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Cross-linguistic Participial Modification of Nominals

Doctoral Dissertation

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**Declaration of originality**

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## Abstract

In this dissertation I deal with the possibilities of pre- and post- modification of nouns across languages. More specifically, I focus on the possibilities of formation of adjectives from verbal stems in English, Czech, and French. I examine how the verbal adjectives, if they can be derived, are used in pre-/post- modification of nouns in these languages. The adjectives are derived from active/present and past/passive participles in all three languages. Nonetheless, it turns out that in French the derivation from the present participle is very limited, while in English the active participle is productive and has more than one function. I divide the adjectives derived from participles into *lexicalized verbal adjectives*, *syntactic verbal adjectives*, and *participial verb phrases*. It turns out that both types of verbal adjectives follow the modification patterns and principles of primary or underived adjectives typical for each language. In this dissertation I try to show the similarities in the modification of nominals in the three languages as well as to point out the differences. While *lexicalized verbal adjectives* and *syntactic verbal adjectives* are encountered in all the three examined languages, *participial verb phrases* are found only in English.

## Abstrakt

V této dizertační práci se zabývám možnostmi pre- a post- modifikace podstatných jmen napříč jazyky. Konkrétně se zaměřuji na možnosti tvoření adjektiv od verbálních kmenů v angličtině, češtině a francouzštině. Prověřuji, jak jsou verbální adjektiva v těchto jazycích používána pro pre- a post- modifikaci, tedy v případě že je jejich vytvoření možné. Adjektiva jsou odvozována od aktivních/přítomných a pasivních/minulých příčestí ve všech třech jazycích. Nicméně, se ukázalo, že ve francouzštině je odvozování od přítomného příčestí velmi omezené, zatímco v angličtině je naopak aktivní příčestí velmi produktivní a má více než jen jednu funkci. Adjektiva odvozená od sloves dělím na *lexicalized verbal adjectives* (lexikalizovaná verbální adjektiva), *syntactic verbal adjectives* (syntaktická verbální adjektiva) a *participial verb phrases* (participiální verbální fráze). Ukazuje se, že v jednotlivých jazycích oba druhy verbálních adjektiv modifikují substantiva podle podobných vzorců a principů jako adjektiva primární. V této dizertační práci se snažím ukázat, v čem se jednotlivé jazyky v modifikaci substantiv shodují a v čem se naopak liší. Zatímco *lexikalizovaná verbální adjektiva* a *syntaktická verbální adjektiva* lze najít ve všech třech jazycích, *participiální verbální fráze* se objevují pouze v angličtině.

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## List of Abbreviations

1	first person	NEG	Negation
2	second person	Nt	Neuter
3	third person	NOM	Nominative
ACC	Accusative	NP	Noun Phrase
ADV	Adverbial	PERF	Perfective
AP	Adjectival Phrase	PF	Phonetic form
DAT	Dative	PL	Plural
DIM	Diminutive	POSS	Possessive
DP	Determiner Phrase	PP	Prepositional Phrase
F	Feminine	PSP	Past Participle
GEN	Genitive	PtP	Present Participle
IMPF	Imperfective	PvP	Passive Participle
INF	Infinitive	REFL	Reflexive
INS	Instrumental	S	Singular
INT	Intransitive	TR	Transitive
LF	Logical Form	V	Verb
LOC	Locative	VA	Verbal Adjective
M	Masculine	VP	Verb Phrase

## Introduction

Nouns and verbs are parts of speech which exist in all languages of the world. However, these categories cannot express all that a speaker can express, even if they are modified in ways characteristic of each, such as for example with determiners and tense.

For example, determiners are a part of speech which modifies nouns, and whose members sometimes significantly differ across languages e.g. Czech where *Jana koupila šaty*, without an indefinite article; is the equivalent of the English *Jane bought a dress*<sup>1</sup>. Because of such differences, this part of speech can, therefore, be considered less universal than a noun or a verb. With a count noun, a determiner has to be used here in English (and also in a similar sentence in French *Jeanne a acheté **une** robe*) to make the sentence grammatically correct. The grammar of the category of determiners is somewhat complex. Even limiting this initial examination to what are in early generative grammar referred to as articles:

"Traditionally, grammarians have recognized two kinds of determiners: the, usually called the definite determiner, and a, usually called the indefinite determiner. It is now common to regard other elements as determiners, or as parts of determiners: mass nouns (such as sincerity and butter) and proper names are said to have determiners that are phonetically zero. Further, it is convenient to regard all, any, and the like as part of the determiner [...] And finally, pronominal genitives such as his and John's are shown to behave as determiners by transformational criteria. Speakers make distinctions of definiteness and indefiniteness for all noun phrases, not just those with the determiners the or a. [...] When the class of determiners is extended to include other items besides the and a, the traditional categories of definite and indefinite do not cover all the new cases." (Smith 1969, 247-248)

In traditional French grammar articles (1), numerals (2), possessives (3), demonstratives (4), interrogatives (5), and quantifiers (6) precede the noun and belong to the class of determiners.

(1) *La voiture est dans le garage.*  
the<sub>FS</sub> car<sub>FS</sub> is in the<sub>MS</sub> garage<sub>MS</sub>  
'The car is in the garage.'

(2) *J' ai vu deux voitures dans le parking.*  
I have<sub>AUX.IS</sub> seen two car<sub>FPL</sub> in the<sub>MS</sub> parking.lot  
'I saw two cars at the parking lot.'

---

<sup>1</sup> Throughout the work translations from and into English, Czech and French appear. If not indicated otherwise, the translations are mine.

- (3) *Ma voiture est fiable.*  
 my<sub>FS</sub> car<sub>FS</sub> is reliable<sub>FS</sub>  
 'My car is reliable.'
- (4) *Cette voiture me plaît beaucoup.*  
 this<sub>FS</sub> car<sub>FS</sub> me<sub>DAT</sub> like a lot.  
 'I like *this* car a lot.'
- (5) *Quelle voiture avez-vous choisi?*  
 which<sub>FS</sub> car<sub>FS</sub> have<sub>AUX.2PL</sub> you<sub>2PL/2SG</sub> chosen  
 'Which car did you choose?'
- (6) *Chaque voiture passe par un contrôle technique.*  
 every car<sub>FS</sub> goes through a<sub>MS</sub> inspection<sub>MS</sub> technical<sub>MS</sub>  
 'Every car goes through a technical inspection.'

Also in Czech except for the articles, the five other above mentioned sub-categories of determiners are represented.

In current generative syntax, these modifying grammatical categories such as Determiner and Tense are usually called 'functional categories'. Corver and van Riemsdijk (2001) deal with the distinction between "content words (also called: lexical or substantive categories) and "function words (also called: functional categories)"(1) coming to the conclusion that to make a clear-cut distinction between these two classes is sometimes difficult since "[c]ertain lexical items display ambiguous behavior: they share properties with lexical categories and at the same time they display functional characteristics" (3). They introduce the so called "semi-lexical categories" explaining that "[s]ome researchers consider semi-lexical categories to be a class of syntactic categories distinct from the purely functional ones and the truly lexical ones. Others assume that semi-lexicity is a derivative notion; e.g. semi-lexicity is due to a merge of a lexical category and a functional position" (16). The hypothesis that language-particular syntax is centered on the behaviour of the functional categories is known as 'Borer's Conjecture' from Borer (1984).<sup>2</sup> Later Ouhalla (2003) also assumes that

"parameters are associated with individual lexical item as part of the information specified in their lexical entries, and that the set of lexical items with which parameters are associated is restricted to the class of inflectional/functional categories."(7)

Since much of this thesis concerned differences as well as similarities among the functional category modifiers ('attributes') in Czech nominal phrases, it makes conclusions that are relevant to how to specify the functional categories for especially nouns and adjectives in English, Czech and French.

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<sup>2</sup> Several readings on the functional category structure appropriate especially for verbal modifiers and Borer's Conjecture are available in Belletti and Rizzi (1996).

The different categories, including the functional categories, are represented and interpreted in Logical Form (LF), and many authors currently believe that only later, in Phonetic Form (PF), is the word order determined. The category of a word certainly plays a central role in determining its interpretation. Already Chomsky (1965, 123-124) claims that "[t]he transformational rules map deep structures into surface structures, perhaps reordering elements in various ways in the course of this operation." He also claims that order is "a phenomenon that belongs only to surface structure" (124). In retrospect it is not clear what exactly Chomsky meant, since in the "T-model" there are two different notions of surface order, one at Spell Out, another one at PF. What I argue for in Chapter 3 is word order at Spell Out in this model, counter to the assumption of much current research.

In this dissertation I am going to focus on cases of pre- and post- modification of nouns by adjectival and verbal modifiers in English, Czech, and French. Similarities and differences between these three languages will be shown and analyzed. Chapter 1 will discuss the position of the adjective, both primary and complex, in the three languages.

In Chapters 2 and 3 the focus will be on the English active participle and its Czech and French counterparts. Chapter 2 will deal with the non-attributive use of the English *-ing* form in order to put these uses aside. Chapter 3 will focus on the attributive uses of the *-ing* form. Attention will be turned to reduced relative clauses and later analysis of the *-ing* form in the post-modifying position.

In Chapter 4 the past/passive participle and its primary non-attributive uses in English, French, and Czech will be discussed, so that these uses can be clearly excluded from further analysis.

Finally, in Chapter 5 we are going to discuss the pre-/post- nominal use of the past/passive participles in English, Czech, and French. The differences from the attributive use of the active participle treated in Chapter 3 and the possible parallels are going to be discussed. Possibly ambiguous or unfamiliar terms (participle, reduced relative) will be explained as we proceed.

## 1. Modification of Nouns in English, Czech, and French

As it has already been mentioned nouns in different languages can be further modified. The basic modification in a broader sense of the word is realized by one of the members of the category of determiners such as possessives, demonstratives, etc. Most of them can be found in all the three languages which are going to be compared. In all these languages a part of speech that can also be found and that is also used for further modification of nouns are adjectives.

### 1.1 The Central Role of Adjectives

Sometimes one wants to say more than a sentence composed entirely of nouns and verbs and their grammatical modifiers, such as *Jane bought a dress*. We might want to specify the colour or length of the dress that Jane bought. Therefore, the introduction of adjectives, an independent part of speech which modifies nouns, is necessary.

"In English the necessary finer gradations of meaning are expressed by means of words (and phrases) that alter, clarify, or adjust the meaning contributions of nouns and verbs. The words used to modify nouns are typically **adjectives** [...] In addition to modifying nouns, adjectives may have a predicative function: *The rain was heavy*; *They are young*. In these examples the adjectives are syntactically complements of the verb *be*, but semantically they constitute the main part of the predicate." (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 526)

Adjectives are also a productive class, and they are used very frequently, as Huddleston and Pullum also claim "[a]djectives and adverbs are numerous in English; there are many thousands of each, and they are very frequent in use: almost every sentence of more than but trivial length contains adjectives and/or adverbs" (2002, 527). The main difference between adjectives and adverbs is that in most cases "[a]djectives and relative clauses apply to nouns to create modified nouns, and adverbs apply to VPs to create modified VPs" (Croft 2003, 377). Adjectives as such are not language specific; they appear to exist in most other languages as well.<sup>3</sup>

#### 1.1.1 Adjectival Functions

This dissertation is concerned with how constituents in noun phrases modify the noun. "NOUN PHRASES (...) consist of a head, which is typically a noun, and of elements which (either obligatorily or optionally) determine the head and (optionally) modify the head, or complement another element in the phrase" (Quirk et al. 1985, 62). Even

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<sup>3</sup> Dryer (2013) observes that "[i]n some languages, like English, adjectives form a distinct word class. In other languages, however, adjectives do not form a distinct word class and are verbs or nouns." (Dryer 2013) His observation certainly does not imply that in some languages it would not be possible to express qualities, properties or characteristics of people, animals and things, or that adjectives would not exist at all, rather it means that they are not distinguished from either verbs or nouns.

## 1. Modification of Nouns in English, Czech, and French

though in many languages "[a]djectives often agree with the nouns they modify," (Spencer 2003, 221) as will be shown more in detail later in section 1.1.3, the morphology does not show in English to which part of speech the modifying word belongs. Since the agreement in NPs "[...] is extremely marginal in English, only being found for *this* and *that* (*this / that* cat vs. *these / those* cats)," (Spencer 2003, 221) I focus rather on syntactic properties which characterize the adjective. In all three languages (English, Czech, and French), adjectives have several similar uses.

Adjectives (i) modify nouns, that is, they function as "attributes" in NPs (7) - (9). In (8) and (9) the agreement with the noun is also marked.

(7) *A black cat ran across the street.*

(8) *Černá/\*černý kočka přeběhla silnici.* (Czech)  
black<sub>FS.NOM</sub>/\*MS.NOM cat<sub>FS.NOM</sub> ran.across street  
'A *black* cat ran across the street.'

(9) *Un chat noir a traversé la rue en courant.* (French)  
a<sub>MS</sub> cat<sub>MS</sub> black<sub>MS</sub> has<sub>AUX</sub> crossed the street in running  
'A *black* cat ran across the street.'

In all three languages (ii) adjectives also function as parts of the predicate (10) - (13). Since also in this case the adjective shows agreement with the noun in number and gender (11) - (14), my view is, they are the same category, and in this role they are "predicate adjectives". Examples (11) - (14) show that if the agreement is not marked on the adjectives (e.g. the gender features are distinct) the sentences are unacceptable.

(10) *He seems lazy.*

(11) *Lukáš se zdá lín-ý.* (Czech)  
Lucas<sub>MS.NOM</sub> REFL seems lazy<sub>MS.NOM</sub>  
'Lucas seems *lazy*.'

(12) *\*Lukáš se zdá lín-á.* (Czech)  
\*Lucas<sub>MS.NOM</sub> REFL seems lazy<sub>FS.NOM</sub>

(13) *Il paraît paresseux.* (French)  
he seems lazy<sub>MS</sub>  
'He seems *lazy*.'

(14) *\*Il paraît paresseuse.* (French)  
\*he seems lazy<sub>FS</sub>

Finally, (iii) in all three languages adjectives also function as "complements in verb phrases" (15) - (17).

- (15) *She arrived happy.*
- (16) *(Ona) Přišla šťastná/\*šťastný.* (Czech)  
 (she) arrived<sub>FS</sub> happy<sub>FS/\*MS</sub>  
 'She arrived *happy*.'
- (17) *Elle est arrivée heureuse/\*heureux.* (French)  
 she is<sub>AUX</sub> arrived<sub>FS</sub> happy<sub>FS/\*MS</sub>  
 'She arrived *happy*.'

Thus, as was shown, in (i) – (iii) adjectives in the examined languages have similar uses.<sup>4</sup>

- (18) **English, Czech, and French Adjectival Functions.** Adjectives have the function of complements, nominal parts in predicates, and attributes in NPs.

### 1.1.2 Word Order of adjectival attributes

At this point, we introduce examples of the adjectival modification of nouns in English, Czech, and French. The English (19) and (20) and Czech (21) and (22) examples show that in these languages the noun is most often preceded by the adjective.

- (19) *A red rose is beautiful.*
- (20) *\*A rose red is beautiful.*
- (21) *Červená květina je krásná.* (Czech)  
 red<sub>FS,NOM</sub> flower<sub>FS,NOM</sub> is beautiful<sub>FS,NOM</sub>  
 'A *red* rose is beautiful.'
- (22) *\*Květina červená je krásná.* (Czech)  
 \*flower<sub>FS,NOM</sub> red<sub>FS,NOM</sub> is beautiful<sub>FS,NOM</sub>

In French the adjective generally cannot precede the noun (23) and (24).

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<sup>4</sup> However, the terminology is not always identical. The French term "attribut" 'attribute' corresponds to the "subject/object complement", it denotes the predicative use of the adjective, while the Czech term "přívlastek" or "atribut" corresponds to the English 'attribute'. On the other hand, simple adjectival nominal modifiers, which we have called "attributive adjectives" (primary or derived) are termed instead "épithète" 'epithet' in French grammar.

(23) *Une rose rouge est belle.* (French)  
 $a_{FS}$   $rose_{FS}$   $red_{FS}$  is beautiful $_{FS}$   
 'A red rose is beautiful.'

(24) \**Une rouge rose est belle.* (French)  
 \* $a_{FS}$   $red_{FS}$   $rose_{FS}$  is beautiful $_{FS}$

If we compare the English sentences in (19) and (25) and the French ones in (23) and (26), we see that in the singular a determiner is also needed in both languages. Since in Czech there are no articles similar to the ones used in English and French, an exact counterpart cannot be supplied.

(25) \**Red rose is beautiful.*

(26) \**Rose rouge est belle.* (French)  
 \* $rose_{FS}$   $red_{FS}$  is beautiful $_{FS}$

In this brief section we showed that in English and Czech the simple adjective pre-modifies the Noun, while in French the simple adjective is a post-modifier. Adjectival pre- and post- modification of Ns will be discussed more in detail later (sections 1.5.1 and 1.5.2), thus the generalizations (27) and (28) are only preliminary.

(27) **English and Czech Adjectival Premodification. (Tentative).**  
 A simple Adjective pre-modifies the Noun.

(28) **French Adjectival Postmodification. (Tentative).**  
 The Adjective generally post-modifies the Noun.

### 1.1.3 Adjectival Agreement

There are differences in agreement in English, Czech and French. In different contexts in English the adjective remains the same as we can see if we compare examples (19) and (29). In Czech the adjective agrees with its head noun in number, gender and case (30) and (31).<sup>5</sup>

In the following examples we see the violation of agreement in number. For similar data see examples (11) - (14) or (16) - (17) above.

(29) *Red roses are beautiful.*

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<sup>5</sup> Traditionally (see e.g. Šmilauer 1972) seven cases are distinguished in Czech (Nominative, Genitive, Dative, Accusative, Vocative, Locative, and Instrumental), however, Emonds (2007b) comes to the conclusion only four basic cases need to be distinguished. Vocatives are a type of nominative, while datives and locatives often have genitive morphology. The focus of this dissertation is not a study of Case as such, therefore, I am not going to deal in more detail with this question.

## 1. Modification of Nouns in English, Czech, and French

(30) *Červené květiny jsou krásné.* (Czech)  
red<sub>FPL.NOM</sub> flowers<sub>FPL.NOM</sub> are<sub>3PL</sub> beautiful<sub>FPL.NOM</sub>  
'Red roses are beautiful.'

(31) \**Červená květiny je/jsou krásn-á/-é.* (Czech)  
\*red<sub>FS.NOM</sub> flowers<sub>FPL.NOM</sub> is/are<sub>3PL</sub> beautiful<sub>FS/FPL.NOM</sub>

The agreement in number and gender takes place also in French (32) but in French, case is expressed only on clitic pronouns. And we can notice that in contrast to English (29), in French the determiner is necessary even in the plural (32) and (33).

(32) *Les roses rouges sont belles.* (French)  
the<sub>PL</sub> rose<sub>FPL</sub> red<sub>PL</sub> are<sub>3PL</sub> beautiful<sub>FPL</sub>  
'Red roses are beautiful.'

(33) \**Roses rouges sont belles.* (French)  
\*rose<sub>FPL</sub> red<sub>PL</sub> are<sub>3PL</sub> beautiful<sub>FPL</sub>

At first glance looking at the examples above (19) - (33) it seems that the rules which govern the distribution and other syntactic properties of adjectives in a phrase are not as universal as the part of speech as such. Nevertheless, it might turn out in the end that these rules do not differ that much.

### (34) English Adjectival Agreement.

There is no agreement of Adjectives with their head Nouns.

### (35) French Adjectival Agreement.

Adjectives agree with their head Nouns in number and gender.

In Czech, omitting the case of possessive declension, there are two types of adjectival agreement. There are adjectives which end in the suffix *-ý/-á/-é* in the singular nominative in masculine, feminine, and neuter. The suffix *-ý/-á/-é* is preceded either by a "hard" consonant (*h, ch, k, r, d, t, n*) or by a consonant that can be followed by either *-i* or *-y* (*b, l, m, p, s, v, z*). The other group consists of adjectives which end in the suffix *-í* in the singular nominative in all genders. The suffix *-í* is preceded by a "soft" consonant (*ž, š, č, ř, c, j, d', t', ň*) or by a consonant that can be followed by either *-i* or *-y* (*b, l, m, p, s, v, z*). These adjectives also agree with head nouns in case, number, and gender but they follow different declension patterns.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> For details of the hard and soft adjectival agreement in Czech see Appendix I and II respectively and also Šmilauer (1972, 181-182) or Komárek et al. (1986, 380-384).

(36) **Czech Hard Adjectival Agreement.**

Adjectives which end in *-ý/-á/-é* in the singular nominative in masculine, feminine, and neuter respectively, follow the so called "hard" declension pattern of the primary adjective *mladý* ('young'). They agree with the head noun in case, number, and gender. The final segment of these adjectives is not palatal and it cannot be palatalized either.

(37) **Czech Soft Adjectival Agreement.**

Adjectives which end in *-í* in the singular nominative in all genders follow the so called "soft" declension pattern of the primary adjective *jarní* ('spring'). They agree with the head noun in case, number, and gender. The final segment of these adjectives is always palatal or it is palatalized.

**1.1.4 Adjectival Word Formation**

Adjectives in English, Czech, and French, languages, which will be closely examined in this study, differ in how they are formed from stems. They can be basic, primary or primitive, i.e. they are not derived; these are such adjectives as the ones for colour, shape, age, size, origin, etc. (*green, round, young, small, English*, etc.). They are very frequent and they can be found in essentially every language.

Furthermore, secondary or derived adjectives can be also found in all three languages. The sources of derivation vary; nonetheless, most frequently adjectives are derived from nouns by suffixation as in (38) - (43)<sup>7</sup>.

(38) *wood*:                    *a wood - en table*

(39) *recreation*:        *a recreation - al sport*

(40) *dřevo*:                    *dřev - ě - n - ý stůl* (Czech)  
*wood*:                        *wooden<sub>MS.NOM</sub> table<sub>MS.NOM</sub>*  
                                       *'a wooden table'*

(41) *škola*:                    *škol - n - í rok* (Czech)  
*school*:                        *school<sub>MS.NOM</sub> year<sub>MS.NOM</sub>*  
                                       *'a school year'*

(42) *dent* :                    *une prothèse dent - aire* (French)  
*tooth*:                        *a<sub>FS</sub> plate<sub>FS</sub> dental<sub>FS</sub>*  
                                       *'a dental plate'*

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<sup>7</sup> For details of the derivation of secondary adjectives in Czech see e.g. Šmilauer (1972, 98-107) or Dokulil (1986, 316-386).

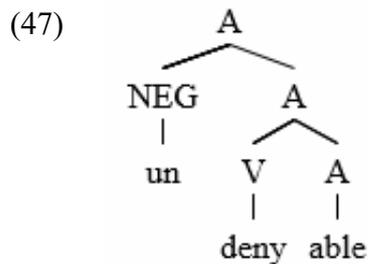
## 1. Modification of Nouns in English, Czech, and French

- (43) *parent*: *un congé parent - al* (French)  
 tooth: a<sub>MS</sub> leave<sub>MS</sub> parental<sub>MS</sub>  
 'a *parental* leave'

In all three languages adjectives can also be derived from verbs (44) - (46).

- (44) *worry*: *a worry - ed look*
- (45) *znepokojit*: *znepokoj - e - n - ý pohled* (Czech)  
 worry: worried<sub>PVP.MS.NOM</sub> look<sub>MS.NOM</sub>  
 'a *worried* look'
- (46) *convaincre*: *une idée convainc - ant - e* (French)  
 convince: a<sub>FS</sub> idea<sub>S</sub> convince<sub>PSP.FS</sub>  
 'a *convincing* idea'

The derivation can be represented also by a tree diagram (47). Lieber (1980) proposes that internally complex Adjectives in English are most often derived from Nouns and Verbs by Right-Hand-Head suffixes.



In Czech it is also possible to form derived adjectives from the primary adjectives (48) and (49) by using affixation.

- (48) *malý*: *mal - ičk - ý domek* (Czech)  
 small: small<sub>DIMIN+MS.NOM</sub> house<sub>MS.NOM</sub>  
 'a *very small* house'
- (49) *starý*: *pra - star - ý dub* (Czech)  
 old: over-old<sub>MS.NOM</sub> oak<sub>MS.NOM</sub>  
 'a *very old* oak'

In English similar cases of derivation are rare, but they can be found (50) - (51).

- (50) *long hair* – *She has long - ish curly hair.*
- (51) *a square table* – *They bought a squar - ish tablecloth.*

## 1. Modification of Nouns in English, Czech, and French

The suffix *-ish* is more frequently used for derivation of adjectives from Nouns (52) or Numerals (53). It is also frequently used with colours (54).

(52) *a fool – a foolish idea*

(53) *twenty – twentyish*

(54) *blue – a bluish dress*

In such case as (54) it could be, however, argued that colours are also basically Nouns. Therefore, it seems that the derivation of adjectives from adjectives in English is not very common.

(55) **English and Czech Adjectival Word Formation.**

Adjectives can be derived from primary Adjectives by suffixation.

Finally, in Czech adverbs (56) and (57) can also give rise to adjectives. In English (58) and (59) and in French (60) and (61) derivation of adjectives from adverbs is not possible.

(56) *tam: tam – n - í zvyky* (Czech)  
there: there<sub>MPL.NOM</sub> custom<sub>MPL.NOM</sub>  
'local customes'

(57) *zde: zde – jš – í lidé* (Czech)  
here: here<sub>MPL.NOM</sub> people<sub>MPL.NOM</sub>  
'the people from here'

(58) \**the thereal customes*

(59) \**the heren people*

(60) \**les là-basaire gens*

(61) \**les icieux gens*

(62) **Czech Adjectival word formation.**

Adjectives can be derived from Adverbs.<sup>8</sup>

However, as for adverbs, in English they can in a few cases pre-modify nouns (63) without derivational morphology.

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<sup>8</sup>The distinction of Adjectives and Adverbs in English, French, and Czech will be discussed in section 1.3.

(63) *the **then** president*

We saw that adjectives in English, French, and Czech are derived from Nouns and Verbs. In English and Czech also primary adjectives are used for derivation of secondary adjectives. In Czech adjectives can be derived also from adverbs.

### 1.2 Nominal Modification of Nouns

In addition to the derived and non-derived primary adjectives, in English (64) and sometimes in Czech (65) and French (66) nouns can be directly modified by other nouns.

(64) *They crossed a **stone** bridge.*

(65) *Cesta **lesem** byla příjemná.*  
road<sub>FS.NOM</sub> forest<sub>MS.INST</sub> was<sub>3FS</sub> pleasant<sub>FS.NOM</sub>  
'The road through the *forest* was pleasant.'

(66) *Nous avons mangé **une** tarte **maison**.*  
we have<sub>AUX.1PL</sub> eaten a<sub>FS</sub> tarte<sub>FS</sub> home<sub>FS</sub>  
'We ate a *home-made* tart.'

However, when we consider the details of nouns modifying nouns, many language-particular differences start to arise. The occurrences of nouns as modifiers of other nouns, we shall call along with Huddleston and Pullum "attributive modifiers". In English it is not unusual for nouns to function as modifiers of other nouns and as it was aptly observed by Huddleston and Pullum who claim that:

"[a]part from pronouns, just about any [English] noun can appear in this function – including proper nouns, as in the examples [*a London park*], [*the Clinton administration*], and [*the Caroline factor*]. These words can all appear as head of an NP in subject or object function, where they are uncontroversially nouns; to analyse them as adjectives when they are functioning attributively would make the adjective category far too heterogeneous, and require an unwarranted and massive overlap between the adjective and noun categories." (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 537)<sup>9</sup>

In this kind of modification in Czech, the post-modifying nouns do not agree with their head nouns but they are marked with case. This is shown in (65) and also in (67).

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<sup>9</sup> Czech grammarians do often call such occurrences "secondary adjectives" (see e.g. Mathesius 1975 the sections on "The Relations between Substantives and Adjectives in English" and "The Relation between Adjectives and Adverbs in English"), which is what Huddleston and Pullum (2002) are disagreeing with.

## 1. Modification of Nouns in English, Czech, and French

- (67) *Cesty lesem se Helena bála.*  
road<sub>FS.GEN</sub> forest<sub>MS.INST</sub> REFL Helen<sub>FS.NOM</sub> feared<sub>FS</sub>  
'Helen was afraid of the road through the forest.'

Especially in case that we convey a belonging of an inanimate entity, say 'a leg of a table' in Czech *noha<sub>NOM</sub> stolu<sub>GEN</sub>*, the modification is performed by a post-posed noun and as we have already mentioned above (67) the noun in this context does not agree in gender and case with the head noun. In case of the "possession" by an inanimate entity, the post-posed noun is always in Genitive: *noha stolu* 'leg<sub>NOM</sub> table<sub>GEN</sub>' or *věžemi města* 'towers<sub>INS</sub> city<sub>GEN</sub>'.

If a noun is directly modified by another noun in French, comparing (68) - (71) we can observe that there is no agreement between the head noun and the modifying noun in gender or number, and each noun expresses its own feature set.

- (68) *Elle nous a préparé un gâteau maison.*  
she us has<sub>AUX</sub> prepared a<sub>MS</sub> cake<sub>MS</sub> home<sub>FS</sub>  
'She prepared a home-made cake for us.'

- (69) *Elle nous a préparé une tarte maison.*  
she us has<sub>AUX</sub> prepared a<sub>FS</sub> tart<sub>FS</sub> home<sub>FS</sub>  
'She prepared a home-made tart for us.'

- (70) *Elle nous a préparé des gâteaux maison.*  
she us has<sub>AUX</sub> prepared some<sub>PL</sub> cake<sub>MPL</sub> home<sub>FS</sub>  
'She prepared home-made cakes for us.'

- (71) \**Elle nous a préparé des gâteaux maisons.*  
she us has<sub>AUX</sub> prepared some<sub>PL</sub> cake<sub>MPL</sub> home<sub>FPL</sub>

The differences continue to arise if we compare the Czech counterpart (72) to the English example (64), which specifies the material from which something is made. We can see that in Czech a derived adjective is used, not a noun which we find in English. In Czech bare nouns cannot be used as attributive pre-modifiers; there must occur an adjective formed from the noun. The suffixes that accomplish this are multiple. They vary according to the noun and the meaning which they convey. For example, if the noun describes a material from which something is made as in (72) the suffix *-ný* is used. In case of geographical names, the suffix *-ský* is used as in (73).

- (72) *(My) Šli jsme přes kamenný most.*  
(we) went<sub>M+FPL</sub> are<sub>AUX.1PL</sub> across stone<sub>MS.ACC</sub> bridge<sub>MS.ACC</sub>  
'We crossed a stone bridge.'

## 1. Modification of Nouns in English, Czech, and French

- (73) *(My) Navštívili jsme londýnský park.*  
(we) visited<sub>M+FPL</sub> are<sub>AUX.1PL</sub> London<sub>MS.ACC</sub> park<sub>MS.ACC</sub>  
'We visited a *London* park.'

In Czech proper nouns when they function as possessives (74) and (75) also acquire an appropriate suffix<sup>10</sup>.

- (74) *Pavliv dům byl prázdný.*  
Paul<sub>POSS.MS.NOM</sub> house<sub>MS.NOM</sub> was<sub>MS</sub> empty<sub>MS</sub>  
'*Paul's* house was empty.'

- (75) *Clintonova administrativa*  
Clinton<sub>POSS.FS.NOM</sub> administration<sub>FS.NOM</sub>  
'the *Clinton* administration'

In contrast, if we compare the French (76) and the English example (64), we can observe that in French a prepositional collocation consisting of the preposition *de* or *en* and a bare noun is used for material composition. In French the prepositional construction is also used for expression of the ownership<sup>11</sup> (77).

- (76) *Ils ont traversé un pont de/en pierre.*  
they<sub>M</sub> have<sub>AUX.3PL</sub> crossed <sub>a</sub><sub>MS</sub> bridge<sub>MS</sub> of stone<sub>FS</sub>  
'They crossed a *stone* bridge.'

- (77) *Elles ont trouvé le sac de/à Paul.*  
they<sub>F</sub> have<sub>AUX.3PL</sub> found the<sub>MS</sub> bag<sub>S</sub> of Paul<sub>MS</sub>  
'They found Paul's bag.'

As we can see, the direct modification of a noun by another noun is possible in English and to a certain extent in French as well. However, in French the noun is more often post-posed<sup>12</sup> and it usually follows a preposition, while in Czech the use of a noun in the

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<sup>10</sup> A thorough examination of such occurrences as (74) and (75) can be found in Veselovská (1998). There, the Czech Possessives are analysed as Ns.

<sup>11</sup> Grevisse (2008, 435) says that "[l]es compléments de relation sont d'ordinaire introduits par *de*: *Les romans DE Zola*." 'The complements which express relation are usually introduced by *de*: *Les romans DE Zola*. ('Zola's novels').' However, it is also possible to use the preposition *à* if possession is to be expressed in French, which is equally discussed by Grevisse. The reason to use the preposition *à* is either the tradition or the spoken language. The preposition *à* occurs frequently after the verb *be*: *C'est une connaissance à moi*. 'It's an acquaintance of mine.'

<sup>12</sup> In French "[l]a postposition est l'ordre le plus fréquent. Dans la documentation littéraire rassemblée par M Wilmet et qui contient 29 016 épithètes, dont 3 835 adjectifs différents, 1) l'épithète est antéposée une fois sur trois; - 2) un adjectif sur vingt

prenominal attributive position always gives rise to an adjective that agrees with the head noun in person, number, and gender (or in the so called  $\phi$ -features), which holds even in case of proper nouns.

(78) **English Nominal Modification of Nouns.**

Modification of Nouns by mere juxtaposition of Nouns is very frequent. The rightmost Noun is the head of the phrase.

(79) **French Nominal Modification of Nouns.**

Modification of Nouns by mere juxtaposition of Nouns is rare. More often the modifying Noun follows a preposition.

(80) **Czech Nominal Modification of Nouns.**

Modification of Nouns by mere juxtaposition of Nouns is possible under certain conditions. As in French the modifying Noun is post-posed and there is no agreement. Moreover, the post-posed noun is always either in the instrumental or in the genitive case.

### 1.3 Adverbial Modification

So far we have shown that primary adjectives in English, Czech and French have similar functions, that there are similarities in word order of the constituents of noun phrases between English and Czech and also in agreement between Czech and French. However, we have also seen that there are differences. In French primary simple adjectives frequently occur post-nominally, while in English they are always prenominal. In Czech they are also usually used prenominaly; the exceptions will be discussed in section 1.5.2. In English there is no adjectival agreement. In French there is agreement in number and gender of the adjective with its head noun. In Czech, there is agreement not only in number and gender but also in case. Also in terms of adjectival word formation similarities can be found between these languages. Another common feature of the studied languages is that in all of them adverbs can modify adjectives.

In English, Czech, and French not only adjectives but also adverbs serve as modifiers in Noun phrases. Some English and French adjectives and adverbs have the same form (81) - (84).

(81) *Sue speaks fast.*

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préfère l'antéposition; mais les adjectifs qui privilégient l'antéposition sont parmi les adjectifs les plus courants." (Grevisse 2008, 408) In French "the post-position is the most common order. In the literary documentation by M Wilmet which contains 29 016 attributes, among which there are 3 835 different adjectives, 1) the attribute is pre-posed one time out of three; - 2) one adjective out of twenty prefers pre-position; but the adjectives which prefer pre-position are among the most frequent ones." We will come back to this point in 1.5.1.

(82) *Tom has a **fast** car.*

(83) *Richard chante **faux**.*  
 Richard<sub>MS</sub> sings out.of.tune  
 'Richard sings *out of tune*.'

(84) *Thomas a utilisé un **faux** billet.*  
 Thomas<sub>MS</sub> has<sub>AUX</sub> used a<sub>MS</sub> false<sub>MS</sub> notes<sub>S</sub>  
 'Thomas used a *forged* note.'

Thus, "[i]t is function that provides the primary basis for the distinction between adjectives and adverbs" (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 529). Therefore, adjectives and adverbs formed from them can be perceived as members of the same category. There seems to be a "minimal form", i.e. the form which carries the least number of morphological features, the stem A from which the more complex form is derived. The minimal forms in Czech are Adverbs (85), while in English and French this stem is adjectival.

(85) *konečně - konečný*  
 finally final<sub>MS</sub>  
 'finally' 'final'

In English the adverbs formed with the suffix *-ly* are morphologically more complex than adjectives which do not have any special suffix and do not show agreement in  $\phi$ -features with their head noun either (86).

(86) *final – finally*

In French the minimal form is the feminine form of the adjective (87).

(87) *finale – finalement*  
 final<sub>FS</sub> finally  
 'final' 'finally'

In Czech the adverb (88) is somewhat less articulated consisting of the root and one of two monosegmental endings see Caha and Medová (2007), whereas the adjective (89) consists of a monosegmental nominal ending (see Emonds 2012) plus the agreement suffixes. In my view the evidence indicates *prima facie* that adjectives and adverbs are simply different, in that neither is the stem of the other.

