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[18] E.g. *The valleys were dotted with the cottages of widely scattered villages. – V jejich údolích byly roztroušeny ve značných vzdálenostech domky nadmíru roztáhlých vsí.*

Figure 5. DSFs in the SV$_{pass}$A pattern

Setting	Presentation of Phenomenon	Phenomenon Presented
theme	transition	rheme
The room	*was filled*	*with a dim and oppressive twilight.*

In addition, the analysis revealed that in all SV$_{pass}$A constructions the *by*-agent of the action is not expressed. Interestingly, the suppression of the agent can be seen as a relevant factor that is closely connected with the Presentation Scale. Previous research has shown that in some cases of the Presentation Scale the phenomenon appeared on the scene "through some (unexpressed) external agency" (cf. Dušková, 2015a: 264; Brůhová, 2015: 32).[19] All the passive constructions have a stative meaning, denoting a state which results from the verbal action. They attribute a certain property to the subject. In this respect they resemble the SVCs constructions.[20]

The verbs in the SV$_{pass}$A pattern can be semantically classified as 'contain/be covered' verbs. They include: *be bathed, coated, covered, decorated, dotted, filled, hung, inscribed, jammed, swathed* (*with/in*) (exx. 30–32).

(30) The walls *were hung with* interesting pictures, mostly photographs and posters.
　　Na zdech byly zajímavé obrazy, mnoho fotografií a plakátů.
(31) The kitchen table *was covered with* baggies of powder.
　　Na kuchyňským stole byly plastikový balíčky s řezanikem.
(32) Their greenish skins *were coated with* shiny insects and black flies.
　　V tý nazelenalý žluti byly závoje zářivýho hmyzu i černejch much.

4.3 The copular verb pattern SVCs

The last English clause pattern which was revealed as a translation counterpart of the Czech locative constructions is the SVCs pattern (38 instances). The source patterns differ from the previous groups in that the subjectless (ex. 33) and AVS (ex. 34) patterns are equally represented (17 instances each). Syntactically, the Czech locative adverbial corresponds to the English locative subject as in all previous patterns. The semantics of the English subject may be described as a blend of locative and affected semantic roles. While according to Quirk et al. (1985: 743) the subject of copular verbs is generally assigned the affected role, in these examples it is a counterpart of the Czech locative adverbial (ex. 33).

(33) The room **was dim**.
　　V pokoji bylo šero.

As regards the 'sensory experience' frame, the SVCs pattern may be divided into two subtypes according to the number of participants overtly expressed. In a majority of

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[19] Cf. also Firbas (1992: 63): *Then a blind and dumb demoniac was brought to him.*
[20] Moreover, some of the passive constructions are non-agentive (ex. 28a), i.e. "there seems to be no agency involved" (Dušková, 1999a: 120).

examples only one participant, namely the place, is expressed; the stimulus remains unexpressed.

From the FSP point of view these sentences implement the Quality Scale. The copular verb ascribes a quality to the subject and the subject complement performs the function of Quality (see Figure 6).

Figure 6. DSFs in the SVCs pattern

Bearer of Quality	Ascription of Quality	Quality
theme	transition	rheme
The room	*was*	*dim.*

In a small group of SVCs sentences (5 instances) two participants of the 'sensory experience' frame are expressed – the place and the stimulus. The stimulus is realized by an *of-/with-* prepositional phrase (exx. 34a and 35) complementing the adjective.

On the level of FSP, the prepositional phrase may be seen as a competitor of the verbonominal predicate in terms of CD. This makes it possible to view the sentences of the SVCs$_{(+comp)}$ pattern as an implementation of Presentation Scale (see Figure 7). The subject (*their faces*) denotes the setting, the verbonominal predicate (*were full*) can be assigned the DSF of presentation (expressing the existence of a phenomenon) and *real anger* represents the phenomenon ushered on the scene. The existential construction, which we have used as the test for the Presentation Scale, is also acceptable with the SVCs$_{(+comp)}$ pattern (ex. 34b).

In this respect these examples are reminiscent of the SV$_{pass}$A pattern (ex. 28a repeated here as ex. 36).[21] Both SVCs$_{(+comp)}$ and SV$_{pass}$A patterns have a locative subject, a complex predicate (copular/auxiliary verb (*be*) plus a notional component – *full, filled*) and a clause-final prepositional phrase (usually *with*-prepositional phrase).

