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The Influence of the Verb Category on Phrases in the Valency Position

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ABSTRACT

This work deals with one of the specific features of the English verb, i.e. its possibility of occurrence with multiple complementation patterns (or, in other words, its multiple valency). First, the role of the verb in the sentence structure is closely examined, attention being paid especially to the way in which it selects its complements. In connection with this, the main verbal categories (copular, intransitive, monotransitive, ditransitive, complex-transitive) and syntactic functions of complements (subject, object, subject complement, object complement, adverbial) are discussed. Consequently, the work systematically studies the types of multiple complementation (valency) patterns in English, with the aim to find out which groups of verbs are likely to appear in which patterns. The focus is laid mainly on the semantics of such alternative constructions, on the relationship that holds between the verb and the complements and on the semantic roles which are associated with particular complements in particular functions. Finally, a text analysis is provided, which explores the frequency of the use of verbs with multiple valency patterns in the text and the factors which influence the choice of one or the other pattern with the verb.

SOUHRN

Tato práce zkoumá jeden z typických znaků anglického slovesa, tj. jeho schopnost výskytu s více různými druhy doplnění (mluví se zde o tzv. multivalenčních slovesech). Práce studuje funkci slovesa ve větné struktuře, hlavní pozornost je věnována tomu, jakým způsobem sloveso určuje různé druhy doplnění. Jsou představeny hlavní slovesné typy (sponová, intranzitivní, tranzitivní, ditranzitivní a komplexně tranzitivní slovesa) a větné členy (podmět, předmět, jmenná část přísudku, doplněk podmětu, doplněk předmětu, příslovečné určení). Poté se práce soustředí na hlavní případy multivalenčních sloves v angličtině, s cílem rozdělit je do skupin podle charakteru jejich možností doplnění. Důraz je kladen zejména na sémantiku těchto sloves a jejich doplnění stejně tak jako sémantiku alternujících konstrukcí, do nichž tato slovesa vstupují. Závěr práce představuje textová analýza, která zkoumá četnost použití různých typů multivalenčních sloves v autentickém textu, a faktory, které ovlivňují výskyt těchto sloves s tím či oním druhem doplnění.

CONTENTS

1	Introduction	1
2	The Role of the Verb in the Sentence Structure	2
3	Semantic Roles of Sentence Elements	5
4	Complementation vs. Valency	9
5	Multiple Valency Patterns of English Verbs, Valency Changes	11
5.1	Valency Reduction	12
5.2	Valency Extension	16
5.3	Complement Alternation	18
5.4	Valency Reduction/Increase and Change of Syntactic Function of a Complement Combined	23
5.5	Complements with More Possibilities of Syntactic Realization	28
5.6	Separate Complements vs. Combined Complement	29
6	Text Analysis	30
6.1	Valency Reduction	30
6.2	Valency Extension	35
6.3	Complement Alternation	39
6.4	Valency Reduction/Increase and Change of Syntactic Function of a Complement Combined	43
6.5	Complements with More Possibilities of Syntactic Realization	47
6.6	Separate Complements vs. Combined Complement	48
7	Conclusion	49
	Resumé	53
	Bibliography	59
	Appendices	62

1. Introduction

This work presents a study of the English verb, concentrating especially on the role that the verb plays in the English sentence structure and the influence that it has on the number and kind of other elements with which it may or must co-occur so that a grammatical and meaningful sentence could be formed. Such elements are generally called verbal valency or verbal complementation (these terms will be explained in more detail in the work). Main attention will be paid to a specific and very frequent phenomenon of the English language, i.e. the occurrence of the verb in multiple complementation (valency) patterns. To explain this very briefly, it means that many English verbs are considerably flexible as regards their possibility of complementation and, depending on the context and meaning to be conveyed, may allow different types of complements (eg. *She often reads detective stories* – SVO, focus on a specific item of reading X *She often reads* – SV, focus on the activity in general).

In the first part of the work, different types of verbs as to their complementation will be presented (copular, intransitive, transitive) and syntactic functions of complements (subject, object, adverbial...) will be discussed. Together with this, semantic properties of the verbs as well as semantic roles of their complements will be analysed. Apart from the term 'complementation', I will also introduce the similar term 'valency' and I will demonstrate the chief linguistic conceptions of these two terms.

The major focus of the work (as already said) will be on multiple complementation/valency patterns of English verbs. The paper will distinguish the following valency changes: 1) valency reduction/omission of a complement (eg. basically transitive verbs that can be used intransitively like *eat* in *He eats a lot*) 2) valency increase/adding a complement (eg. basically intransitive verbs that can be used transitively like *die* in *die an agonising death*) 3) the number of complements is retained but their positions are changed (eg. *Sun radiates heat/Heat radiates from the sun*) 4) combination of these cases (eg. *I broke the vase/The vase broke*) 5) one complement has two different syntactic realizations (eg. *swim the river/swim across the river* – object/adverbial) 6) one complement can be split into two (*She kissed him on his hand/She kissed his hand*).

The aim of the study will be to find out which kind of verbs allow which kind of complementation alternations and to examine the chief determinants influencing the usage of one valency pattern or the other. The paper will investigate the interplay of

semantic and syntactic properties of the verbs as well as the semantic roles expressed by various types of complements in different positions.

In the analytical part I am going to explore the frequency of occurrence of particular types of verbs with multiple valencies, i.e. it will be studied which verbs with which valency patterns most frequently occur in a text and what the conditions of their usage are.

2. The Role of the Verb in the Sentence Structure

As is generally known, the verb has a central role in the sentence structure. Let me show this using the following example:

After the lesson she always puts all her things carefully into her bag.

It is easy to see that the verb determines the presence of some of the phrases (subject *she*, object *all her things*, adverbial *into her bag*) whilst the occurrence of other phrases (adverbials *after the lesson*, *always* and *carefully*) is not conditioned by the verb and they can be easily left out without affecting the grammaticality and meaningfulness of the sentence.

Elements of the first type are traditionally called complements and those of the second type adjuncts (cf. Huddleston 1993: 177, 2002: 215). As their name suggests, complements are used to complete the meaning of the verb. In many cases, their presence in the sentence is obligatory (the subject, object and locative adverbial in the sentence above cannot be left out), however, the crucial feature distinguishing complements is not their obligatoriness but rather their relationship with the verb and their dependence on a particular type of verb. Thus, in the sentence *He is writing a letter* the object *letter* is not strongly required by the verb (the sentence would be grammatical without it) but as the use of an object is dependent on the class of a verb (the verb must allow transitive use), it is still considered to be a complement. On the other hand, adjuncts are not grammatically determined by the verb and they can occur with any verb provided that their semantics are compatible.

Each sentence element can be said to function either as a complement or as an adjunct. Subjects, objects, subject complements and object complements are complements, adverbials can be used as both (subjects are sometimes ascribed a special status in the

sentence since their presence is in fact not conditioned by the verb but by the general subject requirement of English). On the basis of the type and number of complements of a verb, grammars traditionally distinguish several verbal complementation patterns. I will here more or less adopt the Quirk's classification of complementation (1991), however, other important grammars such as Dušková (2006), Biber et al. (1999) or Huddleston (2002) present similar patterns.

Verb complementation patterns

- 1) INTRANSITIVE (SV – subject, verb): *The sun is shining*
(SVAdv – subject, verb, adverbial): *He lives in New York*
- 2) COPULAR (SVCs – subject, verb, subject complement): *I feel tired*
(SVAdv – subject, verb, adverbial): *He is at home*
- 3) MONOTRANSITIVE (SVO – subject, verb, object): *He needs money*
- 4) DITRANSITIVE (SVOiOd – subject, verb, indirect + direct object): *He gave me the key*
- 5) COMPLEX TRANSITIVE (SVOC_o – subject, verb, object, object complement): *I find it bad*
(SVOAdv – subject, verb object, adverbial): *He put it into a bag*
(verbs taking clausal complementation such as *I want you to do it* will not be taken into account in this work)

Verbs in intransitive complementation require the presence of one participant only, i.e. their subject. As Dušková (2006: 357, 358) mentions, these verbs can express activities (*he was walking, the birds were singing*), body processes (*she yawned*), events/happenings (*the ice melted*), atmospheric conditions (*it is raining*) or various relationships (*the conditions vary*). A special type of intransitive verbs are those that tend to be complemented by an adverbial. The most typical cases are verbs of movement or location, which occur with locative adverbials (*He remained in his place*), others are verbs of duration with temporal adverbials (*the lesson lasts one hour*), the verbs *measure, weigh, cost* with adverbial of measure (*It costs five dollars*) and verbs occurring in some special constructions such as *The book reads well* or *The garden is swarming with bees*. It is especially the locative adverbials of this type that, although being implied by the verb, can remain unexpressed, eg. *He finally arrived*. (Biber et al. 1999: 143, Quirk et al. 1991: 1175)

Verbs in copular (or linking) pattern are complemented by a subject complement (or by an adverbial after the verb *be*). The main function of these verbs is to link the subject

to its complement, the complement expresses an attribute of the subject. The most common copula is the verb *be* (*He is a teacher*). This verb has a purely linking role. Other verbs mentioned by grammars used in the copulative function are perception verbs (*It smells good*), verbs relativising factivity (*The situation seems hopeless*), verbs of remaining in a state (*He stayed calm*) and verbs of change of state (*He grew old*). With other verbs, subject complement is an optional element (*He died young*).

Verbs with monotransitive complementation are verbs taking one object, either direct (*He grows vegetables*) or prepositional (*They talked about him*); in some grammars the second type is considered an intransitive complementation. Semantically, transitive clauses involve two participants, most typically an actor (S) and a patient (O), the action then goes over from the actor towards the patient, which is affected by it. Syntactically, transitive constructions (with a direct O) are generally defined by their possibility of passivization (*Vegetables are grown by him*).

The monotransitive pattern is the most frequent type of complementation in English and verbs belonging to almost all semantic classes can occur in this pattern (in at least one of their senses): activity verbs, mental verbs, verbs expressing emotions, perception or cognitive processes, verbs of relationships etc. (Dušková, 2006: 359 – 363, Biber et al., 1999: 361 – 364). As already mentioned, object can be quite frequently unrealised (especially if it is general or known from the context).

Verbs with ditransitive complementation involve three participants, prototypically realized as subject, indirect object and direct object (*He wrote me a letter*). These verbs can be labelled “verbs of providing something for somebody“: the subject is the provider, the direct object the thing/service being provided and the indirect object denotes the recipient. With almost all of these verbs the recipient can be omitted without affecting the grammaticality of the sentence (*He wrote a letter*).

Apart from the structure SVOiOd, the two objects of ditransitive verbs may have the form of one prepositional object and one direct object (*He wrote a letter to me*, *They provided them with furniture/furniture to them*). Again, these constructions are sometimes treated as examples of monotransitive complementation with only one object (Od).

Verbs with complex-transitive complementation occur in the structure SVOCo or SVOAdv. In the first case the verbs are complemented by an object and an object complement (*I consider this a good idea*). The relationship between these two elements

is similar to that between a subject and a subject complement: an object complement identifies or characterises the object. Again, an object complement may be either grammatically obligatory (its omission leads to ungrammaticality or change of meaning of the verb) or optional (the verb retains its meaning without Co). As Quirk et al. (1991: 1196 – 1199) mention, verbs taking an obligatory Co include mainly factual speech act verbs (*call, confess*), verbs of intellectual state (*believe, suppose*), general resulting verbs (*drive, make*) or declaration verbs (*declare, proclaim*). On the other hand, an optional Co may be found with many different verbs, typical verbs being e.g. volitional verbs (*like, prefer*) or verbs of naming and electing.

Verbs that are complemented by an object and an adverbial are chiefly causative verbs of motion, which occur with directional adverbials, eg. *She led him to the station*, or verbs taking space position adverbials, eg. *He left the pen on the desk*. (Quirk et al., 1991: 1201). In this connection, Dušková (2006: 365) points out that with some verbs such as *hang, load, smear, splash* the adverbial is only implied but does not have to be present (*He hung the picture on the wall*). Similarly, an adverbial of manner (instrument, result) can also be more or less dependent on the verb: *She cut it with a knife, He treats her badly, He covered the table with a cloth, He changed the garage into a studio*. (459, 461) In such cases, where the adverbial can be left out, the distinction between complements and adjuncts becomes blurred.

As already mentioned, a typical feature of English verbs is their occurrence in **multiple complementation patterns**. The factors influencing this are mainly the possibility of omitting an element (eg. SVO – SV) and the possibility of re-structuring a sentence (*I gave him the key X I gave the key to him, SVOiOd – SVOdOprep.*). Multiple complementation is also common with verbs that have more than one sense, the most frequently cited is the verb *get*, which can occur in six different patterns, eg. *get hungry, get me a ticket, get a ticket, get there* etc. (Quirk et al., 1991: 720). However, in this work I am going to concentrate only on such instances of multiple complementation in which the verb retains its meaning or the change of meaning is slight and systematic.

3. Semantic Roles of Sentence Elements

From the semantic point of view, a clause refers to a situation in which there are particular participants having particular attributes and acting under particular circumstances. These are realised as sentence elements. If we want to describe the

semantics of these participants and their role in the situation, we can then, derivatively, speak about semantic roles of the sentence elements, which represent them.

The verb is generally understood to be the semantic core of a clause. It predicts not only the syntactic type of its complements (S, O...) but also their semantics. Thus, semantic roles of sentence elements are based on their relationship to the verb, eg. in the clause *Peter moved the ball*, the subject is generally analysed as agent (or actor), due to the fact that it is the doer of the action denoted by the verb. It is extremely difficult to give a fully comprehensive list of such roles and define them in such a way that every element can be unambiguously ascribed one role, however, for the purposes of this work it will be sufficient to adopt the traditional roles used by Dušková (2006), Biber et al. (1999) or Quirk et al. (1991):

- 1) AGENT (actor): *My sister told him about it*
- 2) PATIENT (affected, undergoer): *The boy broke the window*
- 3) RESULTANT (effected): *He wrote her a letter*
- 4) EXPERIENCER (and STIMULUS): *I enjoyed the game*
- 5) RECIPIENT: *He brought her roses*
- 6) INSTRUMENT: *He opened the door with a key*
- 7) LOCATIVE (and SOURCE and GOAL): *He is at school*

Agent is the doer (performer) or causer of the action. It is mostly realized as the subject of the clause (or a *by*-phrase in passive), and occurs with activity verbs, communication verbs and causation verbs (with causation verbs both subject and object may be agentive: *He walked a dog*). The activity performed by the agent may be intentional or unintentional and the agent may be animate or inanimate. Some grammars (Huddleston, Quirk et al.) analyse as agent only an animate and wilful instigator of the action (e.g. example 1), in other cases (e.g. in *The wind broke the window*) the subject is defined as external causer or just a causer.

Patient is the participant that is directly affected by the action. Typically, it is the object, i.e. the structure agentive S – activity V (often V of change of state) – affected O. (ex. 2) Apart from this, the role of patient is also possible with the subject. Three cases can be distinguished: 1) passive clauses, 2) with intransitive uses of verbs which also have transitive uses (*I read a book* → *The book reads well*, affected O → affected

S), 3) with intransitive verbs expressing states, events, happenings (*The book fell down*). (Quirk et al., 1991: 743 – 745, Biber et al., 1999: 124, 364)

Linguists such as Huddleston (2002), Jacobs (1995), or Radford (1988) use the term “theme” in place of the term “patient”. However, this term has got a wider application than the term “patient” and it is quite difficult to define, since it is used also for cases which are covered by other roles (e.g. Huddleston considers as “theme” also every participant which changes its location, as the subject *she* in *She ran home*, but, at the same time, this must naturally be analysed as agent). For the sake of a clear distinction between the roles, I prefer to avoid this term.

Resultant is another role that is typical of an object. A resultant object denotes the result of the action expressed by the verb and it comes into existence only due to the action (ex. 3). Special types of a resultant object are a cognate object (*She fought a just fight*), a specifying object (*He played tennis*) and an eventive object (*He had a good swim*). Cognate objects are semantically and morphologically related to the verb, specifying objects are only semantically related to the verb (they specify the type of activity). Eventive objects combine with a verb of a general meaning and are the main bearers of the meaning in the structure. Semantically, these objects do not represent participants, the first two are close to adverbials (cf. *She fought justly*), eventive objects have corresponding intransitive verbs (*He swam*). (Dušková 2006: 426, 427, Quirk et al., 1991: 750).

Experiencer and **stimulus** are roles that are associated with both the subject and the object, cf. *I enjoyed the film X The film pleased me*. An experiencer is the participant that is innerly affected by the feeling (*I, me*), a stimulus is the one that brings it about (*the film*). As Huddleston (2002: 232) mentions, these semantic roles are found with verbs of emotion, verbs of perception and verbs of cognition (with verbs of cognition there is no experiencing of an emotion but, still, internal state of a participant is involved).

Recipient is the prototypical role of the indirect object in ditransitive constructions. It is the participant that comes into possession of some thing (ex. 5) or for whom something is done (*He made the girl a doll*). Also the subject, if it occurs with a verb of possession (*have, possess, get, receive*), is traditionally assigned the recipient role. Besides, some grammarians use the term “recipient” for “experiencer”.

Instrument is the entity (thing) that an agent uses in order to do an action. In most sentences it is realised as an adverbial (ex. 6). Grammatically, it tends to be optional, however, semantically it is dependent on the verb. More rarely, it is possible to find an instrumental subject (*This ball broke the window*) or object (*He stamped his feet*).

Locative, source and goal are, naturally, the roles that are most frequently associated with adverbial complements: *He lives in Mexico* (locative), *He was going from work* (source), *Put the book on the shelf* (goal). As was the case with the role of instrument, also here we can find locative subjects and objects: *He swam the river* (O), *The garden crawled with beetles* (S). Verbs taking these complements are mostly verbs of motion. Due to their semantics, instrumental and locative objects are close to adverbials, cf. Dušková 2006: 427, Quirk et al. 1991: 749, Biber et al. 1999: 127).

Apart from the roles already discussed, the following minor roles can be distinguished: **positioner S** (*She was sitting in the corner*), **eventive S** (*The concert will be tomorrow*), **measure O** (*It weighs ten tons*), **temporal S/O** (*He spent there two weeks*), **attribute Cs/Co** (*He is a doctor*).