(88) (i) *rychle/pomalů jedoucí vlak*  
 quickly/slowly going<sub>MS.NOM</sub> train<sub>MS.NOM</sub>  
 'a *quickly/slowly* going train'

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- (ii) *rychle/pomalů* *jedoucí* *lokomotiva*  
 quickly/slowly going<sub>FS.NOM</sub> locomotive<sub>FS.NOM</sub>  
 'a *quickly/slowly* going locomotive'
- (iii) *rychle/pomalů* *jedoucí* *auto*  
 quickly/slowly going<sub>NtS.NOM</sub> car<sub>NtS.NOM</sub>  
 'a *quickly/slowly* going car'

- (89) (i) *rychlý* *odchod*  
 quick<sub>MS.NOM</sub> departure<sub>MS.NOM</sub>  
 'a *quick* departure'
- (ii) *rychlá* *svačina*  
 quick<sub>FS.NOM</sub> snack<sub>FS.NOM</sub>  
 'a *quick* snack'
- (iii) *rychlé* *auto*  
 quick<sub>NtS.NOM</sub> car<sub>NtS.NOM</sub>  
 'a *fast* car'

To what extent the distinction between adjectives and adverbs is appropriate, however, will not be the topic that I will focus on and I will maintain the traditional labels of adjectives (A) and adverbs (Adv.) in the morphological descriptions of the examples.

Degree modification of adjectives and adverbs shows, at least in the three studied languages, that adjectives are also similar to adverbs in that both of them can form comparatives and superlatives. However, only such adjectives which express a quality that can change degree undergo this process. I first exemplify the adjectival formation of comparatives and superlatives in English (90), Czech (91), and French (92).

- (90) a. a *big* car      b. a *bigger* car      c. *the biggest* car
- (91) a. *velké* auto      b. *větší* auto      c. *největší* auto  
 'a big car'      'a bigger car'      'the biggest car'
- (92) a. *une grande* voiture      b. *une voiture plus grande*      c. *la plus grande* voiture  
 'a big car'      'a bigger car'      'the biggest car'

Then, the adverbial formation in English (93), Czech (94), and French (95) is introduced.<sup>13</sup>

- (93) a. *slowly*      b. *more slowly* (\**slowlier*)      c. *the most slowly* (\**the slowliest*)

<sup>13</sup> In English the adverbial comparatives and superlatives are formed either analytically (93), or synthetically: *He ran fast*. – *He ran faster*. – *He ran the fastest*. The same holds for the adjectival comparatives and superlatives, either they are formed analytically: an interesting book – a *more* interesting book – *the most* interesting book, or synthetically (90).

## 1. Modification of Nouns in English, Czech, and French

- (94) a. *pomalu*      b. *pomaleji*      c. *nejpomaleji*  
       'slowly'        'more slowly'        'the most slowly'
- (95) a. *lentement*    b. *plus lentement*    c. *le plus lentement*  
       'slowly'        'more slowly'        'the most slowly'

In all three languages both adjectives and adverbs also accept degree modifiers such as *very*, *quite*, *too*, etc. In (96) - (98) adjectives are modified by degree modifiers.

(96) *I saw a very big car.*

(97) *(Já) Viděl jsem velmi velké auto.* (Czech)  
 (I) saw<sub>MS</sub> am<sub>AUX</sub> very big<sub>NtS.ACC</sub> car<sub>NtS.ACC</sub>  
 'I saw a *very big* car.'

(98) *J' ai vu une voiture très grande.* (French)  
 I have<sub>AUX.IS</sub> seen a<sub>FS</sub> cars very big<sub>FS</sub>  
 'I saw a *very big* car.'

The modification of adjective-based adverbs by degree modifiers in the three languages can be seen in the examples (99) - (101).

(99) *He went very fast.*

(100) *Řidič jel velmi rychle.* (Czech)  
 driver<sub>MS.NOM</sub> went<sub>MS</sub> very fast  
 'The driver went *very fast*.'

(101) *Il est allé très vite.* (French)  
 he is<sub>AUX</sub> gone very fast  
 'He went *very fast*.'

In these three languages, the difference between adjectives and adverbs is also that besides modifying verbs as shown above (99) - (101), adverbs can be used for further modification of adjectives (102) - (104).

(102) *David is an unbelievably tireless student.*

(103) *David je neuvěřitelně neúnavný student.* (Czech)  
 David<sub>MS.NOM</sub> is unbelievably tireless<sub>SMS.NOM</sub> student<sub>MS.NOM</sub>  
 'Davis is an *unbelievably tireless* student.'

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- (104) *David est un étudiant incroyablement infatigable.* (French)  
David<sub>MS</sub> is a<sub>MS</sub> student<sub>MS</sub> unbelievably tireless<sub>MS</sub>  
'David is an *unbelievably tireless* student.'

While adverbs can modify verbs or adjectives, adjectives modify only nouns (105) - (111).

- (105) *a tireless student ; \*He works tireless. vs. He works tirelessly.*

- (106) *neúnavný student* (Czech)  
tireless<sub>MS.NOM</sub> student<sub>MS.NOM</sub>  
'a *tireless* student'

- (107) *\*(On) Pracuje neúnavný.* (Czech)  
\*(he) works tireless<sub>MS.NOM</sub>

- (108) *(On) Pracuje neúnavně.* (Czech)  
(he) works tirelessly  
'He works *tirelessly*.'

- (109) *un étudiant infatigable* (French)  
a<sub>MS</sub> student<sub>MS</sub> tireless<sub>MS</sub>  
'a *tireless* student'

- (110) *\*Il travaille infatigable.* (French)  
\*he works tireless

- (111) *Il travaille infatigablement.* (French)  
he works tirelessly  
'He works *tirelessly*.'

As we can see not only adjectives but also adjective-based adverbs can be found in English, Czech, and French. In all three languages adverbs can be used for further modification of adjectives, so it seems that even in the adverbial modification of nouns many similarities among the three languages can be found.

- (112) **English, Czech, and French Adverbial Modification of Adjectives.**

Adverbs modify Verbs and Adjectives. Adjectives accept degree modifiers and form the comparative and the superlative.

### 1.4 Other Modifiers of Nouns

As mentioned earlier a noun is not exclusively modified by adjectives; whole finite clauses can serve the purpose of further specification or modification of a noun (113) - (115).

(113) *This is the place where we met.*

(114) *To je místo, kde (my) jsme se potkali.* (Czech)  
 it is place<sub>NIS.NOM</sub> where (we) are<sub>AUX.1PL</sub> REFL met  
 'This is the place *where we met.*'

(115) *Ceci est l' endroit où nous nous sommes rencontrés.* (French)  
 this<sub>MS</sub> is the<sub>S</sub> place<sub>S</sub> where we REFL are<sub>AUX.1PL</sub> met  
 'This is the place *where we met.*'

However, this kind of full clausal modification is not going to be further discussed here.

### 1.5 The Placement of Simple Attributive Adjectives

English, Czech, and French pre- and post- modification of Nouns may differ in some aspects. However, common features of these three systems can also be easily found. Semantically, adjectives are a part of speech which denotes properties, qualities or characteristics of a person, animal or thing that they modify.

"The basis for cross-linguistic comparison is a particular linguistic meaning; once that is identified, we may examine the different structures used to encode that meaning (see Greenberg 1966, Keenan and Comrie 1977, Croft 1990: 11–18). Unfortunately, terminology does not always make this fact clear. For example, in discussing the word order of noun and adjective across languages, these apparently grammatical terms must be understood semantically, as 'object being referred to' and 'property used to describe an object referred to' respectively." (Croft 2003, 342)

Nonetheless, in case of e.g. "a non-existent longing" it would be difficult to apply the above mentioned terminology. First, it is not obvious for *a longing* to be an object; second, neither to perceive *non-existent* as a property would be easy. Thus, it seems that syntactic categories would be a better guide.

#### 1.5.1 Pre-modification by Simple Adjectives

First, we will examine the pre-modification of nouns by simple adjectives. A single attributive adjective can be found in all three languages (116) - (118). As the tentative generalization English and Czech Adjectival Premodification (27) suggests, the prenominal position is typical for English and Czech.<sup>14</sup> In English and French such adjective is often preceded by a determiner as shown in (116) and (118). The determiners are going to be studied more in detail in section 1.5.1.2.

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<sup>14</sup> Veselovská (2013) focuses on the hierarchy of premodifying adjectives in Czech and English and shows that it is the same in these two languages. However, later, in section 1.5.2 we will see that English and Czech are not exactly the same with respect to adjectival modification. Post-modification by primary attributive adjectives is sometimes possible in Czech.

(116) *A **big** cat walked by.*

(117) *Velká kočka šla kolem. (Czech)*  
 big<sub>FS.NOM</sub> cat<sub>FS.NOM</sub> went by.  
 'A *big* cat walked by.'

(118) *Un **grand** chat est passé à côté. (French)*  
 a<sub>MS</sub> big<sub>MS</sub> cat<sub>MS</sub> is<sub>AUX</sub> walked at side  
 'A *big* cat walked by.'

In none of the studied languages can a single attributive adjective be used post-nominally (119) - (121) without producing ungrammaticality.<sup>15</sup>

(119) \**A cat **big** walked by.*

(120) \**Kočka **velká** šla kolem. (Czech)*  
 \*cat<sub>FS.NOM</sub> big<sub>FS.NOM</sub> went by.

(121) \**Un chat **grand** est passé à côté. (French)*  
 \*a<sub>MS</sub> cat<sub>MS</sub> big<sub>MS</sub> is<sub>AUX</sub> walked at side

The generalization of English and Czech Adjectival Premodification (27) seems to hold even for French, but the position of the adjective in French is a bit more complicated than in English and Czech. In fact, many linguists (e.g. Wilmet 1981, Grevisse and Goose 2008, Abeillé and Godard 1999, Fox and Thuilier 2012, Thuilier et al. 2012, Benzitoun 2014, Goes 2015) have been focusing on the question of the place of the adjective in French, unfortunately, without coming to a general consensus. In French, some of the adjectives which are most frequent and which are mono- or di-syllabic<sup>16</sup> usually precede the noun as we could see above in (118) and (121). However, most simple adjectives follow the noun. These adjectives are also usually polysyllabic. It seems that there is a change in the meaning that is conveyed which is related to the change of the usual place of the adjective in French. Grevisse and Goose explain that

"[I]es linguistes ont essayé de trouver les principes généraux qui déterminent la place des épithètes. L'épithète est objective quand elle suit; subjective quand elle précède. La combinaison adjectif + nom est sentie comme une unité de pensée, ce qui n'est pas le cas lorsque l'adjectif suit. L'épithète postposée apporte une information nouvelle; antéposée, elle n'est qu'une qualification banale, attendue. Les adjectifs ordinairement antéposés ont un

<sup>15</sup> In Czech and in French there are NPs in which a single adjective follows the noun, but such occurrences will be examined in detail later (section 1.5.2).

<sup>16</sup> Hendrich et al. (1992, 170) provides a list of mono- or di-syllabic adjectives which usually precede the noun: *petit, grand, gros; court, long, vaste; bon, mauvais; beau, joli, vilain; nouveau, jeune, vieux, ancien*, etc. A similar list can be found also in Grevisse (2008, 409).

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sens assez large, par conséquent apportent une information peu précise et sont applicables à beaucoup de circonstances (...) Ces diverses remarques, si justifiées qu'elles soient, semblent ne pas couvrir tous les aspects de la question, où interviennent le poids de l'histoire de la langue, la fréquence de certains adjectifs, les intentions stylistiques des auteurs, l'équilibre rythmique du groupe nominal, les variations géographiques..." (2008, 408-409).<sup>17</sup>

Grevisse and Goose observe that "[o]n constate une tendance soit à équilibrer les deux parties du syntagme, soit à mettre en dernier lieu la partie la plus longue" (2008, 412).<sup>18</sup> If the usual order (122) is violated ungrammaticality is usually produced (123).

(122) *Nous avons trouvé un petit chat.* (French)  
we have<sub>AUX.1PL</sub> found a<sub>MS</sub> small<sub>MS</sub> cat<sub>MS</sub>  
'We found a *small* cat.'

(123) \**Nous avons trouvé un chat petit.*  
\*we have<sub>AUX.1PL</sub> found a<sub>MS</sub> cat<sub>MS</sub> small<sub>MS</sub>

However, sometimes the expressions with reversed word order have a figurative meaning (124) vs.(125).

(124) *Sa maison est un ancien château.*  
his/her<sub>FS</sub> house<sub>S</sub> is a<sub>MS</sub> former<sub>MS</sub> castle<sub>S</sub>  
'His/Her house is a *former* castle.'

(125) *Ils ont visité un château ancien.*  
they<sub>M</sub> have<sub>AUX.3PL</sub> visited a<sub>MS</sub> castle<sub>MS</sub> ancient<sub>MS</sub>  
'They visited an *ancient* castle.'

A change in word order can in some cases produce a change in the expressivity of the phrase as in (126) vs. (127) as it is also mentioned by Hendrich et al. (1992, 170).

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<sup>17</sup> "Linguists have been trying to find the general principles which determine the place of the attribute. The attribute is objective when it is in post-position; subjective when it is in pre-position. The combination of adjective + noun is felt as a unity of thought, which is not the case if the adjective follows [the noun]. The attribute used post-nominally brings some new information; if it is prenominal, it is just a basic or expected qualification. The adjectives which are usually prenominal have a wider meaning, therefore, the information they bring is not precise and they can be applied in many circumstances. These different notes, as justified as they are, do not seem to cover all the aspects of the issue since an important role is played also by the history of the language, the frequency of certain adjectives, the intentions of the authors, the rhythmical balance of the nominal group, the geographical variations..."

<sup>18</sup> "There is a tendency either to balance the two parts of the phrase or to put in the last position the longest part."

(126) *Nous avons mangé un repas excellent.*  
 we have<sub>AUX.1PL</sub> eaten a<sub>MS</sub> meal<sub>MS</sub>. excellent<sub>MS</sub>  
 'We ate a *delicious* meal.'

(127) *Nous avons mangé un excellent repas!*  
 we have<sub>AUX.1PL</sub> eaten a<sub>MS</sub> excellent<sub>MS</sub> meal<sub>MS</sub>  
 'We ate a *delicious* meal!'

While in English and Czech the position of a simple adjective is the pre-modifying one as given by the generalization of English and Czech Adjectival Premodification (27), as we could see, in French the situation is more complex. It seems that the very frequent adjectives, pre-modify the noun, while the less frequent ones or the ones which have more than three syllables usually post-modify it, however, for the time being a consistent and a satisfactory explanation of the French system of pre-/ post-modification by simple adjectives has not been found. The tentative generalization of French Adjectival Postmodification (28) should, therefore, be modified at least as follows:

(128) **French Adjectival Word Order.**

The Adjective which has two syllables or more post-modifies the Noun. If the Adjective has less than two syllables, it pre-modifies the Noun.

**1.5.1.1 Agreement of pre-/post- modifying simple adjectives**

Agreement is another important domain to be examined.<sup>19</sup> In English the adjective does not agree in  $\phi$  - features with its head noun as stated by the generalization of English Adjectival Agreement (34), but in French and Czech there is agreement as stated in the generalizations of French Adjectival Agreement (35) and Czech Hard Adjectival Agreement (36) and Czech Soft Adjectival Agreement (37). If we compare the Czech examples (129) and (130) and the French ones in (131) and (132), we can observe the agreement in gender.

(129) *Velký pes přinesl míč.* (Czech)  
 big<sub>MS.NOM</sub> dog<sub>MS.NOM</sub> fetched ball  
 'A big dog fetched a ball.'

(130) \**Velká pes přinesl míč.* (Czech)  
 \*big<sub>FS.NOM</sub> dog<sub>MS.NOM</sub> fetched ball<sub>MS.ACC</sub>

(131) *Un grand chien a apporté une balle.* (French)  
 a<sub>MS</sub> big<sub>MS</sub> dog<sub>MS</sub> has<sub>AUX</sub> fetched a<sub>FS</sub> ball<sub>FS</sub>  
 'A big dog fetched a ball.'

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<sup>19</sup> Interesting observations on syntactic agreement cross-linguistically can be found in Benveniste (1966), Corbett (1978), or Frampton (2002).

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- (132) \**Un grande chien a apporté une balle.* (French)  
 \*a<sub>MS</sub> big<sub>FS</sub> dog<sub>MS</sub> has<sub>AUX</sub> fetched a<sub>FS</sub> ball<sub>FS</sub>

The agreement in number is shown in Czech in (133) and (134) and in French in (135) and (136).

- (133) *Velké kočky se vyhřivaly na sluníčku.* (Czech)  
 big<sub>FPL.NOM</sub> cat<sub>FPL.NOM</sub> REFL basked<sub>FPL</sub> in sun<sub>NtS.LOC</sub>  
 'Big cats were basking in the sun.'

- (134) \**Velká kočky se vyhřivaly na sluníčku.* (Czech)  
 \*big<sub>FS.NOM</sub> cat<sub>FPL.NOM</sub> REFL basked<sub>FPL</sub> in sun<sub>NtS.LOC</sub>

- (135) *Les travaux principaux sont terminés.* (French)  
 the<sub>PL</sub> work<sub>MPL</sub> main<sub>MPL</sub> are<sub>AUX.3PL</sub> finished  
 'The main works are finished.'

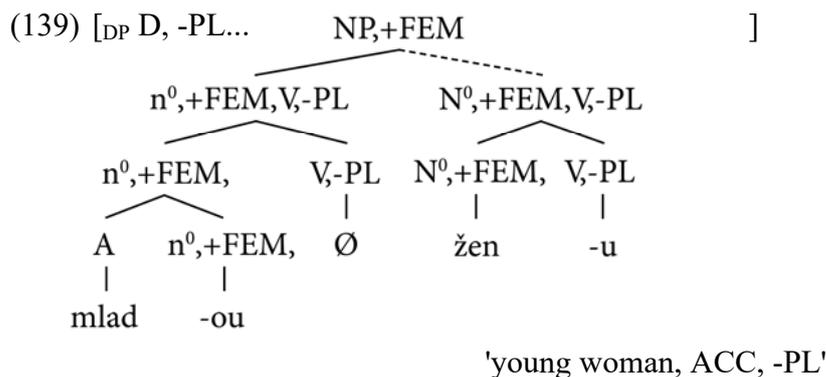
- (136) \**Les travaux principal sont terminés.* (French)  
 \*the<sub>PL</sub> work<sub>MPL</sub> main<sub>MS</sub> are<sub>AUX.3PL</sub> finished

An agreement in case can be seen in Czech in (137) and (138). In French where the nominal declension got lost over the centuries, such agreement cannot be found; therefore, no examples can be supplied.

- (137) *Velká kočka se vyhřivala na sluníčku.* (Czech)  
 big<sub>FS.NOM</sub> cat<sub>FS.NOM</sub> REFL basked<sub>FS</sub> in sun<sub>NtS.LOC</sub>  
 'A big cat was basking in the sun.'

- (138) *Za velkou kočkou se krčila malá.* (Czech)  
 behind big<sub>FS.INS</sub> cat<sub>FS.INS</sub> REFL huddled<sub>FS</sub> small<sub>FS.NOM</sub>  
 'There was a small cat huddling behind the big one.'

It was shown that in Czech and French adjectives agree with their head nouns in number and gender. In Czech the agreement in case is also apparent, while in English none of the  $\phi$  – features occurs in adjectival modification of nouns. Williams (1981) claims that "head position of a complex word is the *final* position" and that "there is no need for a special rule for inflectional endings" (264). With respect to Czech Emonds comes to the conclusion that "agreeing adjectives are actually structural head Ns" (2012a, 196).



n<sup>0</sup> = non-lexical grammatical head

N<sup>0</sup> = open-class nouns

### 1.5.1.2 Determiners

Another feature common to all the three languages is the existence of determiners which are used along with adjectives for further modification of the head noun. Determiners constitute a large category. Not only do articles such as are found in English (116) and French (118) introduced in section 1.5.1 belong here, but also demonstratives (140) - (142) and possessives (143) - (145) are members of the category of determiners. Similarly to adjectives also determiners agree with the head noun in  $\phi$ -features in Czech and in French.

(140) *This car is fast.*

(141) *Toto auto je rychlé.* (Czech)  
 this<sub>NIS.NOM</sub> car<sub>NIS.NOM</sub> is fast<sub>NIS.NOM</sub>  
 'This car is fast.'

(142) *Cette voiture est rapide.* (French)  
 this<sub>FS</sub> car<sub>FS</sub> is fast<sub>FS</sub>  
 'This car is fast.'

(143) *This is my house.*

(144) *Toto je můj dům.* (Czech)  
 this<sub>NIS.NOM</sub> is my<sub>MS.NOM</sub> house<sub>MS.NOM</sub>  
 'This is my house.'

(145) *Ceci est ma maison.* (French)  
 this<sub>MS</sub> is my<sub>FS</sub> house<sub>FS</sub>  
 'This is my house.'

Numerals (146) - (148) and quantifiers (149) - (151) equally belong to the category of determiners, and also these parts of speech can be found in all the three languages.

## 1. Modification of Nouns in English, Czech, and French

- (146) *The celebrations lasted **five** days.*
- (147) *Oslavy trvaly **pět** dní. (Czech)*  
 celebration<sub>FPL.NOM</sub> lasted<sub>FPL</sub> five day<sub>MPL.GEN</sub>  
 'The celebrations lasted *five* days.'
- (148) *Les fêtes ont duré pendant **cinq** jours. (French)*  
 the<sub>PL</sub> celebration<sub>FPL</sub> have<sub>AUX.3PL</sub> lasted during five day<sub>MPL</sub>  
 'The celebrations lasted *five* days.'
- (149) *Many people came to the meeting.*
- (150) *Mnoho lidí přišlo na setkání. (Czech)*  
 many people<sub>MPL.GEN</sub> arrived to meeting  
 'Many people came to the meeting.'
- (151) *Beaucoup de gens est venu au rendez-vous. (French)*  
 many of people<sub>MPL</sub> are<sub>AUX.3PL</sub> come to meeting  
 'Many people came to the meeting.'

Since the category of determiners can be found in all the three languages, we can say that they resemble each other also in this aspect. Further on, for adjectival modification in English, Czech, and French it is possible to use an adjective along with a determiner. In such cases in all of these languages the adjective *must follow the determiner* (152) - (154), or else the expressions would be ungrammatical (156) - (158)<sup>20</sup>.

- (152) *My old friend moved away.*
- (153) *Můj starý přítel se odstěhoval. (Czech)*  
 my<sub>MS.NOM</sub> old<sub>MS.NOM</sub> friend<sub>MS.NOM</sub> REFL moved.away<sub>MS</sub>  
 'My old friend moved away.'
- (154) *Mon vieux ami a déménagé. (French)*  
 my<sub>MS</sub> old<sub>M</sub> friend<sub>MS</sub> has<sub>AUX</sub> moved.away  
 'My old friend moved away.'
- (155) *Ses idées impressionnantes les ont choqué.*  
 his/her<sub>FPL</sub> idea<sub>FPL</sub> impressive<sub>FPL</sub> them have<sub>AUX.3PL</sub> shocked  
 'His/Her impressive ideas shocked them.'

- (156) *\*Old my friend moved away.*

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<sup>20</sup> This ordering is optional in pre-modification of Japanese nouns (J.Emonds, personal communication).

(157) \**Starý můj přítel se odstěhoval.* (Czech)  
 \*old<sub>MS.NOM</sub> my<sub>MS.NOM</sub> friend<sub>MS.NOM</sub> REFL moved.away<sub>MS</sub>

(158) \**Vieux mon ami a déménagé.* (French)  
 \*old<sub>M</sub> my<sub>MS</sub> friend<sub>MS</sub> has<sub>AUX</sub> moved.away

In French if the attributive adjective post-modifies the noun, the determiner precedes the noun (155).

In this section it was shown that demonstratives, possessives, numerals, and quantifiers constituting the category of determiners can also be found cross-linguistically in all the three languages. In English and French in addition to the members already named there are also articles which represent the category of determiners. In English and Czech if the noun phrase contains an adjective, the determiner is immediately followed by the adjective, however, in French the determiner can be immediately followed by the noun. The noun can then be post-modified by an adjective. In all three languages, nonetheless, it can be said that in a noun phrase the determiner has to come first.

### 1.5.1.3 Adverbs

The attributive adjectives can be preceded not only by determiners but also by modifying adverbs (159) - (161) and also here similarities among the three languages can be found. In English and Czech the order which must be observed is: Determiner – Adverb – Adjective – Noun, otherwise ungrammaticality is produced (162) - (163).

In French the position of the adverb and adjective in such case differs from English (159) and Czech (160) in that both the adverb and the adjective in French follow the noun; the order is: Determiner – Noun – Adverb – Adjective as in (161).

(159) *three unbelievably tireless students*

(160) *tři neuvěřitelně neúnavní studenti* (Czech)  
 three unbelievably tireless<sub>MPL.NOM</sub> student<sub>MPL.NOM</sub>  
 'three unbelievably tireless students'

(161) *trois étudiants incroyablement infatigables* (French)  
 three student<sub>MPL</sub> unbelievably tireless<sub>PL</sub>  
 'three unbelievably tireless students'

(162) \**three tireless unbelievably students*

(163) \**tři neúnavní neuvěřitelně studenti* (Czech)  
 \*three tireless<sub>MPL.NOM</sub> unbelievably student<sub>MPL.NOM</sub>

In French, also if the order of the adverb and the adjective is changed, the expression becomes ungrammatical (164).

- (164) \**trois étudiants infatigables incroyablement* (French)  
 \*three student<sub>MPL</sub> tireless<sub>PL</sub> unbelievably

It was shown that in case of further modification of the attributive adjective within a noun phrase rules concerning word order have to be kept. These rules are partially common for English, Czech and French. The modifying adverb precedes the attributive adjective in all three languages. In English and Czech this group immediately follows the determiner and precedes the noun, while in French the attributive adjective pre-modified by an adverb follows the head noun which is itself preceded by the determiner.

#### 1.5.1.4 Degree modifiers

In all three languages besides adverbs, adjectives also accept degree modifiers such as English *very, quite, too*, etc. (165) - (167).

- (165) *This very big car is sold.*

- (166) *Toto velmi velké auto je prodáno.* (Czech)  
 this<sub>NIS.NOM</sub> very big<sub>NIS.NOM</sub> car<sub>NIS.NOM</sub> is sold  
 'This very big car is sold.'

- (167) *Cette voiture très grande est vendue.* (French)  
 this<sub>FS</sub> car<sub>FS</sub> very big<sub>FS</sub> is sold  
 'This very big car is sold.'

Similarly to the modification by adverbs (section 1.5.1.3) also the degree modifier precedes the attributive adjective in all three languages. In English and Czech the modified attributive adjective immediately follows the determiner and precedes the noun (165) and (166). In French the attributive adjective pre-modified by a degree modifier follows the head noun which is itself preceded by the determiner (167). Also in this case of modification even if the word order in English and Czech may differ from the word order in French, in each of the languages the order of the individual parts of speech must be preserved, otherwise the expressions are ungrammatical (168) - (170).

- (168) \**This big very car is sold.*

- (169) \**Toto velké velmi auto je prodáno.* (Czech)  
 \*this<sub>NIS.NOM</sub> big<sub>NIS.NOM</sub> very car<sub>NIS.NOM</sub> is sold

- (170) \**Cette voiture grande très est vendue.* (French)  
 \*this<sub>FS</sub> car<sub>FS</sub> big<sub>FS</sub> very is sold

It was shown that simple attributive adjectives can pre-modify nouns in English, Czech and French. There are many aspects of the nominal pre-modification that the languages have in common and which were described in sections 1.5.1.1 to 1.5.1.4. It turned out

that there are only slight differences among the studied languages. English and Czech make the same distinctions as French, but the form N - AP[ ...A] must be reversed in French.

### 1.5.2 Post-modification by Simple Adjectives

In all three languages adjectives can also be found in post-position, however, in English "[p]ostpositive adjectives are much less frequent than attributive and predicative ones: adjectives are admissible in this position only under severe syntactic constraints" (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 529). Post-positive adjectives in English can be found mostly in fixed phrases (171) - (172), thus (27) holds and can be stated as in (173).

(171) *the president elect*

(172) *court martial*

#### (173) English Adjectival Word Order.

A primary attributive adjective usually pre-modifies the noun. It is post-posed only in fixed phrases.

In Czech, the post-position of a simple adjective can be found in technical terms e.g. zoology (174) or chemistry (175) or in religious terminology (176)<sup>21</sup>.

(174) *výr*                *velký*  
 owl<sub>MS.NOM</sub> big<sub>MS.NOM</sub>  
 'eagle owl'

(175) *oxid*                *uhličitý*  
 oxide<sub>MS.NOM</sub> carbonic<sub>MS.NOM</sub>  
 'carbon dioxide'

(176) *země*                *zaslíbená*  
 land<sub>FS.NOM</sub> promised<sub>FS.NOM</sub>  
 'the promised land'

In such cases as (177) and (178) the postposed adjective adds emotionality<sup>22</sup> to the expression. As the examples show the adjective in such case is always in the feminine form, even if the head noun is masculine. It means that in this kind of emphatic or

<sup>21</sup> The occurrence of Czech verbal adjectives in postnominal position will be discussed more in detail in Chapters 3 and 5.

<sup>22</sup> For more details on the change in emotionality in relation to the post-position of the adjective in Czech see Grepl et al. (1995). Gonzaga (2014) in European Portuguese notices a change in meaning of certain adjectives. She talks about a change in meaning which reflects the opinion of the speaker.

expressive use the adjective does not always agree with the head noun in gender as illustrated by (178).

(177) *Holka bláznivá!*  
 girl<sub>FS.NOM</sub> crazy<sub>FS.NOM</sub>  
 'What a crazy girl!'

(178) *Chlap líná!* (Grep1 1995, 491)  
 guy<sub>MS.NOM</sub> lazy<sub>FS.NOM</sub>  
 'What a lazy guy!'

The post-nominal position of a primary attributive adjective in Czech is also used for emphasis. Mathésius (1975) when he compares word order in English and Czech notes that in Czech

"[t]hough the normal position of an adjectival attribute is before its governing noun, the postsubstantival position is not inconceivable (it occurs, for example, in emphasis *On nosí klobouk slaměný* (He wears a hat-sb. straw-adj.)) or the two elements may be removed from each other (*On nosí klobouk obyčejně slaměný* (He wears a hat usually straw-adj.))"(154).

Such word order is usually called "marked" in the traditional terminology. The post-nominal position of the primary attributive adjective in Czech is thus available in cases of terminology, increased expressivity, and emphasis.

For the use of a primary attributive adjective in post-position, special conditions described above are necessary. Nonetheless, in Czech the default word order of an NP is the one given by (27). Taking in account the possibilities of post-position can be restated as in (179).

(179) **Czech Adjectival Word Order.**

A primary attributive adjective usually pre-modifies the noun. It is post-posed only under certain conditions. The word order in Czech is inverted in scholarly terminology, for emphasis, and for greater expressivity. In such a case, however, the post-posed adjective (but not a determiner) does not always agree with its head noun in gender. It must be feminine.

As it has already been mentioned above (128), in French the postposition of a simple adjective is not rare (180) and (181), on the contrary, the French adjectives which are polysyllabic are usually found in post-position.

(180) *Jeanne est une fille courageuse.*  
 Jane<sub>FS</sub> is a<sub>FS</sub> girl<sub>FS</sub> brave<sub>FS</sub>  
 'Jane is a brave girl.'

- (181) *Elle a lu un livre intéressant.*  
 she has<sub>AUX</sub> read a<sub>MS</sub> book<sub>MS</sub> interesting<sub>MS</sub>  
 'She read an *interesting* book.'

Certain adjectives<sup>23</sup> in French can acquire a different meaning depending on their position. If the adjective occurs post-nominally, they have the original meaning (182) and (183).

- (182) *Il a acheté une voiture chère.*  
 he has<sub>AUX</sub> bought a<sub>FS</sub> car<sub>FS</sub> expensive<sub>FS</sub>  
 'He bought an *expensive* car.'

- (183) *L' ancienne propriétaire de la maison a déménagé à l' étranger.*  
 the<sub>S</sub> former<sub>FS</sub> owner<sub>FS</sub> of the<sub>FS</sub> house<sub>FS</sub> has<sub>AUX</sub> moved to the<sub>S</sub>  
 abroad<sub>MS</sub>  
 'The *former* owner of the house moved abroad.'

If the adjective occurs prenominally its meaning is figurative (184) and (185).

- (184) *Ma chère amie est venue me voir.*  
 my<sub>FS</sub> dear<sub>FS</sub> friend<sub>FS</sub> is<sub>AUX</sub> came me<sub>ACC</sub> see<sub>INF</sub>  
 'My *dear* friend came to see me.'

- (185) *Les archéologues ont trouvé une bague ancienne.*  
 the<sub>PL</sub> archeologist<sub>MPL</sub> have<sub>AUX.3PL</sub> found a<sub>FS</sub> ring<sub>FS</sub> ancient<sub>FS</sub>  
 'The archeologists found an *ancient* ring.'

Similarly to Czech also in French the word order can be changed to produce expressivity. A French polysyllabic adjective can be used prenominally as in (186). However, the choice of adjectives that can undergo the change of word order in order to achieve greater expressivity is limited to evaluative adjectives.

- (186) *Puisqu' il parlait français il avait un énorme avantage.*  
 since he spoke<sub>3S</sub> French<sub>MS</sub> he had<sub>3S</sub> a<sub>MS</sub> enormous<sub>MS</sub> advantage<sub>MS</sub>  
 'Since he spoke French he had an *enormous* advantage.'

As we could see, the post-modification by adjectives is not impossible in English or Czech; however, it is much less frequent and more restricted. On the other hand, in French the occurrence of adjectives post-nominally is not exceptional, quite on the

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<sup>23</sup> A list of such adjectives can be found in Grevisse (2008, 412) or in Hendrich et al. (1992, 171 – 172), however, neither of the lists which are provided is a complete one.

contrary. It has also been shown that in Czech and French a change in word order can result in growing expressivity or emotionality of the phrase.

### 1.5.3 Modification by Complex Adjectives

In the previous sections we could see that underived attributive adjectives always precede the noun in English. Emonds (2013, 69) notes that "[a]djectives without complements precede English Ns, while APs that contain complements follow them" (Smith 1961, 344). When Smith (1961, 344) deals with complex modifiers in English, she remarks that their "complements never precede nouns." As we can see below, Smith's observations for English can be extended to French and to some extent to Czech as well. Prenominal modification by a complemented adjective is not possible in English (187) and neither in French (188).

(187) \**Thomas looked like a **tired of life** man.*

(188) \**Thomas avait l' air d' un **fatigué de la vie** homme.* (French)

\*Thomas<sub>MS</sub> had<sub>3S</sub> the<sub>S</sub> look<sub>MS</sub> of a<sub>MS</sub> tired<sub>MS</sub> of the<sub>FS</sub> life<sub>FS</sub> man<sub>MS</sub>

In Czech pre-modification by a complex adjective seems to be impossible at first glance (189). However, if the word order of the complement is changed, the pre-modification by a complex adjective becomes possible in Czech (190).

(189) \**Tomáš vypadal jako **unavený životem** člověk.* (Czech)

\*Thomas<sub>MS.NOM</sub> looked<sub>MS</sub> like tired<sub>MS.NOM</sub> life<sub>MS.INS</sub> man<sub>MS.NOM</sub>

(190) *Tomáš vypadal jako **životem unavený** člověk.* (Czech)

Thomas<sub>MS.NOM</sub> looked<sub>MS</sub> like life<sub>MS.INS</sub> tired<sub>MS.NOM</sub> man<sub>MS.NOM</sub>

'Thomas looked like a man *tired of life*.'

While the pre-position of a complex adjective turns out to be impossible in English (187) and French (188) and it is allowed only under certain conditions in Czech (189) and (190), the post-modification by a complex adjective is felicitous in all the three languages. If there is a complex adjective used for modification of a noun, it has to be postposed in English (191) and French (192).

(191) *Thomas looked like a man **tired of life**.*

(192) *Thomas avait l' air d' un homme **fatigué de la vie**.* (French)

Thomas<sub>MS</sub> had<sub>3S</sub> the<sub>S</sub> look<sub>MS</sub> of a<sub>MS</sub> man<sub>MS</sub> tired<sub>MS</sub> of the<sub>FS</sub> life<sub>FS</sub>

'Thomas looked like a man *tired of life*.'

(193) **English and French Modification by Complex Adjectives.**

Complex adjectives follow the head noun.

In Czech there are two positions available for a complex adjective. Either it can pre-modify the noun as it was shown above (190) or it can be post-posed (194) and (195).

(194) *Tomáš vypadal jako člověk unavený životem.* (Czech)  
 Thomas<sub>MS.NOM</sub> looked<sub>MS</sub> like man<sub>MS.NOM</sub> tired<sub>MS.NOM</sub> life<sub>MS.INS</sub>  
 'Thomas looked like a man *tired of life*.'

(195) *Tomáš vypadal jako člověk životem unavený.* (Czech)  
 Thomas<sub>MS.NOM</sub> looked<sub>MS</sub> like man<sub>MS.NOM</sub> life<sub>MS.INS</sub> tired<sub>MS.NOM</sub>  
 'Thomas looked like a man *tired of life*.'