(34) a. Their faces *were full* <u>of</u> real anger.
       V jejich tvářích byla skutečná zloba.
    b. There was real anger in their faces.
(35) This realm *was alive* <u>with</u> all sorts of women.
     Na tomto území se pohybovaly různé ženy.
(36) The room *was filled* <u>with</u> a dim and oppressive twilight…
     V pokoji panovalo dusné a temné přítmí…

Figure 7. DSFs in the SVCs pattern with a prepositional phrase (potential presentational interpretation)

Setting	Presentation of Phenomenon	Phenomenon Presented
theme	transition	rheme
Their faces	*were full*	*of real anger.*

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[21] The example *The room became filled with a stillness, which made him through some sort of mysterious power move closer to her.* represents a borderline case between SVCs and SV$_{pass}$A patterns.

5. Conclusions

In the present study an attempt has been made to explore the English construction with a locative subject corresponding to a Czech initial locative adverbial from the syntactic, semantic and FSP aspects.

All the constructions in our sample (130 instances) share the same background semantic frame, i.e. the 'sensory experience' frame (Fried, 2005: 489). The frame comprises three participants: the place, the stimulus and the perceiver. Table 4 illustrates the relation between the semantic frame participants and the syntactic realization forms. The place is always overtly expressed in the locative subject. Semantically it denotes location which combines with the affected role in the SVCs and $SV_{pass}A$ patterns (*flat* and *walls* in exx. (ii) and (iv), respectively). The stimulus (the trigger of perception) has two realization forms, depending on the pattern: the object in the SVO pattern (*a naked child* in ex. (vi)), and *with/of/in* prepositional phrase in the SVA, $SV_{pass}A$ and $SVCs_{(+comp)}$ patterns (*alcohol*, *pictures* and *women* in exx. (iii), (iv), (v), respectively). In the patterns SV and SVCs (without the prepositional complement) the stimulus is unexpressed (exx. (i), (ii)). The perceiver (typically the speaker) always remains unexpressed.

Table 4. The relation between the semantic frame participants and the syntactic realization forms

semantic frame participants	syntactic realizations			example
	un/expressed	syntactic function	syntactic pattern	
place	expressed	subject	all patterns	–
stimulus	unexpressed	–	SV	(i) *The room reeked.*
			SVCs	(ii) *The flat was quiet.*
	expressed	*with/of/in*-prep. phrase	SVA	(iii) *The boy's breath reeked of alcohol.*
			$SV_{pass}A$	(iv) *The walls were hung with interesting pictures...*
			$SVCs_{(+comp)}$	(v) *This realm was alive with all sorts of women...*
		object	SVO	(vi) *The photograph showed a naked child on a sheepskin rug.*
perceiver	unexpressed	–	all patterns	–

The lexical verbs[22] in all the constructions with a locative subject seem to fall within two broad semantic classes. The first class may be called 'contain/be covered' verbs. These verbs occur in the SVO and $SV_{pass}A$ patterns: *have, bear, contain, wear, hold, house*; *be bathed, coated, covered, decorated, dotted, filled, hung, inscribed, jammed, swathed* (*with/in*). All the verbs in the second class seem to be related to sensory perception; the process denoted by the verb is perceptible through the senses. On the one hand, they include verbs connected with light, sound, smell emission or movement (cf. Dowty, 2000a): *buzz,*

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[22] In the SVCs pattern the semantics of the verb is reduced to linking function.

hum, ring, glow, flash, sparkle, reek, bristle, drip, swarm, twitch. These verbs occur in the patterns SVA, SV. On the other hand, there are 'manifestation verbs', such as *show, display, radiate, read, say, echo*, which occur in the SVO pattern.