To make some generalisations about semantic roles of complements, it is plain to see that there is not one to one correspondence between semantic roles and sentence elements, i.e. one sentence element has different semantic roles in different clauses and one semantic role is found with more than one sentence element. Still, some linking patterns do exist. If an active clause has an agent, it must be realised as the subject, patients tend to be objects, recipients indirect objects, and instruments and locatives are mostly adverbials. In this connection, linguists have come up with the so called “role hierarchy” (cf. Radford: 1988: 376, Jacobsen: 1978: 456, 457, Quirk et al: 1991: 753). Although various hierarchies differ, the agent is always assigned a more prominent position than for instance a patient or a locative. The higher position the role has, the more likely it is to become the subject of the clause:

If there is an agentive, external causer, or positioner, it is S; if not, if there is an instrument, it is S; if not, if there is an affected, it is S; if not, if there is a temporal, locative, or eventive, it may be S; if not, the prop word “it” is S. (Quirk et al., 1991: 753)

Therefore, the agent can only be the subject, but since the agent is not present in all clauses, not all subjects can be agents. Some verbs do not take agents at all (*He died*),

other verbs (those having multiple complementation) are associated with agents, but do not require that they be overtly realised: *I opened the door with the key* (agent – S), *The key opened the door* (no agent, instrument – S), *The door opened* (no agent, no instrument, patient – S). In general, it is important what we need to communicate in the clause.

Another issue to be considered is the fact that it is by no means easy to assign every sentence element one of the above described semantic roles. The most problematic seems to be the subject. As regards the clauses in the preceding paragraph, I have analysed their subjects as agent, instrument and patient, respectively. However, it is argued by some linguists that in the absence of the real, human agent, the instrument or patient functioning as the subject acquires some of the properties of the agent. Thus, for instance Huddleston (2002: 231) analyses both these subjects as causers (agents), Dušková (1999: 243) the patientive one, and Hájičová and Pánevová (1984: 147 - 188) have come so far as to find all subjects in general to be agentive. This seems to me an oversimplification, I find more preferable an alternative approach which assigns such subjects only some resemblance to agents or an approach in which more than one role is associated with such elements.

The questions introduced above will be exemplified in more detail below. I will concentrate on complements of verbs with multiple complementation and the overall interplay between their semantic roles, syntactic functions, their necessity of realisation and their position in the clause structure.

4. Complementation vs. Valency

So far I have used only the term “complementation” to account for the sentence elements with which a verb must or tends to co-occur. However, alongside this term, some grammarians also use the term “valency” describing more or less the same phenomenon. The already mentioned basic grammars of English (Huddleston, Quirk et al., Biber et al.) mention “valency” quite marginally and they do not see much difference between valency and complementation, except for the fact that valency always covers the subject of the verb:

“The term “valency” (or “valence”) is sometimes used, instead of complementation, for the way in which a verb determines the kinds and number of elements that can accompany it in the clause. Valency, however, includes the subject of the clause...” (Quirk et al., 1991: 1169)

Biber et al. (1999: 380) and Dušková (2006: 349) describe valency in the same way, only Huddleston (2002: 219) restricts this term a little more, covering by it only the number of complements (so called valents) and not their kind. According to this, verbs are then classified into monovalent (1 complement), divalent (2 complements) and trivalent (3 complements), so the classification is simplified.

In other grammars and studies, the term “valency” is more semantically oriented. Valency is here defined as the number (and kind) of arguments that a verb requires. (arguments = participants in the situation). The number of valents then does not always coincide with the number of sentence elements overtly present, for example in imperatives (*Go away!*), there is no subject, but there is still a participant understood. (cf. Jacobs, 1995: 9 – 15)

To account for sentence structure from both syntactic and semantic point of view, yet other linguists (Herbst, Fessenko, Zaefferer) distinguish between two kinds of valency: syntactic (or grammatical) and semantic. In general, syntactic valency refers to the complements that a verb takes, semantic valency to verbal arguments. In addition to this, Herbst (4, 5) also recognises quantitative and qualitative valency: quantitative valency defines the number of complements/arguments, qualitative valency their character.

When speaking about verbs having multiple complementation/valency patterns, the term “valency” seems to be a little more convenient. This is due to the fact that valency (unlike complementation) is automatically understood to include the subject of the clause and subject is indeed the base for many valency alternations (*I moved a ball X The ball moved, The house sleeps five people X Five people can sleep in the house*).

The distinction between syntactic and semantic valency will also be of great importance. As will be shown, considering both semantic and syntactic properties of verbs will help to explain why some verbs can occur together with some sentence elements as well as without them (verbs used both transitively and intransitively, ditransitively and transitively etc.).

5. Multiple Valency Patterns of English Verbs, Valency Changes

Verbs with multiple valency patterns are discussed in almost every grammar of the English language, however, not many grammarians present a systematic and extensive classification of these verbs. Those who do mostly prefer syntactic classification of the verbs, i.e. they divide the verbs in accordance with the multiple complementation patterns they can enter (the criterium is the kind of sentence elements that the verbs can take). For instance, Biber et al. distinguishes the following valency pattern combinations: 1) intransitive / monotransitive, 2) intransitive / monotransitive / complex transitive, 3) intransitive / monotransitive / ditransitive, 4) monotransitive / ditransitive, 5) verbs taking almost all patterns. (1999 : 384 – 390) Similarly, Huddleston , who presents a considerably detailed survey of verbs occurring in constructions with different complementation, classifies the verbs mainly from the point of view of the syntactic functions of their complements: transitive/intransitive alternations, ditransitive/monotransitive alternations, core/non core alternations. (2002: 296 – 321)

In some grammars, multiple valency is more or less confined only to the question of transitivity, i.e. verbs having both transitive and intransitive uses. Other cases of multiple valency are then mentioned only marginally or left aside. (for a detailed account of transitivity cf. Dušková, 1999, Velasco, Muñoz)

The aim of this work is to present all the main and most frequently found multiple valency patterns. However, unlike traditional grammars, I present here a more semantically oriented approach: the main classification will not be according to sentence elements present in the constructions but rather division will be made on the base of the general nature of the valency change in question. As Dixon and Aikhenvald (p. 6 – 16) mention, the main valency changes are the following: 1) valency reduction (e.g. basically transitive verbs that also have intransitive use), 2) valency increase (eg. basically intransitive verbs that also have transitive use), 3) complement alternation (i.e. exchange of positions and syntactic functions of complements: *Snails were crawling in the grass/The grass was crawling with snails*). In addition to this, I will also distinguish the following cases: 4) combination of valency reduction/increase and change of position of a complement (e.g. *I hung the picture on the wall/The picture hung on the wall*), 5) more syntactic realizations of one complement (*His hand dripped blood/with blood*), 6) separate complements/single combined complement (*She slapped his face/him on the face*). This last case is taken over from Huddleston (2002: 320).

As the above division of valency changes (and the examples) shows, this work considers valency changes as changes of syntactic valency (overt complementation) of the verb. Nevertheless, the factors influencing the valency changes are often semantic and the work thus studies the interplay between syntactic and semantic valency of the verbs.

5.1. Valency Reduction

Considering the semantics of a verb as a lexical item, it is associated with a particular range of arguments. However, not all such verbal arguments must necessarily be realized as its complements in an actual sentence:

The valency structure of a lexical unit contains a potential of the realizations in actual sentences depending on the degree of optionality and the form of its complements; one of which is selected in the occurrence in an actual sentence. (Herbst, p. 15)

In other words, this means that some verbs can occur with a different number of complements because some of the complements are grammatically optional and may or may not be realized. In case a complement remains unrealized, we speak about valency reduction (the number of complements/valents is reduced). To demonstrate this on an example, the verb *cut* is semantically associated with agent, patient and instrument (Somebody cuts something with something), however, in the actual use the instrument is frequently not present. It is either irrelevant or somehow understood (*Cut the meat, please*).

From the semantic point of view, one can recognise two major classes of valency reduction (complement omission), i.e. contextual omission and lexical omission. In the first case the complement is contextually optional and its omission presupposes its recoverability from the context, e.g. *I have already decided* – we need to know what about. In the second case the complement is mostly indefinite and general and is understood by virtue of the meaning of the verb, e.g. *He eats a lot* – food. (Velasco, p. 7 - 17)

From the syntactic point of view one can talk about omission of the direct object, omission of the indirect object and omission of the adverbial.

1) Omission of Direct Object in Monotransitive Construction

The question of object omission is central to the grammar of English. Object omission is quite widespread and it affects the system of transitivity. Due to the possibility of direct object omission verbs having transitive uses (SVO) can be used intransitively (SV). The following main classes can be distinguished:

- 1) OMISSION OF AN INDEFINITE OBJECT: *She likes reading (books in general)*
- 2) OMISSION OF A SPECIFIC OBJECT: *He drinks (alcohol)*
- 3) OMISSION OF A REFLEXIVE OBJECT: *I must wash (myself)*
- 4) OMISSION OF A RECIPROCAL OBJECT: *They kissed (each other)*
- 5) CONTEXTUAL OMISSION: *He lied to her and she found out (that he had lied)*

Omission of an indefinite object is a very common type of lexical omission. It is found with activity verbs: *eat, cook, paint, read, draw, sew, drink, iron, study, knit, teach, dust, type* etc. It is also called “category indefinite omission“ (Huddleston, 2002: 304) because the understood object refers to “an indefinite member of the typical, unexceptional category for the verb in question – reading matter for *read*, food for *eat*, and so on.“

The conditions favouring the omission of the object are mainly the general nature of the object and focus on activity rather than accomplishment. i.e. unimportance of the object (Huddleston, 2002: 304, Velasco and Muñoz, 8 - 13). Thus, for instance the sentence *She is in her room, reading* will be used if one wants to stress the activity of reading itself (what the person is doing), the reading matter is irrelevant or even unknown. (but if it is known it is something typical, probably not food labels)

Omission of a specific object is similar to omission of an indefinite object in that the object is determined by the semantics of the verb. However, in this case, its meaning is not “category indefinite“ but it is more restricted (often to one specific word). In his classification, Huddleston (2002: 300, 301) distinguishes three subtypes of this object omission: a specific category indefinite, an unexpressed body part object, an unexpressed human object.

Omission of a specific category indefinite object is found with the verbs *bake* (a cake, sweets), *drink* (alcohol), *eat* (a meal), *expect* (a baby), *wash* (clothes) or *propose* (a marriage). This object refers to only one specific member of the category of objects for

the verb in question, e.g. it is not possible to say *She is expecting* meaning *She is expecting visitors*. Similarly, **unexpressed body part objects** indicate specific body parts, e.g. *blink* (eyes), *clap* (hands), *nod* (head), and **unexpressed human objects** indicate humans (either people in general or concretely): *The horse kicks, I warn against going there*. (Huddleston: 2002: 303, 304)

Omission of a reflexive and a reciprocal object is possible with almost all reflexive and reciprocal objects. Such objects are typical of verbs that express activity that turns back to the doer, i.e. the object refers to the same participant/s as the subject or there is a body part relationship: *She is washing (herself)* – reflexive object, *They kissed (each other)* – reciprocal object. The activities often involve humans but it need not be so: *The city is spreading (itself)*. In intransitive uses of these verbs, the role of the subject is that of actor and goal (or patient) combined.

Contextual omission of object is such kind of object omission, where the object can be recovered from the linguistic or situational context. Typical verbs allowing this object omission are verbs of causation and allowance (*ask, dare, let, make, order*), verbs of attention (*hear, notice, see*), verbs of thinking (*forget, know, realise, remember, understand*), deciding (*decide, choose*), aspectual verbs (*begin, continue, finish, start, stay, stop*) and the verbs *help* and *try* (Velasco, Muñoz). The understood object is mostly abstract and clausal (or a deverbal noun), cf. example 5.

Apart from this, Velasco and Muñoz (p. 3 – 6) distinguish three more specific types of contextual object omission: concrete object omission, omission of the object in situational frames and structural object omission. As regards the first case, Velasco and Muñoz argue that there are such situational contexts in which even a concrete object can be left unrealised (e.g. the question *Have you locked?* can be asked if everybody knows which door is concerned). Similarly to this, omission of the object is possible in particular fields of discourse such as sport commentaries, recipes, instructions, restaurant services etc., where the object is contextually predictable: *He passes to Ronaldo, Ronaldo misses, Alfonso scores...* (sport commentary). Finally, practically any object can be omitted in certain grammatical constructions: e.g. in contrastive constructions (*You should love, not hate*) or linking constructions (*He kills and steals*).

2) Omission of Object in Ditransitive Construction

The most typical omission of object in ditransitive constructions is the omission of the indirect object, (or the equivalential prepositional object), semantically the recipient:

He sent her a packet (He sent a packet to her) / He sent a packet

As in this example, in most cases some recipient remains implied. It may be recovered from the context (*She urged so long that he promised to stay = he promised her to stay*) or it may be general (*He often tells lies = to people in general*). As Huddleston (2002: 312, 313) argues, the indirect object remains understood mainly in case it refers to the future possessor of something (or somebody who will see, hear, learn or experience something, as in examples above). On the other hand, in case the indirect object represents a participant for the benefit of whom something is done (the so called beneficiary), it is not understood when omitted: *He made the girl a doll X He made a doll*. However, this is then an example of valency extension because the monotransitive construction is primary. (see 5.2 below)

Omission of direct object of ditransitives is more marginal. In most cases such omission leads to the change of the indirect object to a direct object (recipient changes to patient): *I found her a companion X I found her*. Pure omission of Od occurs with about ten verbs, eg. *tell, forgive, refuse, envy, excuse, show (Please forgive me my behaviour / Please forgive me)*. The object is again contextually understood. (cf. Huddleston, 2002: 313, Dušková, 2006: 435)

3) Omission of Adverbial

From the adverbial complements discussed in chapter 2, the adverbials that can be omitted (but still are present in the semantic valency of the verb) are mainly locative adverbials and adverbials of manner (instrument, means) realised by with-phrases:

When did you arrive there? / When did you arrive?

Fill all these glasses with jam / Fill all these glasses

Adverbials of instrument and means occur in the pattern SVOA, locative adverbials in the pattern SVA or SVOA. Most instances of adverbial omission are like the ones above in that the adverbial is semantically present and is recoverable from the context.

For example, one can ask the question *When did you arrive?* only in case a location is implied: either “here“ is understood or it is some other place that is in the focus of the conversation. (c.f. Biber et al., 1999: 143 – 145). In other cases (especially with locative adverbials), the adverbial is left out because it is irrelevant and concentration is rather on the activity (*He moved the table to the corner X Could you move the table?*) or on the manner of the activity (*He walked to school yesterday X Do you like walking?*). On this see especially Holmes (p. 123 - 176).

To conclude, valency reduction is a process in which the numerical valency of a verb is reduced as a result of the possibility of syntactic non-realisation of a complement. This is possible in cases the complement is clear from the context, it is irrelevant or is predictable from the semantics of the verb. In most cases, the complement is still semantically understood.

5.2 Valency Extension

Valency extension is the opposite of valency reduction, i.e. one more complement can be added into an existing complementation pattern and the numerical valency of a verb is thus increased. The pattern with less elements is primary (basic), the extended one secondary. Syntactically, the most distinctive are cases of extension by direct object, indirect (prepositional) object and subject or object complement. (I will not talk about extension by adverbials: most adverbials can be added freely to almost any verb, however, they are then quite loosely attached and are not considered complements. On the other hand elements such as object or subject complement are always to some extent dependent on a particular class of verb)

- 1) EXTENSION BY A DIRECT OBJECT: *He lived a dangerous life*
- 2) EXTENSION BY AN INDIRECT OBJECT: *He wrote me a song*
- 3) EXTENSION BY A SUBJECT COMPLEMENT: *They returned exhausted*
- 4) EXTENSION BY AN OBJECT COMPLEMENT: *He painted the wall green*

Extension by a direct object is found with basically intransitive verbs. This object does not denote a participant in the situation and it often semantically resembles an adverbial (*He lived a dangerous life = He lived dangerously*). As regards its relationship

to the verb, it is a type of a resultant object, i.e. the object further specifies the activity expressed by the verb and is fully dependent on the verb.

As Dušková and Huddleston mention, it is possible to distinguish the following subtypes of this object extension: extension by an “activity specifying“ object (*run a race, sing a tune, weep bitter tears, play a game, dance a rumba*), extension by a cognate object (*sigh a deep sigh, die a shameful death, dream a nice dream*) and extension by an object of conveyed reaction (*nod one's agreement, smile one's thanks, wave one's good-bye*). The last group of verbs are verbs of non-verbal communication. (Huddleston, 2002: 305, Dušková, 2006: 426, 427)

Extension by an indirect object (or the alternative prepositional object) is characteristic of verbs that are primarily monotransitive. As already mentioned, this object has the role of a beneficiary, i.e. the participant for whom something is done (cf. example 2). As Huddleston points out one can distinguish between beneficiaries of goods and beneficiaries of services. It is then the beneficiaries of goods that tend to be realised as both indirect objects and prepositional objects: eg. *bake, make, build, buy, get, cook, write, leave somebody something / something for somebody*. On the other hand, beneficiaries of services take only the form of a prepositional object introduced by the preposition *for*: *I will do the shopping for you, Open the door for me*. (2006: 310, 311) Due to the fact that almost anything can be done for someone's benefit, verbs allowing this kind of extension are numerous. (however the *for* phrase probably more more resembles an adjunct than a complement).

Extension by a subject complement (similarly to the extension by a direct object) occurs with intransitive verbs. In this case the subject complement is, of course, an optional and additional element, which is used to further characterise the subject of the clause (its state, properties). As Dušková (2006: 506) mentions, optional subject complement can be found with practically any verb but the most frequent it is with verbs of movement (ex. 3) or state (*He lay there naked*). Apart from this, optional subject complement is also typical of some more or less idiomatic expressions, e.g. *He blushed red, The fire burnt low, His forehead flamed red, He lay flat on the floor*. In such cases the subject complement often functions as an intensifier. (Dušková, 2006: 506, 507, Quirk et al., 1991: 1172)

Extension by an object complement (similarly to the extension by an indirect object) is found with monotransitive verbs. Again, the object complement is optional and it is

used to specify the object of the clause. An optional object complement occurs with quite a wide range of verbs and its semantics is often to a great extent restricted by the verb used: e.g. *boil an egg soft, buy something cheap, serve tea hot, sweep the floor clean, dye something blue*. Verbs of naming and electing take an optional complement realised by a NP: *They christened the girl Eve*. (Quirk et al., 1991: 1997 – 1999, Dušková: 2006: 508, 509) A specific type of valency extension is the extension of intransitive verbs by a reflexive object and an object complement combined: *He drank himself sick, He talked himself hoarse*. (Dušková, 2006: 510)

Besides the cases mentioned above, the English language also contains many verbs which can be used in both monotransitive and complex-transitive patterns having different senses, cf. *I call this a fraud X Can you call him?*. However, with cognitive verbs the change of meaning seems to be very slight (*I am thinking X I think him clever*)

To summarise, valency extension is a process in which an optional element (O, Cs, Co) is added to an existing valency pattern. However, the complement status of such element is more peripheral: 1) it can follow a wide range of verbs (the beneficiary object realised by a *for* phrase, Cs, Co), 2) semantically it is close to an adjunct (O, Cs, Co).