The difference between (194) and (195) is in the markedness. The word order of (194) is unmarked, while the word order of (195) is not. (195) is viable only under the condition that one wants to put emphasis on the adjective.

(196) **Czech Complex Adjective Modification.**

There are two positions for Complex adjectives. In the post-modifying position there are two possible word orders of the individual constituents of the NP. In the pre-modifying position the word order of the individual constituents is restricted to only one.

Examining complex modifiers in English, Smith also observes that:

"[p]hrases with preposition-noun complements may not be split so that the adjective precedes the noun and the complement follows, since if this were the case the prepositional phrase would apply to the noun rather than to the adjective.

*...a man blue in the face*

*...\*a blue man in the face.*" (Smith 1961, 344)

This observation is applicable not only to English complex adjectives but also to the ones in French and in Czech. If the adjective is separated from its complement and used pre-nominally, leaving the complement follow the head noun, the results are uniformly ungrammatical (197) - (200).

(197) *\*Thomas looked like a tired man of life.*

(198) *\*Thomas avait l' air d' un fatigué homme de la vie.* (French)  
 \*Thomas<sub>MS</sub> had<sub>3S</sub> the<sub>S</sub> look<sub>MS</sub> of a<sub>MS</sub> tired<sub>MS</sub> man<sub>MS</sub> of the<sub>FS</sub> life<sub>FS</sub>

(199) *\*Tomáš vypadal jako unavený člověk životem.* (Czech)  
 \*Thomas<sub>MS.NOM</sub> looked<sub>MS</sub> like man<sub>MS.NOM</sub> life<sub>MS.INS</sub> tired<sub>MS.NOM</sub>

(200) *\*Tomáš vypadal jako životem člověk unavený.* (Czech)  
 \*Thomas<sub>MS.NOM</sub> looked<sub>MS</sub> like life<sub>MS.INS</sub> man<sub>MS.NOM</sub> tired<sub>MS.NOM</sub>

As we can see, complemented and therefore complex adjectives must follow the head noun in English and French, otherwise ungrammaticality is produced. In Czech complex adjectives can be found post-nominally or pre-nominally, depending on the order of the constituents of the adjectival complex.<sup>24</sup> In neither of the languages can the complex adjective be split so that a part occurred pre-nominally and the other part post-nominally.<sup>25</sup>

### 1.6 Common points of the adjectival modification in English, Czech and French

It was shown that nouns in English, Czech, and French can be pre-modified by determiners and simple attributive adjectives. Attributive adjectives themselves can be further modified by adverbs, degree modifiers, or they can be complemented. In all the three languages complex adjectives can be found and in all the three languages they must follow the head noun. Before we proceed to the participial formation and use of adjectives in English, Czech, and French, it is convenient to go over the main points concerning adjectival modification in these languages as they were treated in Chapter One, since in the subsequent chapters we will frequently refer to the observations made in Chapter One.

#### I. Pre-/post- modification

##### A) Pre-modification

1) Simple attributive adjectives occur in English (201), Czech (202) and French (203).

(201) *a black cat*

(202) *nové auto*  
 new<sub>NtS.NOM</sub> car<sub>NtS.NOM</sub>  
 'a new car'

(203) *un bon exemple*  
 a<sub>MS</sub> good<sub>MS</sub> example<sub>MS</sub>  
 'a good example'

2) In Czech and French adjectives show agreement with the head noun.

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<sup>24</sup> Grepl and Karlík (1998) points out that the position of the complex adjective in Czech depends also on its length. The longer the complex is, the more likely it will be found in post-position.

<sup>25</sup> The use of complex adjectives and the placement of APs in Czech was described in grammar books by Trávníček (1949), Daneš et al. (1987), or Grepl et al.(1995). The position of an adjectival complex within the DP is, however, usually described rather vaguely without clear delimitation of the possible and ungrammatical uses. Doležel (1955) and Trávníček (1955) briefly deal with the placement of complex APs in Czech. Probably the only larger piece of writing dealing with the place of the adjectival phrase and especially with the possibility of circumposition in Czech is Crhák (2011).

## 1. Modification of Nouns in English, Czech, and French

a) In French there is agreement in number and gender (204) - (211).

(204) *les œuvres principales*  
 the<sub>PL</sub> work<sub>FPL</sub> main<sub>FPL</sub>  
 'the *main* pieces of work'

(205) *l' œuvre principale*  
 the<sub>S</sub> work<sub>FS</sub> main<sub>FS</sub>  
 'the *main* piece of work'

(206) *les donateurs principaux*  
 the<sub>PL</sub> donor<sub>MPL</sub> main<sub>MPL</sub>  
 'the *main* donors'

(207) *le donateur principal*  
 the<sub>MS</sub> donor<sub>MS</sub> main<sub>MS</sub>  
 'the *main* donor'

(208) \**les œuvres principale*  
 \*the<sub>PL</sub> work<sub>FPL</sub> main<sub>FS</sub>

(209) \**les œuvres principaux*  
 \*the<sub>PL</sub> work<sub>FPL</sub> main<sub>MPL</sub>

(210) \**les donateurs principal*  
 \*the<sub>PL</sub> donor<sub>MPL</sub> main<sub>MS</sub>

(211) \**les donateurs principales*  
 \*the<sub>PL</sub> donor<sub>MPL</sub> main<sub>FPL</sub>

b) In Czech agreement in number, gender, and case must be observed (212) and (213), otherwise, ungrammaticality is produced (214) and (215).

(212) *(Ona) Zachránila mu život holýma rukama.*  
 (she) saved<sub>FS</sub> him<sub>DAT</sub> life<sub>MS.ACC</sub> bare<sub>FPL.INS</sub> hand<sub>FPL.INS</sub>  
 'She saved his life with her *bare* hands.'

(213) *(Ona) Provedla nás celým hradem za půl hodiny.*  
 (she) showed.around<sub>FS</sub> us<sub>ACC</sub> whole<sub>MS.INS</sub> castle<sub>MS.INS</sub> in half<sub>FS.ACC</sub> hour<sub>FS.GEN</sub>  
 'She showed us around the *whole* castle in half an hour.'

(214) \**(Ona) Zachránila mu život holé rukama.*  
 \*(she) saved<sub>FS</sub> him<sub>DAT</sub> life<sub>MS.ACC</sub> bare<sub>FPL.NOM</sub> hand<sub>FPL.INS</sub>

## 1. Modification of Nouns in English, Czech, and French

(215) \*(Ona) *Provedla nás celý hradem za půl hodiny.*  
\*(she) showed.around<sub>FS</sub> us whole<sub>MS.NOM</sub> castle<sub>MS.INS</sub> in half<sub>FS.ACC</sub> hour<sub>FS.GEN</sub>

3) In all three languages determiners can be used preceding the adjectives (216) - (218).

(216) *We admired **their** new house.*

(217) (My) *Obdivovali jsme jejich nový dům.* (Czech)  
(we) admired<sub>M+FPL</sub> are<sub>AUX.IPL</sub> their new<sub>MS.ACC</sub> house<sub>MS.ACC</sub>  
'We admired *their* new house.'

(218) *Nous avons admiré leur nouvelle maison.* (French)  
we have<sub>AUX.IPL</sub> admired their new<sub>FS</sub> house<sub>FS</sub>  
'We admired *their* new house.'

4) In all three languages it is possible to use an adverb and a determiner for further pre-modification of the adjective (219) - (221); the word order:

a) in English and Czech is: Det.-Adv.-Adj.-N.

(219) *her serenely happy smile*

(220) *jeho ledově chladný pohled*  
his icy cold<sub>MS.NOM</sub> look<sub>MS.NOM</sub>  
'his icy cold look'

b) in French: Det.-N-Adv.-Adj.

(221) *leur débat pratiquement inutile*  
their discussion<sub>MS</sub> practically useless<sub>S</sub>  
'their practically useless discussion'

5) In all three languages degree modifiers can appear along with the adjectives.

### B) Post-modification

1) A change in word order brings about a change in emotionality or expressivity in French (222) and Czech (223) and (224).

(222) *un éclatant succès* (Hendrich et al. 1992, 170)  
a<sub>MS</sub> impressive<sub>MS</sub> success<sub>MS</sub>  
'an *impressive* success'

(223) *Chlap líná!* (Grepl 1995, 491)  
guy<sub>MS.NOM</sub> lazy<sub>FS.NOM</sub>  
'What a lazy guy!'

(224) *Holka bláznivá!*  
 girl<sub>FS.NOM</sub> crazy<sub>FS.NOM</sub>  
 'What a silly girl!'

2) A single adjective can occur in post-position in English and in Czech, but the use of simple adjectives in post-position is more restricted and also less frequent in these two languages. In English adjectives are post-posed mostly in fixed expressions (225). In Czech the post-position is used mainly in zoology (226) and technical (227) or religious (228) terminology.

(225) *court martial*

(226) *výr velký*  
 owl<sub>MS.NOM</sub> big<sub>MS.NOM</sub>  
 'eagle owl'

(227) *oxid uhličité*  
 oxide<sub>MS.NOM</sub> carbonic<sub>MS.NOM</sub>  
 'carbon dioxide'

(228) *Písmo svaté*  
 scripture<sub>NtS.NOM</sub> holy<sub>NtS.NOM</sub>  
 'Holy Scripture'

3) On the other hand, in French single simple adjectives are more frequent in post-position (229). Certain adjectives occur in both pre- and post-position, however, their meaning changes. In (230) the adjective is in post-position and its meaning is the original one, while the adjective in (231) is in pre-modifying position and conveys figurative meaning. The possibility to change word order and meaning is, however, rather limited and not found with all the adjectives.

(229) *un ciel nuageux*  
 a<sub>MS</sub> sky<sub>MS</sub> cloudy<sub>M</sub>  
 'a cloudy sky'

(230) *du linge sale*  
 some<sub>MS</sub> laundry<sub>MS</sub> dirty<sub>S</sub>  
 'dirty laundry'

(231) *un sale caractère* (Grevisse and Goose 2008, 412)  
 a<sub>MS</sub> dirty<sub>S</sub> character<sub>MS</sub>  
 'nasty character'

## II. Complements and predicates

In English (232), Czech (233) and French (234) generally adjectives can also function as complements and predicates, however, there are certain differences which can be seen in the table below.

(232) *They are happy.*

(233) *(Oni) Jsou šťastní.*  
(they)<sub>are<sub>3PL</sub></sub> happy<sub>MPL.NOM</sub>  
'They are *happy*.'

(234) *Ils sont heureux.*  
they<sub>M</sub> are<sub>3PL</sub> happy<sub>M</sub>  
'They are *happy*.'

## 1. Modification of Nouns in English, Czech, and French

	<b>English</b>	<b>Czech</b>	<b>French</b>
<i>be</i>	<i>be happy</i>	<i>být šťastný</i> 'be happy'	<i>être heureux</i> 'be happy'
<i>become / get</i>	<i>get angry</i> <sup>26</sup>	-----	<i>devenir nerveux</i> 'become nervous'
<i>turn / grow / go</i>	<i>turn pale</i>	-----	-----
<i>look / sound / feel / smell</i>	<i>look disappointed</i> <sup>27</sup>	-----	<i>avoir l'air déçu</i> 'look disappointed'
<i>stay, remain</i>	<i>stay calm</i>	<i>zůstat klidný</i> 'stay calm'	<i>rester calme</i> 'stay calm'
<i>seem, appear</i>	<i>seem nervous</i>	-----	<i>paraître nerveux</i> / <i>avoir l'air nerveux</i> 'seem nervous'

**Table 1:** Adjectives as complements and attributes in English, Czech, and French

<sup>26</sup> In the English phrases *get angry* or *turn pale* the change of state is expressed by the verb and the state that somebody gets into is expressed by the adjective in similar cases in Czech (*rozčítit se* 'get angry' or *zblednout* 'turn pale') and French (*s'énerver* 'get angry') the change and the state are expressed by the verb.

<sup>27</sup> The Czech equivalents of the English phrases 'look *disappointed*' or 'seem *nervous*' consist of a verb *tvářit se / vypadat* ('look' / 'seem') and an adverb *zklamane* ('disappointed'), *nervózně* ('nervous'), not adjective \**tvářit se zklamaný* or \**vypadat nervózní*.

### III. Complex APs

In English and French a complex adjectival phrase cannot be used prenominally (235) and (236).

(235) \**Angry with the children* mother was crying.

(236) \**Énervée par les enfants* mère pleurait.  
 \*angry<sub>FS</sub> by the<sub>PL</sub> child<sub>MPL</sub> mother<sub>FS</sub> was.crying<sub>3S</sub>

In Czech pre-modification by a complex adjective is possible on if the word order of the constituents of the complement is changed (237) and (238).

(237) \**Rozzlobená na děti* matka plakala.  
 \*angry<sub>FS.NOM</sub> at child<sub>FPL.ACC</sub> mother<sub>FS.NOM</sub> was.crying<sub>FS</sub>

(238) *Na děti rozzlobená* matka plakala.  
 at child<sub>FPL.ACC</sub> angry<sub>FS.NOM</sub> mother<sub>FS.NOM</sub> was.crying<sub>FS</sub>  
 'The mother *angry with the children* was crying.'

In English and French the only position for complex adjectives is the post-modifying one (239) - (240). In Czech this position is also felicitous (241) and (242).

(239) *The mother angry with the children* was crying.

(240) *La mère énervée par les enfants* pleurait.  
 the<sub>FS</sub> mother<sub>FS</sub> angry<sub>FS</sub> by the<sub>PL</sub> child<sub>MPL</sub> was.crying<sub>3S</sub>  
 'The mother *angry with the children* was crying.'

(241) *Matka rozzlobená na děti* plakala.  
 mother<sub>FS.NOM</sub> angry<sub>FS.NOM</sub> at child<sub>FPL.ACC</sub> was.crying<sub>FS</sub>  
 'The mother *angry with the children* was crying.'

(242) *Matka na děti rozzlobená* plakala.  
 mother<sub>FS.NOM</sub> at child<sub>FPL.ACC</sub> angry<sub>FS.NOM</sub> was.crying<sub>FS</sub>  
 'The mother *angry with the children* was crying.'

In neither of the languages can the complex adjective be separated into single units and freely moved within the Noun phrase (243) - (245).

(243) \**Angry* mother *with the children* was crying.

(244) \**Rozzlobená* matka *na děti* plakala.  
 \*angry<sub>FS</sub> mother<sub>FS.NOM</sub> at child<sub>FPL.ACC</sub> was.crying<sub>FS</sub>

- (245) \**L' énervée mère par les enfants pleurait.*  
\*the<sub>S</sub> angry<sub>FS</sub> mother<sub>FS</sub> by the<sub>MPL</sub> child<sub>MPL</sub> was.crying<sub>3S</sub>

#### IV. General possibility of derivation

- 1) In all three languages simple adjectives are either primary, i.e. non-derived or secondary, i.e. derived.  
2) In all three languages adjectives can be derived from nouns (246) - (251) and verbs (252) - (254).

(246) *recreation – recreation – al*

(247) *dirt – dirt - y*

(248) *dřevo* 'wood' – *dřevě – n - ý* 'wooden' (Czech)

(249) *škola* 'school' – *škol – n - í* 'school' (Czech)

(250) *dent* 'tooth' – *dent - aire* 'dental' (French)

(251) *parent* 'parent' – *parental* 'parental' (French)

(252) *tire – tir – ed*

(253) *znepokojit* 'worry' – *znepokoje – n - ý* 'worried' (Czech)

(254) *amuser* 'amuse' – *amus - ant* 'amusing' (French)

- 3) In Czech (255) and (256) and to a certain extent in English (257) adjectives can be derived from primary adjectives.

(255) *malý* 'small' – *mal – ičk - ý* 'very small' (Czech)

(256) *starý* 'old' – *pra - starý* 'very old' (Czech)

(257) *long – long - ish*

- 4) In Czech (258) adjectives can also be derived from adverbs.

(258) *tam* 'there' – *tam – n - í* 'local'

# 1. Modification of Nouns in English, Czech, and French

## Summary

	<b>French</b>	<b>Czech</b>	<b>English</b>
<b>Pre-modification</b>	possible for only some adjectives: a few but very frequent adjectives (203), evaluative adjectives (222), (231)	the most frequent case (202)	the usual case (201); exceptions: <i>alive, ashamed, asleep, awake, galore, etc.</i>
<b>Post-modification</b>	usually if the adjective has two syllables or more (229)	restricted to technical terms (226) and (227) and emphatic use (223) and (224)	restricted to fixed expressions (225)
<b>Agreement</b>	number, gender (204) - (211)	case, number, gender (212) - (215)	-----
<b>Predication</b>	possible (234)	possible (233)	possible (232)
<b>Complementation</b>	with the following V: <i>devenir</i> 'become', <i>avoir l'air</i> 'look / seem / appear', <i>rester</i> 'stay / remain', <i>paraître</i> 'appear / seem', etc.	only with the following V: <i>zůstat</i> 'stay / remain', <i>vypadat</i> 'look', <i>zdát se</i> 'seem / appear' <sup>28</sup>	with several V: <i>become, get, turn, etc.</i>
<b>Derivation from N and V</b>	possible (250), (251), and (254)	possible (248), (249) and (253)	possible (246), (247), and (252)
<b>Derivation from primary adjectives</b>	-----	possible by suffixation (255) or by prefixation (256)	rare but possible (257)
<b>Derivation from adverbs</b>	-----	possible (258)	-----

**Table 2:** Simple attributive adjectives in French, Czech, and English

<sup>28</sup> Adverbial complementation is also possible and possibly even more common for *vypadat* 'look'.

## 1. Modification of Nouns in English, Czech, and French

	<b>French</b>	<b>Czech</b>	<b>English</b>
<b>Pre-modification</b>	-----	possible (238)	-----
<b>Post-modification</b>	possible (240)	possible (241) and (242)	possible (239)
<b>Separation within the NP</b>	-----	-----	-----

**Table 3:** Complex attributive adjectives in French, Czech, and English

## 2. General uses of Non-Attributive Present Participles

In Chapter 1 I have discussed the use of attributive adjectives in English, Czech, and French; the possibilities of their derivation from nouns and from adverbs and their agreement with nouns. Finally, the focus was on the distribution and use of complex adjectival phrases. Tables summarizing the main similarities and differences between English, Czech, and French modification of nominals were introduced in section 1.5. In all these languages, besides primary adjectives and adjectives derived from nouns, there are also adjectives derived from verbs, which have not been mentioned yet.

These adjectives (259) - (261) share the properties of simple attributive adjectives described in sections 1.1.2 – 1.1.3. Like simple attributive adjectives, adjectives derived from verbs when they are not complemented, they are also positioned pre-nominally in English (259) and Czech (260), and post-nominally in French (261). In Czech and in French, these adjectives also show agreement like simple attributive adjectives discussed in section 1.5.1.1.

(259) *In the evening we watched an **interesting** film.*

(260) *Večer (my) jsme se dívali na **zajímavý** film.* (Czech)  
 evening (we) are<sub>AUX</sub> REFL watched<sub>M+FPL</sub> at interesting<sub>MS.ACC</sub> film<sub>MS.ACC</sub>  
 'In the evening we watched an *interesting* film.'

(261) *Le soir nous avons regardé un film **intéressant**.* (French)  
 the<sub>MS</sub> evening<sub>MS</sub> we have<sub>AUX.1PL</sub> watched a<sub>MS</sub> film<sub>MS</sub> interesting<sub>MS</sub>  
 'In the evening we watched an *interesting* film.'

We will see that also these adjectives when they are complemented behave similarly to the complex adjectives discussed in section 1.5.3, where we could notice that while the post-modifying position is available in English, French, and Czech, only in Czech the complex adjective occurs also in pre-modifying position.

Later in Chapters 3 and 5, I am going to focus on these adjectives derived from verbs and discuss them in more detail. But before that the English *-ing* form called the *gerund* or *present participle* in traditional grammar will be mentioned, simply to put attributive uses of *-ing* in perspective.

In English the *-ing* form can be derived from any verb, except for modal auxiliaries, and it can assume various nominal functions; therefore, its analysis is a complex issue. What follows is a brief summary illustrating the uses of the *-ing* form in English, introducing Czech and French counterparts where possible. These uses of the English *-ing* form and the Czech and French counterparts are introduced here in order to emphasize the versatility of the English *-ing* morpheme and to clearly eliminate the uses that are not going to be further discussed in this work. This comparison will also help to show to what extent the three languages are similar or how much they differ.

## 2.1 The English *-ing* form as a participle modifying verbs

In the first section of this chapter we are going to examine the predicative and participial use of the *-ing* form in English introducing the Czech and French formation and use of the participles for comparison. In the second section the nominal uses of the *-ing* form, the possibilities of derivation of result and event nominals, and gerunds in English are going to be discussed and their Czech and French counterparts are going to be examined.

### 2.1.1 English active participles

#### 2.1.1.1 The English *-ing* form as a part of the predicate

In English the *-ing* form can constitute the main or secondary predicate (262) - (264).<sup>29</sup>

(262) *The boy started **walking** towards the edge.*

(263) *She was **listening** to the radio.*

(264) *They heard somebody **talking** in the yard.*

The examples (265) - (267) show that the *-ing* form which occurs in (262) - (264) does not have nominal properties. The *-ing* form in (265) cannot be used along with the indefinite determiner, in (266) the *-ing* form is not a nominal since it cannot occur in the plural, and in (267) it cannot be used along with the definite determiner.

(265) *\*The boy started **a walking** towards the edge.*

(266) *\*She was **listenings** to the radio all week.*

(267) *\*They heard somebody **the talking** in the yard.*

The occurrence of a verb in the *-ing* form as a part of the predicate is, however, not always possible. Modal auxiliaries never occur in the *-ing* form and the verbs that are called 'stative' (Huddleston and Pullum 2002) or 'state' (Leech 2004) do not usually appear in the *-ing* form as a part of the predicate either. There have been various studies of the occurrence of stative verbs as parts of predicates (Dennis 1940, Hatcher 1951, De

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<sup>29</sup> Huddleston and Pullum (2002) use the term "gerund-participle form of verb" and "take the view that even from a purely syntactic point of view the traditional distinction between gerundial and participial uses of the verb-form ending in *-ing* is not well motivated." (1188) In Czech and French, where there are no gerundives that would correspond to the English one, as we will see later, this is not an issue. In Czech all the forms (i.e. verbal adjectives, adverbials, etc.) are morphologically distinct. In French the differentiation between the participle, adverbial, and verbal adjective is also sometimes difficult as we will see later.

Wit and Brisard 2009, etc.). I focus on the issue of some of the stative verbs in Černá (2014).

### 2.1.1.2 Adverbial Participial uses of the English *-ing* form

In such cases as (268) or when the *-ing* form occurs after certain subordinate conjunctions (269), it is called the *participle* and it can be used as an *adverbial*. Such use of the participle is possible if condensation<sup>30</sup> is sought, thus two sentences which have the same subject are connected into one. The adverbial participle has a semiclausal function. The *-ing* form expresses either simultaneity of the actions (268) or the order of actions is indicated by the conjunction (269).

(268) *Sandra wanted to learn English **knowing** that she would need it for her job.*

(269) *Carol sued the company after **consulting** the lawyer.*

The phrase which contains the *-ing* form and which is used as an adverbial in (268) and (269) can be fronted without causing ungrammaticality (270) and (271), which is a characteristic of other unselected or "free" adverbs (272) and (273).

(270) ***Knowing** that she would need it for her job, Sandra wanted to learn English.*

(271) *After **consulting** the lawyer, Carol sued the company.*

(272) ***Yesterday** they went on a trip.*

(273) *They are going to buy some presents for her **tomorrow**.*

The *-ing* form can also be used as a so-called absolute clause (274), where it has a separate overt lexical subject.

(274) *With such ideas **running** through your head no wonder you look tired.*

We saw the two participial uses of the English *-ing* form. In the first one the *-ing* form functions as an adverbial; in the second one it stands for a whole sentence in the function of an absolute clause.

So far we have seen that there are three uses of the *-ing* form in English. It can serve as a complement to some verbs, it is used as the adverbial participle in two positions (it occurs either at the end or it is preposed) and it can form an absolute clause.

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<sup>30</sup> By "condensation" we mean the process which permits one to omit the unnecessary repetition (of the grammatical subject in this case). It is a device which is used mainly for stylistic purposes.



## 2. General uses of Non-Attributive Present Participles

- (279) \**Správnou cestu neznajíc, bloudil*  
 \*right<sub>FS.ACC</sub> way<sub>FS.ACC</sub> knowing<sub>NEG.ADV.PRES.FS</sub> went.around.in.circles<sub>MS</sub>  
*tatínek po lese až do setmění.*  
 dad<sub>MS.NOM</sub> around forest until to dusk

In Czech besides the present adverbial (280) there is also the past adverbial (281)<sup>32</sup>, however, the use of both these forms is obsolete nowadays and can be found only in writing<sup>33</sup>.

- (280) *Telefonujíc (ona) odcházela dlouhou chodbou.*  
 talking.on.the.phone<sub>ADV.PRES.FS</sub> (she) was.leaving<sub>FS</sub> long<sub>FS.INS</sub> corridor<sub>FS.INS</sub>  
 'Talking on the phone she was leaving through the long corridor.'

- (281) *Přivoněvši k neznámému květu, (ona) kýchla.*  
 smelling<sub>ADV.PAST.FS</sub> to unknown<sub>MS.DAT</sub> bloom<sub>MS.DAT</sub> (she) sneezed<sub>FS</sub>  
 'Having smelled an unknown bloom she sneezed.'

The present adverbial participle in Czech can be derived from both perfective (282)<sup>34</sup> and imperfective (283) verbs.

<sup>32</sup> The past adverbial is derived from the infinitive by addition of an infix and a suffix. In masculine singular the infix is either *-v-* or *-Ø-*; in feminine and neuter singular and in all genders and persons of the plural the infix is either *-vš-* or *-š-*. The suffix in masculine singular is *-Ø*. In feminine and neuter singular the suffix is *-i* and in all plural the suffix is *-e*. Details of the formation of the adverbials can be found in Komárek et al. (1986, 408 – 495).

<sup>33</sup> Already Trávníček (1949) notes that the adverbial participles belong to the literary style; in the spoken language especially in Bohemia they have almost died out. Štícha (2008) confirms the rarity of adverbial participles in written Czech. Using the Czech national corpus and the internet he compares the use of adverbial participles with the use of adjectives ending in *-cí* to which they give rise and finds out that the latter form is much more frequently used. These adjectives will be discussed in detail in the next Chapter in section 3.2.1.2.

<sup>34</sup> Nonetheless, according to Komárek et al. (1986, 154) "[p]řítomný tvar T[ t.j. transgresív, přechodníků] u sloves dokonavých, tzv. T budoucí, zcela zastaral a vyšel z užívání. Kodifikace omezovaly jeho užití na vyjadřování předčasného děje budoucího nebo časově nezařazeného." 'The present adverbial participle of perfective verbs, the so called "future adverbial", became obsolete and is not used anymore. Its use was limited to the expression of the sequence of actions in the future or of actions the time of which was not specified.'

## 2. General uses of Non-Attributive Present Participles

- (282) *Vystoupaje*                      *po točitém*                      *schodišti,*                      *(on/ona) rozhlédne*  
 climb<sub>ADV.PRES.MS.PERF</sub> on winding<sub>NtS.LOC</sub> staircase<sub>NtS.LOC</sub> (he/she) will.look<sub>MS</sub>  
*se po kraji.*  
 REFL around landscape  
 'Having climbed up the winding staircase, he will take a look over the landscape.'
- (283) *Stoupajíc*                      *po nekonečném*                      *točitém*                      *schodišti*  
 climbing<sub>ADV.PRES.FS.IMPF</sub> on neverending<sub>NtS.LOC</sub> spiral<sub>NtS.LOC</sub> staircase<sub>NtS.LOC</sub>  
*(ona) přemýšlela o Pavlově sestře.*  
 (she) was.thinking<sub>FS</sub> about Paul<sub>POSS.MS.LOC</sub> sister<sub>FS.LOC</sub>  
 'Climbing up the neverending spiral staircase, she was thinking about Paul's sister.'

The past adverbial participle is derived from perfective verbs (284).<sup>35</sup> Time expressed by the adverbial participle is the relative time while absolute time is expressed by the predicate. Dvořák (1983) observes that "[...] the present adverbial participle of imperfective verbs expresses simultaneity of the actions [(283)], past adverbial participle of perfective verbs expresses the sequence of the actions [(284)]; the predicate can have any tense, mood, and aspect."<sup>36</sup>

- (284) *Vystoupav*                      *po točitém*                      *schodišti*                      *(on) rozhlédl*  
 climbing<sub>ADV.PAST.MS.PERF</sub> on winding<sub>NtS.LOC</sub> staircase<sub>NtS.LOC</sub> (he) looked<sub>MS</sub>  
*se po kraji.*  
 REFL around landscape  
 'Having climbed up the winding staircase, he took a look over the landscape.'

The adverbial participle in Czech has both active (283) - (285) and passive voice (286) and (287).

- (285) *Otec*                      *začal*                      *klimbat*                      *vyprávěje*                      *pohádku.*  
 father<sub>MS.NOM</sub> started<sub>MS</sub> nod.off<sub>INF</sub> telling<sub>ADV.PRES.MS</sub> fairy tale<sub>FS.ACC</sub>  
 'The father started to nod off telling the fairy tale.'

The passive adverbial consists of the verb *be* in the participial form, either present (286) or past (287) and the passive participle of the perfective (286) or imperfective (287) verb.

<sup>35</sup> "Minulý tvar T u sloves nedokonavých byl vždy ojedinělý; zachoval se jen u slovesa *být*." Komárek et al. (1986, 154) 'The past adverbial of imperfective verbs has always been rare; it is preserved only in case of the verb *be*.'

<sup>36</sup> "[...] přechodník přítomný sloves nedokonavých vyjadřuje děj současný, přechodník minulý sloves dokonavých děj předčasný; přísudkové sloveso může být v kterémkoli čase, způsobu i vidu." (Dvořák 1983, 187-188)

## 2. General uses of Non-Attributive Present Participles

- (286) *Jsa postaven před nesnadný úkol, zatoužil*  
being<sub>ADV.PRES.MS</sub> put<sub>PVP.PERF.MS</sub> in.front.of difficult<sub>MS.ACC</sub> task<sub>MS.ACC</sub> longed.for<sub>MS</sub>  
*Jan po chvílce samoty.*  
John<sub>MS</sub> after moment<sub>FS.LOC</sub> solitude<sub>FS.GEN</sub>  
'Being faced with a difficult task, Jan had a longing for a moment of solitude.'

- (287) *Byv zván na hostinu i samotným*  
being<sub>ADV.PAST.MS</sub> invited<sub>PVP.IMP.F.MS</sub> to feast<sub>FS.ACC</sub> even himself<sub>MS.INS</sub>  
*panovníkem, nakonec pozvání (on) přijal.*  
monarch<sub>MS.INS</sub> finally invitation<sub>NIS.ACC</sub> (he) accepted<sub>MS</sub>  
'Having been invited to the feast by the monarch himself, finally he accepted the invitation.'

In this section the Czech adverbial forms and their use have been briefly covered. Even though the different forms of the adverbial participle are available, in Czech this form is used rather rarely and if, then only in written form. However, it was necessary to introduce this verbal form, because it gives rise to the verbal adjective which will be discussed in detail in sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2 of the following chapter.

### 2.1.3 French

#### 2.1.3.1 The Present Participle

The term "participe actif" ('active participle') is not used in traditional French grammar. What can be found in French and which we will show is similar to the English *-ing* form is the present participle. In French "[l]e participe présent a toujours le sens actif"<sup>37</sup> (Grevisse 2005, 197). The present participle in French is formed in most cases with the use of the present stem, i.e. the 1<sup>st</sup> person plural present indicative of the verb from which we leave out the suffix of the agreement, and the suffix *-ant*.<sup>38</sup> The present participle in French does not show agreement, unless used as a derived adjective (see section 3.1); the form remains *-ant* when it is followed by a direct object (288) or by an adverb that is related to it, e.g. a temporal adverb (289).

- (288) *Il nous a donné des conseils concernant la visite de*  
he<sub>US.DAT</sub> has<sub>AUX</sub> given some<sub>PL</sub> advice<sub>MPL</sub> concerning<sub>PIP</sub> the<sub>FS</sub> visit<sub>FS</sub> of  
*son pays natal.*  
his<sub>MS</sub> country<sub>MS</sub> native<sub>MS</sub>  
'He gave us advice concerning the visit of his homeland.'

<sup>37</sup> 'The present participle always has the active meaning.'

<sup>38</sup> Discussing the formation of the present participle in French Hendrich et al. (1992, 346) notes that there are only a few French verbs that form their present participle irregularly, namely the verbs are: *être* 'be' – *étant*, *avoir* 'have' – *ayant*, and *savoir* 'know' – *sachant*.

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- (289) *Clarté fuyant toujours, et toujours poursuivie.*  
 clarity<sub>FS</sub> escaping<sub>PTP</sub> always and always pursued<sub>FS</sub>  
 (Grévisse 2008, 1150 in Musset, *La coupe et les lèvres*, IV).  
 'Clarity escaping always, and always pursued.'

The fact that the participle keeps its verbal characteristics is illustrated by the possibility of the adverb to follow it as we saw above (289), "[t]outefois l'observation n'a rien d'absolu. Ainsi on peut écrire: *Nous marchions, HÉSITANTS parfois, mais non découragés*, si c'est l'état qu'on veut exprimer"<sup>39</sup> (Grevisse and Goose 2008, 1150). However, in cases similar to the next example (290) provided by Grevisse and Goose, native speakers do not feel the present participle to be appropriate (291).<sup>40</sup>

- (290) *Il marche entre deux lignes de peupliers encore sans  
 feuilles, mais verdissant déjà.*  
 he walks between two row<sub>FPL</sub> of lime.tree<sub>MPL</sub> still without  
 leaf<sub>FPL</sub> but becomeing.green<sub>PTP</sub> already.  
 (Grévisse 2008, 1150 in Romains, *Lucienne*, p.227)  
 'He is walking between two rows of lime trees without leaves but *becoming green*  
*already*.'

- (291) \**Les enfants dormant déjà n'ont rien entendu.*  
 \*the<sub>PL</sub> child<sub>MPL</sub> sleeping<sub>PTP</sub> already NEG have<sub>AUX.3PL</sub> anything heard

The use of a complex sentence is necessary so that the sentence is grammatical (292).

- (292) *Les enfants qui dormaient déjà n'ont rien entendu.*  
 the<sub>PL</sub> child<sub>MPL</sub> who were.sleeping<sub>3PL</sub> already NEG have<sub>AUX.3PL</sub> anything heard  
 'The children who *had already been sleeping*, did not hear anything.'

Similarly to the Czech adverbial participle, in French the present participle is used for condensation if two sentences have the same subject, and it also expresses the simultaneity of the actions. Grevisse and Goose (2008, 1150) show that the present participle can also be a part of a reflexive verb (293) and it can be found in absolute clauses (294).

<sup>39</sup> 'Nonetheless, this observation is not absolute. Therefore we can write: *We walked, hesitating [+Agr.] sometimes, but not discouraged*, if it is the **state** that we want to express.' (Grevisse and Goose 2008, 1150)

<sup>40</sup> However, "[l]a présence d'un objet indirect ou d'un complément adverbial n'empêche pas aussi nettement que l'on ait affaire à l'adjectif". 'The presence of an indirect object or of an adverbial complement does not exclude the possibility that we are dealing with an adjective.' (Grevisse and Goose 2008, 1149)

## 2. General uses of Non-Attributive Present Participles

- (293) *La répétition double ou multiple de certaines syllabes sourdes*  
 the<sub>FS</sub> repetition<sub>FS</sub> double<sub>S</sub> or multiple<sub>S</sub> of certain<sub>FPL</sub> syllable<sub>FPL</sub> voiceless<sub>FPL</sub>  
*ou sonores se correspondant.*  
 or voiced<sub>FPL</sub> REFL corresponding<sub>PIP</sub>  
 'Double or multiple repetition of certain *corresponding* syllables voiced or voiceless.'
- (294) *Les circonstances aidant nous réussirons.*  
 the<sub>PL</sub> circumstance<sub>FPL</sub> helping<sub>PIP</sub> we will.succeed  
 'With the circumstances *helping* we will succeed.'

In French the preposition *en* precedes the present participle giving rise to the "gérondif" ('the gerundive')<sup>41</sup> (295). Despite the different traditional terminology, the uses are the same as in English or Czech.

- (295) *Elle a mangé en regardant la télé.*  
 she hasAUX eaten in watching<sub>PIP</sub> the<sub>FS</sub> TV<sub>FS</sub>  
 'She ate *watching* TV.'

In French a post-modifying present participle does not show agreement. It seems that in French since after *en* the present participle does not change the syntax, it simply substitutes for an infinitive after *en*. Other than this, the French present participle has no nominal use whatever.