From the FSP point of view, the aim of our study was to investigate the potential of the English sentences with a locative subject to implement the Presentation or Quality Scale. Here, a crucial role appears to be played by the semantics of the verb. The analysis has shown that there is a difference between the SV and SVCs on the one hand and the other patterns (SVA, SVO, $SV_{pass}A$ and SVCs with a prepositional complement) on the other. In the patterns SV and SVCs without the prepositional complement no new phenomenon is introduced onto the scene, and the verb ascribes a quality to the subject. These patterns constitute the Quality Scale (see Table 5). In the latter group (comprising the patterns SVA, SVO, $SV_{pass}A$ and $SVCs_{+comp}$) all the verbs[23] seem to perform the presentation function in the sense that they introduce a new phenomenon on the locative scene (see Table 6). Thus, these verbs may be seen to express existence or appearance on the scene in an implicit way (Adam, 2010: 22). In previous research (Adam, 2013: 69; Rohrauer, 2013: 154) the sentences with locative thematic subjects have already been identified as a realization form of the Presentation Scale. It has been pointed out that they represent a "transitional case" of presentation sentences (Rohrauer, 2013: 154), since the subject in the locative subject construction is context-dependent and the communication is not perspectived towards the subject. Thus, in this respect the construction fails to fulfil one of the basic criteria of the Presentation Scale. However, our data suggest that what makes it possible to view these sentences as an implementation of the Presentation Scale is the "semantic content of the verb that actuates the presentation semantics of the sentence" (Dušková, 2015a: 260), as is supported by the possible paraphrase using the existential construction. Thus, the sentences with a locative subject have the potential to constitute the Presentation Scale.

So far the capability of the locative thematic subject constructions to implement the Presentation Scale due to the presentation function of the semantically empty verb (*have*, *bear*, *wear*, *contain*) has been described for the SVO pattern only. Nevertheless, the results of our analysis imply that the range of semantic types of verbs which can perform the presentation function may be much broader, and that they are found in various patterns. Thus, we assume that SVA, SVO, $SV_{pass}A$ and SVCs with a prepositional complement constitute a subtype of the transitional type of Presentation Scale with a context-dependent locative subject and a postverbal rhematic element introduced on the scene.

Table 5. Quality Scale patterns
Quality Scale

pattern	Bearer of Quality	Ascription of Quality	Quality
	theme	transition	transition/rheme
SV	*The room*		*reeked*.
SVCs	*The room*	*was*	*dim*.

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[23] In the $SVCs_{+comp}$ pattern the presentation function is performed by the verbo-nominal predicate.

Table 6. Presentation Scale patterns
Presentation Scale

pattern	Setting	Presentation of Phenomenon	Phenomenon Presented
	theme	transition	rheme
SVA	*The restaurant*	*was humming*	*with life.*
SVO	*Every chair*	*had*	*an inscription.*
SV$_{pass}$A	*The room*	*was filled*	*with a dim and oppressive twilight.*
SVCs $_{(+comp)}$	*This realm*	*was alive*	*with all sorts of women...*

We hope to have shown that the potential of the sentence to convey the presentation idea is primarily based on the presentation function of the verb. In the English construction with a locative subject this function may be performed by a broad range of semantically diverse verbs that all imply the existence or appearance of a phenomenon on the locative scene. The more empty the semantics of the verb, the more likely is the verb to perform the presentation function in various contexts. Our data suggest that even verbs with a specific meaning (*glow, reek, ring, show, house*) have the potential to introduce a phenomenon in a particular context.

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LOKATIVNÍ PODMĚTY V ANGLIČTINĚ

Resumé

Studie se zabývá anglickými větami s tematickým lokativním podmětem. Příklady byly získány pomocí paralelního korpusu *InterCorp* jako překladové protějšky českých vět s iniciálním příslovečným určením realizovaným pomocí předložkové fráze s předložkami *do, na, v/ve, z/ze*. Toto iniciální adverbiální určení odpovídá ve struktuře anglické věty tematickému podmětu s lokativní sémantikou. Studie zkoumá anglické věty ze syntaktického, sémantického a aktuálněčlenského hlediska. Ukazuje se, že české věty s iniciálním lokativním příslovečným určením odpovídají v angličtině pěti různým syntaktickým strukturám (SV, SVA, SVO, SV$_{pass}$A and SVCs). Z aktuálněčlenského aspektu se studie snaží zjistit, zda anglické věty s lokativním podmětem implementují prezentační nebo kvalifikační škálu. Práce ukazuje, že i anglické věty s lokativním podmětem lze považovat za prezentační věty. Zvláštní pozornost je věnována sémantice slovesa a vymezení dvou základních sémantických skupin sloves, která mohou ve spojení s lokativním podmětem vést k prezentační funkci.

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