The distinction between valency extension and valency reduction is by no means straightforward either. For instance, the verbs *play (a game)* or *elect (somebody a chairman)* might be argued to be basically monotransitive and complex transitive, respectively, and thus examples of the possibility of valency reduction.

5.3 Complement Alternation

Complement alternation is such kind of valency change in which the number of complements/valents remains constant, however, their syntactic functions (and positions) are altered (often exchanged). The obvious reason leading to this change is the need to express a thought from two alternative perspectives, depending on which element is in the focus. I will divide the alternation into two main types according to whether it affects the subject or the object of the clause:

1) ALTERNATION AFFECTING THE SUBJECT

Alternation affecting the subject is the kind of complement alternation where an element that is normally construed as an adverbial is realised as the subject and the element functioning as the subject becomes an adverbial or an object. (i.e. there are two possible points of view)

Adv → S, S → ADV : *Snails were crawling in the grass / The grass was crawling with snails*

Adv → S, S → O : *Blood was dripping from his wound / His wound was dripping blood*

This complement alternation is feasible mainly thanks to the fact that English allows for more than one semantic role to be associated with one sentence element (here the subject is originally a locative adverbial, so it is locative). As already mentioned, it is also possible to find derived constructions with affected, instrumental or temporal subjects in English, however, most of these cases also contain valency reduction or extension and thus are discussed in the following chapter.

Beginning with the type *Snails were crawling in the grass / The grass was crawling with snails*, only intransitive verbs can enter this alternation. Dowty (172) mentions the following verb classes:

- 1) SMALL MOVEMENTS: *Bees swarm in the park / The park swarms with bees*
(*drip, bubble, dribble, flow, flutter, hop, jump, pulsate, quiver, run, shake, shiver, throb...*)
- 2) ANIMAL SOUNDS: *Snakes hissed in the meadow / The meadow hissed with snakes*
(*buzz, cackle, chatter, creak, echo, fizz, hum, jingle, murmur, rustle, resound, twitter...*)
- 3) LIGHT EMISSION: *Stars are glowing in the sky / The sky is glowing with stars*
(*beam, blaze, brighten, flame, flicker, flash, glimmer, glitter, glisten, light up, shimmer...*)
- 4) SMELLS AND TASTES: *Hay smelled in the garden / The garden smelled with hay*
- 5) VERBS OF ABUNDANCE: *Trout abound in the brook / The brook abounds in trout*

By far not all intransitive verbs taking locative adverbials exhibit this complement alternation. This is because the derived construction with a locative subject imposes special semantic constraints on the verbs occurring in it. I will explain this on the pair *Snails were crawling in the grass / The grass was crawling with snails*.

The first clause is the unmarked one of the pair: there is an agentive subject, an activity verb and a locative adverbial. The focus is on the agent (*snails*) as the performer of the activity (similarly, e.g. *John walked down the street*). On the other hand, in the second

clause it is the locative element that has been brought into the centre of attention. Such formulation is possible only in case the focus is on the property of the location as a whole (i.e. all the grass is full of snails), or, as Dowty points out, “the event is occurring simultaneously and repetitively throughout all parts of a place”. The movement is then perceived as one whole and the individual crawling of individual snails is unimportant. (Dowty, Huddleston, 2002: 319) As a result, verbs to be found in this construction are mainly verbs referring to small and repetitive events (classification above) and the doers are plural or mass nouns, cf. the absurdity of e.g. *The street walked with John*.

The second type of alternation affecting the subject is the type ***Blood was dripping from his wound / His wound was dripping blood***, where the former subject becomes the object. This alternation is restricted to a few verbs that denote the emission of substance or quality such as *bleed, leak, dribble, drip, ooze, spew, sprout or exude*. (Huddleston, 2002: 300). Again, there is a focusing difference, although in this case the construction with a locative subject does not require that the whole location be affected.

To conclude, let me mention two marginal cases of alternation which do not fit the types above. The first kind is found with the verbs *develop, evolve* and *grow*; either the source or the goal is construed as the subject: *The matter developed into a nuisance / A nuisance developed out of the matter*. (Huddleston, 2002: 319) The second type concerns verbs that can be used causatively and the cause of the activity may be realized as an adverbial or a subject: *My blood curdled at that sight / The sight curdled my blood* (example by Dušková, 2006: 361).

2) ALTERNATION AFFECTING THE OBJECT

Alternation affecting the object is the kind of complement alternation where an element can be realised as both indirect object and prepositional object, direct object and prepositional object or direct object and adverbial:

O_i → O_{prep}, O_d the same: *I gave him the book / I gave the book to him*

O_d → O_{prep}, O_{prep} → O_d: *He served salmon to the guests / He served the guests with salmon*

O_d → Adv, Adv → O_d: *She stuffed clothes into the bag / She stuffed the bag with clothes*

The condition favouring this alternation is again the possibility of linking one sentence element with more semantic roles, i.e. a direct object can have the role of patient,

recipient as well as locative and a prepositional object can be recipient as well as patient.

The first type of complement alternation ***I gave him the book / I gave the book to him*** is the frequently discussed alternation of objects within the ditransitive construction. The recipient is realized either as an indirect or as a prepositional object and, as a result, the position of the two participants is exchanged. (As already mentioned, indirect objects that have the specific role of beneficiary have alternants in prepositional objects introduced by *for* rather than *to*) The motivation for this alternation is, again, functional sentence perspective, i.e. the object placed at the end receives end focus.

Verbs occurring with this alternative complementation are many, e.g. *lend, promise, offer, bring, sell, send, show* (preposition *to*), *bake, make, build, find, order, get, cook, write, leave* (preposition *for*). On the other hand, also quite many verbs allow only one choice of complementation, e.g. the verb *explain* can occur only with a prepositional object (*I explained the grammar to him*, not *him the grammar*). In most cases the restriction seems to be motivated grammatically rather than semantically. (see Huddleston, 2002: 309 for the full list of verbs and their complementations)

The type ***He served salmon to the guests / He served the guests with salmon*** is another type of alternation where two objects (this time a direct and a prepositional object) having the roles of patient and recipient are involved. Verbs to be found in this alternation are mainly verbs of providing something for somebody: *provide, supply, entrust, serve, furnish, present, issue, credit*. However, some verbs of this meaning take only one of these two complementation patterns, e.g. *arm sb. with something*, not *something to somebody*. (Huddleston, 2002: 314, Dušková, 2006: 442)

The last type ***She stuffed clothes into the bag / She stuffed the bag with clothes*** differs from the two above in that it involves a locative element, which can be realised either as an adverbial or an object. Huddleston (2002: 314 – 317) distinguishes the following subtypes:

- 1) TYPE SPRAY/LOAD: *He loaded sand onto the truck / He loaded the truck with sand*
- 2) TYPE DRAIN: *He drained water from the pond / He drained the pond of water*
- 3) TYPE ENGRAVE: *He engraved a picture on the desk / He engraved the desk with a picture*
- 4) TYPE HUNT: *He hunted hares in the wood / He hunted the wood for hares*
- 5) TYPE HIT: *He hit the branch against the window / He hit the window with the branch*

6) TYPE BUILD: *He built a pyramid out of the cubes / He built the cubes into a pyramid*

Other verbs occurring in the types are *cram, hang smear, spread, pack, sprinkle* (type 1), *clean, clear, empty, strip* (type 2), *embroider, inscribe, mark, stamp* (type 3), *fish, mine, stalk* (type 4), *stab, pierce, bang, strike, tap, knock* (type 5) and *bake, carve, cut, form, grow, make* (type 6).

The first construction of the alternation is primary: the object has the prototypical role of a patient (in 3 and 6 it is a resultant) and the adverbial is a locative. On the other hand, in the second construction the participants are exchanged: the locative element becomes the object and the element originally functioning as the object becomes the adverbial. This adverbial is often realized as a *with*-phrase (type 1, 3, 5) and, semantically, it tends to be analysed as an adverbial of means or instrument (type 1, 2, 3, 5), of “quest“ (type 4) and of result (type 6), cf. Dušková, 2006: 459, 461; Huddleston, 2002: 314 – 317. However, considering the situation from an alternative point of view, the prepositional phrase can also be understood as a prepositional object, having the role of patient (type 1, 2, 4) or resultant (type 3, 6). This is because there is no essential difference in meaning between the two alternating constructions and thus no essential difference in the semantics of the participant functioning as the object in the first clause and the adverbial in the second. Moreover, the choice of preposition in the prepositional phrase is determined by the presence of a particular verb, which also favours the prepositional object analysis. (c.f. Beavers, 3)

As regards the motivation behind this type of complement alternation, the difference between the two constructions is similar to that in the type *Snails were crawling in the grass / The grass was crawling with snails*, only here it is the object rather than the subject that becomes more centrally affected by the action in the second construction. The difference is visible especially in the type 1 and 2: e.g. while the clause *He loaded sand onto the truck* does not specify the extent of the coverage of the truck, the clause *He loaded the truck with sand* makes it clear that the whole truck is full. For this reason, the acceptability/non acceptability of verbs in this kind of complementation alternation has mainly semantic motivation. To give an example, the verb *fill* is directly associated with the container to be filled (the whole container is filled) and only then with the substance, therefore it occurs only in the second construction (*He filled the glass with water* NOT *he filled water into the glass*).

To conclude, complement alternation enables one to express an idea from two different points of view, depending on how an event is perceived, which element we need to make the focus of our attention, which is the old and which is the new information etc. Therefore, the way of presentation is different and so the semantics of the two constructions is also not completely the same. For a verb (and its complements) to be possible to occur in both alternating constructions, it is necessary that it be compatible with the semantics of both constructions. As was shown, verb semantics are important especially in case of alternation affecting a locative element, because of the difference in meaning between the two constructions. (while *John walked down the street* is perfectly fine, the clause *The street walked with John* simply does not make sense) On the other hand, in ditransitive alternation, where there is only a shift of focus, the restrictions on verbs are rather grammatical than semantic. (the clause *Explain me the grammar*, although ungrammatical, is still understandable)

5.4 Valency Reduction/Increase and Change of Syntactic Function of a Complement Combined

As the title of this chapter suggests, I will here devote to such valency changes in which one participant is omitted (or added) and another participant changes its position (and syntactic function).

Most frequent are cases of change of syntactic function of a participant combined with valency reduction: one participant is omitted and another participant moves in order to fill the emptied position e.g. *He broke the window / The window broke*. Similarly to the alternation discussed in the previous chapter, this alternation is motivated by the possibility of presenting a situation from two different perspectives, here either from the point of view of the agent or the thing affected by the activity. However, as a result of the change of presentation, one element becomes irrelevant (here the agent *he*) and therefore is not mentioned (even cannot be mentioned) in the second structure.

The second type of valency change, i.e. change of the syntactic function of a participant combined with valency extension, is quite rare. The main type is basically intransitive verbs which can be used causatively, a causer is then added and the former subject becomes the object: *The horse jumped over the hedge / He jumped the horse over the hedge*.

1) VALENCY REDUCTION AND CHANGE OF SYNTACTIC FUNCTION OF A COMPLEMENT COMBINED

This section will deal with valency change of the type *He broke the window / The window broke* mentioned above. In most cases this valency change affects the subject: the subject (i.e. the agent) of the first construction is omitted and its place is filled with another participant, either the original object (ex. above) or the original adverbial. (the subject of the second construction can be thus patientive, instrumental, locative or temporal)

Marginally, it is possible to find valency change of this type affecting the object, i.e. the original object is dispensed with and the original adverbial becomes the object. The following examples demonstrate the possibilities of the valency change:

1) O → S, S omitted: Type 1: *He broke the window / The window broke*

Type 2: *He reads books / The book reads well*

2) Adv → S, S omitted: *He killed the man with this gun / This gun killed the man*

3) Adv → O, O omitted: *She washed the dye off the cloth / She washed the cloth*

The first type, i.e. ***He broke the window / The window broke*** is one of the most frequent and most widely discussed types of all valency changes. Verbs occurring in this alternation are called ergative verbs (c.f. Biber et al, 1999 : 147) and all of them denote some change of state. As mentioned in Wikipedia, besides “typical“ verbs of change of state such as *break, smash, improve, change, drown, crack, bend*, a distinctive subclass are verbs of cooking (*cook, boil, freeze*) and verbs of movement (*move, drop, roll*).

In the first clause the verb is used transitively, the pattern is SVO (agentive S – verb of change of state – affected O). The meaning of the verb is causative, i.e. *He broke the window* can be paraphrased as *He did something to the window which caused its being broken* (Jacobsen, 1978: 453 - 455). On the other hand, in the second clause the verb is used intransitively (the pattern is SV). There is no agent, the focus is on the participant affected by the activity, which is construed as the subject.

Due to its structure and semantics the intransitive construction is often compared with the passive, c.f. *The window broke* vs. *The window was broken* (in activity meaning). In both clauses the subject is the affected (patient) and no agent is present. However, the

meaning conveyed is still not the same. As is argued by e.g. Dušková (199: 242, 243), the passive clause always implies an agent and, indeed, an agent can be supplied if relevant (*The window was broken by Tom*). In contrast to this, in the intransitive construction *The window broke* the event is presented as a self-contained process and there is no possibility of adding an agent (*The window broke by Tom* is ungrammatical). Although in many cases we know that an agent was present, it is possible to think of situations where the event really happened by itself: for example in the sentence *Suddenly all lights went off and we heard a window break* it is not difficult to perceive the breaking of the window as causeless. For this reason, some linguists (e.g. Hajičová and Pánevová, 1984) treat the subject of this construction not as patient but as agent, other linguists (Quirk et al. 1991: 744, Dušková 1999: 243) prescribe it some agentive and some patientive properties (in fact, the subject is the instigator of the activity as well as the participant being affected by it).

The semantics of the two alternations as mentioned above throw an interesting light on the verbs that can be used in both constructions (not all verbs of change of state are allowed). This question is studied in detail by Holmes (p. 298 - 321). As he mentions, in the transitive construction, i.e. *He broke the window*, only verbs of change of state the meaning of which entails a causer are permitted (not verbs such as *disappear*, *die* or *vanish*). On the other hand, in the construction of the type *The window broke* the contrary is required, i.e. the event is construed as causeless and therefore verbs which strongly require a causer to be present are excluded (*kill*, *murder*). Since many types of events can be perceived as both internally caused and having an external causer, quite a lot of verbs occur in both these constructions. (see again the verbs above)

The type **He reads books** / **The book reads well** is structurally similar to the previous type: The second construction is agentless and the former, patientive object becomes the subject. However, there is a crucial difference in the semantics of the two alternations. While the intransitive of the type *The vase broke* is considered an unmarked intransitive (it can describe many types of change of state), the intransitive of the type *The book reads well* is quite a specific construction. In most cases, the verb is restricted to the present tense, there may be a characterising adverbial, and the construction is used to assign a general property to its subject, i.e. how easily the subject can undergo a process (the clause *the book reads well* describes the book as such that it can be read with ease). According to the exact structure and meaning of these intransitives, Dušková

distinguishes five subtypes: 1) *The clothes washed* (S, V) 2) *The book reads well* (S, V, adverbial of the type *easily, well*), 3) *It won't open* (S, negated V), 4) *It opens at the back* (S, V, adverbial of place) 5) *The cakes eat crisp* (S, V, Cs). In spite of the differences between the types, all types (except 1) are instances of characterisation. (1999: 241 - 243)

Similarly to the intransitives of the type *The vase broke*, also these intransitives can often have passives with nearly the same meaning: *The clothes washed / The clothes were being washed* (type 1), *It won't open / It can't be opened* (type 3), *It opens at the back / It can be opened at the back* (type 4). Also in this case, the active clauses do not allow an agent to be realised and are more process-oriented than the passives. However, an agent (often people in general) is always understood in these clauses, it is only backgrounded. In this, these intransitives are crucially different from the type *The window broke*: their subject cannot be perceived as the agent but it retains its patientive role (in *The book reads well* the book is in no way the one that reads, it remains the thing being read). (Dušková 1999: 241 – 243; Villafaña)

The type ***He killed the man with this gun / This gun killed the man*** is a type in which a former adverbial is made the subject. The subject of the second clause can be thus instrumental (example above), locative: *We heated the water in the sun / The sun heated the water*, temporal: *We saw a change in that month / That month saw a change* or it can express an amount: *You can buy it for ten dollars / Ten dollars can buy it* (Huddleston, 2002: 319). The condition for this alternation seems to be mainly the possibility of construing the instrumental/locative/temporal/amount element as the causer of the event, i.e. in the absence of a human agent it acquires its properties (e.g. in the sentence *This gun killed the man* it is the gun that is presented as causing the killing). Therefore, for instance Huddleston (2002) or Hájičová and Pánevová (1984) assign such subjects the role of agent or causer.

The last type ***She washed the dye off the cloth / She washed the cloth*** is a type of alternation affecting an object: the object of the first construction is omitted and a locative adverbial is then construed as an object. (in this function it tends to be analysed as a patient) This alternation occurs with a handful of verbs which have the meaning “remove something from somewhere“, e.g. *brush, dust, filter, rub, scrape, soak, sweep*. (Huddleston, 2002: 319)

2) VALENCY INCREASE AND CHANGE OF SYNTACTIC FUNCTION OF A COMPLEMENT COMBINED

This type of valency alternation includes such cases of alternation in which one participant changes its position and syntactic function and, at the same time, a new participant is added, c.f. the already mentioned example *The horse jumped over the hedge / He jumped the horse over the hedge*. Basically, two classes of verbs participate in this alternation: verbs of motion and position verbs.

Verbs of motion are the typical verbs occurring in this alternation. The first construction of the pair is unmarked: there is an agentive subject and a verb of motion, the agent is performing some movement (*The horse jumped over the hedge*). This construction is intransitive. On the other hand, the second construction is transitive (causative). The subject of the former construction becomes here the object and there emerges a new participant (realized as a subject) that is the causer (initiator) of the movement performed by the object: *He jumped the horse over the hedge*. The agentivity of the object (*the horse*) is thus suppressed, it is merely the performer of the action. (Huddleston, 2002: 307). Motion verbs occurring in this alternation are “run“ verbs (*crawl, jump, fly, gallop, march, race, run, walk*), verbs of “going using a vehicle“ (*bike, boat, skate, drive, fly, ride*), “dance“ verbs (*dance, jive, waltz*) and “rushing“ verbs (*hasten, rush, hurry*).