In such cases as (296) and (297), the gerundive helps to identify the agent of the action of the verb in *-ant*. In (296) where the adverbial participle is preceded by *en* the subject is also the agent of the adverbial participle, while in (297) whether the present participle is related to the subject or to the object is ambiguous. In (297) it is not clear who was actually coming back from the station. Grevisse and Goose say that "[l]e gérondif a un rapport privilégié avec le sujet" and therefore "[296] ne sera pas confondu par le lecteur avec [297]" (2008, 1152).<sup>42</sup>

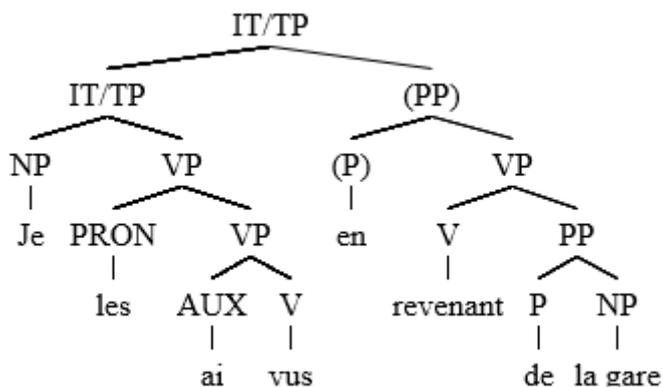
- (296) *Je les ai vus en revenant de la gare.*  
 I them<sub>ACC</sub> have<sub>AUX.IS</sub> seen in comeing.back<sub>PIP</sub> from the<sub>FS</sub> station<sub>FS</sub>  
 'I saw them *coming back* from the station.'

<sup>41</sup> The use of the term "gerund" is frequent especially in modern Romance languages (the Spanish "gerundio", the Italian "gerundio", the Catalan "gerundi", and the French "gérondif"). In each of these languages the term is used for a different phenomenon. They do not correspond to the English gerund. They are like English participles.

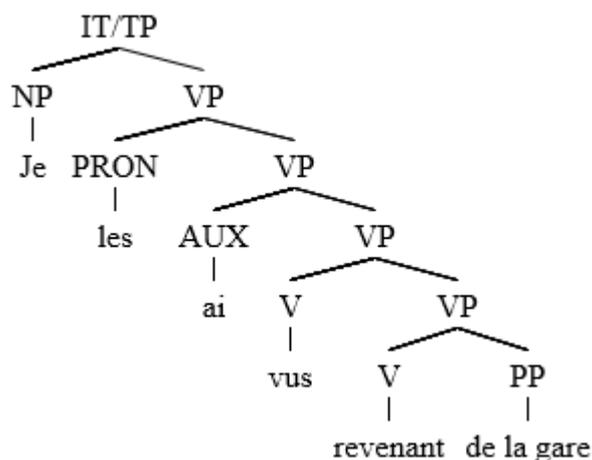
<sup>42</sup> Grevisse and Goose say that "[t]he gerundive has a privileged relation with the subject" and therefore "[296] it will not be confused by the reader with [297]" (2008, 1152).

- (297) *Je les ai vus revenant de la gare.*  
 I them<sub>ACC</sub> have<sub>AUX.1S</sub> seen coming.back.<sub>PTP</sub> from the<sub>FS</sub> station<sub>FS</sub>  
 'I saw them *coming back* from the station.'

In French as (296) and (297) show the participle can be in two places, but the PP with *en* can only be an adjunct as the Figures 1 and 2 below show.



**Figure 1:** French present participle optionally following the preposition *en*



**Figure 2:** French present participle modifying a direct object

The present participle form *-ant* can be preceded by negation (298) and (299) without overt agreement. "La forme en *-ant* est **participe présent** [...]quand elle est précédée de la négation *ne*" (Grevisse and Goose 2008, 1149).<sup>43</sup> In this regard the present participle acts like a VP. As Grevisse and Goose (2008, 1149) show it can be followed by a PP (298) or by another VP (299).

<sup>43</sup> 'The form *-ant* is the present participle [...]when it is preceded by negation *ne*.'

(298) *Nous allions, ne songeant à rien.*  
 we were.walking<sub>NEG</sub> thinking<sub>PIP</sub> about anything  
 'We were walking *not thinking* about anything.'

(299) *Ne pouvant pas quitter la soirée sans dire au revoir*  
 NEG can<sub>PIP</sub> NEG leave<sub>INF</sub> the<sub>FS</sub> party<sub>FS</sub> without say<sub>INF</sub> to again.see  
*à l'hôtesse, il est parti la chercher.*  
 to the<sub>S</sub> hostess<sub>FS</sub> he is<sub>AUX</sub> left her<sub>ACC</sub> look.for<sub>INF</sub>  
 'Not being able to leave the party without saying good-bye to the hostess he went to look for her.'

According to Grevisse and Goose (2008) the preposition *en* can be left out in cases where "il s'agit de donner la motivation d'un fait"<sup>44</sup> (1153), thus both versions of (300), i.e. with or without *en*, are grammatical.

(300) *(En) voulant rencontrer des gens, elle est sortie de chez elle.*  
 in wanting<sub>PIP</sub> meet<sub>INF</sub> some<sub>PL</sub> person<sub>MPL</sub> she is<sub>AUX</sub> left from at her  
 'Wanting to see some people, she left her place.'

As we could see, present participle in French is invariable, it does not show agreement neither in gender nor in number. It expresses the simultaneity of the actions; it is used for post-nominal modification (288) and (289), it occurs in absolute clauses (294), and it functions as an adverbial participle when it is preceded by the preposition *en* (295).

It has been shown that the use of the French present participle, the English active participle and the Czech adverbial participle are similar to a certain extent. In French, the present participle, in cases where it functions as an adverbial, contrary to the Czech adverbial, does not show any agreement.

The present participle in all three languages will be addressed again later because it also serves for derivation of verbal adjectives. This topic is going to be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, which treats modification of nouns.

## 2.2 The English –ing form as a Noun

### 2.2.1 English Derived Nominals

The English –ing form gives rise not only to a modifying participle or an adverbial (like Czech and French), but it is also used for the formation of nominals. Grimshaw (1990) distinguishes among nouns which denote *result*, *simple events*, and *complex events*.<sup>45</sup> *Result nominals* (301) and (302) are very similar to underived nouns in several aspects.

<sup>44</sup> 'the motivation of an act needs to be explained' (Grevisse and Goose 2008, 1153)

<sup>45</sup> Since the so called *simple event nominals* e.g. *event*, *race*, *trip*, *exam* "act just like result nominals in most respects" (Grimshaw 1990, 130) and since they do not have the –ing form, they are not going to be discussed further here.

## 2. General uses of Non-Attributive Present Participles

(301) *Tom sent Sue some romantic **writing**.*

(302) *Everyone admired the tall glass **building**.*

*Result nominals* can be modified by determiners or possessives, they usually take the plural and they can be modified by adjectives and post-modified by an *of-phrase* (303). Such occurrences as (303) are clearly *derived nominals* since they share most of properties with nouns.

(303) *Tom's minute **drawings** of the countryside looked almost professional.*

In contrast, Complex event nominals, one form being the *-ing* or gerundive nominals, have more verbal properties. They are not countable as shown in (304) and (305). Grimshaw says that they have "an argument structure. The argument structure of such a Noun must be satisfied, hence the obligatoriness of its arguments" (1990, 104).

(304) *The long **cooking** made the meat tender.*

(305) *\*The long **cookings** made the meat tender.*

Emonds (2007a) discusses derived nominals, which include both result nominals and complex event nominals. He observes that derived nominals can be derived only from verbs that express an activity (306).

(306) *\*Her **hoping** turned out to be pointless.*

Here English *result nominals* are only briefly treated, though certainly much more could be written about them. However, here they had to be mentioned in order to illustrate the polyfunctionality of the *-ing* morpheme and also to dispose of them for further analysis.

Verbal gerunds, which do not represent the main topic either, will be briefly discussed in the following section.

### 2.2.2 English Verbal Gerunds

Since the *-ing* forms of complex event nominals cannot take the plural (307), nor can they be modified by the definite determiner (308) or be followed by an *of-phrase* (309) they cannot be classified as *derived nominals*.

(307) *\*He enjoys **knowings** foreign languages.*

(308) *\*He enjoys **the knowing** foreign languages.*

(309) *\*He enjoys **knowing of** foreign languages.*

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Such occurrences as (310), where the *-ing* form occurs after the preposition or (311), where it is preceded by the possessive show nominal characteristics. Such occurrences of the *-ing* form as (310) or (311) are traditionally called a *gerund*.

(310) *When Adam visited that country, he truly appreciated the advantage **of knowing** foreign languages.*

(311) *Nothing can get near us without **our knowing**.* (Dušková 1994, 268)

The English *gerund* (312) has the distribution of nominals in a sentence. It is pre-modified by possessives, but it also has verbal characteristics in the possibility of modification by an adverb and not being post-modified by an *of-phrase* and allowing a direct object instead. We will see in 2.2.3.1 that such characteristics cannot be found with the French nominalizers *-tion*, *-ement*, etc.

(312) ***Her suddenly unwrapping the present** surprised us.*

We have just seen that in English, there are three distinct uses of the *-ing* form as a nominal: the *derived nominals*, which can be further divided into *result nominals* and *complex event nominals*, and the *gerund*. These nominal uses in English will not be treated in more detail, because we want to focus primarily on the attributive use of the *-ing* form. In the following section, for the sake of completeness, we are going to examine briefly the Czech and French counterparts of English *derived nominals* and *gerunds*.

### 2.2.3 Czech and Fench

In the other two languages which we focus on, i.e. Czech and French, nouns derived from verbs occur; however, the situation is different. *Result nominals* can be found in Czech (313) - (314).

(313) *Tomáš poslal Zuzaně romantické psaní.*  
Thomas<sub>MS.NOM</sub> sent<sub>MS</sub> Susan<sub>FS.DAT</sub> romantic<sub>NIS.ACC</sub> writing<sub>NIS.ACC</sub>  
'Thomas sent Susan some romantic *writing*.'

(314) *Ve vzdáleném cípu lesa jsme našli tajupnou stavbu.*  
in remote<sub>MS.LOC</sub> tip<sub>MS.LOC</sub> forest<sub>MS.GEN</sub> are<sub>AUX.IPL</sub> found<sub>MPL</sub> mysterious<sub>FS.ACC</sub>  
building<sub>FS.ACC</sub>  
'In a remote tip of the forest we found a mysterious *building*.'

*Result nominals* can also be encountered in French, where they are most frequently formed with the suffix *-ement* (315) or *-tion* (316).

## 2. General uses of Non-Attributive Present Participles

(315) *Nous avons trouvé le logement au centre ville.* (French)  
we have<sub>AUX.1PL</sub> found the<sub>MS</sub> accommodation<sub>MS</sub> in centre<sub>MS</sub> city<sub>FS</sub>  
'We found the *accommodation* in the city centre.'

(316) *La police a annoncé la description du meurtrier.*  
the<sub>FS</sub> police<sub>FS</sub> has<sub>AUX</sub> announced the<sub>FS</sub> description<sub>FS</sub> of murderer<sub>MS</sub>  
'The police announced the *description* of the murderer.'

Unlike in English where the *-ing* gives rise to both *derived nominals* and *participles*, in Czech (313), (314) and (317) and Frech (315), (316), and (318) the suffixes for the derivation of *result nominals* differ from the ones used for the formation of the participle.<sup>46</sup>

(317) \**Tomáš poslal Zuzaně píšíc.* (Czech)  
\*Thomas<sub>MS.NOM</sub> sent<sub>MS</sub> Susan<sub>FS.DAT</sub> writing<sub>ADV.PRES.FS</sub>

(318) \**Nous avons trouvé le logeant au centre ville.* (French)  
\*we have<sub>AUX.1PL</sub> found the<sub>MS</sub> accommodation<sub>PTP</sub> in centre<sub>MS</sub> city<sub>FS</sub>

In the following sections the possibilities of derivation of *nominals* and *gerunds* in French and in Czech are going to be examined in more detail.

### 2.2.3.1 French

Even though the suffixes used for derivation of *result nominals* in French and in English are different, their syntactic behaviour is alike. Similarly to English, in French the *result nominals* can be modified by determiners (319) or possessives (320).

(319) *Julie a envoyé une invitation à Julien.*  
Julia<sub>FS</sub> has<sub>AUX</sub> sent a<sub>FS</sub> invitation<sub>FS</sub> to Julien<sub>MS</sub>  
'Julia sent an *invitation* to Julien.'

(320) *Ici on doit mettre son vêtement de travail.*  
here one must put.on<sub>INF</sub> his/her<sub>MS</sub> clothes<sub>MS</sub> of work<sub>MS</sub>  
'Here one has to put on *working clothes*.'

*Result nominals* in French also take the plural and they can be modified by adjectives and post-modified by an *of-phrase* (321) - (322).

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<sup>46</sup> In French the suffixes for derivation of nouns from verbs and that express the result are several (e.g. *assassinat* 'killing', *vengeance* 'revenge', *couvée* 'clutch', *brûlure* 'burn'), however, the suffixes *-ement* and *-tion* are the most productive. In Czech *result nominals* are derived from verbs with the use of e.g. the suffixes *-í* or *-ba*.

## 2. General uses of Non-Attributive Present Participles

(321) *Les établissements scolaires de ce quartier n'ont pas une bonne réputation.*

the<sub>PL</sub> institution<sub>MPL</sub> school<sub>PL</sub> of this<sub>MS</sub> quarter<sub>MS</sub> NEG have<sub>AUX.3PL</sub> NEG a<sub>FS</sub>

good<sub>FS</sub> reputation<sub>FS</sub>  
'The *schools* of this quarter don't have a good reputation.'

(322) *Leurs descriptions détaillées de l'accident ont beaucoup aidé la police.*

their description<sub>FPL</sub> detailed<sub>FS</sub> of the<sub>S</sub> accident<sub>MS</sub> have<sub>AUX.3PL</sub> a lot

helped the<sub>FS</sub> police<sub>FS</sub>  
'Their detailed *descriptions* of the accident helped the police a lot.'

It seems, however, that the French nouns ending in the suffix *-tion*, which is "le suffixe nominale le plus productif en français contemporain" and which "sert surtout à faire des noms d'action à partir de verbes"<sup>47</sup> (323) - (325), are to a certain extent similar to the English *complex event nominals* (Grevisse and Goose 2008, 177). The use of the definite article is possible (323) and (324) and the countability is also questionable (325); moreover, the modification by an *of-phrase* is not impossible (324). Therefore, the use of Emonds's term *derived nominals*, which encompasses both *result* and *complex event nominals* seems sufficient for the purposes of this dissertation, in which it is not intended to focus on the details of *nominal derivation* as such.

(323) *La construction était très longue.*

the<sub>FS</sub> construction<sub>FS</sub> was very long<sub>FS</sub>

'The *construction* was very long.'

(324) *La répartition de l'héritage a duré dix ans*

the<sub>FS</sub> distribution<sub>FS</sub> of the<sub>S</sub> inheritance<sub>MS</sub> has<sub>AUX</sub> lasted ten year<sub>MPL</sub>

'The *distribution* of the inheritance took ten years.'

(325) *?Les constructions fragiles des ponts dans ce pays leur*

the<sub>PL</sub> construction<sub>FPL</sub> fragile<sub>PL</sub> of bridge<sub>MPL</sub> in this<sub>MS</sub> country<sub>MS</sub> them<sub>DAT</sub>

*faisaient peur.*

make fear<sub>FS</sub>

'The fragile *constructions* of the bridges in this country scared them.'

In French the modification of a nominal in *-tion* by an adverb is impossible, while the post-modifying *of-phrase* is grammatical (326) and (327).

(326) *\*Thomas admire sa composition rapidement de la peinture.*

\*Thomas<sub>MS</sub> admires his/her<sub>FS</sub> composition<sub>FS</sub> quickly of the<sub>FS</sub> painting<sub>FS</sub>

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<sup>47</sup> The suffix *-tion* is "the most productive nominal suffix in contemporary French" and it "serves mainly to derive nouns from verbs".

- (327) *Thomas admire sa composition rapide de la peinture.*  
 Thomas<sub>MS</sub> admires his/her<sub>FS</sub> composition<sub>FS</sub> quick of the<sub>FS</sub> painting<sub>FS</sub>  
 'Thomas admires his/her quick composition of the painting.'

In French (328) the *-tion* noun is derived from a verb, since it can be pre-modified by a possessive and post-modified by an *of-phrase*. It resembles rather a *derived nominal* than a *gerund*.

- (328) *Thomas admire sa composition de la peinture.*  
 Thomas<sub>MS</sub> admires his/her<sub>FS</sub> composition<sub>FS</sub> of the<sub>FS</sub> painting<sub>FS</sub>  
 'Thomas admires his/her composition of the painting.'

As we have seen, while in English, the *-ing* serves for derivation of *nominals*, *participles*, and *gerunds*, in French, the suffixes for derivation of *result nominals* and *complex event nominals* are multiple but the *-ant* form is not used at all. For these suffixes to be examined properly, a more detailed comparison, which would be beyond the scope of this work, would be necessary. However, in this work, the attributive use of the active and passive participles, not the nominal one, is the central issue. In this section we wanted to show that in any case in French these suffixes are not similar to the suffix of the present participle, which is the case in English.

### 2.2.3.2 Czech

Similarly to French, in Czech *result nominals* are also syntactically similar to the English ones.<sup>48</sup> In Czech the *result nominals* can be modified by possessives or by determiners, they take the plural, and they can be modified by adjectives and post-modified by a noun in Genitive case, which is an equivalent of the English *of-phrase* (329) and (330). Nor in Czech is the same suffix used for derivation of *result nominals* as the one for the formation of adverbials discussed in section 2.1.2.1.

- (329) *Všichni se báli jejího nelítostného zkoušení*  
 everybody REFL feared<sub>MPL</sub> her<sub>S.GEN</sub> merciless<sub>NIS.GEN</sub> examination<sub>NIS.GEN</sub>  
*opozdílčů.*  
 latecomer<sub>MPL.GEN</sub>  
 'Everybody was afraid of her merciless examination of the latecomers.'

- (330) *O těch nelítostných zkoušeních opozdílčů se*  
 about those<sub>PL.LOC</sub> merciless<sub>NiPL.LOC</sub> examination<sub>NiPL.LOC</sub> latecomer<sub>MPL.GEN</sub> REFL  
*vyprávěly historky.*  
 told story<sub>FPL.NOM</sub>  
 'Stories were told about the merciless examinations of the latecomers.'

<sup>48</sup> For details of the nominalization of verbal roots in Czech see Karlík (2007).

## 2. General uses of Non-Attributive Present Participles

*Complex event nominals* can also be found in Czech. And in this case the syntactic behaviour is similar, while the morphology of the *complex event nominal* and adverbial participles are different. Similarly to English, the Czech *complex event nominals* are abstract, uncountable, and can be further modified by noun phrases in the Genitive case (331) and (332).

(331) *Psaní ho bavilo.*  
 writing<sub>NIS.NOM</sub> him<sub>ACC</sub> amused  
 'He enjoyed *writing*.'

(332) *Psaní dopisů ho bavilo.*  
 writing<sub>NIS.NOM</sub> letter<sub>MPL.GEN</sub> him<sub>ACC</sub> amused  
 'He enjoyed *writing* letters.'

Thus, a counterpart to the English *gerund* (introduced above in (312) and here repeated in (333)), showing at the same time nominal and verbal characteristics, is not found in Czech.<sup>49</sup>

(333) *Tom enjoys her quietly playing the piano.*

In case of Czech nominals derived from verbs, the pre-modification by an adverb is not possible (334) and the post-modification by a noun in the Genitive case is also ungrammatical (335).

(334) \**Tomášovi se líbí její tiše hraní na klavír.*  
 \*Thomas<sub>DAT</sub> REFL enjoy her<sub>S.NOM</sub> quietly playing<sub>NIS.NOM</sub> on piano<sub>MS.ACC</sub>

(335) \**Tomášovi se líbí její tiché hraní klavíru.*  
 \*Thomas<sub>DAT</sub> REFL enjoy her<sub>S.NOM</sub> quiet<sub>NIS.NOM</sub> playing<sub>NIS.NOM</sub> piano<sub>MS.GEN</sub>

In Czech (336) the noun derived from the verb can be pre-modified by a possessive and an attributive adjective and post-modified by a PP in the accusative. Thus, neither in French nor in Czech, should we call the nominal a gerund; rather it is more properly a *result nominal*.

(336) *Tomášovi se líbí její tiché hraní na klavír.*  
 Thomas<sub>DAT</sub> REFL enjoy her<sub>S.NOM</sub> quiet<sub>NIS.NOM</sub> playing<sub>NIS.NOM</sub> on piano<sub>MS.ACC</sub>  
 'Tom enjoys *her quietly playing* the piano.'

<sup>49</sup> Along with gerunds the nominals derived from verbs which are the most closely related to verbs are called the "complex event nominals" by Grimshaw (1990). Veselovská (2001) calls the Czech counterpart "syntakticky derivovaná substantiva" ('syntactically derived nouns') and she points out that these Czech nominals are not as verbal as the English gerunds.

## 2. General uses of Non-Attributive Present Participles

We have seen that in English the suffix *-ing* can give rise to a *result nominal*, a *complex event nominal* or a *gerund*, while neither in Czech nor in French is there a single suffix that can be used for derivation of *result nominals*, *complex event nominals*, or *gerunds*. In both Czech and French, different suffixes are used for derivation of nominals from verbs.

### 2.3 Summary

In this chapter we saw the non-attributive use of present participles in English, French, and Czech. Participial and predicative uses were compared, and then the possible nominal use was discussed. Table 4 shows the suffixes used for derivation of participles, nominals, adjectives, and gerunds in English, French, and Czech.

	English	French	Czech
<b>participles</b>	- <i>ing</i>	- <i>ant</i>	- <i>ouc/íc -</i> ; - <i>v/Ø -</i> ; - <i>vš/š -</i> <sup>50</sup>
<b>derived nominals</b>	- <i>ing</i> , - <i>tion</i> , - <i>ment</i>	- <i>ement</i> , - <i>tion</i> , <i>etc.</i>	- <i>í</i> , - <i>ba</i>
<b>derived adjectives</b>	- <i>ing</i>	- <i>ant</i> , - <i>eur</i>	- <i>ící</i> , - <i>oucí</i> , <i>etc.</i>
<b>verbal gerunds</b>	- <i>ing</i>	-----	-----

**Table 4:** Comparison of the suffixes for derivation of participles, nominals, adjectives, and verbal gerunds in English, French, and Czech

As the table shows *participles*, *derived nominals*, and *derived adjectives* are found in English, French, and Czech. *Verbal gerunds*, on the other hand, can be found only in English.

It turns out also that among the three languages it is only English that has a single suffix so versatile that it can be used for derivation of *participles* (337) discussed in section 2.1., *nominals* (338) discussed in section 2.2., and *adjectives* (339) which are the subject of Chapter 3.

(337) *They were **singing** loudly.*

(338) *In the suburbs there were many **high-rise buildings**.*

(339) *She stood far from the **madding** crowd.*

The many uses of the *-ing* form which I have only briefly illustrated here in sections 2.1 and 2.2, have been described and classified by several linguists. Huddleston and Pullum propose the following labels claiming that:

"[a] distinction between gerund and present participle can't be sustained. In summary, words with a verb base and the *-ing* suffix fall into the following three classes:

<sup>50</sup> The infix is either - *ouc/íc -* for present adverbial or - *v/Ø -* ; - *vš/š -* for the past adverbial. The suffix depends on number and person. In any case it is either a short vowel or there is no morpheme at all. For details see section 2.1.2.1, especially footnotes 25 and 26.

## 2. General uses of Non-Attributive Present Participles

- (340) i *She had witnessed the killing of the birds.* [gerundial noun]  
 ii a. *He was expelled for killing the birds.* } [gerund-participle  
 b. *They are entertaining the prime minister.* } form of verb]  
 iii *The show was entertaining.* [participial adjective]." (2002, 83)

Emonds (2007a) also deals with the main uses of the *-ing* form in detail, dividing them into the *derived adjectives*, *participles*, *derived nominals*, and *gerunds*. Some examples of these types (some are his) are respectively in (341) - (344).

- (341) i *When the baby heard the **soothing** voice of the mother it became quiet.*  
 ii *The sound they heard was rather **frightening**.*

- (342) i *We {found the students/went on} **studying French**.*  
 ii *The students **conversing quietly** were waiting in the lobby.*  
 iii *He made the children sandwiches (while) **describing Albania**.*  
 iv *With John **having obtained his degree**, we can leave for Guadeloupe.*

- (343) i *your thought-provoking **reading** of that text to a large audience*  
 ii *the **shooting** of the lions by the hunters*

- (344) *We preferred **John's having been awarded the prize to your obtaining it fraudulently**.*

The differences in terminology between Huddelston and Pullum (2002) and Emonds (2007a) are shown in Table 5. Considering the sentential distribution of the *-ing* form it seems that the difference between the participle and the gerund is sustainable. The participle is a part of the VP in both (340 iib) and (342), while the gerund has the distribution of NPs in a sentence (340 iia) or (344).

Huddleston and Pullum (2002)	Emonds (2007a)
participial adjective (340 iii)	derived adjectives (341)
gerundial-participle form of verb (340 iib)	participles (342)
gerundial noun (340 i)	derived nominals (343)
gerundial-participle form of verb (340 iia)	gerunds (344)

**Table 5:** Comparative terminology

A unified analyses and uniform terminology in case of the *-ing* form and its uses have not yet been accepted. For my purposes, to take a stand on these issues is not necessary, since in this dissertation I want to focus only on the possible attributive uses of the English *-ing* form, namely (341) and (342). Therefore, I leave any treatment of (343) and (344) aside.

## 2. General uses of Non-Attributive Present Participles

As we can see, the English *-ing* form has a misleadingly broad distribution, because it also forms *result*, *event*, and *gerundive nominals*. This dissertation will not deal further with gerunds and derived nominals.<sup>51</sup> What I will focus on and compare in the following chapter is the use of the active participle and verbal adjective as modifiers of a noun with English, Czech and French counterparts. The active participle here roughly corresponds to what Emonds (2007a) calls *derived adjectives* and *participles*, but this statement is incomplete as it stands. In Chapter 3 and 5 the possibilities of derivation of adjectives from verbs and the use of the participles in English, Czech, and French are also going to be closely examined, and we will see more in detail in section 3.1.2 that French lacks any use of the active participle as an attributive modifier.

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<sup>51</sup> For more on derived nominals in English see Grimshaw (1990).

### 3. Modification of Nouns by Active Participles

In Chapter 2 we have seen the non-attributive uses of the present participles in English their Czech and French counterparts, and the additional nominal uses of the English –*ing* form. In this chapter, I will focus in detail on the English –*ing* form in verbal adjectives (345) and on the English ad-nominal –*ing* form of active participle (346), and on the counterparts that are used in Czech and French.

(345) *The teacher caught a constantly **cheating** student.*

(346) *The boy constantly **cheating** was caught.*

We can see in Czech it is possible to use the counterpart of the English –*ing* form prenominally (347), while the post-nominal position in Czech is not felicitous (348), in particular for intransitive verbs. This same condition applies to primary adjectives, as seen earlier in section 1.5.1.

(347) *Učitel přistihl podvádějícího studenta.*  
 teacher<sub>MS.NOM</sub> caught<sub>MS</sub> cheating<sub>MS.ACC</sub> student<sub>MS.ACC</sub>  
 'The teacher caught a *cheating* student.'

(348) \**Učitel přistihl studenta podvádějícího.*  
 \*teacher<sub>MS.NOM</sub> caught<sub>MS</sub> student<sub>MS.ACC</sub> cheating<sub>MS.ACC</sub>

In Czech it is possible to use the adjective derived from the verb post-nominally only if it is further complemented by a PP (349). This condition of Czech Complex Adjective Modification (196) was already formulated when we discussed the placement of complex adjectives in section 1.5.3. To express this, the use of a complex sentence consisting of two finite clauses is also possible in both English (350) and Czech (351).

(349) *Učitel přistihl studenta podvádějícího při písemné zkoušce.*  
 teacher<sub>MS.NOM</sub> caught<sub>MS</sub> student<sub>MS.ACC</sub> cheating<sub>MS.ACC</sub> during written<sub>FS.LOC</sub>  
 exam<sub>FS.LOC</sub>  
 'The teacher caught a student *cheating during the written exam.*'

(350) *The teacher caught a student as he was cheating during the written exam.*

(351) *Učitel přistihl studenta, jak (on) podvádí při písemné zkoušce.*  
 teacher<sub>MS.NOM</sub> caught<sub>MS</sub> student<sub>MS.ACC</sub> as (he) is.cheating during  
 written<sub>FS.LOC</sub> exam<sub>FS.LOC</sub>  
 'The teacher caught a student *as he was cheating during the written exam.*'

So in Czech it looks like the active participle is exactly like an adjective, unlike in English.

As we could see in section 1.4.1, in French when adjectives are "longer", i.e. they have two syllables or more, they are usually post-posed. Nonetheless, as the examples (352) and (353) show, the use of this kind of adjective or participle in French is generally not possible, in fact, in this case the participle cannot be derived at all (352); instead a relative clause (353) has to be used.

(352) \**Le professeur a pris sur le fait une étudiante trichante.*  
 \*the<sub>MS</sub> teacher<sub>MS</sub> has<sub>AUX</sub> taken on the<sub>MS</sub> act<sub>MS</sub> a<sub>FS</sub> student<sub>FS</sub> cheating<sub>FS</sub>

(353) *Le professeur a pris sur le fait une étudiante  
 qui trichait.*  
 the<sub>MS</sub> teacher<sub>MS</sub> has<sub>AUX</sub> taken on the<sub>MS</sub> act<sub>MS</sub> a<sub>FS</sub> student<sub>FS</sub>  
 who was.cheating<sub>3S</sub>  
 'The teacher caught a student *who was cheating*.'

In this chapter the possibilities of pre- and post- modification of nouns by active participles are going to be discussed and compared. First, French active participle modifiers will be examined, then those in Czech and finally those in English.

### 3.1 French present participles in noun phrases

The various uses of the French present participle have been illustrated in section 2.1.3.1. In this section the attributive use of the present participle in French is going to be discussed in detail.

#### 3.1.1 Attributive Participles

As it has already been mentioned, traditional French grammar does not mention active participles parallel to the English *-ing* form. However, what can be found are present participles and verbal adjectives. The French counterpart of the English adjectival *-ing* form is called the "adjectif verbal" (Grevisse and Goose 2008) 'verbal adjective' (354).

(354) *Elle a raconté une histoire surprenante aux enfants.*  
 she has<sub>AUX</sub> told a<sub>FS</sub> story<sub>FS</sub> surprizing<sub>FS</sub> to child<sub>MPL</sub>  
 'She told the children a *surprising* story.'

To form the verbal adjective we need what French grammar calls *participe présent*<sup>52</sup> ('present participle') and the appropriate suffix which agrees with the head noun in gender and number ( $\phi$ -features) like adjectives (discussed in section 1.4.1.1). In comparison to the English active participle which we will see has a dual adjectival and verbal character, in French there is either a non-agreeing present participle ending in *-ant* or a verbal adjective which shows agreement with the head noun in number and

<sup>52</sup> The present participle in French was discussed in more detail in section 2.1.3.1.

gender. The verbal adjective, since it is usually long (i.e. it has two syllables or more), is used for post-modification of nouns (355) - (356). In other words, the generalizations French Adjectival Agreement (35) and French Adjectival Word Order (128) are also applicable in this case.

(355) *J' ai rencontré des filles intéressantes.*  
 I have<sub>AUX.IS</sub> met some<sub>PL</sub> girl<sub>FPL</sub> interesting<sub>FPL</sub>  
 'I met an *interesting* girl.'

(356) *C' est un chien amusant.*  
 this<sub>MS</sub> is a<sub>MS</sub> dog<sub>MS</sub> amusing<sub>MS</sub>  
 'It's an *amusing* dog.'

The verbal adjective is actually fully lexicalized in French, therefore, such occurrences as (354) - (356) will be called *lexicalized verbal adjectives* here. In cases such as (357), (358) or (359) French does not allow a verbal adjective derived from the present participle.<sup>53</sup>

(357) \**J' ai vu des filles dansantes.*  
 \*I have<sub>AUX.IS</sub> seen some<sub>PL</sub> girl<sub>FPL</sub> dancing<sub>FPL</sub>

(358) \**Dans la rue j' ai croisé des enfants pleurants.*  
 \*In the<sub>FS</sub> street<sub>FS</sub> I have<sub>AUX.IS</sub> met some<sub>PL</sub> child<sub>MPL</sub> crying<sub>MPL</sub>

(359) \**Les gens toujours travaillants risquent d' être gravement malades.*  
 \*the<sub>PL</sub> person<sub>MPL</sub> always working<sub>MPL</sub> run.a.risk<sub>3PL</sub> of be<sub>INF</sub> seriously ill<sub>MPL</sub>

The verbal adjective, i.e. a lexical adjective derived from verb, in French cannot indicate an activity, as was shown in (357), while the English *-ing* form can (360).<sup>54</sup>

<sup>53</sup> We are going to see later in Chapter 5 that the use of a verbal adjective derived from the past/passive participle in French is different, and that its use in a similar case would be possible.

<sup>54</sup> I would thank H.-J. Deulofeu for pointing out marginal sentences in administrative French, where the use of the present participle as a modifier of the head noun is possible to certain extent (1).

(1) *Un sociétaire payant sa cotisation à temps est chose rare au Fraternal.*  
 a<sub>MS</sub> society.member<sub>MS</sub> paying<sub>PIP</sub> his/her<sub>FS</sub> fee<sub>FS</sub> on time is thing<sub>FS</sub>  
 rare<sub>S</sub> in Fraternal  
 'A society member *paying* the fee on time is a rare thing in the Fraternal.'

(360) *I criticized the girls **dancing**, because they were too noisy.*

In French either an infinitive (361) or a relative clause (362) and (363) is preferred in such cases as (357), (358) or (359), which actually express activity.

(361) *J' ai vu des filles **danser**.*  
 I have<sub>AUX.IS</sub> seen some<sub>PL</sub> girl<sub>FPL</sub> dance<sub>INF</sub>  
 'I saw the girls *dancing*.'

(362) *Dans la rue j' ai croisé des enfants **qui pleuraient**.*  
 in the<sub>FS</sub> street<sub>FS</sub> I have<sub>AUX.IS</sub> met some<sub>PL</sub> child<sub>MPL</sub> who were.crying<sub>3PL</sub>  
 'In the street I met some children *who were crying*.'

(363) *Les gens **qui travaillent toujours** risquent d' être gravement malades.*  
 the<sub>PL</sub> person<sub>MPL</sub> who work<sub>3PL</sub> always run.a.risk<sub>3PL</sub> of be<sub>INF</sub>  
 seriously ill<sub>MPL</sub>  
 'People *who always work* run a risk of being seriously ill.'

Like other adjectives, the *lexicalized verbal adjective* in French can also be further modified by a degree modifier (364) or adverb (365).

(364) *Son discours était **très émouvant**.*  
 his/her<sub>MS</sub> speech<sub>MS</sub> was<sub>3S</sub> very moving<sub>MS</sub>  
 'His/her speech was *very moving*.'

(365) *une fille **toujours obéissante*** (Hendrich et al. 1992, 412)  
 a<sub>FS</sub> girl<sub>FS</sub> always obeying<sub>FS</sub>  
 'an *always obedient* girl'

In some cases (366), however, what a lexical adjective derived from verb can modify is restricted to some extent.

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The present participle in (1) characterises a group of society members, and it has adjectival, not verbal reading. Not even in these marginal cases can the present participle express an ongoing activity. In spoken French such "activity" uses of the present participle as (2) are unacceptable and thus, strictly speaking ungrammatical.

(2) \**Regarde le sociétaire **payant** sa cotisation*  
 \*look<sub>IMPER</sub> the<sub>MS</sub> society.member<sub>MS</sub> paying<sub>PP</sub> is/her<sub>FS</sub> fee<sub>FS</sub>  
*juste avant la date limite.*  
 right before the<sub>FS</sub> date<sub>FS</sub> latest<sub>FS</sub>

- (366) *C' était une soirée dansante.*  
 it<sub>MS</sub> was<sub>3S</sub> a<sub>FS</sub> party<sub>FS</sub> dancing<sub>FS</sub>  
 'It was a *dancing* party.'

In cases such as (366) and (367) it seems that there has to be an agent of the verbal adjective different from the noun which the *lexicalized verbal adjective* modifies. Grevisse and Goose (2008, 1146) explains that in (367) "[e]n réalité, ces expressions s'expliquent par le fait que l'agent implicite n'est pas le nom auquel ces adjectifs sont joints: il faut comprendre «une couleur que l'on voit», etc. (ou peut-être: «...qui se voit»)." <sup>55</sup>

- (367) *une couleur voyante* (Grevisse and Goose 2008, 1146)  
 a<sub>FS</sub> colour<sub>FS</sub> seeing<sub>FS</sub>  
 'a *lurid* colour'

Similarly to simple attributive adjectives discussed in section 1.1.1 a French verbal adjective or rather *lexicalized verbal adjective* can also be used as a subject complement (368) and in this case also it must show agreement with its head noun (369).