The second class of verbs found in this alternation are position verbs (*hang, rest, sit, stand, lean*), cf. the alternation *He was sitting on a bench / She sat him on a bench*. The syntactic structure of the two clauses is the same as in the previous case but there is a semantic difference: the intransitive construction refers to a state and the transitive one to causing a state. (Huddleston, 2002: 307)

To conclude, this chapter dealt with such cases of valency change where one participant changes its position and syntactic function and , at the same time, another participant is dispensed with (valency reduction) or a new participant is added (valency extension). In both cases, the valency change is motivated by the need for presenting the situation from two different perspectives. In the first case, the original subject (rarely object) is omitted and another element (the original object or adverbial) moves to its place and thus is foregrounded. It is an interesting fact that this element then acquires the typical semantic role of subject or object: it becomes agentlike in case it functions as the

subject (*He broke the window / The window broke*) and patientlike in case it functions as the object (*She washed the dye off the cloth / She washed the cloth*). In the case of valency extension a new participant functioning as a subject is added and the original subject becomes an object. Interestingly enough, the change of function of the element originally functioning as the subject results in the loss of some of its agentive properties, i.e. it is no longer the instigator of the action (*The horse jumped over the hedge / He jumped the horse over the hedge*).

5.5 Complements with More Possibilities of Syntactic Realisation

In this chapter I am going to deal with such types of alternative constructions in which one complement (participant) has two different syntactic functions (the number and function of all other participants remaining constant). Therefore, there is no valency reduction nor extension, only the qualitative valency is changed. One can find two cases of this alternation, a complement can be realised as both an object and an adverbial (*He jumped a wall/ over a wall*) or as both an object and a prepositional object (*He shot her/ He shot at her*), although the distinction is not straightforward. According to the semantics of the verbs, as well as its complements, Huddleston (2002: 298, 312) distinguishes five basic types, which are exemplified below. In most types the meaning of the two constructions is nearly identical, only in the type 1 the meaning is altered to a greater extent. However, the alternation is systematic (it is found with a number of verbs), therefore, this type is included.

- 1) CONATIVE ALTERNATION: *He kicked the dog / He kicked at the dog*
- 2) DIRECTIONAL MOVEMENT: *He climbed the wall / He climbed up the wall*
- 3) CONSULTATION AND CONTEST: *He fought the enemy / He fought against the enemy*
- 4) EMISSION: *The dress was dripping water / The dress was dripping with water*
- 5) DITRANSITIVE TYPE: *He served us a delicious meal / He served us with a delicious meal*

The first, **conative alternation** is a widely discussed type of alternation, for a detailed treatment see e.g. Dowty (180) or Holmes (17 - 19). As Dowty points out, verbs entering this alternation are verbs that “involve both motion and contact“, i.e. the verbs express “contact by motion“, examples being *shoot, hit, kick, cut, nibble, push, strike, claw, or sip*. In the first construction (*He kicked the dog*), the event is presented as affecting the participant, i.e. some contact is achieved. In the second construction (*He kicked at*

the dog) only the motion towards a participant is referred to, the intended contact fails to take place. It should be mentioned that this rule does not apply to all the verbs occurring in the alternation. As Huddleston (2002: 298) argues, with the verbs *nibble* or *sip* some kind of contact is always established, only it seems to be “bigger“ in the first construction than in the second: *He nibbled the cake* / *He nibbled at the cake*.

The type of alternation including verbs of **directional movement** (*He climbed the wall* / *He climbed up the wall*) exhibits similar semantics as the type above, only the change of meaning is less sharp and in some cases it is practically non-existent. Huddleston (2002: 299) points out that the construction with a direct object implies a fuller coverage, completeness or a more significant achievement, i.e. the clause *He climbed the wall* suggests that the top of the wall was reached, which is not necessarily the case in the clause with a prepositional phrase (the preposition seems to limit the interpretation). Examples of verbs of directional movement taking both a NP and a PP are *climb, swim, flee, jump, run, walk* or *fly*. (for more examples see also Dušková, 2006: 428)

Valency alternation also occurs with some verbs of the following classes: consultation (*meet, consult*), contest (*play, battle, box, fight*), emission (*drip, ooze*) ditransitive verbs (*serve, forgive, envy, excuse, leave*). The examples are taken from Huddleston (2002: 299, 312). With these types of alternation the shift of meaning discussed above is mostly missing, somewhat more visible it seems to be with verbs of emission. In the pair *The dress was dripping water* / *The dress was dripping with water*, the dripping is perhaps a little more significant in the first construction.

To summarise, this chapter concentrated on cases of valency alternation where one participant has two possible realizations, a NP (direct object) or a PP (prepositional object/adverbial). English allows for this kind of alternation mainly due to the fact that one semantic role is not tied to a particular sentence element, i.e. both an adverbial and an object can express a location (type 2). It is an interesting point that in case the participant is realised as a direct object, it tends to be wholly (or considerably) affected by the action (the typical role of an Od is a patient/affected), which need not be the case if it is a PP (the preposition serves as the specifier or limiter of the meaning).

5.6 Separate Complements vs. Combined Complement

This is the last type of valency alternation. Its name is taken over from Huddleston (2002: 320). As the name implies, this is such kind of valency alternation where there is

a choice between a construction with two separate complements and a construction with one combined complement. This is possible in cases where one of the two complements can be syntactically incorporated into the second complement, in the form of a possessive determiner or a modifier, cf. *He tapped her on the shoulder / He tapped her shoulder*. The meaning of the constructions is basically the same and none of them is considered primary. In accordance with the structure of the constructions and their semantics, Huddleston (2002: 320) distinguishes the following three types:

- 1) O affected (BODY PART): *He slapped her on the face / He slapped her face*
- 2) O affected (PROPERTY): *He liked her for her tolerance / He liked her tolerance*
- 3) S affected (INCREASE/DECREASE): *The cinema increased in popularity / The popularity of the cinema increased*

In type 1, the adverbial of the first construction (and the object of the second) refer to a body part. This type is considerably widely discussed and it is also called “body-part possessor alternation”; Dowty (183, 184) , Holmes (17, 18). As Holmes or Dowty mention, verbs occurring in this alternation must involve some kind of contact, examples are *touch, prick, tap, bump, strike, hit* or *kick*.

Type 2 is structurally the same as type 1, only here the complement denotes a property. Verbs found in this alternation are mostly emotive verbs, e.g. *admire, appreciate, fear, like, hate, need, despise, value*.

Type 3 is different from the first two types in that the combined complement of the second construction (*the popularity of the cinema*) is not the object but the subject. This type of alternation is rare, it is found with a few verbs expressing the increase/decrease of some property such as *increase, decrease, drop, decline, fluctuate* or *soar*. Still, the construction with two separate complements (construction 1) sounds unnatural in many cases, cf. *The number of members increased / Members increased in number*. (Huddleston, 2002: 320)

6. Text Analysis

Having discussed all the basic types of valency changes, I will now turn to the examination of their occurrence in an authentic text. For the text analysis I have chosen a novel by Louise Moeri called *The Girl Who Lived on the Ferris Wheel*, which is an

American novel (the author lives in California) from the end of the 20th century. The issue discussed in the novel is child abuse. The reason why the analysis has been carried out on a literary work, i.e. a novel, is that this novel uses no specialised language, it reflects the situations of everyday life of people so mainly the core English vocabulary is made use of. To find a text using such language was the aim, since, as has been shown, verbs occurring in multiple valency patterns are mostly verbs of everyday usage. For the purpose of the analysis, the first twenty pages of the novel were studied with the aim to find constructions with verbs having multiple valency patterns (all instances as well as a table giving the frequency of occurrences are given in the appendix). In the following discussion of the findings main attention will be paid to the nature of the examples found in the text, the frequency of occurrence of particular constructions and verbs, and the conditions which favour their occurrence. The primary goal of this work is to present authentic examples of the previously discussed valency patterns, show which of the patterns are used most frequently and explain why it is so. Therefore, the analysis will be mainly qualitative in nature.

6.1 Valency Reduction

In the text under investigation (i.e. the first twenty pages of the novel) there were found 65 occurrences of clauses containing valency reduction. In comparison with other valency changes studied in this work, valency reduction is clearly quite a frequent type of valency alternation. (Examples of valency reduction are to be found in the first part of the appendix, ex. 1 – 65). Naturally it was not possible to present all clauses in which omission of an element could theoretically take place, since almost any verb allows non-realisation of its complement or complements under some circumstances. Therefore the analysis includes only such cases in which the valency reduction does take place, not cases where there is only a potential for complement omission.

For a structure to be considered an instance of valency reduction it was necessary that there be omission of a verbal complement, i.e. an element that is present in the valency frame of the verb, is frequently used with the verb and is semantically required to complete the meaning of the verb (the complement is understood when omitted). Even so, the choice of examples is necessarily to some extent subjective, mainly because there is not a clear borderline between omission of a complement and omission of an adjunct. (cf. chapter 2)

In the following discussion attention will be paid to three particular types of valency reduction: omission of a direct object (or a prepositional object), omission of an indirect object and omission of an adverbial (the verbs the complements of which are omitted will be underlined, the understood complements will be provided in brackets). Finally, some unclear cases of valency reduction will be mentioned.

1. Omission of Direct Object (or prepositional object)

The text sample displayed 25 occurrences of this kind of complement omission (15 examples of omission of direct object and 10 examples of omission of prepositional object), see examples 1 - 25. Therefore, these instances present 38,5 % of all instances of valency reduction. However, it should be mentioned that the analysis of prepositional objects is by no means clear and the understood complements following the verbs *stare*, *peer* and *look* can also be analysed as adverbials of place, cf. example 22: *Like most men (she supposed) he had no interest in window-shopping or strolling through the stores just to look* (= at things in the stores). The understood element can be questioned “What to look at?” or “Where to look?”.

As is expectable, in most cases the complement omission is textual, i.e. a specific object is omitted, which can be recovered from the surrounding context (as the object is known there is no need to mention it): *...She laid the toast on the window sill, raised the brush and started dragging it through her straight, dun-colored hair (...) Til took another bite of toast – it was barely warm now – and went on brushing* (=her hair)... (ex.1); *He could see she didn't want to talk about it – nothing could be plainer. But, he wondered, should he make her talk* (= about it)? (ex. 19).

In some cases the omission resembles situational omission in that the nature of the situation must be taken into account to identify the omitted element: *Her face was long and narrow, and when she got mad it made Til think of a huge axe with a sharp blade standing over you, ready to strike* (= you), ex. 6. Although it is not made explicit that the participant struck by the axe is to be human (Til), it can be deduced from the situation (this sentence is taken from a part which depicts the abusive behaviour of the mother towards her daughter).

In the remaining instances, the omission is lexical, i.e. the element is understood from the meaning of the verb, it is neither previously nor consequently mentioned in the text: *...there were kids who got punished much harder than she, for playing hooky, stealing*

(= things in general) *out of dime stores...* (ex. 16); *I'm just a slave here – pick up* (= things in general, what there is to pick up) *after you – wait on you!* (ex. 9). In this type of omission the object is non-specific and thus unimportant. The focus is on the manner of the activity, i.e. on the verb.

2. Omission of Recipient (indirect object/prepositional object)

There are 18 instances of recipient omission in the text being studied, cf. examples 26 – 43. Cases of this omission represent 27,7 % of all instances of valency reduction.

In the overwhelming majority (17 cases), the verbs, the recipients of which remain unrealised, are communication verbs: *scream* (1x), *shrill* (1x), *shout* (1x), *say* (4x), *ask* (6x), *talk* (2x), *threaten* (1x), *give answer* (1x). The reason for this is that a novel contains a number of dialogues (presented both directly and indirectly) and since the reader is acquainted with the characters speaking, it is not necessary to specify all the time who is talking to whom., cf. *As Til sank her teeth into the second chocolate doughnut, Pop asked* (= Til) *the Saturday question. “So? And how has it been for you this week?” And she gave* (= Pop) *the Saturday answer. (...) And always by the time she had recovered, Pop had nodded and the moment was past. And he never asked* (= Til) *the question twice* (ex. 35, 36, 37).

The complementation of these verbs includes subject, unrealised indirect object (or prepositional object) and direct object. With the verbs *ask* and *threaten* the recipient of the message takes the form of an indirect object (*ask Til*), with the verbs *scream*, *shrill*, *shout*, *say* and *talk* the recipient is always a prepositional phrase (*scream / shrill / shout at sb.*, *say / talk to sb.*). The direct object is typically a deverbal noun (*ask/give a question*) or a clause, in direct speech, the complement is realised as a separate clause, cf. example 26: *“There! There!” screamed her mother* (= at Til).

The exceptional verb, that is not a communication verb, is the verb *hand* in example 31 : *Til felt the sweat break out on her back as she watched the baby throw the teddy bear. But the woman said nothing – just kept on picking up the dusty, plush covered toy and handing it back* (= to the baby). Again, the recipient is omitted because it is understood from the context.

To conclude, let me point out that I have considered as examples of recipient omission only such structures the verbs of which are primarily ditransitive and they semantically require a recipient (or are often associated with one). Therefore examples such as *They*

both knew he would never reveal any important information (= to her), and they both enjoyed the wild stories he made up (= for her) found on the page17 are not included because the verbs are not primarily ditransitive.

3. Omission of adverbial

There were found 22 occurrences of adverbial omission in the text. (examples 44 – 65)

This means that examples of adverbial omission form 33,8 % of valency reduction.

As already discussed, a structure is generally considered to be an instance of adverbial omission in case an adverbial is strongly implied by the semantics of the verb. i.e. mainly in case of verbs of movement or position taking locative adverbials.

All examples of adverbial omission found in the text concern adverbials of place and most verbs are verbs of motion. The adverbial is omitted from the pattern SVA (14 examples) or SVOA (8 examples). In the first case of reduction, the verbs used are mainly verbs of motion of the type “go“ (*go, appear, come, leave, run, escape*), one verb of repeated movement (*knock*) and one position verb (*sit*), cf. an example: *And the shopping, the errands – since he left (= here), I do it all, now!* (ex. 52). Similarly, also in case the underlying complementation pattern is SVOA the verbs tend to express motion (*locate, raise, throw, pick up, load, sew*) or encounter in a position (*find*). The verb *sew* is not a prototypical motion verb (cf. *I like sewing*), however in this structure the motion component is stressed: *Pop (...) mended his socks and sewed on buttons (=on his clothes), and always came to take her out* (ex. 48).

From the point of view of the semantics of the omission, three kinds of omission can be distinguished: 1) the locative complement is previously mentioned, as in ex. 64: *she was locked forever behind the steel bar of the Ferris wheel seat, (...) unable to escape (= from the seat)* 2) the locative complement is obvious from the situation, it is for instance the place of speaking: *“The bus!“ It's coming (= here)!“* (ex. 56) 3) the locative complement is irrelevant: *She laid the toast on the windowsill, raised the brush (= from somewhere) and ...* (ex. 47). The type 2 is the most common one, being found with almost all verbs of going.

Before ending this chapter, it need to be mentioned that it is really quite subjective to decide what to include and what not to include among cases of adverbial omission and in this work I have concentrated mainly on the most central cases. For instance, in clauses such as *They stood so close together* (p. 12) or *She grabbed her coat* (p. 12)

there can be said to be omitted an adverbial of place (*they stood in a room, she grabbed her coat from somewhere*). However, in the first example the place is partially identified by *so close together* and in the second example the verb is not strongly associated with a location, therefore such clauses were not included.

To conclude, valency reduction is a considerably common type of valency alternation and it is possible to find omission of an object, a prepositional object, an indirect object as well as an adverbial. In most cases an element is omitted because it has already been mentioned and thus need not be repeated (anaphoric omission) or the understood element refers to the people concerned in the situation (often when it is an indirect object) or the places concerned (in case of adverbials).

6.2 Valency extension

There were found 26 instances of valency extension in the text being analysed (see examples 66 – 91 in the appendix). This shows that cases of valency extension, although they are not so frequent as cases of valency reduction, are still not impossible to find. As in the case of valency reduction also this time the analysis includes only such examples where complementation extension of a verb does really take place, i.e. clauses where there is only a possibility for extension are not taken into account. The reason for this approach is again the fact that too many verbs allow extension by a complement (as mentioned, practically any verb can be used with an optional subject or object complement) and therefore listing such verbs would be impossible to carry out.

Structures which were considered to be instances of valency extension in the text were those structures where the verb was used with an optional complement the presence of which is primarily not required by the verb. Thus, valency extension is found for example in the clause *There stood Pop dead still in the middle of the side walk* (ex. 88): the subject complement *dead still* is merely an optional element because the verb *stand* is primarily an intransitive verb complemented only by a locative adverbial. The text analysed displayed all types of valency extension: extension by a direct object (15 examples), an indirect object (2 examples), a subject complement (6 examples), an object complement (2 examples) and extension by both an object and an object complement (1 example). The types will be again discussed separately. The verbs and complements in question will be underlined.

1 Extension by Direct Object

In the text there are 15 occurrences of valency extension by a direct object, i.e. this type of extension forms more than one half (57,7%) of all instances of valency extension. However, in this connection it should be mentioned that some of the cases included in the analysis are not central cases of valency extension (as will be shown below it is quite problematic to delimit what to include in this type). Also, some verbs (*ride*, *play*, *ask*) occur more than once, the phrase *ask the (Saturday) question* is used even three times, therefore, there is not much diversity in the examples.

The most straightforward type of extension by an object is the type in which the object is a cognate one (*why did she also have to live part of her life in a bleak old tomb on Quesada Avenue in South San Francisco ...?*, ex. 66), or in which the head noun of the object is a general noun not carrying any information: *yelling silly things* (ex. 72), *Pop asked the Saturday question* (ex. 75), *he never asked the question twice* (ex.77), *his daughter answered the Saturday question* (ex. 78). In most cases, a specifier of the meaning must be present (the premodifier *silly* in *silly things*, *Saturday* in *the Saturday question*), which is the source of information in the noun phrase. These verbs are primarily not used with a NP as their object (*yell*, *ask* and *answer* can take clausal objects) and their occurrence in this complementation pattern is rare.

Another case of valency extension is the type where the object is predictable from the meaning of the verb (therefore the primary use of the verbs is intransitive). This type is represented by the following three examples: *hardly anybody could drive his own car these days* (ex. 73) *The baby boy on the seat beside his mother wriggled and waved his arms* (ex. 74), *Til would shrug her shoulders* (ex. 79). (Example 73 resembles the previous type in that the NP contains a premodifier and thus the object is informative, on the other hand the object *shoulders* of the verb *shrug* brings no new information). Again, this type of object does not represent a participant affected by the action but it resembles an adverbial of means (ex. 73) or instrument (ex. 74, 79).

The remaining examples represent more marginal cases of extension by an object. They are objects after the verbs *play* and *ride*: *But if she didn't go – didn't ride the Ferris wheel ...* (ex. 67), *the only chance Pop had to play his violin was his day off* (ex. 69), *to sit around in a public place playing German love songs* (ex. 71). The examples are included here mainly thanks to the fact that their objects are similar to the objects

above: they are not participants affected by the action but they rather function as specifiers of the meaning. However, the semantics of these verbs always require a “specifier“ to be present (if the verb is used intransitively, it must be understood) and this makes the inclusion of the verbs here arguable.