- (368) *Le programme semble amusant.*  
 a<sub>MS</sub> programme<sub>MS</sub> seems amusing<sub>MS</sub>  
 'The programme seems *amusing*.'

- (369) \**Le programme semble amusante.*  
 \*a<sub>MS</sub> programme<sub>MS</sub> seems amusing<sub>FS</sub>

When the form *-ant* is preceded by an adverb which is related to it, the form *-ant* is still a *lexicalized verbal adjective*, therefore there is agreement in number and gender (370) and (371).

- (370) *Ce sont deux couleurs fort approchantes l' une de l' autre.*  
 this<sub>MS</sub> are<sub>3PL</sub> two colour<sub>FPL</sub> strongly approaching<sub>FPL</sub> the<sub>S</sub> a<sub>FS</sub> of the<sub>S</sub> other.  
 'These are two colours *very similar* one to the other.'

- (371) *Les fantômes des Esclaves toujours frémissants/*  
 the<sub>PL</sub> phantom<sub>MPL</sub> of slave<sub>MPL</sub> always shivering<sub>MPL</sub>  
*Se sont dressés.* (Grevisse and Goose 2008, 1150)  
 REFL are<sub>AUX.3PL</sub> raised<sub>MPL</sub>  
 'The phantoms of the *always shivering* slaves/ raised themselves.'

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<sup>55</sup> "In fact these expressions can be explained by the fact that the implicit agent is not the noun which is modified by the adjective: it has to be understood as 'a colour that we can see', etc. (or may be: '...which is seen')."

We can see that in French there are no syntactically productive active participles in attributive positions. The possibilities of derivation of the verbal adjectives are also restricted. The present participle gives rise to *lexicalized verbal adjectives* which follow the same patterns previously described (sections 1.5.1 and 1.5.2) for pre- and post-nominal adjectival modification by primary adjectives in French. It seems moreover that French verbs that do not give rise to any verbal adjectives are fairly numerous (372) - (379).

- (372) \**La mère cuisinante était dans la cuisine.*  
 \*the<sub>FS</sub> mother<sub>FS</sub> cooking<sub>FS</sub> was<sub>3S</sub> in the<sub>FS</sub> kitchen<sub>FS</sub>
- (373) \**Les enfants toussants devaient rentrer à la maison.*  
 \*the<sub>PL</sub> child<sub>MPL</sub> coughing<sub>MPL</sub> had.to<sub>3PL</sub> return<sub>INF</sub> to the<sub>FS</sub> home<sub>FS</sub>
- (374) \**Les chiens aboyants nous faisaient peur.*  
 \*the<sub>PL</sub> dog<sub>MPL</sub> barking<sub>MPL</sub> us<sub>DAT</sub> were.making<sub>3PL</sub> fear<sub>FS</sub>
- (375) \**Une hirondelle volante a attrapé une mouche.*  
 \*a<sub>FS</sub> swallow<sub>FS</sub> flying<sub>FS</sub> has<sub>AUX</sub> caught a<sub>FS</sub> fly<sub>FS</sub>
- (376) \**La grand-mère lisante était dans son fauteuil.*  
 \*the<sub>FS</sub> grandmother<sub>FS</sub> reading<sub>FS</sub> was<sub>3S</sub> in her<sub>MS</sub> armchair<sub>MS</sub>
- (377) \**La foule descendante a écarté Jean de la porte.*  
 \*the<sub>FS</sub> crowd<sub>FS</sub> getting.off<sub>FS</sub> has<sub>AUX</sub> pushed.away John<sub>MS</sub> of the<sub>FS</sub> door<sub>FS</sub>
- (378) \**Personne n' a entendu la cloche sonnante.*  
 \*nobody<sub>FS</sub> NEG has<sub>AUX</sub> heard the<sub>FS</sub> bell<sub>FS</sub> ringing<sub>FS</sub>
- (379) \**Nous avons admiré les roses poussantes dans le jardin.*  
 \*we have<sub>AUX.1PL</sub> admired the<sub>PL</sub> rose<sub>FPL</sub> growing<sub>FPL</sub> in the<sub>MS</sub> garden<sub>MS</sub>

In French, since the adjectives derived from present participles are lexicalized, they serve as descriptions and cannot convey the idea of an action happening at the moment of speaking, in cases where one needs to express an ongoing activity, either an infinitive or a relative clause has to be used, as we have mentioned above.

### 3.2 Czech active participles in noun phrases

In this section I will focus on some Czech attributive adjectives derived from verbs which are the counterparts of the lexicalized adjectives derived from an English active participle. The active participle in Czech and the adjectives that can be derived from it will be discussed in section 3.2.1.3. For a better understanding of the complexity of the issue, I will introduce the classification of adjectives derived from verbs as treated in Dokulil (1986) and for completeness I will turn to Trávníček (1948 and 1949). I will be

using the terminology of Dokulil (1986) for convenience, but I focus more on the comparison of Czech adjectives derived from verbs to the French and English ones than on the classification of the Czech adjectives as such. I will try to arrive at a more general pattern of derivation, which should eventually lead to a new classification.

### 3.2.1 Long Adjectival Forms

In Czech there is a competition between long and short adjectival forms. In (380) the "short form" adjective ends in a consonant in masculine singular and in a short vowel in all the other cases. In (381) the "long form" adjective ends in a long vowel and follows the hard declension pattern. The short form of primary adjectives is less and less frequently used; therefore, such occurrences as (380) are less likely to be encountered than (381).

(380) *Tím, že s vámi nepůjde, jsem si jist.*  
 its.INS that with you<sub>2PL</sub> will.g<sub>ONEG</sub> am REFL sure<sub>MS</sub>  
 'I am *sure* that he will not go with you.'

(381) *Tím, že s vámi nepůjde, jsem si jistý.*  
 its.INS that with you<sub>2PL</sub> will.g<sub>ONEG</sub> am REFL sure<sub>MS</sub>  
 'I am *sure* that he will not go with you.'

When it comes to adjectives which are derived from verbs, both short and long forms occur. First, the long verbal adjectival form will be discussed here and later in Chapter 5 the short one will be treated in connection with the past/passive participles.

The situation of the active participle in Czech only partly resembles the situation in French. Similarly to the verbal adjectives in French, Czech verbal adjectives also syntactically behave like primary adjectives, as described in section 1.5. Similarly to the *lexicalized verbal adjectives* in French the Czech verbal adjectives also show agreement with the head noun. However, the verbal adjectives in these two languages are not exactly the same, in that Czech verbal adjectives can also behave like VPs indicating some kind of activity (382) - (384).

(382) *Ti muži mluvící o fotbalu mě unavují.*  
 this<sub>MPL.NOM</sub> man<sub>MPL.NOM</sub> talking<sub>NOM</sub> about football<sub>MS.LOC</sub> me<sub>ACC</sub> tire<sub>3PL</sub>  
 'These men *talking* about football make me tired.'

(383) *Plačícího dítěte si nikdo nevšímal.*  
 crying<sub>NIS.GEN</sub> child<sub>NIS.GEN</sub> REFL nobody paid.attention<sub>NEG.MS</sub>  
 'Nobody was paying attention to the *crying* child.'

(384) *Zpívající slavík se vznesl k slunci.*  
 singing<sub>NOM</sub> nightingale<sub>MS.NOM</sub> REFL flew towards sun<sub>NIS.DAT</sub>  
 'The *singing* nightingale flew towards the sun.'

In French, as it has already been mentioned in section 3.1.1 verbal adjectives do not behave like VPs and they do not indicate an ongoing activity (385) - (387), they are fully lexicalized.

(385) \**Ces hommes parlant du foot m' ennuient.* (French)  
 \*this<sub>MPL</sub> man<sub>MPL</sub> speaking about football<sub>MS</sub> REFL bore<sub>3PL</sub>

(386) \**Personne ne s' intéressait à l' enfant pleurant.* (French)  
 \*nobody NEG REFL was.taking.interest<sub>3S</sub> in the<sub>S</sub> child<sub>MS</sub> crying

(387) \**Le rossignol chantant s' est dirigé vers le soleil.* (French)  
 \*the<sub>S</sub> nightingale<sub>MS</sub> singing REFL was<sub>AUX.3S</sub> directed towards the<sub>MS</sub>  
 sun<sub>MS</sub>

The Czech counterpart of the English active participle used for modification of nouns is always adjectival in Czech (382) - (384), i.e. morphologically it behaves like the primary attributive adjectives.

In fact, there are several kinds of adjectives derived from verbs. The most detailed description of formation of adjectives from verbs can be found in Dokulil (1986). The authors divide the adjectives derived from verbs into two categories, "transpositional" and "mutational" categories.

The adjectives which belong to the transpositional category are called *verbal adjectives*. They maintain the verbal characteristics of voice and aspect, and they also express relative tense, so syntactically they are closely connected to the verb. However, morphologically, they are fully adjectival, i.e., they act like the simple attributive adjectives described in Chapter 1. The verbal adjectives in the transpositional category fall into three main groups "Aktivní verbální adjektiva pro současný děj" ('Active verbal adjectives for present action'), "Aktivní verbální adjektiva pro předcházející děj" ('Active verbal adjectives for previous action'), and "Pasivní verbální adjektiva" ('Passive verbal adjectives'). I will call these adjectives *syntactic verbal adjectives*.

The adjectives which belong to the mutational category seem to describe "the relationship to the action as a more or less stable characteristic."<sup>56</sup> The adjectives in the mutational category are further divided into "Adjektiva příznačné dějové vlastnosti" ('Adjectives of a characteristic action property'), "Účelová adjektiva" ('Adjectives of purpose'), "Adjektiva pasivní možnosti (nemožnosti)" ('Adjectives of passive possibility (impossibility)') and "Široce vztahová (relační) dějová adjektiva" ('Relational action adjectives'). Within each of these subcategories there are several forms of adjectives that can be derived. I will call such adjectives *lexicalized verbal adjectives*.

Morphologically some of the adjectives that belong to the transpositional category and some that belong to the mutational category look alike, thus, in spite of the efforts

<sup>56</sup> "[...]vztah k ději jakožto příznak víceméně statického rázu a stabilní."(Dokulil 1986, 326)

for a clear and precise delimitation of each of the categories, the authors admit that there is "a large transitional area" between the verbal adjectives which belong to the transpositional category and the ones that belong to the mutational one.<sup>57</sup>

In Trávníček (1948 and 1949) the adjectives derived from verbs are discussed at several places. They are divided into two groups. Participles and adjectivized participles which are closer to the verb are treated in the chapter on verbs. The remaining adjectives that can be derived from verbs appear in the chapter on adjectives. The different subclasses of adjectives derived from verbs are grouped according to their derivational suffixes and do not have any special designation. The description of derivation is not as precise as in Dokulil (1986). However, discussing the adverbials Trávníček (1949) provides more detailed information about the use of the adverbial comparing not only the spoken and written language but also the regional differences in its use.

In the following sections the different Czech adjectives derived from verbs are going to be examined. First, we are going to examine the occurrences of the *lexicalized verbal adjectives* and then we are going to focus on the *syntactic verbal adjectives*.

### 3.2.1.1 The Characterizing Action Adjectives

In Czech "charakterizační dějové adjektivum – typ *hravý*" (Dokulil 1986, 326) a 'characterizing action adjective -vy' can be derived from a verb. These adjectives belong to the mutational category in Dokulil 1986. They are derived from the *past stem* of certain verbs by the suffix -v- or its variants (-iv- or -av-), and since -v- is not palatalized, the endings follow the hard declension pattern of the primary adjective *mladý* ('young') (388) as given by the generalization of the Czech Hard Adjectival Agreement (36). As the name "characterizing" and the classification of these adjectives as members of the mutational category suggests, these adjectives derived from verbs describe a characteristic feature of the head noun rather than an activity, and they are closer to the primary adjectives than to verbs. *Characterizing action adjectives* are not dynamic.

(388) (Ona) Okouznila děti            *překvapivým*    příběhem.  
 (she) amazed child<sub>FPL.ACC</sub> surprising<sub>MS.INS</sub> story<sub>MS.INS</sub>  
 'She amazed the children by a *surprising* story.'

<sup>57</sup> "Jsou [slovesná (verbální) adjektiva] těsně spojena se systémem tvarů motivujících sloves, z hlediska slovotvorného jsou to však v současném jazyku už plnoprávná adjektiva, s ostatními (vlastními) dějovými adjektivy těsně systémově spjatá (mj. existencí širokého přechodového pásma mezi nimi a vlastními dějovými adjektivy)." (Dokulil 1986, 321) "They [verbal adjectives] are closely linked to the system of forms of the verbs which they are derived from; from the point of view of derivation they are, however, in the contemporary language, fully-fledged adjectives closely tied with the system of the action adjectives proper (among others by the existence of a large transitional area between them and the action adjectives proper)." For more details of the processes of mutation and especially transposition see Dokulil (1982).

The characterizing action adjective right hand head *-vý* shows agreement with its head noun in case, (388) and (389), and number, (390) and (391).

(389) *\*(Ona) Okouzila děti překvapivý příběhem.*  
 \*(she) amazed child<sub>FPL.ACC</sub> surprising<sub>MS.NOM</sub> story<sub>MS.INS</sub>

(390) *(Ona) Pověděla dětem překvapivé příběh.*  
 (she) told child<sub>FPL.DAT</sub> surprising<sub>MPL.ACC</sub> story<sub>MS.ACC</sub>  
 'She told the children a *surprising* story.'

(391) *\*(Ona) Pověděla dětem překvapivý příběhy.*  
 \*(she) told child<sub>FPL.DAT</sub> surprising<sub>MS.ACC</sub> story<sub>MPL.ACC</sub>

In accordance with the Czech Hard Adjectival Agreement generalization (36), the characterizing action adjective also agrees with its head noun in gender (390), i.e. in all  $\phi$ -features, otherwise being ungrammatical (392).<sup>58</sup>

(392) *\*(Ona) Pověděla dětem překvapivou příběh.*  
 \*(she) told child<sub>FPL.DAT</sub> surprising<sub>FS.ACC</sub> story<sub>MPL.ACC</sub>

In some cases either the 'characterizing action adjective *-vý*' or the 'ongoing action adjective' which will be discussed more in detail in section 3.2.1.2 translates the English active participle (393). Since both the 'ongoing action adjectives' and 'characterizing action adjectives' end in a long vowel they are called *long adjectival forms* or *long adjectives*.

(393) *(Ona) Pověděla dětem překvapující / překvapivý příběh.*  
 (she) told child<sub>FPL.DAT</sub> surprising<sub>MS.ACC</sub> story<sub>MPL.ACC</sub>  
 'She told the children a *surprising* story.'

Cases where either of the adjectives derived from the same verb can be used as shown in (393) are, however, rather rare. It seems that the 'characterizing action adjectives - type "*hravý*" - are not productive.

"The verbs that give rise to them [characterizing action adjectives – type "*hravý*"] are especially the action verbs, only secondarily stative verbs. The verbs which express a change of the state and the determined action verbs (e.g. *run*) are excluded. [...] They are derived especially from the past stem of the verbs of the type "prosit" 'ask' and "dělat" 'do' by the suffix *-v-* and by its variant *-iv-* from the verbs of the type "sázet" 'plant'; derivation of

<sup>58</sup> For details of the Czech hard adjectival agreement patterns see Appendix I.

adjectives from other types of verbs is marginal. Also the position of the variant of the suffix *-av-* is marginal."<sup>59</sup>

The derivation of the 'characterizing action adjectives *-vŷ'* is even more restricted than the derivation of the 'ongoing action adjectives'.

"These adjectives [ongoing action adjectives] can be derived only from imperfective verbs. They are not derived from impersonal verbs. They are hardly ever derived from verbs which express physical or psychological states and feelings with an impersonal agent (*bolící* ['hurting'])."<sup>60</sup>

It is impossible to perceive "ongoing action" in case of verbs which express completeness of the activity, i.e. in case of perfective verbs, hence, it is expectable that only the imperfective verbs give rise to the 'ongoing action adjectives'. Other verbs besides *bolet* 'hurt' supplied in Dokulil 1986 are not easily found, however, such verbs as *svědit* 'itch', *pálit* 'burn', or *brnět* 'tingle' could be put to the same group. Therefore, *characterizing action adjectives* which seem to be lexicalized, should be classified as *lexicalized verbal adjectives*, while the productive *ongoing action adjectives* should belong among *syntactic verbal adjectives*.

Occurrences such as (394) - (396) where both adjectives are derived from the verb *stoupat* 'climb' or 'rise' but cannot be used interchangeably, are more frequent than the cases in which both adjectives (in *-cí* and *-vŷ*) can be used interchangeably as illustrated in (393).

- (394) *Stoupající*/\**Stoupavá*    *hladina*    *řeky*    *děsila*  
 rising<sub>FS.NOM</sub>/\*rising<sub>FS.NOM</sub> level<sub>FS.NOM</sub> river<sub>FS.GEN</sub> was.frightening  
*obyvatele*            *malé*            *vesnice*.  
 inhabitant<sub>MPL.ACC</sub> small<sub>FS.GEN</sub> village<sub>FS.GEN</sub>  
 'The *rising* river level was frightening the inhabitants of a small village.'

- (395) \**Stoupající* /*Stoupavá*                    *zatáčka*    *vypadala*    *nebezpečně*.  
 \*climbing<sub>FS.NOM</sub>/climbing<sub>FS.NOM</sub> turn<sub>FS.NOM</sub> looked    dangerously  
 'The *climbing* turn looked dangerous.'

<sup>59</sup> "Motivujícím výrazem jsou především slovesa akční, jen druhotně stavová. Vyloučena jsou slovesa změny stavu a akční slovesa determinovaná (*běžet* apod.). [...] Tvoří se především z minulého kmenu sloves vzorů "prosit" a "dělat" sufixem *-v-* a jeho variantou *-iv-* od sloves typu "sázet"; tvoření adjektiv od ostatních slovesných typů má ráz periferní. Také variantní sufix *-av-* má postavení periferní." (Dokulil 1986, 327)

<sup>60</sup> "Tato adjektiva jsou fundována výhradně slovesy nedokonavými. Netvoří se od sloves neosobních. Zřídka se tvoří od sloves označujících tělesné a duševní stavy a pocity s neosobním činitelem děje (*bolící*)." (Dokulil 1986, 322)

- (396) *Poutníci stoupající/\*stoupaví na vrchol hory*  
 pilgrim<sub>MPL.NOM</sub> climbing<sub>MS.NOM</sub>/climbing<sub>MS.NOM</sub> to top<sub>MS.ACC</sub> mountain<sub>FS.GEN</sub>  
*byli zaskočení náhlou průtrží mračen.*  
 were<sub>AUX.M+F3PL</sub> surprised<sub>MPL</sub> sudden burst<sub>FS.INS</sub> cloud<sub>N<sub>I</sub>PL.GEN</sub>  
 'The pilgrims *climbing* to the top of the mountain were taken by surprise by a sudden cloudburst.'

The *characterizing action adjectives* agree with the head noun in all  $\phi$ -features. Their syntactic behaviour is similar to the primary attributive adjectives given by the Czech Adjectival Word Order generalization (179). The sources that give rise to the *characterizing action adjectives* are limited; thus the formation of this type of adjectives is not considered to be productive. This is what we expect for the classes of *lexicalized verbal adjectives* in all the languages considered.

### 3.2.1.2 The Ongoing Action Adjectives

Another of the counterparts of the English attributive *-ing* form (active participle) is "Aktivní verbální adjektivum pro současný děj – typ *dělající*" (Dokulil 1986, 321), an 'Active verbal adjective for present action – type *dělající*' with the so called "soft" declension of adjectival suffixes. For brevity, I will call these "Ongoing action adjectives". These adjectives regularly end in *-cí* in the singular Nominative in all genders (397) - (399) in accordance with what was stated about the Czech Soft Adjectival Agreement in (37).<sup>61</sup>

- (397) *Letící balón se neslyšně pohyboval po obloze.*  
 flying<sub>MS.NOM</sub> balloon<sub>MS.NOM</sub> REFL soundlessly was.moving on sky  
 'The *flying* balloon was moving across the sky soundlessly.'

- (398) *Letící volavka náhle zmizela za obzorem.*  
 flying<sub>FS.NOM</sub> heron<sub>FS.NOM</sub> suddenly disappeared behind horizon  
 'The *flying* heron suddenly disappeared behind the horizon.'

- (399) *Letící letadlo nechalo na obloze bílou čáru.*  
 flying<sub>N<sub>IS</sub>.NOM</sub> plane<sub>N<sub>IS</sub>.NOM</sub> left on sky white<sub>FS.ACC</sub> line<sub>FS.ACC</sub>  
 'The *flying* plane left a white line in the sky.'

Examples (400) and (401) are not grammatical. They show agreement according to the hard adjectival pattern *mladý* in the nominative case in feminine and neuter gender respectively.

- (400) *\*Letící volavka náhle zmizela za obzorem.*  
 \*flying<sub>FS.NOM</sub> heron<sub>FS.NOM</sub> suddenly disappeared behind horizon

<sup>61</sup> For details of the Czech soft adjectival agreement patterns see Appendix II.

### 3. Modification of Nouns by Active Participles

- (401) \**Letící* letadlo nechalo na obloze bílou čáru.  
 \*flying<sub>NtS.NOM</sub> plane<sub>NtS.NOM</sub> left on sky white<sub>Fs.ACC</sub> line<sub>Fs.ACC</sub>

The same as primary adjectives declined according to the soft declension pattern *jarní*, these *ongoing action adjectives* do not show agreement in gender in the plural (402) - (406).

- (402) *Hasiči* projeli mezi *hořícími* domy.  
 fireman<sub>MPL.NOM</sub> drove.through between burning<sub>MPL.INS</sub> house<sub>MPL.INS</sub>  
 'The firemen drove between the *burning* houses.'

- (403) *(Ona) Nemohla usnout s hlasitě kvákajícími* žábami  
 (she) could<sub>NEG</sub> fall.asleep<sub>INF</sub> with loudly croaking<sub>FPL.INS</sub> frog<sub>FPL.INS</sub>  
 za oknem.  
 behind window  
 'She could not fall asleep with loudly *croaking* frogs behind the window.'

- (404) \**(Ona) Nemohla usnout s hlasitě kvákajícím* žábou  
 \*(she) could<sub>NEG</sub> fall.asleep<sub>INF</sub> with loudly croaking<sub>MS.INS</sub> frog<sub>Fs.INS</sub>  
 za oknem.  
 behind window

- (405) *(On) Pobíhal mezi jedoucími* auty.  
 (he) was.running.around among going<sub>NtPL.INS</sub> car<sub>NtPL.INS</sub>  
 'He was running around among *moving* cars.'

- (406) \**(On) Pobíhal mezi jedoucíma* auty.  
 (he) was.running.around among going<sub>FPL.INS</sub> car<sub>NtPL.INS</sub>

In Dokulil (1986) these adjectives belong to the transpositional category.<sup>62</sup> Above we have already called them *syntactic verbal adjectives*. They express voice, aspect, and relative time like the verbs from which they are derived. Similarly to verbs they can also have object noun phase complements. On the other hand, these Czech verbal adjectives act morphologically exactly like the primary attributive adjectives described in Chapter 1.<sup>63</sup> Karlík et al. (2015) also describe the adjectival and verbal behaviour of the adjectives ending in *-cí*. Here these adjectives for the combination of adjectival and verbal features are one of the members of "hybridní kategorie" ('hybrid category') which is the equivalent of "*mixed category*" (Karlík et al. 2015).

This dual behavior can be explained if we consider the different levels of insertion of individual grammatical affixes as proposed by Emonds (2000). In this case the adjective-forming morpheme is not inserted in the deep/initial level as it is in case of the *lexicalized verbal adjectives*. Rather, the morpheme *-cí* of the *syntactic verbal adjectives* enters the derivation later, i.e. after the "phase" of the syntactic derivation that determines both the verbal behaviour (aspect, etc.) and interpretation (as action).

This approach explains many of the observations of the traditional descriptions. Crhák (2011) notes that the adjectives ending in *-cí* are of two types. The behaviour of one of the types is more adjectival (407) and (408); like primary adjectives it describes the quality of the noun and degree modifiers can be used. These forms are adjectives even at the deep level.

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<sup>62</sup>At first glance the so-called "účelová adjektiva" ('adjectives of purpose') (3) are similar to the *ongoing action adjectives* (4).

(3) *Maminka složila žehlicí prkno.*  
 mother<sub>FS.S.NOM</sub> folded ironing<sub>NIS.ACC</sub> board<sub>NIS.ACC</sub>  
 'The mother folded the *ironing* board.'

(4) *Žehlicí maminka si zpívala.*  
 ironing<sub>FS.NOM</sub> mother<sub>FS.NOM</sub> REFL was.singing  
 'The *ironing* mother was singing.'

Both these adjectives follow the declension pattern *jarní*. For details of the agreement see Appendix II. However, the vowel which precedes the ending *-cí* is always short in the case of adjectives of purpose. In Dokulil (1986) the 'adjectives of purpose' belong to the mutation category as mentioned above, i.e. they are not verbal in behavior.

<sup>63</sup> The post-nominal occurrence of *ongoing action adjectives* is rare; however, such occurrences can be found in the translation of an American book entitled *Love does* (Goff and Miller 2012) which appeared quite recently in Czech as *Láska konající* (Drápal 2014). Similar cases of post-modifying adjectives in Czech were discussed in 1.5.2.

(407) *vařící*            *voda*  
 boiling<sub>FS.NOM</sub> water<sub>FS.NOM</sub>  
 'boiling water'

(408) *velmi vařící*            *voda*  
 very boiling<sub>FS.NOM</sub> water<sub>FS.NOM</sub>  
 'very boiling water'

The behaviour of the other type is less adjectival (409) and (410), the use of degree modifiers is not possible in this case. This verbal adjective cannot be the nominal part of the predicate either (411).

(409) *vařící*            *maminka*  
 cooking<sub>FS.NOM</sub> mother<sub>FS.NOM</sub>  
 'cooking mother'

(410) \**velmi vařící*            *maminka*  
 \*very cooking<sub>FS.NOM</sub> mother<sub>FS.NOM</sub>

(411) \**Maminka je vařící oběd.* (Crhák 2011, 57)  
 \*mother<sub>FS.NOM</sub> is cooking<sub>FS.NOM</sub> lunch<sub>MS.ACC</sub>

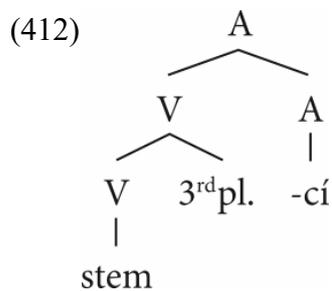
Thus, we can conclude that within the *ongoing action adjectives* (adjectives ending in *-cí*) a distinction between *lexicalized* and *syntactic* ones should be made. The syntactic use of *-cí* should be inserted only *at the end of the phase* which processes the AP (adjective phrase) headed by *-cí*. Since the *lexicalized verbal adjectives ending in -cí* are not numerous, in the rest of this section we are going to focus on the *syntactic verbal adjectives ending in -cí*.

Dokulil (1986) derives *ongoing action adjectives* from the present stem of the verb to which he adds what he calls "a complex suffix" which consists of a connecting component (*-ou-*, *-í-*, *-ejí-*, *-ají-*), a stable component (*-c-*) and finally the morphological characteristics of the declension paradigm *jarní (-í)* (Dokulil 1986, 321).<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> The morphological derivation of these adjectives is a matter of debate. At a different place in Komárek et al. (1986) and also in Trávníček (1948), these adjectives are considered to be derived from adverbial participles which were discussed in 2.1.2.1. They would be then formed from the feminine form of the adverbial participle and the ending *-í* of the primary attributive adjective *jarní*. Already Dokulil (1982), when he deals with the process of transposition, observes that the adjectives which end in *-cí* or *-ší* are derived directly from verbs. Dokulil (1986) considers the present stem of the verb to be the base of these adjectives. Similarly Jelínek (2003) claims that synchronically neither the adverbial nor the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural give rise to the verbal adjectives ending in *-cí*.

However, to consider these *ongoing action adjectives* to be derived from the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural present by the addition of *-cí* is a less complicated while still a descriptively accurate solution (412).



The verbs that give rise to the *ongoing action adjectives* are the imperfective ones (413). The perfective variants, due to their meaning which conveys completeness, i.e. the course of the action is finished, are excluded (414).

- (413) *padat* – *padající*  
 fall<sub>INF.IMPF</sub> – falling  
 (My) *Viděli jsme* ***padající*** *hvězdu.*  
 (we) saw are<sub>AUX.1PL</sub> falling<sub>FS.ACC</sub> star<sub>FS.ACC</sub>  
 'We saw a *shooting* star.'

- (414) *zhasnout* – *\*zhasnoucí*  
 turn.off.the.lights<sub>INF.PERF</sub>

In Czech prenominally occurring *ongoing action adjectives* are intransitive (415) - (416), just as are primary adjectives as stated in the generalization of the Czech Adjectival Word Order (179).

- (415) ***Váhající*** *muž* *je její bratr.*  
 hesitating<sub>INT.MS.NOM</sub> man<sub>MS.NOM</sub> is her brother  
 'The man *hesitating* is her brother.'

- (416) ***Stojící*** *děti* *se pošťuchovaly.*  
 standing<sub>INT.FPL.NOM</sub> child<sub>FPL.NOM</sub> REFL nudged  
 'The children *standing* nudged each other.'

Even in case of reflexive verbs which might, by the presence of the reflexive pronoun, make the verbal adjective look more verb-like, the place of their occurrence is the pre-modifying one (417) and (418).

### 3. Modification of Nouns by Active Participles

(417) *Stěžující si učitelé nejsou vítáni.*  
 complaining<sub>MPL.NOM</sub> REFL teacher<sub>MPL.NOM</sub> are<sub>NEG</sub> welcome<sub>MPL</sub>  
 'Teachers *complaining* are not welcome.'

(418) *Bavící se studenty poslal učitel za dveře.*  
 chatting<sub>MPL.ACC</sub> REFL student<sub>MPL.ACC</sub> sent teacher<sub>MS.NOM</sub> behind door  
 'Students *chatting* were sent out.'

Post-modification is not grammatical in (419) and (420). Therefore, similarly to the adjectives derived from intransitive verbs the adjectives derived from reflexive verbs in Czech act morphologically and in word order like primary attributive adjectives.

(419) \**Učitelé stěžující si nejsou vítáni.*  
 \*teacher<sub>MPL.NOM</sub> complaining<sub>MPL.NOM</sub> REFL are<sub>NEG</sub> welcome<sub>MPL</sub>

(420) \**Studenty bavící se poslal učitel za dveře.*  
 \*student<sub>MPL.ACC</sub> chatting<sub>MPL.ACC</sub> REFL sent teacher<sub>MS.NOM</sub> behind door

As has just been mentioned, the transitivity or intransitivity of the verb plays a role in the word order. The verbs which are intransitive cannot occur post-nominally without causing ungrammaticality (421) - (424).

(421) \**Muž váhající je její bratr.*  
 \*man<sub>MS.NOM</sub> hesitating<sub>INT.MS.NOM</sub> is her brother

(422) \**Dítěte plačícího si nikdo nevyšímal.*  
 \*child<sub>NIS.GEN</sub> crying<sub>INT.NIS.GEN</sub> REFL nobody paid.attention<sub>NEG</sub>

(423) \**Dívka čtoucí seděla na lavičce.*  
 \*girl<sub>FS.NOM</sub> reading<sub>INT.FS.NOM</sub> was.sitting on bench

(424) \**Kočka sledující najednou vyskočila.*  
 \*cat<sub>FS.NOM</sub> watch<sub>INT.FS.NOM</sub> suddenly jumped

In the case of transitive verbs, the possibilities of word order are similar to the ones for modification of Nouns by complex adjectives stated in Czech Complex Adjective Modification (196). The verbal adjective pre-modifies the head noun only if an object complement *precedes* the verbal adjective (425) - (427).

(425) *Knihu čtoucí dívka seděla na lavičce.*  
 book<sub>FS.ACC</sub> reading<sub>TR.FS.NOM</sub> girl<sub>FS.NOM</sub> was.sitting on bench  
 'The girl *reading* a book was sitting on a bench.'

### 3. Modification of Nouns by Active Participles

(426) *Pohádky vyprávějíci otec usnul.*  
 fairy.tale<sub>FPL.ACC</sub> telling<sub>TR.MS.NOM</sub> father<sub>MS.NOM</sub> fell.asleep  
 'The father *telling* fairy tales fell asleep.'

(427) *Myš sledující kočka najednou vyskočila.*  
 mouse<sub>FS.ACC</sub> watching<sub>TR.FS.NOM</sub> cat<sub>FS.NOM</sub> suddenly jumped  
 'The cat *watching* a mouse suddenly jumped up.'

If the object complement did not precede the pre-posed verbal adjective, it would result in ungrammaticality (428) - (430).

(428) \**Čtoucí knihu dívka seděla na lavičce.*  
 \*reading<sub>TR.FS.NOM</sub> book<sub>FS.ACC</sub> girl<sub>FS.NOM</sub> was.sitting on bench

(429) \**Vyprávějíci pohádky otec usnul.*  
 \*telling<sub>TR.MS.NOM</sub> fairy.tale<sub>FPL.ACC</sub> father<sub>MS.NOM</sub> fell.asleep

(430) \**Sledující myš kočka najednou vyskočila.*  
 \*watching<sub>TR.FS.NOM</sub> mouse<sub>FS.ACC</sub> cat<sub>FS.NOM</sub> suddenly jumped.up  
 'The cat *watching* a mouse suddenly jumped up.'

When the verbal adjective follows the head noun, the object complement typically follows the verbal adjective (431) - (433).

(431) *Dívka čtoucí knihu seděla na lavičce.*  
 girl<sub>FS.NOM</sub> reading<sub>FS.NOM</sub> book<sub>FS.ACC</sub> was.sitting on bench  
 'The girl *reading* a book was sitting on a bench.'

(432) *Otec vyprávějíci pohádky usnul.*  
 father<sub>MS.NOM</sub> telling<sub>FS.NOM</sub> fairy.tale<sub>FPL.ACC</sub> fell.asleep  
 'The father *telling* fairy tales fell asleep.'

(433) *Kočka sledující myš najednou vyskočila.*  
 cat<sub>FS.NOM</sub> watching<sub>FS.NOM</sub> mouse<sub>FS.ACC</sub> suddenly jumped.up  
 'The cat *watching* a mouse suddenly jumped up.'

Such occurrences where the verbal adjective follows the head noun and where it is itself preceded by the object complement are not ungrammatical but they are marked (434) and (435).

(434) *Dívka knihu čtoucí seděla na lavičce.*  
 girl<sub>FS.NOM</sub> book<sub>FS.ACC</sub> reading<sub>FS.NOM</sub> was.sitting on bench  
 'The girl *reading* a book was sitting on a bench.'

- (435) *Otec pohádky vyprávějící usnul.*  
 father<sub>MS.NOM</sub> fairy.tale<sub>FPL.ACC</sub> telling<sub>MS.NOM</sub> fell.asleep  
 'The father *telling* fairy tales fell asleep.'

Based on the Czech Complex Adjective Modification (196) and on the characteristics of the *ongoing action adjectives* which we have introduced above (425) - (435) a further generalization can be made.

(436) **Czech Adjectival Modification.**

If the head noun is preceded by an AP, then the adjective acting as head inside the AP is also on the right. If the head noun is followed by an AP, then the adjective acting as head inside the AP is also on the left.

In summary, *ongoing action adjectives* derived from intransitive verbs and from reflexive verbs pre-modify the head noun. *Ongoing action adjectives* derived from transitive verbs can either pre-modify the head noun or they can post-modify it. Even though the Czech *ongoing action adjectives* are morphologically like primary attributive adjectives, as we have just shown, syntactically they act like verbs, and they can thus be classified as *syntactic verbal adjectives*.

#### 3.2.1.3 The Adjectivized Active Participles

In Czech the "příčestí činné" ('active participle') (Dokulil 1986) refers to the *-l* forms of verbs. The active participle, which is thus called the past participle or the "*-l* participle", is used in Czech either along with the verb *be* for the formation of the past tense (437) or the conditional (438) and past conditional (439) mood.<sup>65</sup>

- (437) *Přišel jsem pozdě.*  
 came<sub>MS</sub> am<sub>AUX</sub> late  
 'I *came* late.'

- (438) *Přišel bych zítra.*  
 came<sub>MS</sub> would tomorrow.  
 'I *would come* tomorrow.'

- (439) *Kdyby si Tomáš vzpomněl, byl by přišel.*  
 if<sub>3S</sub> REFL Thomas<sub>MS.NOM</sub> remembered was<sub>AUX.MS</sub> would<sub>3S</sub> came<sub>MS</sub>  
 'If Tomáš had remembered, he *would have come*.'

Adjectives can also be derived from this verbal form by addition of the appropriate long adjectival suffix (440) and (441), and also these verbal adjectives follow the generalizations of Czech Hard Adjectival Agreement (36) and Czech Adjectival Word Order (179).

<sup>65</sup> The past conditional mood is obsolete. It is hardly ever used in Czech.