The text displayed some other examples of complementation by an object which resembled the cases discussed above, however, which are not cases of valency extension. The examples are the following: *Pop washed his clothes* (p. 9), *I have to work and earn a living* (p. 12), *I do things she tells me not to* (p. 20), *nipping little bits* (p. 23). What these examples have in common is that their objects (in the third example only the headword *things*) are predictable from the verbs and are not informative. However, this does not change the fact that the verbs are primarily transitive and thus one cannot speak of valency extension.

Apart from this there are yet other examples where eg. a cognate element is realised as an adverbial: *As they danced around on the front porch in a crazy, silly, hopping dance...* (p. 13). Such cases are not examples of valency extension as these adverbials are not complements.

2. Extension by an Indirect Object

There are two examples of extension by an indirect object in the text, both of them with the verb *buy*, cf. an example: *But along with the pencils, Pop bought her a red comb, a little pin...* (ex. 82). The verb *buy* is primarily monotransitive (the recipient is then the subject), therefore in case the verb takes an indirect object the structure can be considered valency extension.

The text also shows examples of extension by a recipient having the form of a prepositional phrase (with the preposition *for*): *And nothing could be accomplished for himself or Til* (p. 22), however, the relationship between the verb and the *for* phrase is so loose that it is better to analyse it as an adjunct and not a part of the valency frame.

3. Extension by a Subject/Object Complement

A characteristic feature of valency extension by means of a subject or object complement is that the cases are not very difficult to determine. An example of this type of valency extension is every structure which contains an optional Cs / Co, i.e. such complement that can be omitted without affecting the meaning of the verb.

As regards the occurrences in the text, most cases (6 out of 8) are instances of extension by a subject complement (see. examples 83 - 88). The verbs allowing this complementation extension are primarily intransitive and, as it is expectable, all of them are verbs of position or motion (*lie, flap, grow up, be found, come, stand*): *her blue corduroy jacket lay ready across a chair* (ex. 83). The subject complement tends to be an adjective, however, it can also have the form of a participle, as in ex. 87: *their car or bus came clanging and hissing along*.

The text displays two examples of extension by an object complement. The verbs used are verbs of motion (*bring, scrub*): *Gertrude leaned over (...) and reaching far back brought the open palm of her huge hand down flat and stinging over the side of Til's face*. (ex. 89), *And scrub the house down to its raw bones* (ex. 90). In the second case, the object complement has metaphorical meaning.

Finally, there was found one instance of extension by both an object and an object complement, i.e. the verb (*work*) is primarily intransitive: *here she was, working her fingers to the bone to put decent food on the table* (ex. 91). Again, the meaning is idiomatic.

As the examples show, optional subject/object complement is used in case there is a need for additional characterization of the subject/object of the clause. The occurrences are not very numerous because such characterization is frequently realised outside the clause structure: *Her mother had entered the room behind her, silent as always on her rubbed-sole shoes, and before...* (p. 11)

To summarise, valency extension occurs in cases when a verb is used with a complement (O. Cs, Co) that is not a part of its primary complementation pattern. This complement is therefore grammatically optional and semantically, it tends to have a specifying meaning and resembles an adjunct (for instance, this type of object never has the role of patient, which is otherwise the typical role of an object). Cases of valency extension can therefore be considered as specific constructions where elements that are semantically like adjuncts are realised as complements and thus are incorporated into the complementation pattern of a verb.

6.3 Complement Alternation

The valency change of complement alternation differs from the two previously discussed valency changes in that it is found with a restricted and definable class of verbs (the semantics of the verbs was discussed in the theoretical part of the work). Therefore, it was possible to search the text for all occurrences of these verbs, and their use in both constructions of the alternation (the primary as well as the derived one) could be analysed.

In total, there were found 33 clauses containing verbs which allow complement alternation (without a change of the meaning of the verb), see examples 92 - 124. The verbs are of the following types: 1) movement verbs and the verb “smell“ (with these verbs the locative element can be construed either as the adverbial or as the subject), 2) communication verbs and verbs of providing something for somebody (these verbs are found in the “ditransitive“ alternation) 3) verbs of the type “load“ and “hit“ (these verbs allow their locative element to be either the adverbial or the object). Naturally, an overwhelming majority of the examples are instances of the unmarked complementation pattern of the alternation: the text shows no more than 6 instances of marked constructions (18, 2 %). The nature of the structures used (according to their types) will be examined in the following discussion.

1. Complement Alternation Affecting the Subject

The text analysed contains 14 instances of verbs (verbs of movement and smelling) which belong to the class of verbs with two patterns of complementation, i.e. the locative element can be realised either as the adverbial (or object) or as the subject. As regards the patterns used in the text, 11 occurrences of the verbs are found in the first, unmarked pattern (the adverbial is sometimes only understood), there are only 3 occurrences of verbs with the locative element being the subject.

To begin with the first valency pattern, all verbs taking this pattern are verbs of movement: *run* (5 examples), *shake* (3 examples), *dance* (2 examples), *jump* (1 example).

The verbs *run*, *jump*, and *dance* occur with agentive subjects and, optionally, with a locative adverbial. The focus is on the agents as the performers of the activities and in most cases the agents are individual human beings: *They would clasp hands and run across the street* (ex. 97). Therefore, it would never be possible to construe these

sentences with the locative as the subject (**The street ran with them*). Even in case the subject is a plural inanimate noun as in the ex. 102 (*She loved the rattling, clanging little trolleys (...) but they ran only on the steepest hills*), complement alternation is not thinkable because the place is not fully affected by the motion of the trolleys and the presentation is still individualistic.

As opposed to this, the verb *shake* (as found in the text) is complemented by a subject and an object: *She grabbed Til's shoulder and shook her sharply* (ex. 92). With this verb the “locative“ can always become the subject (*she/her shoulder shook*), but the event is then viewed as having no causer (this type of valency change therefore belongs to the next chapter). The verb is mentioned here because complementation by a *with*-phrase is possible with it (e.g. *He shook with laughter*). The *with* phrase is not presented as a causation preceding the activity but rather as a causation (inanimate) accompanying the whole activity, the meaning conveyed is thus of the type *The garden crawls with ants*. Since none of the causers in the text conform to this requirement, complement alternation is in no case feasible.

As mentioned, there are three examples of structures with locative subjects, i.e. the syntactically derived structures. In two cases the verb is *smell*: *dead leaves carpeted the ground and smelled of resin and mold* (ex. 103). The location (*leaves*) is presented as wholly affected by the smell and, moreover, the structure is used to maintain the same subject (*leaves*) in both clauses, which would not be possible if the locative was construed as an adverbial (*resin and mold smellt in/from the leaves*). In the third case the verb is *throb*, i.e. a verb of small movement: *Her shoulder was throbbing* (ex. 104). Although a *with*-phrase is not overtly present, it is understood (*her shoulder was throbbing with pain*). Again, the throbbing is presented as affecting the whole place.

2. Complement Alternation Affecting the Object (Ditransitive Constructions)

In the text there are 13 occurrences of ditransitive verbs that can occur in the complementation pattern SVOiOd as well as SVOdOprep (the condition for including a structure was that the recipient be overtly realised). As can be expected, most verbs (11 instances) are found in the primary pattern with the recipient having the form of an indirect object, complementation by a prepositional object is found only in two cases.

The verbs used in the text are verbs of providing something for somebody (*give, buy, hand, pay*) and one communication verb (*tell*). As regards the clauses of the pattern

SVOiOd, the indirect object is a known participant (it is either a pronoun or a definite NP) and the direct object then tends to be a new information and is of higher relevance than the indirect object: *None of the things she wanted cost much, but Pop couldn't give her much pocket money, and Gertrude gave her none at all* (ex. 113, 114). Therefore, the sequence of the two objects is in accordance with communicative dynamism: a known element precedes a new element. The examples where the recipient is realised as a prepositional object following the direct object are the following: *Til had often slipped out of the house while Mom and Pop were fighting and not paying any attention to her* (ex. 117), *the mother scooped up the teddy bear each time, dusted it off, handed it back to the child* (ex. 118). In the first example the verb and its object (*pay attention*) form one semantic unit, therefore the recipient is postponed. The second example is the traditional case where the direct object is a known element and has the form of a pronoun; in this case the recipient can only be a prepositional phrase.

3. Complement Alternation Affecting the Object (Constructions with a Locative)

The text displays 6 occurrences of verbs used in structures which allow alternation of the participants functioning as the object and the adverbial; all these verbs are verbs of movement.

The verbs can be divided into 2 types. Verbs of the first type are verbs of the meaning “to put something somewhere“, examples being *load* (2 occurrences) and *scatter*: *And now here you are scattering dirt and trash all over the house!* (ex. 120) *...they could make out the heavy outlines of cargo ships (...) What were you loading (= on the ships)?* *Til asked* (ex. 121). The complementation pattern of these verbs is SVO(patient)Adv(locative); in the second example the adverbial is only understood. This is the unmarked pattern: the object (*dirt and trash, what*) is centrally affected by the activity and the adverbial only specifies the location. Using the reversed pattern in this context would not sound natural: *And here you are scattering all the house with dirt and trash, ...What were you loading (the ships) with?*

Verbs of the second type have the meaning of “to hit something with something“, the verbs used are *pound, jab* and *hit*. Both complementation patterns are found in the text: 1) locative adverbial with the verbs *pound* and *jab* (*he would stomp up the front step and pound his huge red fist on the door*, ex. 119), 2) locative object with the verb *hit* (*...and threatened to hit them with his violin case*, ex. 124). These verbs are liable to

complement alternation, the two clauses reflect two possible views of presentation. The two participants can be ascribed the roles of instrument (*his huge red fist, with his violin case*) and locative (*on the door, them*). However, the realization of one participant as the object of the clause seems to have such an impact on the participant that its instrumental/locative properties are backgrounded and it is presented mainly as the one affected by the action. (Huddleston, 2002: analyses the object of *hit* as a patient, not as a locative). Therefore, both constructions strongly resemble unmarked constructions of the type subject, verb, affected object, adverbial of instrument/place.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the analysis does not include verbs which are used in the text with a shifted meaning. For instance the clause *The clock had struck ten a minute ago* (p. 7) is not listed because the verb *strike* allows complement alternation only in case it means “to hit somebody with something“.

To conclude, complement alternation is specific in that it is restricted only to certain types of verbs. Although these verbs include many verbs of everyday usage (verbs of movement, verbs of providing something for somebody, verbs of putting something somewhere) in most cases these verbs were found in the text only in their unmarked valency pattern (not undergoing complement alternation). The small number of occurrences of the secondary valency pattern is due to the markedness of this pattern. Thus, with verbs of movement the marked pattern (with a locative subject) is used to communicate that a place is fully affected by some movement, however, it is much more common to use the pattern with an agentive subject and focus on the performer of the movement. Similarly, ditransitive verbs are not very common in the derived pattern (with a prepositional object). This is because the recipient tends to be a known participant and so it preferably has the form of an indirect object and is placed before the direct object. Finally, verbs of putting something somewhere were found only in the unmarked pattern with a locative adverbial, the verb “hit“ was used with a locative object, however, the locative role is here backgrounded.

Before ending this chapter it should be pointed out that the style of the text has a certain impact on the use of the verbs discussed here. Since the analysis is carried out on a social novel (with many dialogues), verbs of telling are frequent but, on the other hand, there are almost no descriptive passages where locative subjects could be expected.

6.4 Valency Reduction/Increase and Change of Syntactic Function of a Complement Combined

As was the case with complement alternation, also this type of valency change is found with a restricted number of verbs. Therefore, it was again possible to analyse all uses of the verbs in the text and the following discussion will present their occurrence in both unmarked and marked valency patterns.

Main attention will be paid to the transitive/intransitive alternation found with verbs of change of state (the type of alternation *He broke the window/The window broke*). These verbs are considerably numerous in the text (50 occurrences) and they can be found in both types of constructions. Consequently, I will also mention two marginal cases of valency change: constructions with instrumental subject of the type *The gun killed the man* (4 occurrences in the text) and causative clauses which are examples of valency extension of the type *He jumped the horse over a fence* (3 occurrences in the text). Examples are given in the appendix, ex. 125 – 174.

1. Transitive/Intransitive Alternation (type *He broke the window/The window broke*)

The text contains 50 instances of verbs of change of state that can be used both transitively and intransitively (only verbs that do not change their meaning were taken into account). Of these verbs, 27 (54 %) verbs occur in the syntactically more basic pattern SVO, 23 (46 %) verbs are found in the pattern SV. This proportion shows that both complementation patterns are used in the text with approximately the same frequency and, therefore, from the point of view of the usage, the pattern SV is not a specifically marked pattern (cf. the highly restricted occurrence of the complementation patterns analysed in the previous chapter). In the following discussion attention will be paid to verbs used both transitively and intransitively, with the aim to analyse the factors influencing their occurrence.

To begin with transitive clauses found in the text, the verbs functioning as their heads can be divided into three semantic classes: movement verbs (*pound, shake, slam, lengthen, drop, brace, shift, reach out, jab, sink, spin*), aspectual verbs (*start, begin*), other verbs of change of state (*change, blur, show, hide*). Naturally, what all the verbs have in common is that they can also be used intransitively. However, this does not mean that it is possible to substitute the transitive clauses in the text for intransitive

ones. This is not feasible mainly because the meaning conveyed is different: in the transitive clauses the action is presented as being performed by a causer but in the intransitive clauses no causer can usually be added.

Most frequent are verbs of movement (14 instances). They mostly occur with an agentive subject that is the wilful causer of the movement of another participant: *they jumped on and Pop dropped two jingling dimes into the hopper* (ex. 140). The participant realised as the object is frequently a body part or it is somehow associated with the subject (8 instances): *He shifted into a heavy jog and Til lengthened her stride* (ex.139), *He reached out a huge paw and gently touched her shoulder* (ex. 144) In these cases also an intransitive clause can refer to the agent (it is incorporated into the subject in the form of a possessive determiner): *Til's stride lengthened, His huge paw reached out*. Nevertheless, the meaning is still not the same because in the intransitive clause the change of state is structured as unintentional.

Besides verbs of movement, the text contains 7 instances of the aspectual verbs *start* and *begin* (used in transitive clauses). These verbs are specific in that they are complemented by semi-clausal objects: *Only then did Pop rouse himself and begin to move down the street*. These objects can become subjects of an intransitive clause provided that their form is altered. In the given context, such change would yield strongly unnatural results (... *and his movement down the street began*). Again, the situation needs to be viewed from the point of view of the agent.

Of the remaining examples alternation is possible with the verb *hide*, ex. 129: *Til had often slipped out of the house (...) and hid herself under cover of the thick tangle of shrubbery* (or just *hid*). This verb can be used both transitively or intransitively in case the object is coreferential with the subject. In the intransitive pattern the subject seems to play the role of both the initiator and the patient (thus the structure belongs to the type *The window broke*, cf. discussion on p.). Again, in the transitive pattern intentionality is more stressed. Finally, intransitive pattern could be used with a similar meaning in ex. 125. The subject of the transitive is locative and can appear as an adverbial in the intransitive: *the early summer morning fog still blurred the San Francisco skyline / The San Francisco skyline blurred in the early summer morning fog*.

To turn to the discussion of verbs used in intransitive structures, semantics of these verbs is similar to that of verbs used transitively: there are 21 occurrences of movement verbs (*split, contract, tighten, stick, shift, twist, wrench, jut, stop, slow down, wriggle,*

ripple, spread, turn, move), one aspectual verb (*start*) and two other verbs of change (*change, water*). In this classification I will divide the structures into the following groups: 1) structures where the subject is associated with a person, mostly a body part (5 instances), 2) structures with inanimate subjects (10 instances), 3) structures with animate subjects (8 instances).

To begin with the first type of structures, these structures refer to body movements. We can distinguish two classes of these movements. The movements of the first type are movements that always happen spontaneously, i.e. the person has no control over them: *The muscles of her stomach began to contract into the usual tight, hard knot* (ex. 153), Therefore, no human agent is implied and transitive pattern would be very strange. On the other hand, movements of the second type are those that can be presented in both ways: *Her grasp on Til's shoulder shifted to the upper arm* (ex. 156) / vs. *She shifted her grasp, Til's face tightened into a blank wall* (ex. 154) / vs. *Til tightened her face*. The intransitive clause used in the text implies that the movement happened without a human causer (the subjects *her grasp, Til's face* seem take over the causative role).

As regards structures with other inanimate subjects (that are not body-parts), the meaning conveyed by them is very similar. We can distinguish cases where there is no human (or other) participant that would be responsible for the movement/state: *Before long he would be at the place on the street where it split into upper and lower levels* (ex. 152). In other examples a causer can be inferred, however, the event is presented as having none: *She was spinning a doughnut on her finger, nipping little bits out of it as it turned* (ex. 170)/vs. *as she turned it*. Due to this way of presentation the subject of the intransitive is again perceived as the causer as well as affected.

To conclude, let me mention structures with animate subjects and verbs of movement, cf. the following examples: *Til twisted away sharply* (ex. 157), *Only then did Pop rouse himself and begin to move...* (ex. 174). These cases belong here more marginally. The verbs are generally used both transitively and intransitively in case the entity moved is inanimate: *He moved the curtain/The curtain moved*. With an animate participant the use is mostly only intransitive, however, the structure still semantically resembles the one with an inanimate subject: the subject is construed as the causer of the movement as well as the participant undergoing the movement (*he moved=he made himself moving*). This view is supported by the fact that in some cases a transitive construction with a

reflexive human object is possible: *Til twisted herself away and wrenched herself clear.* (the verb *hide* discussed above belongs to this type as well).

Finally, I would like to comment on the possibility of substituting intransitive clauses by passives. As argued in the theoretical part, this is hardly ever possible since intransitive clauses present an event as happening by itself whilst passives imply an agent. The examples from the text support this. In case an event can be perceived as having a causer, a causer is implied in passive: *The bus stopped / The bus was stopped.* In case an event can only happen by itself, the passive is ruled out: *The muscles of her stomach began to contract / *to be contracted.* Some clauses refer to a state (instead of change of state), then the stative passive is an alternative: *he would be at the place on the street where it split/was split into upper and lower levels.*

The text being analysed does not contain any clauses of the type *The book reads well.* This is due to the strong markedness of this type, one hardly ever talks about how easily a participant undergoes a process.