(440) (On) Požadoval náhradu **ušlého** zisku.  
 (he) demanded compensation<sub>FS.ACC</sub> lost<sub>MS.GEN</sub> earnings<sub>MS.GEN</sub>  
 'He demanded a compensation for *lost* earnings.'

(441) (Ona) Vrátila se z podzimní procházky s **prochladlýma**  
 (she) came.back REFL from autumn<sub>FS.GEN</sub> walk<sub>FS.GEN</sub> with chilled<sub>FPL.INS</sub>  
 nohama.  
 foot<sub>FPL.INS</sub>  
 'She came back from an autumn walk with *chilled* feet.'

According to Dokulil (1986), who seems to provide the most predictive and systematic treatment of these issues, the *-l* form along with the adjectival long suffix (*-ý* +Masc., *-á* for +Fem. and *-é* for +Neut.) gives rise to three types of adjectives.

(i) The "adjektivizovaná aktivní participia – typ *přišlý*" (Dokulil 1986, 323) 'adjectivized active participles' (442) belong to the transpositional category, i.e. they are the *active syntactic verbal adjectives*.

(442) **Rozkvetlá** louka voněla na míle daleko.  
 bloomed<sub>FS.NOM</sub> meadow<sub>FS.NOM</sub> smelled on mile far  
 'The meadow *in bloom* gave a nice smell far in the distance.'

In English similar derivations are not possible (443) and (444).

(443) \**an arrived* letter

(444) \**the erupted* volcanos

In the mutational category, the "charakterizační dějová adjektiva – typ *bdělý*" (Dokulil 1986, 326) 'characterizing action adjectives *-lý*' (445) and "aktivní vlastnostní rezultatová adjektiva – typ *zhýralý*" (Dokulil 1986, 331) 'active qualitative result adjectives - *lý*' (446) look morphologically like adjectivized active participles, but they correspond to *lexicalized verbal adjectives*. This is as we expect, given the different insertion levels of the adjectival suffix.

(445) Náhlá srážka dvou vozidel zabránila **plynulému**  
 sudden<sub>FS.NOM</sub> crash<sub>FS.NOM</sub> two vehicle<sub>NIPL.GEN</sub> prevented continuous<sub>MS.DAT</sub>  
 provozu na křižovatce.  
 traffic<sub>MS.DAT</sub> on crossroad  
 'A sudden accident of two vehicles prevented the *continuous* flow of the traffic at the crossroad.'

(446) **Oteklý** kotník ho bolel čím dál víc.  
 swollen<sub>MS.NOM</sub> ankle<sub>MS.NOM</sub> him.ACC was.hurting what<sub>INS</sub> farther more  
 'His *swollen* ankle was hurting more and more.'

All of these verbal adjectives agree with their head nouns in all  $\phi$ -features and, since also these adjectives end in a long vowel, they belong to the adjective category. The *adjectivized active participles* are derived from perfective verbs and express resulting states. The *characterizing action adjectives* *-lý* are derived from imperfective verbs, and the *active qualitative result adjectives* are derived from perfective verbs, especially from subject verbs which express a change of state. (Dokulil 1986, 323-332) Even though the verbal adjectives classified as transpositional by Dokulil (1986; here *syntactic verbal adjectives*), should be more closely related to the verb than the verbal adjectives which belong to the mutational category or to the *lexicalized verbal adjectives*, the differentiation in the case of the adjectives derived from the past participle or the *-l* participle is sometimes difficult, due to their morphology and the unclear delimitation based mostly on semantics.

None of these verbal adjectives are dynamic even if they are derived from the active participle of a verb which expresses an activity like the verb *jít* 'go' in (440) or *chladnout* 'grow cold' in (441).<sup>66</sup> The adjectivized active participles express a state rather than an activity.<sup>67</sup>

### 3.2.1.4 Summary of Long Adjectival Forms:

In Czech the equivalents of the English attributive active participles are obligatorily *long adjectival forms* as we could see in (382) - (384). The *adjectivized active participles* are derived from the past/*-l* participle and belong to the *long adjectival forms*. However, their English equivalents are past/passive participles (440) and (441),

<sup>66</sup> Czech also has the attributive passive participles *-n/-t* which with adjectival long suffixes *-ý* for Masculine, *-á* for Feminine and *-é* for Neuter form adjectives (5) and (6). These verbal adjectives also convey a rather stative meaning. They will be treated in detail in Chapter 5.

(5) *Spoutaný lupič byl odvezen na policejní stanici.*  
 tied<sub>MS.NOM</sub> robber<sub>MS.NOM</sub> was<sub>AUX.MS</sub> taken to police<sub>FS.ACC</sub> station<sub>FS.ACC</sub>  
 'The *tied* up robber was taken to the police station.'

(6) *Rychle utírala rozlité mléko.*  
 quickly was.wiping.off spilt<sub>NIS.ACC</sub> milk<sub>NIS.ACC</sub>  
 'She was quickly wiping off the *spilt* milk.'

<sup>67</sup> According to Dokulil (1986) there is a semantic relation between Adjectivized active participles and the attributive passive participles. Some of the Adjectivized active participles might be derived from the reflexive passives or from the analytic passives. Dokulil (1986, 324) introduces the verbal adjective "*squeezed*" which can either mean "the one which squeezed itself without any intentional intervention of an external agent of the action" or "the one which was intentionally squeezed by someone" ("*smáčklý* 'který se smáčkl bez vědomého zásahu externího činitele děje' nebo 'který byl někým záměrně smáčknut'"). The attributive passive participles will be discussed in Chapter 5.

so they will be treated more in Chapter 5. The generalization of the Czech Adjectival Word Order (179) is applicable here, since verbal adjectives cannot occur post-nominally (447) - (452) if intransitive. While in traditional grammar the transitivity or intransitivity of a verb is perceived as its inherent property, here a verb is considered to be transitive or intransitive depending on the presence or absence of an object in the given clause. Consequently, this remedies the inability of the traditional view to predict adjectival word order.

(447) \*(Ona) Pověděla dětem příběh překvapující.  
\*(she) told child<sub>FPL.DAT</sub> story<sub>MS.ACC</sub> surprising<sub>MS.ACC</sub>

(448) \*(Ona) Pověděla dětem příběh překvapivý.  
\*(she) told child<sub>FPL.DAT</sub> story<sub>MS.ACC</sub> surprising<sub>MS.ACC</sub>

(449) \*(On) Požadoval náhradu zisku ušlého.  
\*(he) demanded compensation<sub>FS.ACC</sub> earnings<sub>MS.GEN</sub> lost<sub>MS.GEN</sub>

(450) \*(Ona) Vrátila se z podzimní procházky  
\*(she) came.back<sub>REFL</sub> from autumn<sub>FS.GEN</sub> walk<sub>FS.GEN</sub>  
s nohama prochlady.  
with foot<sub>FPL.INS</sub> chilled<sub>FPL.INS</sub>

(451) Tomáš si zchladil ušlé nohy.  
Thomas<sub>MS.NOM</sub> REFL cooled.down wearied.from.walking<sub>FPL.ACC</sub> foot<sub>FPL.ACC</sub>  
'Thomas cooled down his *weary* feet.'

(452) **Zurčící** potůček vesele bublal.  
burbles<sub>MS.NOM</sub> stream<sub>MS.NOM</sub> happily was.gurgling  
'The *bubbling* stream was gurgling happily.'

In case that the verbal adjective is further modified (453) and (454) it must be post-posed.

(453) (Ona) Vrátila se z procházky s rukama zkrhlýma  
(she) came.back.<sub>REFL</sub> from walk<sub>FS.GEN</sub> with hand<sub>FPL.INS</sub> benumbed<sub>FPL.INS</sub>  
**zimou.**  
cold<sub>FPL.INS</sub>  
'She came back from the walk with hands *benumbed by the cold.*'

(454) (Ona) Vyprávěla dětem příběh překvapivý/překvapující  
(she) was.telling child<sub>FPL.DAT</sub> story<sub>MS.ACC</sub> surprising<sub>MS.ACC</sub>  
**svým rozuzlením.**  
its denouement<sub>NIS.INS</sub>  
'She was telling the children a story *surprising* by its denouement.'

Otherwise, the occurrences are not grammatical (455) and (456), which is in accord with the condition on modification by complex adjectives in section 1.5.3.

(455) *\*(Ona) Vrátila se z procházky s zřehlýma zimou*  
 \*(she) came.back REFL from walk<sub>FS.GEN</sub> with benumbed<sub>FPL.INS</sub> cold<sub>FS.INS</sub>  
*rukama.*  
 hand<sub>FPL.INS</sub>

(456) *\*(Ona) Vyprávěla dětem překvapivý/překvapující svým*  
 \*(she) was.telling child<sub>FPL.DAT</sub> surprising<sub>MS.ACC</sub> its  
*rozuzlením příběh.*  
 denouement<sub>NIS.INS</sub> story<sub>MS.ACC</sub>

Interestingly, we can also notice here that the pre-modifying position of a complemented verbal adjective is possible under the condition that the constituents of the adjectival complex are reversed (457) and (455) or (458) and (456). We saw that the generalization of Czech Complex Adjective Modification (196) holds and that it can be applied even in case of verbal adjectives. Moreover, a further generalization could thus be made concerning the Czech Adjectival Modification (436).

(457) *(Ona) Vrátila se z procházky se zimou zřehlýma*  
 (she) came.back REFL from walk<sub>FS.GEN</sub> with cold<sub>FS.INS</sub> benumbed<sub>FPL.INS</sub>  
*rukama.*  
 hand<sub>FPL.INS</sub>  
 'She came back from the walk with hands *benumbed by the cold.*'

(458) *(Ona) Vyprávěla dětem svým rozuzlením překvapivý/překvapující*  
 (she) told child<sub>FPL.DAT</sub> its denouement<sub>NIS.INS</sub> surprising<sub>MS.ACC</sub>  
*příběh.*  
 story<sub>MS.ACC</sub>  
 'She was telling the children a story *surprising* by its denouement.'

So we see that in Czech, verbs give rise to several kinds of verbal adjectives – 'ongoing action adjectives' and 'adjectivized active participles', which are *syntactic verbal adjectives*. 'Characterizing action adjectives -lý', and 'characterizing action adjectives – vý' are on the other hand *lexicalized verbal adjectives*. All of them are long adjectival forms morphologically. All of them behave like primary attributive adjectives in that they precede the head noun if and only if they are not further modified, and they agree with it in case and number or in all  $\phi$ -features: generalizations (36), (37), (179), and (436). They in this latter point resemble the French verbal adjectives; however, in the next chapter we will see that there are other characteristics of the Czech verbal adjectives which bring them closer to the English active participles.

Czech adjectives derived from verbs, *verbal adjectives*, depending on the level of insertion of the adjectival morphemes, can be divided into *lexicalized verbal adjectives*

and *syntactic verbal adjectives*. If the adjective is combined (inserted) on the verb at the initial/deep level, a *lexicalized verbal adjective* is the result. If the insertion of the adjectival morphology takes place only later, at "Spell Out" or equivalently at the input Logical Form, a *syntactic verbal adjective* is formed. Further, depending on the differing final suffixes in Czech, the verbal adjectives can be divided into *characterizing action adjectives*, *active qualitative result adjectives*, *ongoing action adjectives*, and *adjectivized active participles*. That is, the individual suffixes contribute differently to the interpretations of the verbal adjectives.

Czech derived Adjectives	Verbal adjectives	Agreement with the head noun in		
		Number	Case	Gender
Lexicalized verbal adjectives	Characterizing action adjectives ( <i>hloubavý</i> 'contemplative', <i>libivý</i> 'appealing', <i>bdělý</i> 'alert')	+	+	+
	Active qualitative result adjectives ( <i>spadlý</i> 'fallen', <i>rozteklý</i> 'melted')	+	+	+
Syntactic verbal adjectives	Ongoing action adjectives ( <i>běžící</i> 'running', <i>nesoucí</i> 'carrying')	+	+	+/-
	Adjectivized active participles ( <i>dosedlý</i> 'just seated')	+	+	+

**Table 6:** Agreement of Czech verbal adjectives in  $\phi$ -features with their head nouns

### 3.2.2 Comparison of French and Czech Verbal Adjectives

The character of some of the adjectives derived from verbs in Czech (the *lexicalized verbal adjectives*) seems to be more adjectival than verbal and thus close to the verbal adjectives in French. However, the verbal adjective in French is purely adjectival. All the generalizations concerning word order (128) and agreement (35) defined for primary attributive adjectives in French apply to the verbal adjectives as well. The verbal adjectives in French occur in post-nominal position, show agreement in  $\phi$ -features with their head noun and allow modification by degree modifiers (459), features which are characteristic of lexical adjectives, not verbs. As it was mentioned in section 3.1.2, the verbs that give rise to verbal adjectives in French are quite limited. The verbal adjectives in French are lexicalized, thus they belong to the *lexicalized verbal adjectives*.

(459) *Nous avons passé des journées très reposantes au bord de la mer.*  
 we have<sub>AUX.1PL</sub> spent some<sub>PL</sub> day<sub>FPL</sub> very relaxing<sub>FPL</sub> at shore of the<sub>FS</sub> sea  
 'We spent *very relaxing* days at the seaside.'

The Czech verbal adjectives, as we saw, seem to be both adjectival describing the property of the head noun, typically occurring in prenominal position, and showing agreement in most  $\phi$ -features with the head noun (460); some of them allow modification by degree modifiers. Czech verbal adjectives morphologically and

### 3. Modification of Nouns by Active Participles

syntactically behave in accordance with the generalizations on agreement (36) and (37) and word order (179) made for the primary adjectives in Chapter 1. At the same time some of the verbal adjectives are more verbal, since they can be modified by an adverb appropriate for verbs and, they can be complemented with objects (461): hence they are similar to the English active participle.

(460) *(Ona) Pozorovala skotačící děti.*  
 (she) was.watching frolicking<sub>FPL.ACC</sub> child<sub>FPL.ACC</sub>  
 'She was watching the *frolicking* children.'

(461) *Děti vesele skotačící na louce si nevšímaly*  
 child<sub>FPL.NOM</sub> happily frolicking<sub>FPL.NOM</sub> at meadow<sub>WFS.LOC</sub> REFL were.noticing<sub>NEG</sub>  
*blížících se mraků.*  
 approaching<sub>MPL.GEN</sub> REFL cloud<sub>MPL.GEN</sub>  
 'The children *happily frolicking* in the meadow were not paying attention to the *approaching* clouds.'

In such cases as (460) where Czech uses a verbal adjective for describing a property (however temporary) of the children, it is not possible to use a verbal adjective which would express activity in French (462). French lacks the adjectivized active participle as attribute. In French, therefore, a finite relative clause must be used instead (463).

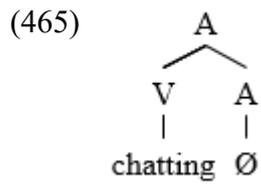
(462) \**Elle observait les enfants folâtrants.*  
 \*she was.watching<sub>3S</sub> the<sub>PL</sub> child<sub>MPL</sub> frolicking<sub>MPL</sub>

(463) *Elle observait les enfants qui folâtraient.*  
 she was.watching<sub>3S</sub> the<sub>PL</sub> child<sub>MPL</sub> who were.frolicking  
 'She was watching the children *who were frolicking*.'

In some recent Generative approaches the existence of the ambiguous verbo-nominal form is explained by the different possibilities of insertion of the morphemes. According to Emonds (2000) "dependent morphemes from the Syntacticon [= "Grammatical Lexicon"] should be insertable not only at two levels but at three. Not only can they for example be inserted at PF (yielding inflection), but also at two distinct levels prior to Spell Out, once at deep structure and once during the syntactic derivation" (150). The occurrence of either attributive prenominal active participle or post-nominal active participle in English is then the result either of early syntactic insertion in LF 0 or of late PF insertion (465), respectively. The PF insertion is not found in Czech or French, but it occurs in English.

(464)

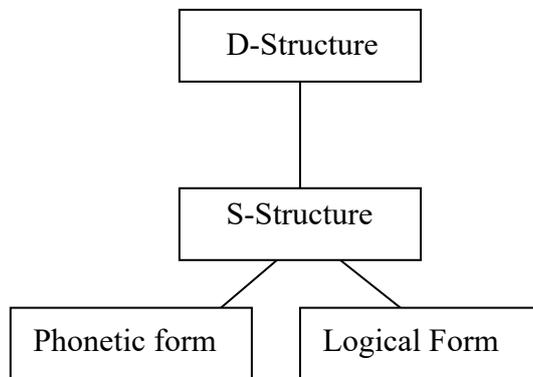
$$\begin{array}{c}
 \text{A} \\
 \swarrow \quad \searrow \\
 \text{V} \quad \text{A} \\
 | \quad | \\
 \text{chatt} \quad \text{-ing}
 \end{array}$$



The difference between 0 and (465) concerns productivity and idiosyncrasy, because only items formed in the Open Class lexicon are productive.

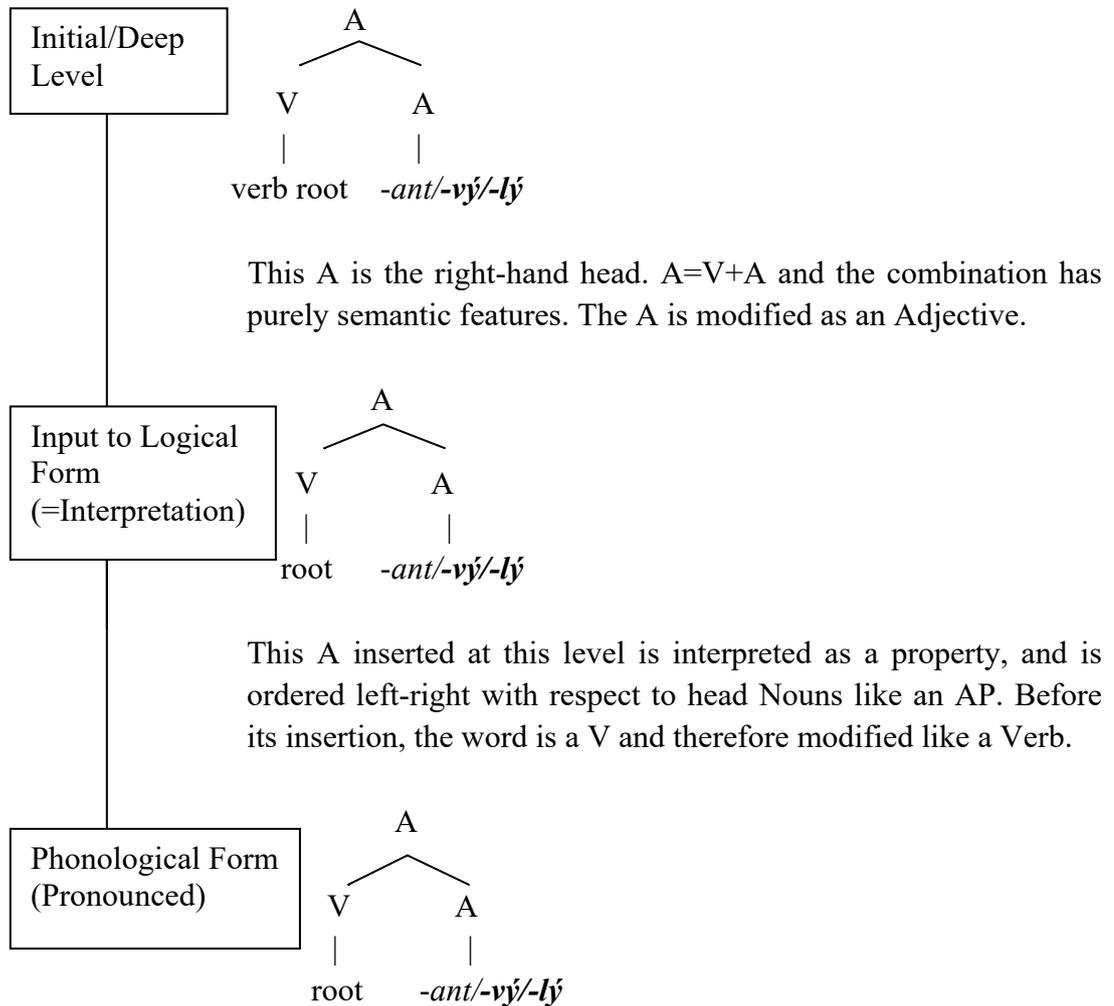
The difference between Czech and French can also be explained if we take into consideration the three levels of lexical insertion in the "T-Model" (466) the branch is the input to LF and PF.

(466) the "T-Model" (Chomsky and Lasnik 1977)



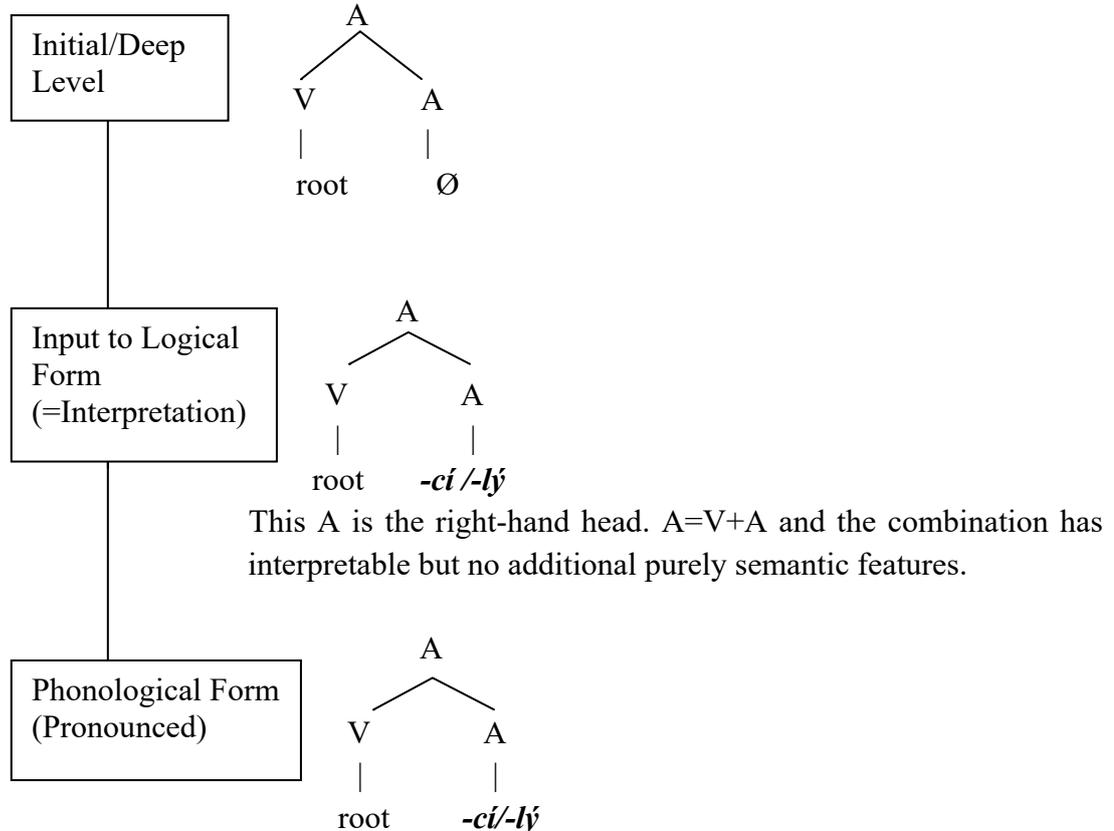
In this model there are three places where morphemes can be inserted during the derivation: a deep "lexical" level (467), a level sent to logical form (468), and a level sent to phonetic form as illustrated below.

(467) Insertion of combinations listed in the Open Class "Content" Lexicon



A derived adjective A is interpreted as the input into the Logical Form, and spelled out as agreement at Phonological Form. But this "V+A" is not a lexical item. In selection of and by V, it is as if A =  $\emptyset$ .

(468) Syntactic (not deep) insertion



In both Czech and French, there are *lexicalized verbal adjectives* which are formed on the deep level. In Czech but not in French attributes syntactic (not deep) insertion occurs as well (468). Syntactic insertion means that the dependent morphemes are inserted later than on the deep "lexical" level. They are inserted at Spell Out, at input Logical Form. Thus, in Czech there are two kinds of adjectives derived from verbs: *lexical* (or *lexicalized*) and *syntactic verbal adjectives*, while in French there is only one kind of verbal adjectives: the *lexicalized verbal adjectives*. Nonetheless, syntactically and morphologically, the Czech verbal adjectives behave like the primary attributive adjectives as given by the generalizations on agreement (36) and (37) and word order (179). Like the French verbal adjectives they show agreement, however, they also share certain characteristics of the English active participle.

### 3.3 Three types of the English Verbal Adjectives

This section will treat the position and formation of the English attributive active participle. In English these participles can be found in two positions – prenominal (469) or post-nominal (470).

(469) *He was not able to watch the **boring** film to the end.*

(470) *The man **whistling** was hit by the car.*

There are three kinds of the attributive active participles in English. There are cases in which the *-ing* form can be used only for pre-modification (471), the post-modification being ungrammatical (472). Modification by degree modifiers is also possible (473). This shows the adjectival character of certain uses of the active participle. We are going to call such occurrences of the *-ing* form *lexicalized verbal adjectives*.

(471) *Tim attended a **boring** lecture.*

(472) \**Tim attended a lecture **boring**.*

(473) *Tim attended a **very boring** lecture.*

In English *lexicalized verbal adjectives* morphologically and syntactically also act like primary attributive adjectives. When they are not post-modified, they occur only preminally and they take degree modifiers as the generalizations on Adverbial Modification of Adjectives (112) and Adjectival Word Order (173).

In some cases in English, nonetheless, it seems that pre-modification by the active participle (474) is less felicitous than post-modification (475). Moreover, modification by degree modifiers is then impossible (476).

(474) ? *A **walking/talking/singing/eating/whistling** man was hit by a car.*

(475) *A man **walking/running/whistling** was hit by a car.*

(476) \**A man **very walking/running/whistling** was hit by a car.*

This section will discuss the factors which influence the position and formation of the attributive *-ing* form.

#### 3.3.1 Position and Formation of the Active Participle

In English it seems that there are three types of adjectives which issue from the active participle. Some of the active participles became fully *lexicalized verbal adjectives* (471). While some of the active participles give rise to adjectives which seem to be more verbal, there are others which are less verbal. Not only do some of the present participles prefer post-position (474) and (475), they do not accept degree modifiers either (477). Yet they can be modified by adverbs typical of verbs (478) and (479). Therefore these adjectives have a more verbal character.

(477) \**A man **very walking/running/whistling** was hit by a car.*

(478) *A man **whistling loudly** was hit by a car.*

(479) *A car **moving slowly** almost stopped at the corner of the street.*

Such occurrences of the active participle as in (480) – (485) where these post-nominal or attributive active participles modify the noun have led to the term "reduced relative" (clause), although, this term is not widely used in traditional grammar books.

(480) *A man **crossing the street** was hit by a car.*

(481) *The person **writing reports** is my colleague.* (Quirk et al. 1985, 1263)

(482) *We were talking about the professor **lecturing next door**.*

(483) *In psychology, we attempt to state the laws **underlying human behaviour**.*  
(Dušková 1985, 581)

(484) *As one example take a baby **learning to walk**.* (Dušková 1985, 581)

(485) *We passed a sign **pointing to the village**.* (Dušková 1985, 581)

Quirk et al. call the above occurrences of the active participle "-ing participle clauses" (1985, 1263)<sup>68</sup>. The possible readings of (481) are multiple (486).

(486)

<i>The person who</i>	}	<p><i><b>will write</b></i></p> <p><i><b>will be writing</b></i></p> <p><i><b>writes</b></i></p> <p><i><b>is writing</b></i></p> <p><i><b>wrote</b></i></p> <p><i><b>was writing</b></i></p>	}	<i>reports is my colleague.</i>
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(Quirk et al. 1985, 1263)

Huddleston and Pullum (2002) refuse to analyze such occurrences as (480) - (485) as reduced relatives. Introducing their own example, here (487), they say that such occurrences of the active participle are "(...) semantically similar to relative clauses", but they "do not analyse them as relative clauses since there is no possibility of them containing a relative phrase (cf. \*people who living near the site, etc.)" (2002, 1265).

(487) *[People **living near the site**] will have to be evacuated.* [gerund-participial]

(488) *people **earning this amount***

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<sup>68</sup> Among Czech linguists, Dušková (1994) talks about "atributivní přítomné participium" ('the attributive present participle').

These authors note a propos of such occurrences as (488) that

"[t]he active neutralises the distinction between *people who are earning this amount* and *people who earn this amount*. Features of form or context in particular cases may favour or require one or the other kind of interpretation – compare *anyone knowing his whereabouts* ('who knows') and *Who's the guy making all that noise?* ('who is making'). The construction itself, however, is quite neutral between the two interpretations."

Quirk et al. note that "[i]t must be emphasized that *-ing* forms in postmodifying clauses should not be seen as abbreviated progressive forms in relative clauses" (1985, 1263).

The reason not to view relative clauses as an abbreviation of the progressive form, and to consider the active participle as a construction where the tense is neutralized is the fact that even stative verbs can appear in the form of an active participle as reduced relatives (489) – (492).

(489) *This is a liquid with a taste **resembling** that of soapy water.*

[‘which resembles’; *not*: ‘\*which is resembling’] (Quirk et al. 1985, 1263)

(490) *It was a mixture **consisting** of oil and vinegar.*

[‘that consisted of’; *not*: ‘\*that was consisting of’] (Quirk et al. 1985, 1263)

(491) *Packages **weighing** over twenty pounds* (Dušková 1994, 581)

(492) *A box **containing** cigarettes* (Dušková 1994, 581)

Dušková (1985, 581) also notes that in such case as (493) *going* is not an ellipsis of a progressive form but that it corresponds to a relative clause in which the difference between the momentary, ongoing activity (494) and an activity in general (495) is neutralized.

(493) *the children **going** to school*

(494) *the children **who are going** to school*

(495) *the children **who go** to school*

Nonetheless, under the early generative analysis in Chomsky (1957, 72 – 74) it is the adjectival transformation ( $T - N - is - Adj \rightarrow T + Adj + N$ ) of the kernel sentences (496) which gives rise to the prenominal occurrence of the active participle (497).

(496) *The child is sleeping.*

(497) *the **sleeping** child*

### 3. Modification of Nouns by Active Participles

As regards the post-modifying active participle Smith (1964) discusses them in terms of "whiz deletion". This process erases the relative pronoun (*wh*-element) and the copula (form of verb *be*, often *is*, therefore *whiz*) with the use of transformational rules, and so the post-modifying active participle is created (498).

(498) *He saw a man (who was) walking in the park.* (Smith 1964, 251)

At first glance the above described kind of deletion looks simple and plausible. However, not even with this approach is the status of the English post-modifying active participle very clear. In cases such as (499) Smith claims that "if *running* (...) were the result of deletion of *Wh* from a relative, it should be possible to embed an *R* relative clause to the preceding noun" (1964, 253). If a reduced relative were embedded, however, it would produce ungrammaticality in this case (500).

(499) *John saw the man running.*

(500) \**John saw the man running who wore a black homburg.*

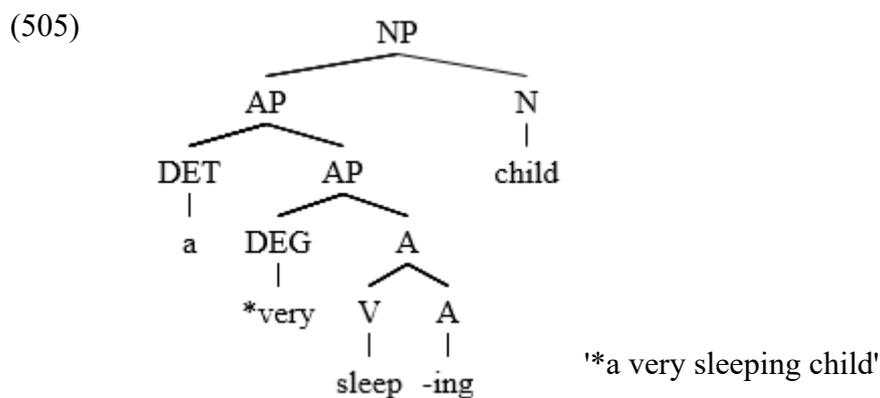
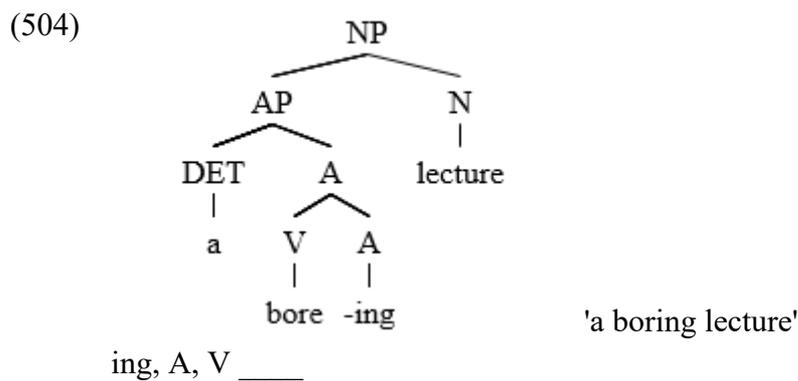
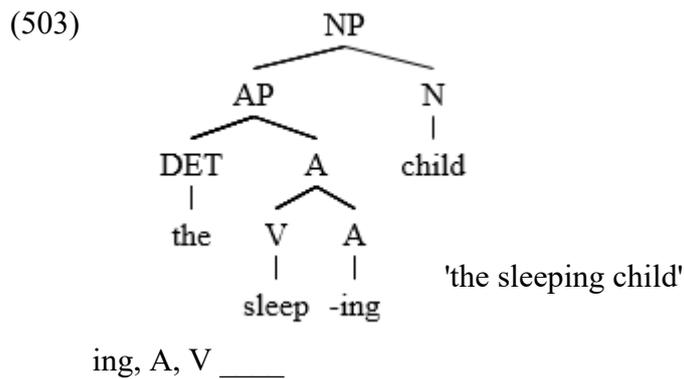
Therefore, Smith (1964, 253) comes to the conclusion that the source for (499) is either (501) or (502).

(501) *John saw the man while he (John) was running.*

(502) *John saw that the man was running.*

It seems that in later generative approaches the existence of the ambiguous verbo-nominal form can be better explained by the late insertion of the morphology of the active participle.

At Logical Form (LF), if *A* is lexical, it is interpreted as a property (503) and it gives rise to the *syntactic verbal adjective*. A *syntactic verbal adjective* is different from such occurrences as (504), where the *-ing* form is fully lexicalized. In (504) the *-ing* form is a *lexicalized verbal adjective*. The *-ing* form in (503) does not act fully like a primary adjective (505) since *syntactic verbal adjectives* of intransitive verbs, like primary attributive adjectives also occur only pre-nominally, but unlike *lexicalized verbal adjectives* they do not take degree modifiers.



We have thus, just distinguished two types of verbal adjectives in English, just as we did in Czech in section 3.2.1.4.

On the other hand, some of the English active participles are more adjectival (506) and (507), and some more verbal, since in such cases as (508) or (509) it is difficult to interpret the active participle as a "property" rather than an "activity".<sup>69</sup>

(506) *the [chatting] students* AP-like

<sup>69</sup> Meltzer-Asscher suggests that "while all participles [i.e. present participles] have a verbal reading, only a subset of them have an additional, adjectival reading" (2010, 61).

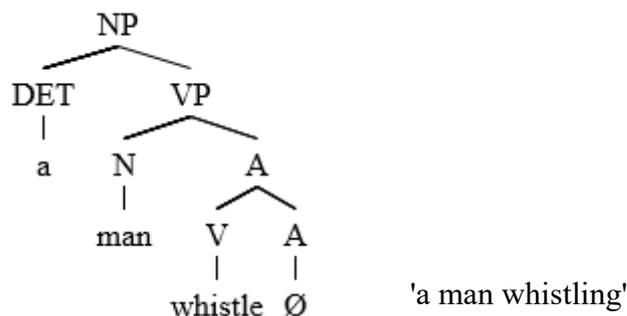
(507) *the students [talking politics]* AP-like

(508) *the students [jumping]* VP-like

(509) *the students [crossing the street] look drunk* VP-like

If the *-ing* form is VP-like (508), it means that the *-ing* is absent when the domain NP goes to Logic Form. In such cases as (510) the morphology of the active participle is missing on the deep level. It is inserted only after Spell Out, at Phonological Form (PF). Such late insertion of the *-ing* morpheme than gives rise to the post-nominal occurrences of the active participles as we could see in (470).

(510)



This process can be called the "late Phonetic Form insertion". I will call the active participles which are formed by the late PF insertion *participial verb phrases*. These active participles do not really have any adjectival properties, for example, they occur only post-nominally in English. Unlike primary adjectives, *lexicalized verbal adjectives*, and *syntactic verbal adjectives*, which all describe a more or less permanent quality of the noun which they modify, *participial verb phrases* carry a notion of dynamism, of an ongoing activity. They cannot be modified by degree modifiers.