2. Clauses with Instrumental Subject

There were found 4 examples of clauses where the element having the role of instrument is realised as the subject (ex. 175 – 178), e.g. *dead leaves carpeted the ground and smelled of resin and mold* (ex. 176). The “underlying“ structure of this clause is *to carpet the ground with dead leaves*, however, as there is no human agent present, the participant *dead leaves* becomes the subject and is presented as the causer of the activity. The remaining examples are different in that the human agent is understood (therefore it need not be mentioned). The instrumental subject is used to make the instrumental element the starting point of the clause, c.f. examples 175, 177 : *the curly red beard that concealed the lower part of his face* (= with which he concealed), *shoulders hunched*, *his feet making hurried sliding sounds* (= he was making hurried sliding sounds with his feet).

3. Causative Structures (Valency Extension)

The text makes use of three causative structures which are cases of valency extension (see examples 179 - 181). The verbs found in these clauses are motion verbs (*jerk, hustle*): *But Pop spotted it and hustled her over to it, and she was only able to stall...*

(ex. 181). These verbs are primarily used intransitively (*he hustled*), the construction where one participant brings about the movement of another participant (both being human) is marked. This markedness is the reason for the rare occurrence of the causative structures. The sample of the novel uses verbs of motion /position, which can be found in this structure, mostly intransitively (27 instances): *ride, hang, sit, march, hurry, stand, run, dance walk, jump, drive*. (*Better hurry*, p. 10) The examples are not given in the appendix since all of them are the type agentive S + V and are of no special interest here.

To sum up, from the uses of verbs discussed in this chapter the most significant proved to be the use of ergative verbs (verbs of change of state that occur in both transitive and intransitive pattern). As the analysis revealed, transitive and intransitive uses of these verbs have approximately the same frequency of occurrence. The reason for this is that changes of state can be easily viewed from two perspectives: either from the point of view of a causer that brings about a change of state of another participant (*He broke the window*) or from the point of view of the participant changing its state (*The window broke*). In case the subject is inanimate the intransitive pattern presents the change as happening by itself, which is the common state of affairs in every day life.

As regards the semantic role of the subject of the intransitive, the subject acquires agentive properties (because there is no other agent implied). Thus it seems to be the participant being responsible for the action as well as affected by it (in *doughnut turned* the doughnut is presented as causing the turning but at the same time it also undergoes it). In case the subject is animate (*He moved down the street*) the agentive role is strongly foregrounded but the type of structure remains the same.

6.5 Complements with More Possibilities of Syntactic Realization

Valency change involving alternative realization of a complement is possible with a relatively restricted number of verbs (c.f. 5. 5) and the occurrences in the text are not numerous. There were found 9 examples of verbs used in conative alternation and 4 verbs of directional movement that allow their complement to be either an object or an adverbial. (see examples 182 - 194)

Conative verbs used in the text are the verbs *grab, hit* and *snatch*. In 8 instances the complementation pattern is SVO: *She grabbed her coat and was across the room* (ex. 186). There is only one occurrence of a verb complemented by a prepositional object:

you sprang in through the folded-back doors as it slowed down (...) grabbing at the seat handles for support (ex. 190). This shows that the situation tends to be such that the hold is achieved (one rarely talks about attempts to grab/hit/snatch something).

The use of verbs of directional movement involves the following cases (examples 191 - 194): *skim the pavement (/skim along the pavement), climb Coit Tower (/climb up Coit tower), splash against legs (/splash legs), move out of the house (/move house)*. The first two verbs are complemented by a locative object in the text, the other two verbs take a locative adverbial realized by a PP. With the verbs *skim* and *climb* the use of an object suggests that the movement affects the place to a greater extent (in *skim the pavement* the pavement is more directly involved than in *skim along the pavement*, in *climb Coit Tower* it is understood that the top must be reached). In parallel with this, the use of a PP after the verb *splash* presents the location as less directly affected (*splash against legs* vs. *splash legs*). The structure *move out of the house* emphasizes movement out, on the other hand, *move house* is a fixed phrase referring to movement from one place to another.

Some verbs allow their locative (instrumental) element to function only as an object: *Her mother had entered the room* (p. 11), *The baby boy (...) waved his arms* (p. 16).

6.6 Separate Complements vs. Combined Complement

The text contains 12 clauses that include either two separate complements that could be combined into one (5 instances) or one combined complement that could be divided into two separate ones (7 instances). One can distinguish two types of verbs allowing this alternation: verbs of contact (discussed in 5.6) and verbs like *fight* or *marry* which semantically require 2 participants but syntactically they can also take only one complement where the participants are combined (plural or coordination is used).

To begin with verbs of contact, the clauses contain the verbs *pick up*, *grab*, *touch* and *take*. In three clauses one combined complement is found, example 202: *She grabbed Til's shoulder* (= she grabbed Til by the shoulder). There is one instance of two separate complements, i.e. example 199: *At any moment she expected Pop to pick her up by the collar*. A construction with one combined complement (*to pick up her collar*) would be semantically inappropriate here, the focus is on picking up the human participant. The verb *take* is not a typical contact verb, however, its use is similar (ex. 205) : *They took your money and your name and address* (= they took money and address from you).

Verbs of the type “marry“ are *share, divorce, fight, clasp (hands), match* and *marry*. In case the verbs take two separate complements, the event is presented from the point of view of the participant that is the subject: *he had divorced her* (ex. 196), *He married Gertrude* (ex. 197). On the other hand, the use of one combined complement implies that both participants are involved equally, none of them is the initiator: *Mom and Pop were fighting and not paying any attention to her* (ex. 201).

Finally, it should be mentioned that also structures with ergative verbs (discussed in 6.4) could be considered as instances of separate complements/a combined complement, c.f. examples 143 and 156 : *Til shifted her nervous gaze away from the baby* (/Til's nervous gaze shifted), *Her grasp on Til's shoulder shifted* (/she shifted the grasp). They are not included here because of the greater difference in meaning of the two clauses.

7 Conclusion

This work concentrated on verbs with multiple valency patterns (multiple patterns of complementation), their use in particular valency patterns and on the determinants that influence this use. The issue was approached from the point of view of valency changes that affect these verbs. The following valency changes were distinguished: 1) valency reduction/omission of a complement, 2) valency extension/adding a complement, 3) complement alternation, 4) valency reduction/extension combined with a change of function of one complement, 5) more syntactic realizations of one complement, 6) the use of two separate complements vs. one combined complement.

The key factors that influence the possibility of these valency changes and the consequent occurrence of verbs in multiple valency patterns are the following:

a verbal argument may be contextually known and, therefore, it need not be overtly realized (this can lead to valency reduction, e.g. *Have you already decided – ?*),

a verbal argument may be implied by the meaning of the verb (this again can lead to valency reduction, e.g. in the clause *I am now reading* some kind of a book is understood),

some verbs allow the use of an optional complement, which is frequently a meaning specifier and semantically resembles an adjunct (this leads to valency extension, e.g. *He lived a dangerous life*),

in case a verb takes more than one argument, the event can be viewed from two different perspectives, i.e. one or the other argument or both arguments may be foregrounded (this can cause complement alternation as in *The bees swarm in the garden/The garden is swarming with bees* or the use of separate complements/one combined complement as in *She married him/They married*), the change of point of view may result in the fact that one argument becomes irrelevant (or disappears) or a new argument is added (this leads to the type of alternation *He broke the window/The window broke* and *The horse jumped over a fence/He jumped the horse over a fence*, respectively),

In addition to this, most of the valency changes discussed are possible thanks to the fact that English allows for many possibilities of patterning semantic roles with syntactic functions, i.e. a subject may be affected, locative or instrumental, an object may be locative or instrumental, a prepositional object may have the role of recipient, etc. What is an interesting point about this, however, is that the a participant at the same time seems to acquire the typical properties of the sentence element which function it has. Thus, any participant functioning as a subject has at least some agentive properties; any participant functioning as an object is presented (to a smaller or greater extent) as affected by the action. As it seems, such participants could be assigned a double role (*The window* in *The window broke* is in fact the causer as well as the undergoer of the change, *the fence* in *He hit the fence with a stick* is both a location and a participant affected by the action).

Some verbs can be subject to more than one type of valency change. For instance, the verb *read* can undergo valency reduction (*Are you reading?*) and it can also be used in the marked structure *The book reads well* (O→S). The number of valency patterns a verb can enter is influenced both semantically and grammatically. A verb can be found in a particular valency pattern only in case its semantics (and the semantics of the situation) is in agreement with the pattern (e.g. ergative verbs are only verbs of change of state, ditransitive alternation is found only with verbs of communication or “providing something for somebody“, locative subject is mostly used only in case a whole place is affected). Also, a complementation pattern must be allowed grammatically (e.g. all transitive verbs allow contextual object omission from the semantic point of view, however, not all of them allow it grammatically).

Naturally, not all verbs are frequently used in all their valency patterns. This is due to the fact that some of the patterns are highly marked (they put restrictions on the type of verbs and arguments to be used in them). The text analysis concentrated on the use of verbs with multiple valency patterns in both their “unmarked“ and “marked“ patterns. It showed that the three types of most commonly used valency changes are valency reduction, valency extension and the use of ergative verbs in the pattern SV.

The most frequent type of valency change is valency reduction (mainly contextual): a direct object, an indirect object as well as an adverbial are frequently omitted in case they are understood from the context. The highest frequency of this change may be due to 3 facts: 1) the change is not complex (it involves no alternation, only omission), 2) the class of verbs is only grammatically, not semantically restricted; therefore, the class is considerably numerous 3) every text has its context; understood participants are present in all places in a text.

Structures with additional complements (cases of valency extension) and ergative verbs used intransitively showed approximately the same frequency of occurrence. The considerably frequent occurrence of verbs with extended valency patterns has similar reasons as the occurrence of valency reduction: the change is simple and it can be found with quite a big number of verbs (with the exception of extension by an indirect object, here the verbs are grammatically determined and are few, e.g. *sing me a song* is possible but not *open me the door*).

Ergative verbs are verbs of change of state. This class of verbs is numerous and it includes verbs of movement, i.e. verbs that are commonly used. The intransitive pattern (*The window broke*) mostly communicates that an event happened spontaneously; it is a frequent attribute of changes in life that they need to be presented as having no external causer. Moreover, the occurrence of ergative verbs in both transitive and intransitive uses suggests that the intransitive construction should be considered as unmarked (this is further supported by the agentlike function of the subject of the intransitive).

Of the remaining uses of verbs with multiple complementation patterns, mention should be made about verbs occurring with two separate complements or one combined complement (e.g. *He married her/They married*). These verbs show a number of occurrences because it is relatively common to present an event involving two participants from the point of view of one of them or both.

All other types of verbs allowing multiple complementation were found in the text mostly in their “unmarked“ complementation pattern or were rare altogether. This is due to the fact that these verbs either form very restricted classes (e.g. conative verbs, verbs of the type *load* or *hit*) or belong to more general classes, however, the “marked“ constructions of the alternation are so specific that they are very hard to find (e.g. the causative type *He jumped the horse over a fence*, the ditransitive type *He gave the present to her* , the instrumental type *The gun killed the man* or the type *The book reads well*). Still, except for the lastly mentioned type, the text analysed contained at least one or two instances of each of the valency patterns discussed. This is a very important fact, since it proves that all types of multiple complementation are in use (although some of them are rare).

Resumé

Tato práce se zabývala otázkou postavení anglického slovesa ve struktuře anglické věty. Práce zkoumala jaké má sloveso vliv na větné členy, které slouží jako jeho doplnění, a se kterými druhy doplnění se vyskytují jednotlivé typy anglických sloves. Slovesná doplnění (větné členy, jejichž přítomnost je determinována určitým typem sloves) vytvářejí společně se slovesem různé větné vzorce a tato doplnění jsou také nazývána slovesnou komplementací nebo slovesnou valencí. Tato práce se soustředila zejména na tzv. multivalenční slovesa, tj. slovesa, která jsou schopná se vyskytovat ve více druzích větných vzorců a mají více možností doplnění. Tato slovesa jsou pro angličtinu typická, protože v angličtině, na rozdíl od některých jiných jazyků, není často sloveso limitováno na jeden větný vzorec a jeho doplnění tak může odrážet potřeby situace. Příkladem je sloveso *read*, které může být doplněno předmětem, pokud je tento předmět relevantní (*I am reading an interesting book*) a stejně tak se může vyskytovat bez něho, pokud je důraz kladen na četbu jako činnost (*Do not disturb me, I am reading*).

Práce byla rozdělena na teoretickou a praktickou část (analýzu vybraného textu). V teoretické části byly nejprve uvedeny různé větné typy a charakteristika větných členů, které se v těchto typech používají. Angličtina má následující větné typy (verb patterns): intransitivní (SV / podmět, přísudek: *He is running*; SVA / podmět, přísudek, příslovečné určení: *She goes to nursery school*), kopulativní (SVCs / podmět, přísudek, jmenná část přísudku: *The meal smells delicious*), monotranzitivní (SVOd / podmět, přísudek, přímý předmět: *He bought a new shirt*; SVOprep / podmět, přísudek, předložkový předmět: *It depends on the weather*), ditranzitivní (SVOiOd / podmět, přísudek, nepřímý předmět, přímý předmět: *He gave her a present*; SVOdOprep / podmět, přísudek, přímý předmět, předložkový předmět: *He gave the present to her*), komplexně tranzitivní (SVOdCo / podmět, přísudek, doplněk předmětu: *I call it a shame*; SVOdA / podmět, přísudek, příslovečné určení: *He placed it on the shelf*). Více okrajově lze k těmto typům řadit i typ s doplňkem podmětu (SVCs). Doplněk podmětu není sice obligatorním větným členem, avšak formálně se blíží jmenné části přísudku a jeho přítomnost je do určité míry determinována typem slovesa (doplněk podmětu se téměř vždy vyskytuje po intransitivních slovesech pohybu a stavu: *He came breathless*). Ostatně, jak už zde bylo poukázáno na předmětu slovesa *read*, k tomu, aby větný člen byl považován součástí slovesné valence není nutné, aby byl gramaticky obligatorním členem. Jde spíše o to, že takový větný člen sémanticky i gramaticky doplňuje přísudek

(sloveso) a jeho výskyt je závislý na přítomnosti slovesa určitého typu (tranzitivní, intranzitivní...).

V souvislosti s větnými typy byly zkoumány hlavní sémantické rysy jednotlivých větných členů. V “neutrální“ větě bývá sémantika větných členů následující. Podmět je nejčastěji konatelem (agens) nějaké činnosti, může být životný i neživotný (*She was crying, The wind broke the window*). Jmenná část přísudku, doplněk podmětu a doplněk předmětu fungují jako atribut, tj. charakterizují a blíže specifikují podmět nebo předmět (*I feel sleepy*). Předmět bývá účastník, který je nějakým působem zasažený dějem (patiens, affected). Vyskytuje se často po slovesech změny stavu (*He changed his plans*). Častý je i předmět vytvořený; tento předmět vzniká v průběhu děje (*She painted a picture*). Nepřímý předmět představuje recipienta děje, vyskytuje se po slovesech s významem “poskytnout něco pro někoho“ (*He brought her flowers*). Příslovečné určení (které je konstitutivním slovesným doplněním) mívá povahu lokativní: *She is staying in Prague*.

Specifikem anglického jazyka je ovšem možnost přidělovat větným členům různé sémantické role. Tak např. podmět může být účastník zasažený dějem (*The window broke*), může být lokativní (*The room smells of paint*) nebo nástrojový (*The key opened the door*). Podobně také předmět má někdy adverbialní povahu. Je možné se setkat s předmětem lokativním (*He swam the river*) nebo nástrojovým (*He hit the stick against the window*). Recipient není vázaný pouze na nepřímý předmět, ale může být realizován také jako předmět předložkový (*I gave the book to him*). Tato možnost realizace různých druhů účastníků děje různými větnými členy je jedním z klíčových faktorů, který přispívá k tomu, že angličtina využívá poměrně velkého množství multivalenčních sloves v různých větných typech (do uvedených příkladů byla záměrně vybrána multivalenční slovesa). Díky těmto slovesům je tedy (mimo jiné) možné, aby mluvčí mohl prezentovat situaci z různých hledisek. Jak ukazuje první příklad, sloveso *break* se kromě typu SVO s činitelským podmětem (*He broke the window*) může také vyskytovat v typu SV s podmětem zasaženým dějem (*The window broke*).

Multivalenční slovesa byla rozdělena podle toho, jaký je sémantický a gramatický vztah mezi větnými typy, ve kterých se tato slovesa mohou objevovat (o jaký druh změny komplementace/valence se jedná). Byly rozlišeny následující typy změn: 1) redukce valence, 2) rozšíření valence, 3) alternace větných členů, 4) redukce valence (případně rozšíření valence) spojená se změnou postavení jednoho větného členu, 5) možnost

realizace účastníka děje dvěma druhy větných členů, 6) možnost realizace účastníka dvěma větnými členy nebo jedním komplexním větným členem.

Redukce valence se vyskytuje v případech, kdy konstitutivní větný člen (přímý předmět, nepřímý předmět, příslovečné určení) může zůstat syntakticky nerealizován. Toto je možné zejména v situaci, kdy je tento člen kontextuálně známý (*Did you already decide?*) nebo pokud je tento člen sémanticky implikován významem slovesa (*Are you reading?*). V druhém případě je předmět obecný, není zmíněn, protože důraz je kladen na slovesný děj.

Rozšíření valence je opakem redukce. Dochází k němu v situacích, kdy se sloveso vyskytne s fakultativním doplněním (přímý/nepřímý předmět, doplněk podmětu/předmětu), které není slovesem gramaticky vyžadováno. Toto doplnění se sémanticky (i svojí fakultativností) často blíží příslovečnému určení. Tak například fakultativní předmět nikdy nepředstavuje účastníka zasaženého dějem, ale spíše specifikuje druh děje (*live a dangerous life, sing a nice song*). Doplněk podmětu/předmětu vyjadřuje průvodní okolnosti (*I found him lying = as he was lying*).

K alternaci větných členů dochází tehdy, kdy si dva slovesné argumenty (účastníci děje) prohodí svoje pozice a větné funkce. Můžeme rozlišit dva základní druhy alternace: alternaci zasahující podmět a alternaci zasahující předmět. V prvním případě se jedná o typ *Bees are swarming in the garden/The garden is swarming with bees*. Druhá věta je příkladem lokativního podmětu, děj je nahlížen z hlediska místa, kde k němu dochází (konstrukce implikuje, že místo je cele zasaženo dějem; místo je v popředí zájmu a konatelé děje jsou bezvýznamní). Z důvodu příznakovosti lokativní konstrukce nejsou slovesa vstupující do této alternace početná (slovesa „malých“ pohybů, zvířecích zvuků, emise světla). Druhým typem alternace je typ *He loaded sand onto the truck /He loaded the truck with sand*. Zde máme co do činění s typem, kdy lokativní element může být konstruován jako předmět. V konstrukci s lokativním předmětem je lokativní element prezentován jako primárně zasažený dějem (věta vypovídá, že celý vůz je plně naložen pískem). Slovesa vyskytující se v této alternaci jsou zejména slovesa typu *load* (umístit něco někam) a typu *hit* (uhodit nějaké místo něčím). Posledním typem alternace je ditranzitivní typ (*She gave her a flower/She gave a flower to her*). Tato alternace se vyskytuje s ditranzitivními slovesy, která mohou konstruovat recipienta jako nepřímý i jako předložkový předmět. Opět zde dochází ke změně úhlu pohledu; recipient

realizovaný předložkovým předmětem je odsunut ke konci věty a tudíž je tato struktura využívána, pokud tento větný člen chceme zdůraznit.

Redukce valence spojená se změnou postavení a funkce jednoho slovesného argumentu má své zastoupení zejména v ergativních slovesech (typ *He broke the window/The window broke*). Tato slovesa vyjadřují změnu stavu. První větný typ je tranzitivní (kauzativní), druhý typ je intransitivní. Původní předmět je transponován do pozice podmětu a původní podmět (konatel) je vypuštěn. Věta je konstruována jako by se událost stala sama od sebe nebo jako by byla zapříčena neživotným podmětem.

Strukturálně obdobný je typ *The book reads well*. Tento typ je ovšem sémantický specifický. Používá se v situacích, kdy chceme připsat určitý znak nějakému subjektu. (*Kniha je taková, že se dobře čte*).

Příkladem redukce valence spojené se změnou funkce jednoho slovesného argumentu jsou rovněž případy nástrojového, lokativního, temporálního či měrového podmětu (*I killed the man with the gun/The gun killed the man, We saw a big change that week/That week saw a big change*). Také zde takovýto argument nabývá konatelské povahy.

Rozšíření valence spojené se změnou postavení a funkce jednoho argumentu se vyskytuje v kauzativních větách se slovesy pohybu a stavu, typ *The horse jumped over the fence/He jumped the horse over the fence*.

Možnost realizace účastníka děje dvěma větnými členy je charakteristická zejména pro tzv. konativní slovesa a slovesa pohybu (nějakým směrem nebo z nějakého směru). Konativní slovesa ve svém významu zahrnují „pohyb a dotek“ a jsou doplněna buď předmětem přímým nebo předložkovým (*He grabbed the book/He grabbed at the book*). Přímý předmět naznačuje zasaženost účastníka dějem, předložkový předmět pouze pokus o kontakt. Oproti tomu, některá slovesa pohybu povolují doplnění příslovečným určením nebo lokativním předmětem (*He climbed up the tree/He climbed the tree*).

Posledním typem jsou slovesa, která se mohou vyskytovat se dvěma větnými členy, nebo jedním komplexním, nebo koordinovaným větným členem. Jedná se zejména o slovesa „doteku“, u nichž předmět vyjadřuje část lidského těla (*He touched her on the shoulder/He touched her shoulder*) a o slovesa zahrnující účastníky, kteří mohou být koordinováni, nebo vyjádření množným číslem (*He married her/They married*).

Přirozeně, ne všechna slovesa se využívají se stejnou četností ve všech větných typech. Toto je způsobeno tím, že některé větné typy jsou vysoce specifické. V analýze textu se práce soustředila na porovnání výskytu různých multivalenčních sloves v různých typech konstrukcí. Výsledkem analýzy bylo zjištění, že nejčastějšími typy valenčních změn jsou redukce valence, rozšíření valence a používání ergativních sloves v intranzitivních konstrukcích.

Vůbec nejčastějším typem změny byla redukce valence (zejména textuální), tj. přímý předmět, nepřímý předmět nebo příslovečné určení mohou být často vypuštěny, pokud jsou zřejmé z kontextu. Vysoká četnost takovýchto struktur je ovlivněna následujícími faktory: 1) tato změna není nijak komplexní (nezahrnuje alternaci větných členů), 2) slovesa povolující tuto změnu jsou omezena pouze gramaticky, ne sémanticky, 3) každý text má svůj kontext, a proto také spoustu kontextuálně přítomných účastníků děje.

Slovesa s rozšířenou valencí a ergativní slovesa užitá intranzitivně byla v textu zhruba stejně početná. Poměrně častý výskyt sloves s fakultativním předmětem, doplňkem podmětu/předmětu má podobné odůvodnění jako výskyt valenční redukce. Rozšíření valence není komplexní změnou a povoluje ji poměrně velká skupina sloves (pouze slovesa, která lze rozšířit nepřímým předmětem jsou gramaticky do značné míry omezena, např. je možné *sing me a song*, ale ne *open me a door*).

Ergativní slovesa vyjadřují změny stavu. Tato třída sloves je početná a zahrnuje slovesa pohybu, která jsou běžně používána. Intranzitivní větný typ (*The window broke*) komunikuje, že ke změně stavu došlo spontánně. V situacích každodenního života je běžné, že se změny dějí bez působení vnějšího činitele. Kromě toho se ergativní slovesa stejně často vyskytovala jak tranzitivně, tak intranzitivně, což naznačuje, že intranzitivní větný typ je zde bezpříznakový (tato bezpříznakovost je podpořena faktem, že podmět je zde prezentován jako konatel děje, tj. jeho atributy se blíží bezpříznakovému podmětu).

Z ostatních použití multivalenčních sloves je nutné zmínit slovesa vyskytující se buď se dvěma větnými členy nebo s jedním komplexním členem (*He married her/He and she married*). Tato slovesa jsou relativně častá, neboť je běžné nahlížet situaci zahrnující dva aktanty z pohledu pouze jednoho aktanta nebo obou z nich.

Všechny další typy multivalenčních sloves se vyskytovaly pouze v „bepříznakových“ větných typech nebo byly celkově vzácné. Toto je způsobeno tím, že tato slovesa buď představují velmi omezené typy (např. konativní slovesa, slovesa typu „hit“ nebo

„load“), nebo jsou méně specifická, ale jsou zřídka používána v příznakových konstrukcích (např. kauzativní větný typ *He jumped the horse over a fence*, ditranzitivní typ *He gave the present to her*, typ s nástrojovým podmětem *The gun killed the man*, či typ *The book reads well*). Nicméně, výjma posledního typu vykazoval analyzovaný text alespoň jeden nebo dva případy všech použití multivalenčních sloves. Toto zjištění ukazuje, že se tato slovesa opravdu používají, i když některé struktury jsou málo časté.

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APPENDIX 1

Table of uses of verbs with multiple valency

Valency Change/V Pattern	No. of occurrences	Example
Valency Omission	65	
Omission of Od/Oprep	25	Til followed (him), ex. 25
Omission of Oi	18	He never asked (her), ex. 37
Omission of Adv	22	She didn't go (to Playland), ex. 41
Valency Extension	26	
Extension by Od	15	Pop asked the Saturday question, ex. 75
Extension by Oi	2	And buy her a ride, ex. 81
Extension by Cs	6	Her corduroy jacket lay ready, ex. 83
Extension by Co	2	(...) scrub the house to its raw bones, ex. 90
Extension by O and Co	1	(..) working her fingers to the bones, ex. 91
Complement alternation	33	
S + V + locative Adv	14	They ran only on the steepest hills, ex. 102
S locative + V + Adv	3	Dead leaves smelled of resin, ex. 103
S + V + Oi recipient + Od	11	He gave her birthday cards, ex. 106
S + V + Od + Oprep recipient	2	(She) handed it back to the child, ex. 118
S + V + O + Adv locative	5	You are scattering dirt and trash all over the house, ex. 120
S + V + O locative + Adv	1	(...) to hit them with his violin case, ex. 124
Red./Ext. + Change of function	84	
Ergative verbs SVO	27	(She) shook her sharply, ex. 134
Ergative verbs SV	23	She would never change, ex. 168
Instrumental S + V + O	4	Her (...) hands pirated your meal, ex. 178
S + V (v. of movement)	27	They jumped on, ex. 100
S + V causative + O (v. of movement)	3	(Pop) hustled her to it, ex. 181
More realizations	13	
S + V conative + O	8	Til could grab the toast, ex. 182
S + Vconative + Oprep	1	(...), grabbing at the seat handles, ex. 190
S + V dir. movement + O	2	(...), climb Coit Tower, ex. 192
S + V dir. movement + Adv	2	He had moved out of the house, ex. 194
Separate complements/Combined one	12	
Separate complements	5	(...) to pick her up by the collar, ex. 199
Combined complement	7	(she) touched her shoulder, ex. 204
Total	233	

The occurrences are not given in %, since it would be misleading to compare the use of individual valency patterns with the total use of these patterns. (in addition to this, verbs theoretically allowing

valency reduction and extension could not be satisfactorily counted because they are numerous and difficult to unambiguously determine)

APPENDIX 2

(In this appendix are to be found examples of valency patterns from the novel *The Girl Who Lived on the Ferris Wheel* by Louise Moeri. Where necessary, context is provided to ensure the right interpretation of the text. Relevant verbs and complements are underlined.)

1. Examples of Valency Reduction

(the understood complement is given in brackets)

A. Omission of Object (direct/prepositional)

1, 2) She laid the toast on the windowsill, raised the brush and started dragging it through her straight, dun-colored hair... Til took another bite of toast – it was barely warm now – and went on brushing (=her hair) while she watched (=what there was to watch) through the narrow gap between the curtains. (p. 8)

3) As far back as she could remember (=what there was to remember), Pop had never looked any different... (p. 8)

4, 5) Till glanced at the clock; it was getting late. She brushed (= her hair) harder and chewed down another piece of toast. Better hurry (=with the preparation). (p. 10)

6) Her face was long and narrow, and when she got mad it made Til think of a huge axe with a sharp blade standing over you, ready to strike (= you). (p. 11)

7) All I do is work but you don't care (= about it). (p. 12)

8, 9) You don't care (= about me) – I'm just a slave here – pick up (= things) after you – wait on you! (p. 12)

10) “I hit a homer – “ (...) “That' s why my arm hurts (= me).“ (p. 17)

11) Til jerked restlessly around, staring (= at the piers) through the window of the bus as the long line of piers south of the Bay Bridge now became visible through the clearing fog. (p. 17)

12) “What were you loading?“ Til asked, even though she knew he wouldn't tell her (= what he was loading). (p. 17)

13) “Ah – you wouldn't believe (= it), Til! We are sending one million sewing machine bobbins... (p. 17)

14) “How about a doughnut?“ asked Pop as he peered (= at what was there to peer) through the window of Foster's, a big coffee shop on the corner. (p. 19)

15) Til's eyes watered. Something like this always happened to her whenever Pop asked her the Saturday question... And always by the time she had recovered (= from it, from the feeling), Pop had nodded and the moment was past. And he never asked the question twice. (p. 20)

- 16) Other parents did the same – there were kids who got punished much harder than she, for playing hooky, stealing (= things) out of dime stores, throwing rotten tomatoes at police cars. (p. 20)
- 17) He ate his doughnut the way she did, biting off big chunks and washing them down with gulps of hot coffee, as if someone might come along and take it away from him if he didn't hurry (= with the eating). (p. 21)
- 18) He had learned to eat (= food) that way, living with Til's mother. (p. 21)
- 19) He could see she didn't want to talk about it – nothing could be plainer. But, he wondered, should he make her talk (= about it)? (p. 22)
- 20) And nothing, as far as he could see (= what there was to see) could be accomplished... (p. 22)
- 21) So I guess I'll just eat (= food) fast, dodge when I see something coming, keep my mouth shut, and not let on that I'm afraid of the Ferris wheel.... (p. 23)
- 22) Like most men (she supposed) he had no interest in window-shopping or strolling through the stores just to look (= at things). (p. 23)
- 23) But there were a thousand things Til could have found to do downtown if Pop would agree (= doing the things). (p. 23)
- 24) But Pop thought the photographers were an abomination, and he threatened to hit them with his violin case. “Don't worry (=about the man)!“ he cried to Til driving off a spidery little man in a yellow slicker who had just snapped her picture. “I'll get rid off him!“ (p. 24)
- 25) Til followed (= him, Pop), trailing after him in profound amazement. (p. 26)

B. Omission of Recipient (indirect or prepositional object)

- 26) “There! There!“ screamed her mother (= at Til). (p. 12)
- 27) “Princess! Princess!“ she shrilled (= at Til). (p. 12)
- 28) “Til!“ he shouted (= at Til). (p. 13)
- 29) Because, although they never said so (= to each other), neither of them felt really safe until they turned the corner and were out of sight of the house. (p. 15)
- 30, 31) Til felt the sweat break out on her back as she watched the baby throw the teddy bear. But the woman said nothing (=to the baby) – just kept on picking up the dusty, plush covered toy and handing it back (= to the baby). (p. 16)
- 32, 33) ...they could make out the heavy outlines of cargo ships, hear the foghorns and the stevedores' whistles. “Over there,“ said Pop (= to Til). Pier 42. See her? She has two loading booms. There – you can see the winches bringing up a big crate now. “What were you loading?“ Til asked (=Pop), even though she knew he wouldn't tell her. (p. 17)
- 34) “How about a doughnut?“ asked Pop (= Til) as he peered through the window of Foster's, a big coffee shop on the corner. (p. 19)
- 35, 36) Pop asked (= Til) the Saturday question. “So? And how has it been for you this week?“ And she gave (= Pop) the Saturday answer. (p. 20)

37) Til's eyes watered. Something like this always happened to her whenever Pop asked her the Saturday question... And always by the time she had recovered, Pop had nodded and the moment was past. And he never asked (= Til) the question twice. (p. 20)

38) Every Saturday he made up his mind to find out how things were at home for Til – really ask (= her) and get an answer. (p. 22)

39, 40) He could see she didn't want to talk (=to him) about it – nothing could be plainer. But, he wondered, should he make her talk (= to him)? (p. 22)

41) “Wel,” he said (= to Til) at last, “I guess we don't have any other choices.” (p. 23)

42) But Pop thought the photographers were an abomination, and he threatened (= them) to hit them with his violin case. “Don't worry!” he cried to Til driving off a spidery little man in a yellow slicker who had just snapped her picture. “I'll get rid off him!” (p. 24)

43) A lucky afterthought struck her and she asked (= Pop) for a pencil sharpener – they found one shaped like an apple. (p. 24)

C. Omission of Adverbial

44) ...but why did she also have to live part of her life in a bleak old tomb on Quesada Avenue in South San Francisco and the rest of it on a Ferris wheel at Playland? ... But if she didn't go (= to Playland) – didn't ride the Ferris wheel – it would mean staying home all day. (p. 7)

45) For some reason, although she knew that her father would appear (= in her house) at ten o' clock every Saturday (for the rest of her life, she supposed) to take her out for the day – she was never completely ready on time. (p. 7)

46) Sometimes it was socks to be matched (or even darned), a belt to be located (= on her clothes), a blouse to be ironed. (p. 7)

47) She laid the toast on the windowsill, raised the brush (=from somewhere) and started dragging it through her straight, dun-colored hair. (p.7 - 8)

48, 49) So on Saturdays, Pop washed his clothes in the leaky sink of the one-room “apartment” he had occupied since the divorce, bought groceries, mended his socks and sewed on buttons (=on his clothes), and always came (=to her house) to take her out. (p. 9)

50) In such a crowded day off there was not time left for his violin unless he brought it with him when he came (=to Til's house) to see Til. (p. 9)

51) In a few minutes he would stomp up the front step and pound his huge red fist on the door. At one time he would have had a key; now he knocked (= on the door). (p. 11)

52) And the shopping, the errands – since he left (= here), I do it all, now! (p. 12)

53) Her mother reached out again but Til was on her feet and running (= away). (p. 12)

54, 55) Pop always walked fast down Quesada Avenue, shoulders hunched, his feet making hurried, sliding sounds on the steep sidewalk; but Til ran (= down Quesada Avenue), making circles around him, giddy and dizzy, and yelling silly things: “Knock! Knock (= on a door)!” “Who's there?” (p. 15)

- 56) “The bus!“ It’s coming (= here)!“ (p. 16)
- 57) ... every minute or two he dropped his teddy bear on the floor of the bus...Til felt the sweat break out on her back as she watched the baby throw the teddy bear (= on the floor). (p. 16)
- 58) But the woman said nothing – just kept on picking up the dusty, plush covered toy (= from the floor) and handing it back. (p. 16)
- 59) ... they could make out the heavy outlines of cargo ships, hear the foghorns and the stevedores' whistles. “Over there,“ said Pop. Pier 42. See her? She has two loading booms. There – you can see the winches bringing up a big crate now. “What were you loading (= on the ship)?“ Til asked, even though she knew he wouldn't tell her. (p. 17)
- 60) Every Saturday she would try to trick Pop into telling her what his longshoring gang loaded (= on the ship) during the week, and each time he nimbly outwitted her. (p. 17)
- 61) She would fix a meal, and although it wasn't all that good, you had worked hard and you were hungry; you sat down (= on a chair) to eat it. (p. 21)
- 62) Helmut Foerester reached into his pockets for his pipe and tobacco, but then he sat with them in his hand (= in the coffee), forgotten. Once again he felt the pleasant bustle of the coffee shop... (p. 22)
- 63) So I guess I'll just eat fast, dodge when I see something coming (= to me), keep my mouth shut, and not let on that I'm afraid of the Ferris wheel.... (p. 23)
- 64) ...she was locked forever behind the steel bar of the Ferris wheel seat, sentenced to spend her whole life going up – and – up – and – over, sick and dizzy and unable to escape (= from the seat). (p. 23)
- 65) A lucky afterthought struck her and she asked for a pencil sharpener – they found one shaped like an apple (= in the shop). (p. 24)

2. Examples of Valency Extension

(the verb and the complement are underlined)

A. Extension by Direct Object

- 66)but why did she also have to live part of her life in a bleak old tomb on Quesada Avenue in South San Francisco and the rest of it on a Ferris wheel at Playland? (p. 7)
- 67) ... But if she didn't go – didn't ride the Ferris wheel – it would mean staying home all day. (p. 7)
- 68) Pop looked like the fat half of a comedy team from the movies – the one who plays the violin and speaks with a German accent. (p. 8, 9)
- 69) Til knew that the only chance Pop had to play his violin was his day off – the day he spent with her. (p. 9)
- 70) One of her favourites was a silly, romantic love song that went: “Du, Du, liegst mir im Herzen, Du, Du, liegst mir im Sinn – “ but Pop was afraid to play it for fear someone would hear him and get suspicious. (p. 9)