We could see that in English a third kind of adjectival form can be derived from verbs.

(511) **English Participial Verb Phrases. (not present in Czech or French)**

*Participial verb phrases* occur only post-nominally. They do not take degree modifiers. They have an activity reading.

The *active participle* in English thus has a dual syntactic character. Either it is more adjectival or more verbal. The *lexicalized verbal adjectives* (471) and the *syntactic verbal adjectives* (497) pre-modify the head noun, while the *participial verb phrases* (475) are used only in post-modification. *Lexicalized verbal adjectives* behave like primary adjectives examined in Chapter 1, i.e. they take degree modifiers, occur as complements of verbs such as *seem*, *remain*, etc., and their word order with respect to the noun is determined by the generalizations on word order (173) and (193). *Syntactic verbal adjectives* also pre-modify the head noun and thus follow the usual English adjectival word order. On the other hand, they do not take degree modifiers and they

can be modified by adverbs. Their syntactic behavior is, thus, not purely adjectival, and is captured by the option of forming an adjective in the syntax, just prior to the level of Logical Form.

Finally, *participial verb phrases* behave the least like adjectives. They occur only in post-nominal position and maintain verbal characteristics. This duality of the post-modifying active participle can be explained in terms of the presence or absence of the *-ing* when the domain NP goes to LF.<sup>70</sup>

(512) **English Attributive Active Participles.**

There are three kinds of the attributive Active participle. (i) *Lexicalized verbal adjectives* and (ii) *syntactic verbal adjectives* have the distribution of primary attributive adjectives, i.e. they occur pre-nominally if they lack complements. (iii) *Participial verb phrases* are uniformly used post-nominally.

**3.4 Comparison of English, French, and Czech Present/Active Participles**

We have seen that in French there are no productive active participles such as can be found in English and Czech for modification of nouns. In French and in Czech verbal adjectives are the counterparts of the English active participle. The French verbal adjective syntactically behaves like any other French primary polysyllabic attributive adjective, i.e. it is used in post-modification like the primary adjective containing two or more syllables (513) and (514), and it agrees in number and in gender with the head noun (515) and (516) as the generalizations of the French Adjectival Agreement (35) and French Adjectival Postmodification (128) state.

(513) *un livre intéressant / joyeux*  
 a<sub>MS</sub> book<sub>MS</sub> interesting<sub>MS</sub> / happy<sub>MS</sub>  
 'an interesting book'

(514) *une vie intéressante / joyeuse*  
 a<sub>FS</sub> life<sub>FS</sub> interesting<sub>FS</sub> / happy<sub>FS</sub>  
 'a happy life'

(515) \**un livre intéressante*  
 \*a<sub>MS</sub> book<sub>MS</sub> interesting<sub>FS</sub>

(516) \**un livre intéressants*  
 \*a<sub>MS</sub> book<sub>MS</sub> interesting<sub>MPL</sub>

The possibilities for the derivation and use of verbal adjectives in French are, additionally, restricted. The verbal adjectives in French are all *lexicalized verbal*

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<sup>70</sup> Meltzer-Asscher (2010) also comes to the conclusion that "adjectival present participles are listed in the lexicon, whereas verbal ones are not stored at all but rather derived syntactically" (62).

*adjectives*. While in English the restriction on deriving active participles concerns only the modal verbs, which do not give rise to active participles, the French verbs that do not give rise to verbal adjectives are more numerous as we could see in (372) - (379).

Czech adjectives derived from verbs (517) and (518), similarly to its other primary adjectives (519) as given by the generalization on the Czech Adjectival Word Order (179) pre-modify the noun, unless the adjective is followed by its own complement as stated by the Czech Complex Adjective Modification (196). The verbal adjectives overtly agree with their head noun in number, gender, and case (518) and (517), following the declension patterns like primary adjectives as stated in the generalization of the Czech Hard Adjectival Agreement (36) and the Czech Soft Adjectival Agreement (37).

(517) *zajímavá kniha*  
 interesting<sub>FS.NOM</sub> book<sub>FS.NOM</sub>  
 'an *interesting* book'

(518) *štěkající pes*  
 barking<sub>MS.NOM</sub> dog<sub>MS.NOM</sub>  
 'a *barking* dog'

(519) *šťastný život*  
 happy<sub>MS.NOM</sub> life<sub>MS.NOM</sub>  
 'a *happy* life'

In Czech if the verb is intransitive, the derived verbal adjective must pre-modify the noun (520) and (521), otherwise the occurrences are ungrammatical (522) and (523).

(520) *Vyprávějí otec usnul.*  
 telling<sub>INT.MS.NOM</sub> father<sub>MS.NOM</sub> fell.asleep  
 'The father *telling* fell asleep.'

(521) *Čtoucí dívka seděla na lavičce.*  
 reading<sub>INT.FS.NOM</sub> girl<sub>FS.NOM</sub> was.sitting on bench  
 'The girl *reading* was sitting on a bench.'

(522) \**Otec vyprávějí usnul.*  
 \* father<sub>MS.NOM</sub> telling<sub>INT.MS.NOM</sub> fell.asleep

(523) \**Dívka čtoucí seděla na lavičce.*  
 \* girl<sub>FS.NOM</sub> reading<sub>INT.FS.NOM</sub> was.sitting on bench

In Czech in the case of transitive verbs the verbal adjective can occur either in the pre- (524) and (525) or in the post- modifying position (526) and (529) as stated in the generalization on Czech Complex Adjective Modification (196).

- (524) *Pohádku vyprávějící otec usnul.*  
 fairy.tale<sub>FS.ACC</sub> telling<sub>INT.MS.NOM</sub> father<sub>MS.NOM</sub> fell.asleep  
 'The father *telling* fell asleep.'
- (525) *Knihu čtoucí dívka seděla na lavičce.*  
 book<sub>FS.ACC</sub> reading<sub>FS.NOM</sub> girl<sub>FS.NOM</sub> was.sitting on bench  
 'The girl *reading* was sitting on a bench.'
- (526) *Otec vyprávějící pohádku usnul.*  
 father<sub>MS.NOM</sub> telling<sub>INT.MS.NOM</sub> fairy.tale<sub>FS.ACC</sub> fell.asleep  
 'The father *telling* fell asleep.'
- (527) *Dívka čtoucí knihu seděla na lavičce.*  
 girl<sub>FS.NOM</sub> reading<sub>FS.NOM</sub> book<sub>FS.ACC</sub> was.sitting on bench  
 'The girl *reading* was sitting on a bench.'
- (528) *Otec pohádku vyprávějící usnul.*  
 father<sub>MS.NOM</sub> fairy.tale<sub>FS.ACC</sub> telling<sub>INT.MS.NOM</sub> fell.asleep  
 'The father *telling* fell asleep.'
- (529) *Dívka knihu čtoucí seděla na lavičce.*  
 girl<sub>FS.NOM</sub> book<sub>FS.ACC</sub> reading<sub>FS.NOM</sub> was.sitting on bench  
 'The girl *reading* was sitting on a bench.'

In Czech the verbal adjectives are of two types: *lexicalized verbal adjectives* (517) and *syntactic verbal adjectives* (518). As explained in section 3.2.2, the latter are formed (= inserted into the derivation) only at the Spell Out or LF interface level, and before this insertion, they exhibit verbal properties.

In English the attributive active participle sometimes behaves similarly to primary adjectives described in sections 1.1 - 1.5, sometimes not. With respect to word order, in some cases similarly to (530) and (531) it is impossible to use (532). Only (533) is judged grammatical.

(530) *a happy life*

(531) *\*a life happy*

(532) *\*a scene moving*

(533) *a moving scene*

Like other primary adjectives (534) these verbal adjectives also take degree modifiers and have idiomatic interpretations (535), so they can be called *lexicalized verbal adjectives*.

(534) *a very happy life*

(535) *a very moving scene*

*Lexicalized verbal adjectives* act according to the generalizations (34), (112), and (173), which apply to primary adjectives.

Then, there are other instances in which the pre-modifying verbal adjective does not act entirely in accordance with these generalizations (536). For example, it cannot take degree modifiers (537), but it can be modified by a manner adverb (538). These verbal adjectives are *syntactic verbal adjectives*.

(536) *a moving train*

(537) *\*a very moving train*

(538) *a quickly moving train*

And finally, there are also cases in English, in which the post-position of the intransitive active participle (539) - (541) seems to be more felicitous than the pre-position (542) - (544).

(539) *The man **hesitating** is my brother.*

(540) *A girl **reading** was sitting on a bench.*

(541) *A boy **cheating** was caught.*

(542) *?The **hesitating** man is my brother.*

(543) *?A **reading** girl was sitting on a bench.*

(544) *? A **cheating** boy was caught.*

It is quite striking that if we try to reproduce this word order (539) - (541) with Czech syntactic verbal adjectives, ungrammaticality results (545) - (547):

(545) \**Muž váhající je její bratr.*  
 \*man<sub>MS.NOM</sub> hesitating<sub>MS.NOM</sub> is her brother

(546) \**Dívka čtoucí seděla na lavičce.*  
 \*girl<sub>FS.NOM</sub> reading<sub>FS.NOM</sub> was.sitting on bench

(547) \**Chlapec podvádějící byl přistižen.*  
 \*boy<sub>MS.NOM</sub> cheating<sub>MS.NOM</sub> was<sub>AUX</sub> caught

I conclude therefore that in English the active participle gives rise to *three* types of attributive active participles as shown in the Table 7. Like French and Czech, English also has *lexicalized verbal adjectives* (533). In both English and Czech, there are *syntactic verbal adjectives* (536). Finally, in English there are also *participial verb phrase modifiers* (539) - (541).

	<i>lexicalized verbal adjectives</i>	<i>syntactic verbal adjectives</i>	<i>participial verb phrases</i>
Level of inserting participle morphology	Initial/Deep level	Logical Form	Phonological Form
<b>French</b>	+	-	-
<b>Czech</b>	+	+	-
<b>English</b>	+	+	+

**Table 7:** Attribute uses of non-finite present form in French, Czech, and English

Some adjectives derived from verbs seem to be more verbal (*participial verb phrases*), others (*syntactic verbal adjectives*) less. The *lexicalized verbal adjectives* are the least verbal.<sup>71</sup> Among the others, not only do some of the present participles prefer post-position, but they do not accept degree modifiers either (548), and they can be modified by manner adverbs (549). Therefore, these apparent adjectives seem rather to have a more verbal character. We have called these occurrences *participial verb phrases* above.

(548) \**a boy very cheating*

(549) *a woman laughing loudly*

When comparing the behaviour of the English *participial verb phrases* derived from verbs by the *-ing* suffix (550) with their Czech and French counterparts, we can notice that in Czech either a verbal adjective (551) or a relative clause (552) can be used, while in French a relative clause is required (553).

(550) *A boy cheating was caught.*

(551) *Podvádějící chlapec byl přistižen.*

cheating<sub>MS.NOM</sub> boy<sub>MS.NOM</sub> was<sub>AUX</sub> caught

'A boy *cheating* was caught.'

<sup>71</sup> Meltzer-Asscher (2010) views some participles as verbal and some (those derived from state verbs) also as adjectival in addition to being verbal. Similarly, Sleeman (2011) analyzes "the postnominal deverbal modifiers as predicates and the prenominal ones as attributes, defending Cinque's (1994) analysis" (2011, 1586).

(552) *Chlapec, který podváděl, byl přistižen.*  
 boy<sub>MS.NOM</sub> who was.cheating was<sub>AUX</sub> caught  
 'A boy *who was cheating* was caught.'

(553) *Un garçon qui trichait était pris sur le fait.*  
 a<sub>MS</sub> boy<sub>MS</sub> who was.cheating was<sub>AUX</sub> taken on the<sub>MS</sub> act  
 'A boy *who was cheating* was caught.'

So now I make a final summary. In the case that the derivation of the verbal adjective in French is possible (554), then it is, similarly to primary attributive adjectives (128), used post-nominally (555). The adjectives derived from verbs in French are all *lexicalized verbal adjectives*.

(554) \**Un garçon trichant était pris sur le fait.*  
 \*a<sub>MS</sub> boy<sub>MS</sub> cheating was<sub>AUX.3S</sub> taken on the<sub>MS</sub> act<sub>MS</sub>

(555) *Il y avait beaucoup de scènes émouvantes dans son dernier film.*  
 he there had<sub>3S</sub> a lot of scene<sub>FPL</sub> stirring<sub>FPL</sub> in his/her<sub>MS</sub>  
 last<sub>MS</sub> film<sub>MS</sub>  
 'There were many *stirring* scenes in his/her last film.'

In Czech the verbal adjectives divide into *lexicalized verbal adjectives* and *syntactic verbal adjectives*. These adjectives behave syntactically and morphologically like primary attributive adjectives. The generalizations on agreement (36) and (37) and word order (179) are applicable also to these adjectives. In the case that the verbal adjective is further complemented, the post-modifying position is available (556), so the generalization on Czech Complex Adjective Modification (196) holds as well. If the verbal adjective is not complemented, the sentence is not grammatical (557).

(556) *Děti pobíhající po hřišti dělaly rámus.*  
 child<sub>FPL.NOM</sub> running<sub>FPL.NOM</sub> on playground were.making noise  
 'The children *running* on the playground were making noise.'

(557) \**Chlapec podvádějící byl chycen.*  
 \*boy<sub>MS.NOM</sub> cheating<sub>MS.NOM</sub> was<sub>AUX.3S</sub> caught

In English, there are three kinds of verbal adjectives: *lexicalized*, *syntactic*, and *participial verb phrases*.

The adjectives derived from verbs (active participles) in the three languages can be organized as in Table 8.

	<i>lexicalized verbal adjectives</i>	<i>syntactic verbal adjectives</i>	<i>participial verb phrases</i>
<b>French</b>	V+ant+Agr.	-	-
<b>Czech</b>	characterizing action adjectives (-vý, -lý); active qualitative result adjectives (-lý)	ongoing action adjectives (-cí); adjectivized active participles (-lý)	-
<b>English</b>	-ing: a <b>moving</b> scene; also V+ive, etc.	-ing: a <b>moving</b> train, a <b>thinking</b> woman	-ing: a man <b>hesitating</b> , a woman <b>thinking</b>

**Table 8:** Active participle/verbal adjectives in French, Czech, and English

Concerning the position of the active participle/verbal adjective, different languages allow different positions. French maintains the post-nominal position as in the case of other polysyllabic adjectives. In English there are two positions for the non-lexical active participle. As we could see in Czech the counterpart of the English active participle represented by the *syntactic verbal adjective* follows the same word order patterns as primary simple attributive adjectives. It is found prenominal if it is not further modified. It shows agreement with its head noun in number and case if it ends in *-cí* or in all the  $\varphi$ -features: if it ends in *-ý* for Masculine, *-á* for Feminine, and *-é* for Neuter. We can also observe that in French the derivation of the verbal adjective is more limited than in English or Czech.

The differences among the three languages can be accounted for if we distinguish the levels on which individual morphemes are inserted. In English, the insertion of the *-ing* morpheme takes place on three different levels, so there are *lexicalized verbal adjectives*, *syntactic verbal adjectives*, and *participial verb phrases*. In Czech, the morpheme for derivation of verbal adjectives can be inserted on two levels, thus, there are *lexicalized verbal adjectives* and *syntactic verbal adjectives*. In French, the insertion takes place only on one level. In French there are only *lexicalized verbal adjectives*. Thus, on one hand, only *lexicalized verbal adjectives* can be found in English, Czech, and French. On the other hand, *participial verb phrases* occur only in English. *Syntactic verbal adjectives* occur in both English and Czech, but not in French.

#### 4. General uses of Non-attributive Past/Passive Participles

In Chapter 3, we have discussed the attributive use of active participles in English and their Czech and French counterparts. It turned out that in English there are three types of the attributive active participles: *lexicalized verbal adjectives*, *syntactic verbal adjectives*, and *participial verb phrases*. In Czech there are only *lexicalized verbal adjectives* and *syntactic verbal adjectives*. Finally, in French there is no more than one type, the *lexicalized verbal adjectives*.

Now, the various non-attributive as well as attributive past/passive participles are going to be examined. In English the past/passive participle of regular and irregular verbs, somewhat like the active participle, has several uses. It is used both for the formation of the perfectives (558) - (560), and verbal passives (561) - (563).

(558) *The train **has just arrived** to the station.*

(559) *When we finally arrived at the airport the plane **had just left**.*

(560) *By this time next year he **will have visited** all the countries of the world.*

(561) *The letters **were written** a long time ago.*

(562) *Her first book **got / was published** last year.*

(563) *Sam **had** the car **fixed** by his friend.*

The verbal passive in (561) is a prototypical one. The subject of the sentence is not the agent, as required by Áfarli's (1989) 'essential property of the passive', but rather the patient, the participle of the transitive verb *write* follows the auxiliary *be*, and the agent is not expressed at all. The occurrences of the past participle after *get* (562) or *have* (563) are less typical representants of passive constructions. Nonetheless, these passives have also already been discussed. Already Hatcher (1949) describes the differences in meaning of the *be / get* passive constructions, considering the diachronic development of these constructions.<sup>72</sup> Downing (1996) also deals with the semantics of the direct

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<sup>72</sup> Hatcher (1949) examines the development of the meaning of *get* and the past participle, finding that the meaning developed in three stages from "to obtain something with efforts", through "to receive something desired" to "to receive something undesirable". She claims that "in the construction with *get*, the action is presented from the point of view of the subject: it is considered only as something (good or bad) happening to him, a stage in his private career" (441). She also claims that "the use of *get* as passive auxiliary is greatly limited" (435). She observes that the use of *be/get* depends on the context and that *get* is never used along with the preposition *by* and the agent. This last observation is certainly no longer true, since it is at variance with e.g.

#### 4. General Uses of Non-attributive Past/Passive Participles

passives formed with the auxiliary *get*. Generative studies of *get*-passives are numerous, including Haegeman (1985), Alexiadou (2005), and Reed (2015). Emonds (2013) focuses on the verbal passives formed with several transitive verbs, as in (563), (*have, get, want, need, see, and hear*) used as auxiliaries, which he calls "indirect passives."<sup>73</sup>

The use of the past/passive participle in French is also multifaceted. Following the auxiliary *avoir* 'have', it forms the *passé composé* ('compound past') (564) or *plus-que-parfait* ('past perfect') (565). Following the auxiliary verb *être* 'be' it forms the verbal *passive* (566).<sup>74</sup>

(564) *Il a mis du sucre dans sa tasse et il a remué son café.*  
he has<sub>AUX</sub> put some<sub>MS</sub> sugar<sub>MS</sub> in his<sub>FS</sub> cup<sub>FS</sub> and he has<sub>AUX</sub> stirred  
his<sub>MS</sub> coffee<sub>MS</sub>  
'He put some sugar in his cup and he stirred his coffee.'

(565) *Elle ne savait pas ce qu' ils avaient fait.*  
she NEG knew NEG it<sub>MS</sub> REL they<sub>M</sub> have<sub>AUX</sub> done  
'She did not know what they had done.'

(566) *La lettre était soudamment apportée par le facteur.*  
the<sub>FS</sub> letter<sub>FS</sub> was<sub>AUX.3S</sub> suddenly brought<sub>FS</sub> by the<sub>MS</sub> postman<sub>MS</sub>  
'The letter was suddenly brought by the postman.'

In Czech, the past participle or "*-l participle*" gives rise to the active past tense (567) and the conditional mood (568) as already mentioned in section 3.2.1.3. The quite distinct passive participle or "*-n/-t participle*" is used for the formation of the passive (569).

(567) *(On)Uvařil výbornou večeři.*  
(he) cooked<sub>MS</sub> delicious<sub>FS.ACC</sub> dinner<sub>FS.ACC</sub>  
'He made a delicious dinner.'

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Alexiadou (2005, 19), who claims that "the locus of licensing of the *by*-phrase [in *John got arrested by the police*], is the presence of *get*."

<sup>73</sup> Already Mathesius (1914) and Poldauf (1940) focus on the English passive comparing its syntax and semantics to the Czech passive. Schoorlemmer (1995) also examines the passive. She focuses on the comparison of English and Russian. Passivization as a process has also been discussed by linguists such as Perlmutter and Postal (1977), who focus on grammatical relations, and Givón (2006), who focuses on passivization from a diachronic perspective.

<sup>74</sup> The formation of the verbal passive in French will be discussed more in detail in section 4.2.

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(568) *(Já) Kdybych více cvičila, (já) cítila bych se lépe.*  
(I) if<sub>1S</sub> more exercised<sub>FS</sub> (I) felt<sub>FS</sub> would<sub>1S</sub> REFL better  
'If I did more exercise, I would feel better.'

(569) *První zvukový film byl natočen v year 1927.*  
first sound<sub>MS.NOM</sub> film<sub>MS.NOM</sub> was<sub>AUX</sub> turned in year 1927  
'The first sound film was made in 1927.'

In (570) and (571) we can see that for the formation of verbal adjectives like English *stolen* (572), Czech uses the passive participle (570), not the past one (571). This morphological distinction between the past and the passive participle is what centrally distinguishes the Czech periphrastic forms from English and French.

(570) *Do klubička stočená kočka spala u krbu.*  
into ball curled.up<sub>PVP.FS.NOM</sub> cat<sub>FS.NOM</sub> was.sleeping<sub>FS</sub> by fireplace  
'The cat curled up into a ball was sleeping by the fireplace.'

(571) \**Do klubička stočilá kočka spala u krbu.*  
\*into ball curled.up<sub>PSP.FS.NOM</sub> cat<sub>FS.NOM</sub> was.sleeping<sub>FS</sub> by fireplace

(572) *Sam's stolen car was later found in the suburbs.*

In Czech, nonetheless, both the past participle and the passive participle give rise to adjectives. The past participle gives rise to the 'adjectivized active participles', 'characterizing action adjectives', and 'active qualitative result adjectives' discussed at some length in sections 3.2.1.1-3.2.1.3. The Czech attributive adjectival passives (570) are going to be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

In this chapter the formation and general non-attributive uses of the past/passive participle in English, French, and Czech are going to be briefly compared before we turn to the topic of attributive adjectival passives in Chapter 5.

#### 4.1 English past/passive participles

In English the suffix /-ed/ is used for both the formation of the past tense and the past participle of regular verbs (573) and (574).

(573) *cook – cooked*

(574) *stay - stayed*

The group of verbs which form their past tense and past/passive participle irregularly is limited and not productive. The past/passive participle of the irregular verbs is usually formed by a change in the stem vowel (575) and (576).

(575) *find – found – found*

#### 4. General Uses of Non-attributive Past/Passive Participles

(576) *sing – sang - sung*

There is thus allomorphy in the past/passive participle in English: /-ed/, /-en/, and /-t/. These allomorphs occur in complementary distribution. In an early structuralist paper on syntactic analysis Nida (1948) argues that for their complementary distribution in past/passive participles the participial suffixes /-en/ and /-ed/ can be viewed as

"allomorphs, each having its sub-morphemic distinction of meaning derived from its own distribution. [...] The allomorph /-d/ is productive: its potential distribution is not arbitrarily fixed like that of /-n/. Both allomorphs may occur in the same person's speech, but /-d/ occurs in more colloquial socio-linguistic environments. On the other hand, /-n/ has a fixed distribution, but within this fixed range of occurrence /-n/ may be said to have greater 'socio-linguistic acceptability'. These facts are synchronic as well as diachronic; they apply to the present functioning of the language." (Nida 1948, 432)

In language acquisition the productivity of the morpheme /-ed/ is manifested by the occasional use of /-ed/ instead of /-en/ even in case of verbs which are irregular. A recent discussion of whether two actual morphemes are involved or whether simply allomorphs are involved is found in Emonds (2012b). I am going to come back to this briefly in Section 5.1.

In such cases as (577) the participial suffix /-ed/ with the irregular verb is blocked because there already is another form with the same meaning. This phenomenon has been described by Aronoff as the "nonoccurrence of one form due to the simple existence of another" and is now called the "Blocking principle" (Aronoff 1976, 43).

(577) \**He has just **speaked** to me.*

The past/passive participles of the irregular verbs belong to the list of dictionary items which have to be learnt. Before these forms are fully mastered, speakers tend to replace them by the forms which are used more frequently (i.e. the /-ed/ of regular verbs).

Along with auxiliaries the past/passive participle forms perfect aspect (558) - (560) and the passive (561) - (563), forms which are going to be discussed more in detail in the following sections.

##### **4.1.1 Past/Passive Participle forming the Perfect Aspect and the Conditional**

The auxiliary *have* and the past/passive participle of the lexical verb give rise to the perfect aspect, which has been treated by Quirk et al. (1985), Huddleston and Pullum (2002), Leech (2004), and many others. It divides into the present (558) and (578), past (559) and (579), and future (560) and (580), which uses *will* in addition to *have*. The present perfect is "described as referring to 'past with present relevance', or 'past involving the present'" (Leech 2004, 36). Past perfect refers to "a time further in the past, seen from the viewpoint of a definite point of time already in the past" (Leech 2004, 46). And the future perfect "expresses that an action will be completed at a certain time in the future" (Mathesius 1975, 65).

#### 4. General Uses of Non-attributive Past/Passive Participles

(578) *John **has** always **wanted** to visit Africa.*

(579) *Tom **had called** before he paid her a visit to the hospital.*

(580) *By this time next month she **will have written** another fifty pages.*

The past/passive participle is used also in conditional sentences in combination with the secondary modal *would* and the auxiliary *have* forming thus what is usually perceived as an unreal condition in the past (581)<sup>75</sup>.

(581) *If Susan had told me, I **would have spoken** to Sam.*

However, (582) illustrates the claim that there seems to be "a growing tendency, in fact, to associate the Perfect after a secondary modal purely with 'contrary to fact' meaning, rather than past time."

(582) *I **would have enjoyed** meeting you and Maria next Thursday, but I'm afraid I'll be away.* (Leech 2004, 127)

Leech explains further that "[i]n this case, the imaginary event of meeting 'you and Maria' is located in the future, rather than in the past, so it is only the 'contrary to fact' meaning that is applicable: the past meaning of the Perfect seems to have been lost" (128). We are not going to enter into details of this topic here. We should only note that in the non-attributive perfective aspect uses of the past/passive participle (578) - (582), the participle is active.

In Chapter 5 we will focus on occurrences of the *-ed* participles as (583)- (585).

(583) *The **wounded** bear couldn't escape the hunters.*

(584) *She found the **lost** papers in her letterbox.*

(585) *They were raking the **fallen** leaves into heaps.*

In (583) - (585) where the *-ed* participle is used attributively. If it can be used at all (586) - (588), is never active (589) as pointed out by Bresnan (1982).

(586) *\*The **swum** children were cold. ≠ The children who **had swum**.*

(587) *\*The **eaten** guests will start dancing. ≠ The guests who **have eaten**.*

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<sup>75</sup> In Černá (2010) I deal with the topic more in detail, using corpus data for comparison of the occurrences of the English *would* followed by the auxiliary *have* and the past/passive participle and the Czech counterparts.

#### 4. General Uses of Non-attributive Past/Passive Participles

(588) \**The **walked** girl is sitting down to rest.* ≠ *The girl who **has walked**.*

(589) *The **eaten** dog* ≠ *The dog that **has eaten*** but *The dog that **was eaten***

In fact, any active use of *-ed* participles, since they are in general not attributive, will be left aside in Chapter 5 as unrelated to this study's main topic.

##### 4.1.2 Past/Passive Participle used in the Passive

In English the passive is formed using an auxiliary *be / get* and the past/passive participle of the main verb. The passivization process is as a change of an active sentence (590) into a passive one, in which the object of the active sentence becomes the subject of the passive sentence, and the subject of the active sentence is either not expressed or can be introduced in a *by*-phrase (591).<sup>76</sup> The sentences derived in this way thus make use of the past/passive participle. The tense of the auxiliary *be* in the passive sentence is given by the tense of the verb in the active sentence. The auxiliary *be* is then followed by the past/passive participle of the lexical verb. Chomsky (1957) and Wasow (1977) thoroughly discuss the transformation from active to passive.

(590) *John broke **a window**.*

(591) ***A window** was broken by John.*

The passive can be used in order not to mention or alternatively to focus on the agent. There can be various reasons for which one might not want to mention the agent, e.g. the agent might be unknown (561), unimportant, not mentioned for reasons of politeness or softening; compare (592) and (593).

(592) *You **did not lock** the door.*

(593) *The door **was not locked**.*

Used attributively as well as in full clauses, the passive allows backgrounding or foregrounding of either the event or the agent and it thus contributes to sentence

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<sup>76</sup> Other linguists, however, have a different view on passivization. Perlmutter and Postal (1977) claim that "passivization cannot be given a universal characterization in terms of word order, case, or verbal morphology." (410) Instead they characterize passivization in "language-independent terms." The characterization is based on the grammatical relations within the sentences of languages which give rise to a "relational network." This network is stratified and the relations are governed by a system of rules, laws, and conditions. Áfarli (1989) proposes an analysis of the passive constructions in English and Norwegian which makes use of  $\theta$ -theory. For Jaeggli (1986) "[t]here is no single rule of Passive. Passive constructions are simply the result of the interaction of certain morphological and syntactic operations" (587).

#### 4. General Uses of Non-attributive Past/Passive Participles

dynamism. The passive is either viewed as the opposition of the *active* (590) vs. *passive* (591) or as a scale going from the *active* (594) to *medio-passive* (595) (Poldauf 1969), and ending with the *passive* (596).<sup>77</sup>

(594) *They **sell** books in this shop.*

(595) *This book **sells** well in this shop.*

(596) *Books **are sold** in this shop.*

It should be noted that such occurrences as (597) are not ambiguous. Here the attributive past/passive participle comes from a passive sentence somewhat like (598) and not from a medio-passive like (594).

(597) *Computers **sold** well are usually not returned.*

(598) *Computers which **are sold** well are usually not returned.*

Wasow (1977) has further differentiated between two types of analytic passives. Adjectival passives express "resultant state" (599) - (602). The examples are from Emonds (2000, 174).

(599) *At my arrival, that door was already completely **taken off**.*

(600) *John now seems very **(un)satisfied**.*

(601) *The door **{remained/was} closed** during the noon hour.*

(602) *The door looked **(un)painted**.*

Verbal passives (603) - (606), on the other hand, "lack the sense of completed activity conveyed by the adjectival passives" (Emonds 2000, 174).

(603) *During my visit, that door was quickly **taken off** by the tenant.*

(604) *John's requests are getting **satisfied**.*

(605) *The door **{got/was} closed** during the noon hour.*

(606) *The door is being **(\*un)painted**.*

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<sup>77</sup> Tárnayiková (2007) also advocates approaching the passive constructions as a scale or cline rather than a dichotomy. In her view it is impossible to make a consistent clear-cut distinction between active and passive sentences.

#### 4. General Uses of Non-attributive Past/Passive Participles

The participle is always the same form in the two uses. In attributes, one meaning is often missing. The past/passive participles used attributively, as we have already noted in section 4.1.2, do not generally express activity.

Summarizing, it has been shown that the past/passive participle in English along with different auxiliaries has various functions. It forms the perfective aspect, the unreal condition, and the passive. It is not possible within the scope of this dissertation to mention all the approaches to the passive, neither is it the goal. Rather, in Chapter 5 we are going to focus on the attributive use of the past/passive participles, and as we have seen, this means leaving aside its use to form an active perfect. In the following sections the situation of the past/passive participle in French and Czech is going to be examined.

##### 4.2 French past/passive participles

In French, like in English, the past/passive participle has different uses. With the auxiliary *avoir* ('have') it forms the *passé composé* ('compound past') (607) and *plus-que-parfait* ('past perfect') (608).

(607) *Suzanne a ouvert la porte.*  
Susan<sub>FS</sub> has<sub>AUX</sub> opened the<sub>FS</sub> door<sub>FS</sub>  
'Susan *opened* the door.'

(608) *Jeanne a voulu lire son livre, mais elle l' avait oublié à la maison.*  
Jane<sub>FS</sub> has<sub>AUX</sub> wanted read<sub>INF</sub> her<sub>MS</sub> book<sub>S</sub> but she it<sub>ACC</sub> had<sub>AUX</sub>  
*oublié* à la maison.  
forgotten at the<sub>FS</sub> home<sub>S</sub>  
'Jane wanted to read her book, but she *had forgotten* it at home.'

When it occurs after the verb *être* ('be') it forms the passive, in cases where passivization is possible (609) and (610).

(609) *Ses explications n' ont pas été comprises par les étudiants.*  
his/her<sub>PL</sub> explanation<sub>FPL</sub> NEG have<sub>AUX.3PL</sub> NEG been<sub>AUX</sub> understood<sub>FS</sub>  
*par les étudiants.*  
by the<sub>PL</sub> student<sub>MPL</sub>  
'His/Her explanations *were not understood* by the students.'

(610) *Il est aimé par tout le monde.*  
he is<sub>AUX</sub> loved by all the<sub>MS</sub> world  
'He *is loved* by everybody.'

Freidin (1975) observes that "[t]he adjectival character of passives in French, Spanish, Rumanian, and Russian manifests itself in the fact that, like adjectives in those languages, passives are inflected to agree in number and gender with their surface subjects"(401).

#### 4. General Uses of Non-attributive Past/Passive Participles

Nonetheless, in French the auxiliary *être* does not always form the passive. In French there are several groups of verbs which use the auxiliary *être* ('be') and the past/passive participle to form the active 'compound past'. First, reflexive verbs (e.g. *se laver* 'wash oneself', *se lever* 'get up', *se blesser* 'hurt oneself') use the auxiliary *être* ('be') to form the *passé composé* ('compound past') (611) and not the auxiliary *avoir* ('have') (612).<sup>78</sup>

(611) *Luc s' est couché tôt hier soir.*  
 Lucas<sub>MS</sub> REFL is<sub>AUX</sub> put.to.bed early yesterday evening  
 'Lucas went to bed early last night.'

(612) \**Jeanne s' a maquillée en vitesse.*  
 \*Jane<sub>FS</sub> REFL has<sub>AUX</sub> put.on.make-up in rapidity

In case of the so-called 'verbs of pure movement' (e.g. *aller* 'go', *passer* 'pass', *tomber* 'fall') and the 'verbs of pure change of state' (e.g. *mourir* 'die', *naître* 'be born', *devenir* 'become') the auxiliary *être* 'be' along with the past/passive participle is also used for the formation of the *passé composé* and not the auxiliary *avoir* ('have') (613) - (615).<sup>79</sup>

(613) *Julie est / (\*a) allée en vacances au Maroc.*  
 Julia<sub>FS</sub> is<sub>AUX</sub> / (\*has<sub>AUX</sub>) gone<sub>FS</sub> on holiday to Morocco  
 'Julia went on holiday to Morocco.'

(614) *Nous sommes / (\*avons) partis très tôt le matin.*  
 we are<sub>AUX</sub> / (\*have<sub>AUX</sub>) left<sub>MPL</sub> very early the<sub>MS</sub> morning  
 'We left very early in the morning.'

(615) *Anne est / (\*a) devenue actrice aux Etats-Unis.*  
 Ann<sub>FS</sub> is<sub>AUX</sub> / (\*has<sub>AUX</sub>) become<sub>FS</sub> actress<sub>FS</sub> in United States  
 'Ann became actress in the United States.'

The 'verbs of pure movement' (613) and (614) and the 'verbs of pure change of state' (615) cannot be passivized since they have no direct object; they are intransitive. In the underlying structure they have a null subject and a direct object. The external argument of such verb is not a semantic agent.

For the most part, they conform to Burzio's generalization (616):

<sup>78</sup> Legendre (2007) deals cross-linguistically with the phenomena of auxiliary selection (*have* or *be*) for the formation of the present perfect, passive, etc.

<sup>79</sup> The 'verbs of manner of movement' (such as *nager* 'swim', *courir* 'run', *trébucher* 'stumble') form the *passé composé* with the auxiliary *avoir* 'have'. For more details about French verbs of movement see Talmy (1985) and Stringer (2012).

#### 4. General Uses of Non-attributive Past/Passive Participles

(616) "all and only the verbs that can assign  $\theta$ -role to the subject can assign (accusative) Case to an object [if there is one, L.C.]". (1986, 178)<sup>80</sup>

These verbs which cannot assign accusative case are thus called "unaccusatives".<sup>81</sup>

The auxiliary which is used for the formation of the compound past of intransitive verbs plays a role for the attributive use. If an *active* past participle is used with *être* (617) - (619), it can make attributives (620) - (622).

(617) *Le soldat est tombé dans une bataille.*  
 the<sub>MS</sub> soldier<sub>S</sub> is<sub>AUX</sub> fallen<sub>MS</sub> in a<sub>FS</sub> battle<sub>FS</sub>  
 'The soldier *fell* in a battle.'

(618) *De nombreux pèlerins sont venus de l' étranger.*  
 some numerous<sub>MPL</sub> pilgrim<sub>PL</sub> are<sub>AUX.3PL</sub> come<sub>MPL</sub> from the<sub>S</sub> abroad  
 'Many pilgrims *came* from abroad.'