- 71) This was a time of war. And he understood that a fat red-haired fellow with a black Homburg hat and a German accent as thick as a slice of bratwurst would be ill-advised to sit around in a public place playing German love songs. (p. 9, 10)
- 72) Pop always walked fast down Queasada Avenue, shoulders hunched, his feet making hurried, sliding sounds on the steep sidewalk; but Til ran, making circles around him, giddy and dizzy, and yelling silly things: “Knock! Knock!” “Who's there?” (p. 15)
- 73) The bus was already crowded (hardly anybody could drive his own car these days with gas rationing so tight), and she and Pop had to stand in the aisle as usual. (p. 16)
- 74) The baby boy on the seat beside his mother wriggled and waved his arms; every minute or two he dropped his teddy bear on the floor of the bus. (p. 16)
- 75) Now, as Til sank her teeth into the second chocolate doughnut, Pop asked the Saturday question. (p. 20)
- 76) Something like this always happened to her whenever Pop asked her the Saturday question. (p. 20)
- 77) And he never asked the question twice. (p. 20)
- 78) Pop nodded as his daughter answered the Saturday question. (p. 21)
- 79) Every Saturday he made up his mind to find out how things were at home for Til – really ask and get an answer – and then ... and then Til would shrug her shoulders, would turn away, would cough or sneeze or change the subject somehow, and the moment would pass. (p. 21)
- 80) She wanted to eat shrimp cocktail on Fisherman's Wharf, climb Coit Tower, ride the ferry across the bay and then take another ferry back, getting off at last, wind-whipped and chilled through, with a vision of white-capped waves to see at night inside your eyelids just before going to sleep. (p. 23)

B. Extension by Indirect Object

- 81) And buy her a ride on the Ferris Wheel. (p. 23)
- 82) But along with the pencils, Pop bought her a red comb, a little pin in the shape of an American flag for her jacket, and a tiny three-ring notebook with leather-printed covers. (p. 24)

C. Extension by Subject Complement

- 83) She had put on a dark green wool skirt and white blouse, short socks and heavy saddle oxfords, and her blue corduroy jacket lay ready across a chair, but her hair was still uncombed. (p. 7)
- 84) His brown overcoat flapped open, showing the old-fashioned quilted silk vest he always wore, and the gold watch chain draped across his barrel-shaped stomach. (p. 8)
- 85) Weeds, tall shrubbery, and a row of short, scraggly palm trees grew up wild and rough along the bank,. (p. 10)
- 86) Even the constant cold wind that always blew in San Francisco was tempered a little here, and on rare warm days a tiny summer could be found flat against the soil where dead leaves carpeted the ground and smelled of resin and mold. (p. 11)

87) Besides the up-and-down-the-sidewalk pedestrians, there were at every streetcar and bus zone some who bolted across the inside lane of pavement to stand, huddled and vulnerable, in the loading area until their car or bus came clanging and hissing along and scooped them up like someone in the movies being rescued from a cattle stampede. (p. 25)

88) There stood Pop dead still in the middle of the side walk staring straight into the camera of a sidewalk photographer. (p. 25)

D. Extension by Object Complement

89) Til bent and grabbed the hairbrush, but Gertrude leaned over and seized her again, jerked her to her feet, and reaching far back brought the open palm of her huge hand down flat and stinging over the side of Til's face. (p. 12)

90) She would get out her mops and brooms and scrub brushes (...) And scrub the house down to its raw bones while Til was gone. (p. 15, 16)

E. Extension by Object and Object Complement

91) If you dared to grab a few bites, it would touch off an explosion because here she was, working her fingers to the bone to put decent food on the table, and you didn't appreciate it. (p. 21)

3. Examples of Verbs Allowing Complement Alternation

A. Alternation Affecting the Subject

1. Examples with an Agentive Subject

92) She grabbed Til's shoulder and shook her sharply as if to get her attention, although they stood so close together it would have been impossible to have missed a word. (p. 12)

93) Her mother reached out again but Til was on her feet and running. (p. 12)

94, 95) As they danced around on the front porch in a crazy, silly, hopping dance, Gertrude Foerester slammed the door behind them with a crash that shook the boards under her feet. (p. 13)

96) Pop always walked fast down Queasada Avenue, shoulders hunched, his feet making hurried, sliding sounds on the steep sidewalk; but Til ran, making circles around him, giddy and dizzy, and yelling silly things. (p. 15)

97) They would clasp hands and run across the street, Til skimming the pavement like a swooping gull and Pop huffing along like a steam engine. (p. 15)

98) But Til always knew she was there behind the curtains at the front window, sullenly staring after them, shaking her head, smoothing her hair (and touching the knitting needles gently, carefully), pursing her lips over teeth that jutted forward under her long nose. (p. 15)

99) She was at the bus stop, dancing from one foot to the other, long before he lumbered up. (p. 16)

100) As the smoking, rattling old city bus ground to a halt, they jumped on and Pop dropped two jingling dimes into the hopper. (p. 16)

101) Beyond the railroad tracks, the blocks of warehouses, ramps and loading zones between Third street, on which the bus ran, and the long line of piers jutting out into the bay north of the China Basin, they could make out the heavy outlines of cargo ships, hear the foghorns and the stevedores' whistles. (p. 17)

102) She loved the rattling, clanging little trolleys that swooped up and down the hills with people clinging to them like ants, but they ran only on the steepest hills. (p. 25)

2. Examples with a Locative Subject

103) Even the constant cold wind that always blew in San Francisco was tempered a little here, and on rare warm days a tiny summer could be found flat against the soil where dead leaves carpeted the ground and smelled of resin and mold. (p. 11)

104) Her shoulder was throbbing. (p. 12)

105) Til knew that when she got home that night, the house would be cold and damp and smell of ammonia and floor wax and starch. (p. 16)

B. Alternation Affecting the Object (ditransitive constructions)

1. Examples with Recipient Realised as an Indirect Object – structure SVOi(Od)

106) He gave her birthday cards and Christmas presents signed with the name. (p. 10)

107) How many times have I told you never to take food out of the kitchen? (p. 11)

108) What were you loading? Til asked, even though she knew he wouldn't tell her. (p. 17)

109) It was a kind of game between them – every Saturday she would try to trick Pop into telling her what his longshoring gang had loaded during the week and each time he nimbly outwitted her. (p. 17)

110) She knew of course that he made up the “war secrets“ to tell her – usually at the top of his voice on a crowded bus – and that he never laid eyes on any of the ships he named. (p. 18)

111) She wanted to answer differently: tell him, or somebody, about it. (p. 20)

112) All I can do is take her away from the house every Saturday. And love her. And buy her a ride on the Ferris Wheel. (p. 22, 23)

113, 114) None of the things she wanted cost much, but Pop couldn't give her much pocket money, and Gertrude gave her none at all, so a purchase had to be engineered with cunning and guile. (p. 24)

115) But along with the pencils, Pop bought her a red comb, a little pin in the shape of an American flag for her jacket, and a tiny three-ring notebook with leather-printed covers. (p. 24)

116) In another moment he had handed the photographer some money, and the woman smiled again, waved, and slipped away to vanish in the crowd. (p. 26)

2. Examples with Recipient Realised as a Prepositional Object – structure SV(Od)Oprep

117) When she was smaller, Til had often slipped out of the house while Mom and Pop were fighting and not paying any attention to her, and crossed the upper section of the street in front of the

house, eased down over the edge of the bank, and hid herself under cover of the thick tangle of shrubbery. (p. 10)

118) With grunts and groans the mother scooped up the teddy bear each time, dusted it off, handed it back to the child. (p. 16)

B. Alternation Affecting the Object (constructions with a locative element)

1. Examples with Locative Element Realized as an Adverbial – structure SVOAdv (loc.)

(the adverbial is only understood in the examples 121 and 122)

119) In a few minutes he would stomp up the front step and pound his huge red fist on the door. (p. 11)

120) And now here you are scattering dirt and trash all over the house! (p. 12)

121, 122) ...they could make out the heavy outlines of cargo ships (...) What were you loading (= on the ships)?“ Til asked, even though she knew he wouldn't tell her. It was a kind of game between them – every Saturday she would try to trick Pop into telling her what his longshoring gang had loaded (= on the ships) during the week, and each time he nimbly outwitted her. (p. 17)

123) The tall lady next to Til had just jabbed her elbow into the side of Til's face again when the bus driver rapped out: “Market Street“! (p. 19)

1. Examples with Locative Element Realized as an Object – structure SVO(loc)Adv(instr.)

124) But Pop thought the photographers were an abomination, and threatened to hit them with his violin case. (p. 24)

4. Examples of Valency Reduction/Increase and Change of Syntactic Function of a Complement Combined

A. Valency Reduction and Change of Syntactic Function of a Complement Combined

1. Transitive structures

125) The clock had struck ten a minute ago and the early summer morning fog still blurred the San Francisco skyline to the north as Til chewed on her second piece of toast. (p. 7)

126) She laid the toast on the windowsill, raised the brush and started dragging it through her straight, dun-colored hair. (p. 7, 8)

127) His brown overcoat flapped open, showing the old-fashioned quilted silk vest he always wore, and the gold watch chain draped across his barrel-shaped stomach. (p. 8)

128) Weeds, tall shrubbery, and a row of short, scraggly palm trees grew up wild and rough along the bank, completely hiding the ground and even obscuring the view from one level to the other,... (p. 10)

129) When she was smaller, Til had often slipped out of the house while Mom and Pop were fighting and not paying any attention to her, and crossed the upper section of the street in front of the

house, eased down over the edge of the bank, and hid herself under cover of the thick tangle of shrubbery. (p. 10)

130) In a few minutes he would stomp up the front step and pound his huge red fist on the door. (p. 11)

131) The muscles of her stomach began to contract into the usual tight, hard knot. (11)

132) “How I try“ - Gertrude's voice rose and her deep-set eyes began to burn - “how I try to take care of things here. (p. 11)

133) But once she started putting the needles in her hair, she just kept it up, as if she didn't feel dressed without them... (p. 12)

134) She grabbed Til's shoulder and shook her sharply as if to get her attention, although they stood so close together it would have been impossible to have missed a word. (p. 12)

135) She jerked Till back and forth, and Til clenched her teeth as the joint between arm and shoulder began to shriek. (p. 12)

136, 137) Gertrude Foerester slammed the door behind them with a crash that shook the boards under her feet. (p. 13)

138) But Til always knew she was there behind the curtains at the front window, sullenly staring after them, shaking her head, smoothing her hair (and touching the knitting needles gently, carefully), pursing her lips over teeth that jutted forward under her long nose. (p. 15)

139) He shifted into a heavy jog and Til lengthened her stride; she was at the bus stop, dancing from one foot to the other, long he lumbered up. (p. 16)

140) As the smoking, rattling old city bus ground to a halt, they jumped on and Pop dropped two jingling dimes into the hopper. (p. 16)

141) Til braced her feet and looked around. (p. 16)

142) Every minute or two he dropped his teddy bear on the floor of the bus. (p. 16)

143) “Hey Pop“ - Til shifted her nervous gaze away from the baby – guess what . I got an A in English and we beat the sixth-grade team in baseball! (p. 17)

144) Pop's face sobered. He reached out a huge paw and gently touched her shoulder. (p. 17)

145) “Look, Pop, there is a Liberty ship at the pier“ – she changed the subject suddenly - “and another one. (p. 17)

146) The tall lady next to Til had just jabbed her elbow into the side of Til's face again when the bus driver rapped out: “Market Street“! (p. 19)

147) Now, as Til sank her teeth into the second chocolate doughnut, Pop asked the Saturday question. (p. 19, 20)

148) ... and then Til would shrug her shoulders, would turn away, would cough or sneeze or change the subject somehow, and the moment would pass. (p. 22)

149) She was spinning a doughnut on her finger, nipping little bits out of it as it turned. (p. 23)

150) On Market street again Pop began to watch the buses. (p. 24)

151) Only then did Pop rouse himself and begin to move down the street. (p. 26)

2. Intransitive structures

152) Before long he would be at the place on the street where it split into upper and lower levels. (p. 10)

153) The muscles of her stomach began to contract into the usual tight, hard knot. (11)

154) Til's face tightened into a blank wall as she stared up at the woman towering over her. (p. 11)

155) Her mother's tall, bony frame was like a piece of machinery, especially with the two or three knitting needles she always wore sticking through the bun. (p. 11)

156) Her grasp on Til's shoulder shifted to the upper arm. (p. 12)

157, 158) Til twisted away sharply and wrenched clear of the powerful hand. (p. 12)

159) But Til always knew she was there behind the curtains at the front window, sullenly staring after them, shaking her head, smoothing her hair (and touching the knitting needles gently, carefully), pursing her lips over teeth that jutted forward under her long nose. (p. 15)

160, 161) The bus never really stopped – you sprang in through the folded back doors as it slowed down, tossed your coin into the metal basin... (p. 16)

162) The baby boy on the seat beside his mother wriggled and waved his arms. (p. 16)

163) Beyond the railroad tracks, the blocks of warehouses, ramps and loading zones between Third street, on which the bus ran, and the long line of piers jutting out into the bay north of the China Basin, they could make out the heavy outlines of cargo ships, hear the foghorns and the stevedores' whistles. (p. 17)

164) The bus groaned and the floor rippled under their feet. (p. 19)

165) A big lump of chocolate-frosted doughnut stopped halfway down her throat. (p. 20)

166) Til's eyes watered. (p. 20)

167) And if you didn't eat it, a quarrel could start that would last for days... (p. 22)

168) He knew Gertrude was grim and gloomy and hard to live with – he had divorced her only when it was plain to him that she would never change and there was no other course open to him. (p. 22)

169) Gertrude's irritability was like a disease that would spread if he wasn't careful, and soon he would have become just as unreasonable as she was. (p. 22)

170) She was spinning a doughnut on her finger, nipping little bits out of it as it turned. (p. 23)

171) They often stopped there before going on to Playland. (p. 25)

172) She turned abruptly to see what had happened, and her eyes bulged. (p. 25)

173) How come he stopped for her? (p. 25)

174) Only then did Pop rouse himself and begin to move down the street. (p. 26)

3. Constructions with an Adverbial Moved to the Position of Subject

175) Til could see the frizzy orange twists of hair sticking out from under his narrow black Homburg bag like clusters of wire springs, and the curly red beard that concealed the lower part of his face. (p. 8)

176) ... a tiny summer could be found flat against the soil where dead leaves carpeted the ground and smelled of resin and mold. (p. 11)

177) Pop always walked fast down Quesada Avenue, shoulders hunched, his feet making hurried sliding sounds on the steep sidewalk. (p. 15)

178) You had to be a gulper to get some of it down before she was at your elbow and her long skinny hands pirated your meal. (p. 21)

B. Valency Extension and Change of Syntactic Function of a Complement Combined

Causative structures

179) She jerked Til back and forth, and Til clenched her teeth as the joint between arm and shoulder began to shriek. (p. 12)

180) Til bent and grabbed the hairbrush but Gertrude leaned over and seized her again, jerked her to her feet... (p. 12)

181) But Pop spotted it and hustled her over to it, and she was only able to stall for a moment over a choice between red, yellow, blue and green pencils. (p. 24)

5. Verbs with Complements Having More Possibilities of Realization

A. Conative alternation

1. Examples with a Direct Object

182) Her mother had entered the room behind her, silent as always on her rubber-soled shoes, and before Til could grab the toast, she had it pinned down. (p. 11)

183) Her voice rose as she snatched the bread. (p. 11)

184) She grabbed Til's shoulder and shook her sharply as if to get her attention, although they stood so close together it would have been impossible to have missed a word. (p. 12)

185) Til bent and grabbed the hairbrush, but Gertrude leaned over and seized her again... (p. 12)

186) She grabbed her coat and was across the room, lunged for the door just as a thunderous pounding sounded on the outside. (p. 12, 13)

187) If you dared to grab a few bites, it would touch off an explosion because here she was, working her fingers to the bone to put decent food on the table, and you didn't appreciate it. (p. 21)

188) But Pop thought the photographers were an abomination, and he threatened to hit them with his violin case. (p. 24)

189) "Smile! Smile!" cried the photographer, raising her camera and quickly focusing on Pop and Til as Til dodged back to grab his hand. (p. 25)

B. Examples with a Prepositional Object

190) The bus never really stopped – you sprang in through the folded-back doors as it slowed down, tossed your coin into the metal basin, and careened down the aisle, grabbing at the seat handles for support as the driver threw in the clutch, stepped down on the gas, and roared off down the street as if in pursuit of a German panzer division. (p. 16)

B. Alternation with a Locative

1. Examples with a Direct Object

191) They would clasp hands and run across the street, Til skimming the pavement like a swooping gull and Pop huffing along like a steam engine. (p. 15)

192) She wanted to eat shrimp cocktail on Fisherman's Wharf, climb Coit Tower, ride the ferry across the bay and then take another ferry back, getting off at last, wind-whipped and chilled through, with a vision of white-capped waves to see at night inside your eyelids just before going to sleep. (p. 23)

2. Examples with an Adverbial

193) It was Saturday morning again and she could almost feel the creaking, swaying seat of the Ferris wheel under her, the cold wind splashing against her legs, the upback feeling of being sucked in by some great monster, the out-over lurch as she was again thrust out into space. (p. 7)

194) He knew that – it was why he had moved out of the house. (p. 20)

6. Examples of Separate Complements/ One Combined Complement

A. Separate Complements

195) It made a perfect refuge, and she had shared it gladly with the various homeless dogs and stray cats who came there, as she did, for a time of peace and shelter. (p. 10, 11)

196) He knew Gertrude was grim and gloomy and hard to live with – he had divorced her only when it was plain to him that she would never change and there was no other course open to him. (p. 22)

197, 198) He was not a young man when he married Gertrude – in fact, both of them were past the time in life when most people married (=other people) and had children – and perhaps that made them both less resilient, less patient and flexible. (p. 22)

199) At any moment she expected Pop to pick her up by the collar, shoulder the photographer into the gutter, and roar off down the street. (p. 26)

B. One Combined Complement

200) Sometimes it was socks to be matched (or even darned), a belt to be located, a blouse to be ironed. (p. 7)

201) When she was smaller, Til had often slipped out of the house while Mom and Pop were fighting and not paying any attention to her, and crossed the upper section of the street in front of the house, eased down over the edge of the bank, and hid herself under cover of the thick tangle of shrubbery. (p. 10)

202) She grabbed Til's shoulder and shook her sharply as if to get her attention, although they stood so close together it would have been impossible to have missed a word. (p. 12)

203) They would clasp hands and run across the street, Til skimming the pavement like a swooping gull and Pop huffing along like a steam engine. (p. 15)

204) He reached out a huge paw and gently touched her shoulder. (p. 17)

205) They took your money and your name and address, and a day or so later you would receive in the mail a blurry picture of yourself, mouth open and eyes squinted, dodging the glut of pedestrians on Market Street. (p. 24)

206) "Smile! Smile!" cried the photographer, raising her camera and quickly focusing on Pop and Til as Til dodged back to grab his hand. (p. 25)