(619) *La fille s' est assise silencieusement.*  
 the<sub>FS</sub> girl<sub>S</sub> REFL is<sub>AUX</sub> sat.down<sub>FS</sub> silently  
 'The girl *sat down* silently.'

(620) *Les soldats tombés ne les intéressaient pas.*  
 the<sub>PL</sub> soldier<sub>PL</sub> fallen<sub>MPL</sub> NEG them<sub>ACC</sub> interested NEG  
 'The *fallen* soldiers did not interest them.'

(621) *Les pèlerins venus de l' étranger sont nombreux.*  
 the<sub>PL</sub> pilgrim<sub>PL</sub> come<sub>MPL</sub> from the<sub>S</sub> abroad are<sub>3PL</sub> numerous<sub>MPL</sub>  
 'The pilgrims *arrived* from abroad are numerous.'

(622) *La fille assise lui a fait peur.*  
 the<sub>FS</sub> girl<sub>S</sub> sat.down<sub>FS</sub> him<sub>DAT</sub> has<sub>AUX</sub> made fear<sub>FS</sub>  
 'The *seated* girl made him scared.'

In striking contrast, if an active past participle is used with *avoir* (623) and (624), it cannot make attributives (625) and (626).

<sup>80</sup> The "only" in (616) is problematic, given the following French construction: *Il faut une meilleure solution* 'A better solution is needed'. There is a direct object, but no semantic role is assigned to the subject. However, this is of no concern here.

<sup>81</sup> Legendre (1989) confirms this Unaccusative Hypothesis. She shows how two classes of intransitive verbs – *unaccusatives* and *unergatives* can be further distinguished in French.

#### 4. General Uses of Non-attributive Past/Passive Participles

- (623) *Un chat a marché dans les rues.*  
a<sub>MS</sub> cat<sub>MS</sub> has<sub>AUX</sub> walked in the<sub>PL</sub> street  
'A cat *walked* in the streets.'
- (624) *Une fille a joué du piano.*  
a<sub>FS</sub> girls has<sub>AUX</sub> played some<sub>MS</sub> piano<sub>MS</sub>  
'A girl *played* the piano.'
- (625) \**Un chat marché est rentré tard à la maison.*  
\*a<sub>MS</sub> cat<sub>MS</sub> walked is<sub>AUX</sub> returned late to the<sub>FS</sub> home<sub>FS</sub>
- (626) \**Une fille joué a commencé à faire ses devoirs.*  
\*a<sub>FS</sub> girls played has<sub>AUX</sub> started to do<sub>INF</sub> her<sub>PL</sub> homework<sub>MPL</sub>

In English there seems to be a reflection of the possibility to use certain (but by no means all) unaccusative past participles attributively (627) - (630).

- (627) *The **fallen** soldiers were buried in the morning.*
- (628) *The **departed** guests did not see the fireworks.*
- (629) \**The **left** children were missing their parents.*
- (630) \**The **arrived** train was quickly moved to the railway yard.*

Both prenominal and post-nominal use of the unaccusative past participle is often impossible in English (630) and (631).

- (631) \**The train **arrived** was quickly moved to the railway yard.*

The post-nominal use of an unaccusative past participle is possible only if the participle has a complement (632).

- (632) *The train **arrived from Berlin** was quickly moved to the railway yard.*

The attributive prenominal use of past participles of unaccusative verbs in English is quite restricted, as we have shown in (627) - (632). I will not pursue this special use further here.

We have seen in this section that similarly to English in French the use of the past/passive participle is also varied. It is used for the formation of the *passé composé* ('compound past') and the *plus-que-parfait* ('past perfect') as well as for the passive. In French (633) like in English (634) the past/passive participle can also be used attributively.

(633) *Nous avons retrouvé la voiture volée deux heures plus tard.*  
 we have<sub>AUX.1PL</sub> found.again the<sub>FS</sub> cars stolen<sub>FS</sub> two hour more late  
 'We found the *stolen* car two hours later.'

(634) *The stolen car was found two hours later.*

However, while in French the participles of unaccusative verbs (620) and (621) can be used attributively without further constraints, in English such use is exceptional, as seen above in (627) - (632).

In this section the non-attributive use of past/passive participles in French has been examined. The attributive use of the adjectives formed from these past/passive participles is going to be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

### 4.3 Czech passive participles

In section 3.2.1 some of the long adjectival forms in Czech were introduced. In section 3.2.1.3 I briefly mentioned the long form of passive or '-n/-t participles' which can also be used attributively also in Czech. Before we get to the attributive use of these forms in Chapter 5, I will examine the passive formed with the passive participles or the '-n/-t participles' in Czech, the so called "opisné pasivum" ('periphrastic passive').<sup>82</sup>

In Czech the periphrastic or analytical passive consists of the verb *be* and the passive or the '-n/-t participle' of the main verb.<sup>83</sup> The participle ends in the consonant – *n* (635) or *-t* (636) (depending on its conjugation pattern) in the masculine.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> The other kind of the Czech passive, 'the reflexive passive' ("zvrtné pasivum") in (7) is not morphologically related to the '-n/-t participles'. It has the form of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular. It can be in the present or past tense. It is active in form, but the agent is not expressed. This kind of passive will not be discussed here, because unlike the '-n/-t participles', it does not give rise to an attributive verbal adjective.

(7) *Většina věcí se dnes vyrábí v Číně.*  
 most thing<sub>FPL.GEN</sub> REFL today makes in China  
 'Most of the goods are made in China nowadays.'

<sup>83</sup> Veselovská (2003), Karlík (2004) and Veselovská and Karlík (2004) deal in detail with the non-attributive analytical form of the passive in Czech. Here I will just summarize them briefly.

<sup>84</sup> The final consonant of the passive participle –*n* / –*t* depends on the final element of the infinitival stem. If this final element is a consonant, –*i*- or –*Ø*-, the suffix is –(e)*n*. The formation of the passive participle is somewhat complex for the scope of this study, since "in the formation of the passive participle many quantitative and qualitative alternations take place in front of the suffix –(e)*n*-" (Komárek et al. 1986, 420). ("Při tvoření přičestí trpného dochází před sufixem –(e)*n*- k četným kvalitativním nebo kvantitativním alternacím."). Appendix IV shows the five verbal classes which traditionally serve as models for the conjugation of the Czech verbs.

#### 4. General Uses of Non-attributive Past/Passive Participles

(635) *Vyléčený orel byl vypuště-n do volné přírody.*  
 cured<sub>MS.NOM</sub> eagle<sub>MS.NOM</sub> was<sub>AUX</sub> let.out<sub>MS</sub> into free<sub>FS.GEN</sub> nature<sub>FS.GEN</sub>  
 'The cured eagle was *let out* into the wild.'

(636) *Jeho dům byl ukry-t v lesích několik let.*  
 his house<sub>MS.NOM</sub> was<sub>AUX</sub> hidden<sub>MS</sub> in wood several year<sub>MPL</sub>  
 'His house was *hidden* in the woods for several years.'

In the remaining grammatical persons, genders, and numbers the passive participle ends in a short vowel (637) and (638), therefore, it is called the "short form" of the passive.<sup>85</sup>

(637) *Krajina byla pokryt-a sněhem.*  
 landscape<sub>FS.NOM</sub> was<sub>AUX</sub> covered<sub>FS</sub> snow<sub>MS.INS</sub>  
 'The landscape was *covered* with snow.'

(638) *Chatrná obydlí byla vystavěn-a podél řeky.*  
 shabby<sub>NiPL.NOM</sub> dwelling<sub>NiPL.NOM</sub> were<sub>AUX</sub> built<sub>FS</sub> along river  
 'Shabby dwellings were *built* along the river.'

In contemporary Czech the *short form* (635) - (638) is, nonetheless, frequently replaced by the *long form* (639) - (642) in the passive, so the passive participle ends in a long vowel in all genders.<sup>86</sup>

(639) *Vyléčený orel byl vypuštěn-ý do volné přírody.*  
 cured<sub>MS.NOM</sub> eagle<sub>MS.NOM</sub> was<sub>AUX</sub> let.out<sub>MS</sub> into free<sub>FS.GEN</sub> nature<sub>FS.GEN</sub>  
 'The eagle cured was *let out* into the wild.'

(640) *Jeho dům byl ukryt-ý v lesích několik let.*  
 his house<sub>MS.NOM</sub> was<sub>AUX</sub> hidden<sub>MS</sub> in wood several year<sub>MPL</sub>  
 'His house was *hidden* in the woods for several years.'

(641) *Krajina byla pokryt-á sněhem.*  
 landscape<sub>FS.NOM</sub> was<sub>AUX</sub> covered<sub>FS</sub> snow<sub>MS.INS</sub>  
 'The countryside was *covered* with snow.'

(642) *Chatrná obydlí byla vystavěn-á podél řeky.*  
 shabby<sub>NiPL.NOM</sub> dwelling<sub>NiPL.NOM</sub> were<sub>AUX</sub> build<sub>NiPL</sub> along river  
 'Shabby dwellings were *built* along the river.'

<sup>85</sup> The difference between short and long adjectival forms mentioned in section 3.2.1 we will play a central role in section 5.2.

<sup>86</sup> A complete table of the short and long Czech forms is presented in the Appendix III.

#### 4. General Uses of Non-attributive Past/Passive Participles

Komárek et al. (1986) ascribes the difference in use of the short and long form in the passive to the difference between formal and informal Czech.<sup>87</sup> The short form is used in the passive in formal language, while the long one in informal Czech. Veselovská and Karlík (2004) admit that "[m]any Czech speakers feel that the short form is kind of archaic, while the long form is more common/colloquial"(62). However, for her "the stylistic-option approach is [...] not tenable", because "[i]n some contexts [...] only some of them [i.e. the forms] are grammatical"(62). In Chapter 5 we will see, that in Czech in the attributive position only the long form is grammatical. Veselovská and Karlík (2004) explain the difference in use of the short and long form in the passive by the fact that "in the predicate position the short/nominal form is preferred if the interpretation is [+ACTIVITY], while the long form is better for the interpretation [+STATIVE]"(63). The Czech short form, since it conveys the activity reading, then corresponds to the *verbal passive*, while the long form can be considered *adjectival passive*. Thus, in (639) - (642) where the participial forms end in a long vowel like Czech primary adjectives and do not have an activity reading are *adjectival passives*. The short forms in (635) - (638) have an activity reading and are *verbal passives*.

This chapter has defined and exemplified the primary non-attributive uses of the past/passive participles in English, French, and Czech. We saw that in English and French the past and the passive participles have the same form, and they never have an activity reading in which their surface subject is an agent. They are not active. In this chapter we have only seen the non-attributive use of these participles. The attributive uses of the English and French past/passive participles is the focus of this work, and will be the subject of Chapter 5.

We have noticed that in Czech there are two distinct non-attributive participles; an active *past* participle and a specifically *passive* participle. The *past* participle forms the past tense and it denotes activity. The passive is formed with the use of the *passive* participle. The attributive use of the Czech *past* and *passive* participles will also be discussed and analysed in Chapter 5.<sup>88</sup>

The next chapter will focus on the past/passive participles and their attributive use, so that we can compare the results with the attributive uses of the active participles that were described in Chapter 3. It will be interesting to find out to what extent these uses are the same and in what ways they differ.

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<sup>87</sup> The use of short and long form in the Czech passive with respect to frequency of use, style, and grammaticality is frequently discussed e.g. in Haller (1942), Karlík (2004), Kopečný (1954), Grepl and Bauer (1980) and Štícha (1979, 1980, 2011).

<sup>88</sup> Detailed studies of the English passive with frequent comparisons with the Czech passive can be found in Mathesius (1914) and Dušková (1999a, 1999b).

## 5. Modification of Nouns by Passive Participles

Chapter 3 has discussed active participles that function as attributive adjectives and verb phrase modifiers in English. Having examined the use of the past/passive participle as a part of the predicate in English, French, and Czech in Chapter 4, we are now going to turn to the past/passive participles in their attributive uses.

In English the past/passive participle can be used as a part of the predicate as we have shown in section 4.1, but it can be also used attributively as a verbal adjective (643) and (644). Its formation and positions are going to be examined in section 5.1.

(643) *The **stolen** car was found a few blocks away.*

(644) *The windows **broken** yesterday need to be fixed.*

In French the past/passive participle also gives rise to verbal adjectives (645) and (646) which modify nouns.

(645) *Un enfant **perdu** était amené à la police.*  
 a<sub>MS</sub> child<sub>S</sub> lost<sub>MS</sub> was<sub>AUX</sub> taken to the<sub>FS</sub> police  
 'A *lost* child was taken to the police.'

(646) *Une lettre **postée** aujourd'hui sera livré le lendemain.*  
 a<sub>FS</sub> letter<sub>S</sub> sent<sub>FS</sub> today will.be<sub>AUX</sub> delivered the<sub>MS</sub> tomorrow  
 'A letter *sent* today will be delivered the next day.'

In section 5.1 we will see that also these verbal adjectives behave morphologically and syntactically like primary attributive adjectives.

In Czech the active past participle ('-l participle') which gives rise to verbal adjectives was discussed in section 3.2.1.4. But here, it is the passive or '-n/-t participle' (647) - (652) that gives rise to the counterpart of the adjective used in (643). This verbal adjective derived from the '-n/-t participle' also acts morphologically and syntactically like a primary attributive adjective as defined by the generalization of Czech Hard Adjectival Agreement (36) and Czech Adjectival Word Order (179).

(647) *Petr si oblékl **zašitý** kabát.*  
 Peter<sub>MS</sub> REFL put.on sown.up<sub>PERF.MS.ACC</sub> coat<sub>MS.ACC</sub>  
 'Peter put on the *sewn up* coat.'

(648) ***Natočená** zmrzlina rychle tála.*  
 soft.served<sub>PERF.FS.NOM</sub> ice.cream<sub>FS.NOM</sub> quickly was.melting  
 'The *soft serve* ice cream was melting quickly.'

(649) *Včera uvařená polévka ještě stála na plotně.*  
 yesterday cooked<sub>PERF.FS.NOM</sub> soup<sub>FS.NOM</sub> still was.standing on stove  
 'The yesterday *cooked* soup was still standing on the stove.'

(650) *Petr si oblékl zašívány kabát.*  
 Peter<sub>MS.NOM</sub> REFL put.on sown.up<sub>IMPF.MS.ACC</sub> coat<sub>MS.ACC</sub>  
 'Peter put on the *sewn up* coat.'

(651) *Točená zmrzlina rychle tála.*  
 soft.served<sub>IMPF.FS.NOM</sub> ice.cream<sub>FS.NOM</sub> quickly was.melting  
 'The *soft serve* ice cream was melting quickly.'

(652) *Včera vařená polévka ještě stála na plotně.*  
 yesterday cooked<sub>IMPF.FS.NOM</sub> soup<sub>FS.NOM</sub> still was.standing on stove  
 'The yesterday *cooked* soup was still standing on the stove.'

In Czech both perfective (647) - (649) and imperfective verbs (650) - (652) can occur as such passive attributes. In some pairs it is, nonetheless, only the perfective verb that gives rise to an attributive passive participle (653) and (654).

(653) *(Na)\*vátý sních se kupil u branky.*  
 blown<sub>PERF./\*IMPF.MS.NOM</sub> snow<sub>MS.NOM</sub> REFL stacking.up at gate  
 'The *blown* snow was stacking up at the gate.'

(654) *Do nádrže se už (na)\*pršená voda nevešla.*  
 into tank<sub>FS.GEN</sub> REFL anymore rained<sub>PERF./\*IMPF.FS.NOM</sub> water<sub>FS.NOM</sub> fitted<sub>NEG</sub>  
 'The *rained* water did not fit in the tank anymore.'

The similarities and differences in the formation and use of adjectives derived from the passive participles in English, Czech, and French are going to be examined in the following sections. We will see that some of the predictions and generalizations about active participles in Chapter 3 carry over almost unchanged to passive attributes.

### 5.1 Unmodified Adjectival Passive Participles

The different types of adjectival participles have recently attracted attention of numerous linguists Emonds (2000, 2012b), Anagnostopoulou (2003), Meltzer-Ascher (2010), Sleeman (2011), McIntyre (2013), to name a few.<sup>89</sup> The passive participle in English can occur either pre-nominally (655) - (657) or post-nominally (658) - (660).

<sup>89</sup> Already Freidin (1975) remarks that there is a difference in English in the attributive pre- and post-nominal use of certain past/passive participles and he provides a list of examples such as *the murdered man* vs. *\*the killed man*, *\*the chased criminal*, *\*the*

(655) *The **broken** window got fixed almost immediately.*

(656) *The recently **published** stories did not please the children as much.*

(657) *The **repainted** doors had to be replaced.*

(658) *The goods **stolen** never appeared on the black market.*

(659) *The stories recently **published** did not please the children as much.*

(660) *The doors **repainted** had to be replaced.*

In English, the prenominal attributive passive participles (655) - (657) single out particular instances, they characterize the instances. Here, we could make a parallel between the English prenominal attributive passive participles and the Czech *Characterizing action adjectives* discussed in 3.2.1.1. In Dokulil's (1986) classification the *characterizing action adjectives* are (i) derived from verbs, (ii) they describe a specific feature of the head noun, (iii) they are not dynamic, and despite the fact that they are derived from a verb, (iv) they are more adjectival than verbal. For him, these adjectives belong to the *mutational category*. The adjectives in the *mutational category* do not have the verbal characteristics of voice and aspect, and do not express relative tense either. The English attributive passive participles used prenominally like in (655) - (657) have similar characteristics to the Czech *characterizing action adjectives* in comparison to those which are used post-nominally (658) - (660).

The attributive passive participles in (658) - (660) do not single out individual instances, rather they express accidentality of the action. These post-nominally used passive participles would presumably belong to Dokulil's (1986) *transpositional category* in which the adjectives derived from verbs maintain the verbal characteristics of voice and aspect, and they also express relative tense.<sup>90</sup> Syntactically these verbal adjectives are closer to the verb than to the adjective. It turns out that Dokulil's insightful distinction between *mutational* and *transpositional categories* can be used cross-linguistically.<sup>91</sup>

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*yelled at boy, \*the owned mansion, \*the told story, \*the followed speech, or \*the preceded event.*

<sup>90</sup> Dokulil's (1986) differentiation between the *transpositional category* and the *mutational category* was discussed in section 3.2.1. Both *transpositional* and *mutational category* consist of sub-classes of derived adjectives some of which we discussed in sections 3.2.1.1-3.2.1.3.

<sup>91</sup> There would, however, be a difference in distribution of the Czech verbal adjectives in the *transpositional category* and the English ones. We saw in section 1.5.2 that in Czech the post-nominal occurrence of adjectives is rare. This is stated by the generalization of Czech Adjectival Word Order (179), which says that "[t]he word order in Czech is inverted [i.e. the adjective occurs post-nominally] in scholarly terminology,

## 5. Modification of Nouns by Past/Passive Participles

In Czech the adjectival passive participle, following the generalization of Czech Adjectival Word Order (179), like the simple attributive adjectives in Chapter 1 and the verbal adjectives in Chapter 3, is used prenominally (661)- (664).

(661) **Zbořený** hrad stál na kopci.  
 demolished<sub>MS.NOM</sub> castle<sub>MS.NOM</sub> was.standing on hill  
 'The *demolished* castle was standing on the hill.'

(662) \*Hrad **zbořený** stál na kopci.  
 \*castle<sub>MS.NOM</sub> demolished<sub>MS.NOM</sub> was.standing on hill

(663) Jana rychle utřela **rozlité** mléko.  
 Jane<sub>FS.NOM</sub> quickly wiped.off spilt<sub>NIS.ACC</sub> milk<sub>NIS.ACC</sub>  
 'Jana quickly wiped off the *spilt* milk.'

(664) \*Jana rychle utřela mléko **rozlité**.  
 \*Jane<sub>FS.NOM</sub> quickly wiped.off milk<sub>NIS.ACC</sub> spilt<sub>NIS.ACC</sub>

In French the attributive passive participle follows the generalization of French Adjectival Word Order (128), i.e. it occurs post-nominally (665) - (668) like most of the French simple primary attributive adjectives discussed in Chapter 1.

(665) Les efforts **dépensés** valaient la peine.  
 the<sub>PL</sub> effort<sub>MPL</sub> spent<sub>MPL</sub> cost the<sub>FS</sub> pain  
 'The efforts *made* were worth it.'

(666) La Belle au bois dormant avait les yeux **fermés**.  
 the<sub>FS</sub> Beauty<sub>FS</sub> in forest<sub>MS</sub> sleeping<sub>MS</sub> had the<sub>PL</sub> eye<sub>MPL</sub> closed<sub>MPL</sub>  
 'Sleeping Beauty had eyes *closed*.'

(667) \*Les **dépensés** efforts valaient la peine.  
 \*the<sub>PL</sub> spent<sub>MPL</sub> effort<sub>MPL</sub> cost the<sub>FS</sub> pain

(668) \*La Belle au bois dormant avait les **fermés** yeux.  
 \*the<sub>FS</sub> Beauty<sub>FS</sub> in forest<sub>MS</sub> sleeping<sub>MS</sub> had the<sub>PL</sub> closed<sub>MPL</sub> eye<sub>MPL</sub>

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for emphasis, and for greater expressivity. In such a case, however, the post-posed adjective (but not a determiner) does not always agree with its head noun in gender. It must be feminine." The post-position of unmodified verbal adjectives in Czech is ungrammatical, while as we saw in (658) - (660) in English it is possible to use an unmodified verbal adjective post-nominally.

Similarly to primary attributive adjectives discussed in Chapter 1 and to verbal adjectives discussed in Chapter 3 these adjectival passive participles also show agreement in  $\phi$ -features with the head noun both in French and in Czech as we stated in the generalization of French Adjectival Agreement (35) and Czech Hard Adjectival Agreement (36), repeated for the reader's convenience:

(35) **French Adjectival Agreement.**

Adjectives agree with their head Nouns in number and gender.

(36) **Czech Hard Adjectival Agreement.**

Adjectives which end in  $-ý/-á/-é$  in the singular nominative in masculine, feminine, and neuter respectively, follow the so called "hard" declension pattern of the primary adjective *mladý* 'young'. They agree with the head noun in case, number, and gender. The final segment of these adjectives is not palatal and it cannot be palatalized either.

The agreement in gender and number in French is shown in (669) - (672).

(669) *Il a fait tout pour retrouver la lettre déjà écrite/\*écrit.*  
 he has<sub>AUX</sub> done all to again.find<sub>INF</sub> the<sub>FS</sub> letter<sub>FS</sub> already written<sub>FS/\*MS</sub>  
 'He did everything to find the *lost* letter.'

(670) *L' attentat était commis par des groupes armés/\*armé.*  
 the<sub>S</sub> attack<sub>MS</sub> was<sub>AUX</sub> committed by some<sub>PL</sub> group<sub>MPL</sub> armed<sub>MPL/\*MS</sub>  
 'The attack was committed by *armed* groups.'

(671) *Elle a bu du jus d' oranges pressées/\*pressé.*  
 she has<sub>AUX</sub> drunk some<sub>MS</sub> juice<sub>MS</sub> from orange<sub>FPL</sub> squeezed<sub>FPL/\*MS</sub>  
 'She drank the juice from the *squeezed* oranges.'

(672) *Un chevreuil blessé(\*es) s' est réfugié dans notre jardin.*  
 a<sub>MS</sub> roe.deer<sub>MS</sub> injured<sub>MS(\*FPL)</sub> REFL is<sub>AUX</sub> hidden in our garden

Examples (673) - (675) show the parallel agreement in gender, number, and case in Czech.<sup>92</sup>

(673) *Petr nedojedl připálený/\*připálené oběd.*  
 Peter<sub>MS.NOM</sub> finished<sub>NEG</sub> burnt<sub>MS.ACC/\*NtS.ACC</sub> lunch<sub>MS.ACC</sub>  
 'Peter did not finish the *slightly burnt* lunch.'

<sup>92</sup> For the details of the agreement patterns see Appendix I.

(674) *Zuzana odešla do ložnice s vyžehlenými/\*vyžehlenou košilemi.*  
 Susan<sub>FS.NOM</sub> left to bedroom<sub>FS.GEN</sub> with ironed<sub>FPL.INS/\*FS.INS</sub> shirt<sub>FPL.INS</sub>  
 'Susan went to the bedroom with the *ironed* shirts.'

(675) *Nakynuté/\*Nakynutým těsto rozválela na vále.*  
 risen<sub>NtS.ACC/\*NtS.INS</sub> dough<sub>NtS.ACC</sub> rolled.out on rolling.board  
 'She rolled out the *risen* dough on the rolling board.'

We can see that the unmodified attributive passive participles in Czech and French have the same distribution as the simple primary adjectives discussed in Chapter 1. In French the unmodified attributive passive participles occur post-nominally like the simple attributive adjectives which have two syllables or more. In Czech the unmodified attributive passive participles also behave like the simple attributive adjectives, they occur preminally.

On the other hand, in English where the simple primary adjectives are usually used preminally, the attributive passive participles like the attributive active participles discussed in Chapter 3, occur preminally as well as post-nominally. These two word order patterns correspond to two different interpretations, which we will discuss in the following section.

### 5.1.1 The Semantics of the Attributive Passive Participles

There has been a discussion in the literature concerning the verbal or adjectival character of the attributive passive participles. Dealing with the passives across languages Freidin (1975, 401) observes that

"[t]he adjectival character of passives in French, Spanish, Rumanian, [sic] and Russian manifests itself in the fact that, like adjectives in those languages, passives are inflected to agree in number and gender with their surface subjects."

The dual character of the passive participles in English is discussed by Chomsky (1957) and Wasow (1977). For Wasow (1977, 338-341) the adjectival character of passive participles is given by the possibility of the passive participle to occur (i) preminally (676), (ii) as a complement to certain verbs (677), and (iii) to accept the prefix *un-* (678) vs. (679).

(676) *A painted box sat on the table.*

(677) *John seemed convinced to run.*

(678) *Our products are untouched by human hands.*

(679) *[Cf.] \*Human hands untouch our products. (Wasow 1977, 338-339)*

## 5. Modification of Nouns by Past/Passive Participles

The use of degree modifiers is possible with verbs (680) as well as with adjectives (681), but these modifiers differ in form.

(680) *John very \*(much) respects/frightens/appreciates/resents your family.*

(681) *John is very (\*much) fond of/grateful to/angry with your family.*

(Wasow 1977, 340)

From (682) it is evident that "passive participles may behave like either adjectives or verbs" (Wasow 1977, 340).

(682) *Your family was very (much) respected/frightened/appreciated/resented.*

(Wasow 1977, 340)

Wasow (1977) shows the verbal character of the passive participles using constructions as in (683) and (684).

(683) *John is considered a fool.*

(684) *Mary was elected President.* (Wasow 1977, 341)

He contrasts them with (685) and (686), in which predicative expressions cannot occur directly after adjectives.

(685) *\*John is obvious a fool.*

(686) *\*Mary was happy President.* (Wasow 1977, 341)

Smith (1964) also focused on the formation of participial modifiers, finding a close connection to reduced relative clauses, which she calls "whiz deletion". However, she does not introduce an example of a /-en/ participle modifying a noun obtained through the process of "whiz deletion", as was described more in detail in 3.3.1 and in which a part (more precisely, the verb *be* and the *wh-* element) of the relative clause is deleted thus giving rise to the adjectival participle. She claims only that the source for the derivation of (687) is (688), since (689) is again ungrammatical.<sup>93</sup>

(687) *John saw the letter opened.*

(688) *John saw the letter being opened.*

(689) *\*John saw the letter opened which was from Mary.* (Smith 1964, 253)

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<sup>93</sup> In Smith's examples, however, the past/passive participles are not attributes, but rather object complements of verbs.

Already in 3.3.1 when stative verbs were in question we saw that Smith's analysis is a problematic one, therefore we are going to turn to more recent approaches.

Levin and Rappaport (1986) try to determine whether passive participles are verbal or adjectival by considering the semantic roles ("θ-roles") which they are associated with. The authors mention three cases of frequent co-occurrence with adjectival passives. They (i) exhibit the negative prefix *un-*; (ii) follow verbs such as *look*, *seem*, *remain*, and *sound* which select adjectival complements, and finally (iii) the passive participles are considered adjectival when they occur prenominally. Levin and Rappaport claim that "only adjectives and not verbs may occur as prenominal modifiers. Any passive participle found in prenominal position is therefore also adjectival, not verbal" (Levin and Rappaport 1986, 626). The prenominal passive participles include what we call here the *syntactic passive verbal adjectives* as in (655) - (657) as well as the *lexicalized passive verbal adjectives* as (690).

(690) *When Susan saw the present she had an **un/surprised** look on her face.*

Since both *lexicalized passive verbal adjectives* and *syntactic passive verbal adjectives* have the syntactic behaviour of the simple primary adjectives discussed in Chapter 1 they also have an adjectival interpretation which confirms Levin and Rappaport's claim above.

When McIntyre (2013) deals with the difference between adjectival passives and adjectival participles, he distinguishes different types of adjectival participles with the use of a set of adjectival tests. The most widely used tests for the examination of the adjectival status of the participles can be found in (691).

- (691) a. Adjectival degree modifiers: *It is very {neglected/damaged/overrated}*.  
 b. Adjectival *un-*prefixation: *unopened presents; unattended-to matters*  
 c. Selection by AP-selecting verbs: *It {seemed/remained/became} very damaged.*  
 d. Coordination with other A(P)s: *They are {dressed and ready/dead and buried}*  
 e. Incompatibility with double objects: *\*It remained given scant attention.*

(McIntyre 2013, 22)

Using these now widely accepted tests, McIntyre comes to the conclusion that adjectival participles in English

"do not have internal Theme arguments, that they often have implicit Initiators and that we must distinguish between different resultative interpretations in transitive-based and unaccusative-based participles"

(McIntyre 2013, 40).

Anagnostopoulou (2003) who focuses on the internal structure of Greek participles notes that "it has been often assumed that adjectival passive participles are built in the lexicon and verbal passives are built in syntax" (2003, 3). She comes to the conclusion that both Greek and German participles can be divided into three classes: "(i) lexical without

event implications, (ii) phrasal target state and (iii) phrasal resultant state participles" (2003, 29). In her view also the type of the participle is dependent on the level at which the affix enters the derivation. She says that "[i]n target state participles, the participial operator is introduced at the Root-level. In resultant state participles, the participial operator attaches after the verbalizing head *v* is introduced" (2003, 29).

Sleeman (2011) also attributes the syntactic distribution between pre- and post-nominal participial modifiers to their "different internal syntactic structure" (Sleeman 2011, 1570). In her view the different levels of insertion account not only for the occurrence of the *-ing* morpheme forming the participial nominal modifier discussed in 3.3.1. Similarly they can account for the occurrence of the passive *-en* participle in both prenominal (692) and (655) - (657) and post-nominal (693) and (658) - (660) positions.

(692) *a stolen jewel*

(693) *a jewel stolen* (Sleeman 2011, 1570)

The difference between the prenominal and post-nominal passive participles is that the prenominal used *syntactic verbal adjectives* have adjectival interpretation, while the post-nominal passive participles are verbal. The difference in interpretation is due to the different levels of insertion of the *-en* morpheme. If the *-en* morpheme is inserted at Spell Out, at the input to LF, where the word order is determined, the passive participle occurs prenominal and it has adjectival interpretation. On the other hand, the insertion of the *-en* morpheme in PF results in the post-nominal occurrence of the attributive passive participle and its verbal interpretation. In footnote 87 we observed that not all the past/passive participles can be used as prenominal attributes. This might be caused by the fact that these predicates are probably incompatible with a "lasting state", i.e. with the adjectival interpretation. The prenominal use of the passive participle in (694) is impossible since it cannot have the adjectival interpretation. On the other hand, (695) where the post-posed passive participle has verbal interpretation, is grammatical.

(694) *\*the killed man* (Freidin 1975, 400)

(695) *The Press Association is reporting the men killed are believed to be Spanish nationals, originally from Gambia.* (BBC News 2016)

As already mentioned in Chapter 3, talking about the English participial and gerund suffix *-ing* and the English passive suffix *-en*, the variety of uses and interpretations of individual morphemes is due to the fact that it is not only on one level that certain morphemes can be inserted. Emonds (2000, 144) proposed that

"[s]ometimes, however, a particular bound morpheme may be inserted at more than one level. If its lexical entry contains a cognitive feature which is parenthesized and thus comes into play 'optionally' at LF, the morpheme may have two or three apparently different 'uses' with strikingly different superficial properties."

In this approach, as we have seen earlier, the levels of insertion of the morphemes play a crucial role since "the differences between the two constructions follow from the level of insertion of *-en*; adjectival passives result from the presence of *-en* in syntax and verbal passives from its absence" (Emonds 2000, 173). In verbal passives *-en* does not seem to have an adjectival interpretation, so it must be inserted in the derivation after 'the branch to LF' in the T-Model as discussed in Section 3.2.2, since it provides no adjectival meaning.

We thus see that in English there is a trifold distinction of attributively used active and passive participles and two kinds of interpretation of these participles. Both *lexicalized verbal adjectives* and *syntactic verbal adjectives* have adjectival interpretation, while the interpretation of the *syntactic verb phrases* is only verbal.

### 5.1.2 Lexicalized Passive Adjectives

Next we are going to examine the passive participles in English, Czech, and French to find out whether the distinctions among *lexicalized verbal adjectives*, *syntactic verbal adjectives*, and *participial verb phrases*, which we found with the active participle in Chapter 3, can be utilized also with the passive participle attributes, and to what extent they correspond to those with active participles.

The *lexicalized passive verbal adjectives*, similarly to the verbal adjectives derived from the active/present participles, can be found in all the three languages. They behave like primary simple attributive adjectives. They follow the generalizations for adjectival word order and agreement which were made in Chapter 1. In English the *lexicalized passive verbal adjectives* occur prenominally and show no agreement (696) and (697).

(696) *There was a **tired** man sitting on the bench.*

(697) \**There was a man **tired** sitting on the bench.*

In French they follow the head noun (698) and show agreement in number and gender (699).

(698) \**Une **fatiguée** femme s' est assise sur un banc.*  
 \*<sub>a<sub>FS</sub></sub> tired<sub>FS</sub> woman<sub>FS</sub> REFL i<sub>S<sub>AUX</sub></sub> sat.down on a<sub>MS</sub> bench

(699) *Une femme **fatiguée**/ \***fatigués** s' est assise sur un banc.*  
 a<sub>FS</sub> woman<sub>FS</sub> tired<sub>FS</sub>/\*MPL REFL i<sub>S<sub>AUX</sub></sub> sat.down on a<sub>MS</sub> bench  
 'A *tired* woman sat down on the bench.'

In Czech they precede the head noun (700) and show agreement in number, gender, and case (701).

(700) \**Muž **unavený** se posadil na lavičku.*  
 \*<sub>man<sub>MS.NOM</sub></sub> tired<sub>MS.NOM</sub> REFL sat.down on bench

- (701) *Unavený/\*unavená muž se posadil na lavičku.*  
 tired<sub>MS.NOM/\*FS.NOM</sub> man<sub>MS</sub> REFL sat.down on bench  
 'A *tired* man sat down on the bench.'

In all three languages *lexicalized verbal adjectives* take degree modifiers (702) - (704) as given by McIntyre's (2013) adjectival tests (691) a.

- (702) *A very tired man sat down under the tree.*

- (703) *Une femme très fatiguée s' est arrêtée au milieu de l' escalier.*  
 a<sub>FS</sub> woman<sub>FS</sub> very tire<sub>FS</sub> REFL is<sub>AUX</sub> stopped in middle of the<sub>S</sub> staircase  
 'A *very tired* woman stopped in the middle of the staircase.'

- (704) *Velmi unavený muž se posadil do trávy.*  
 Very tired<sub>MS.NOM</sub> man<sub>MS.NOM</sub> REFL sat.down in grass  
 'A *very tired* man sat down in the grass.'

These adjectives can also be used as verbal complements (705) - (707) as McIntyre (2013) indicates in (691) c.

- (705) *The man seemed/looked tired.*

- (706) *La femme semblait fatiguée.*  
 the<sub>FS</sub> woman<sub>FS</sub> seemed tired<sub>FS</sub>  
 'The woman seemed *tired*.'

- (707) *Babička se zdála unavená.*  
 grandmother<sub>FS.NOM</sub> REFL seemed tired<sub>FS.NOM</sub>  
 'The grandmother seemed *tired*.'

In this section we saw that the *lexicalized passive adjectives* found in the three languages behave like primary adjectives discussed in Chapter 1.

In the next section we are going to focus on another type of *verbal adjectives* which we saw in Chapter 3, the *syntactic verbal adjectives*.

### 5.1.3 Syntactic Passive Adjectives

Productive *syntactic passive adjectives* derived from passive participle can also be found in all three languages (708) - (710).

- (708) *Julia divided the cut slice in two.*

- (709) *Claire a mangé une tartine beurrée.*  
 Claire<sub>FS</sub> has<sub>AUX</sub> eaten a<sub>FS</sub> slice<sub>FS</sub> spread.with.butter<sub>FS</sub>  
 'Claire ate a slice *spread with butter*.'

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- (710) *Marta namazala ukrojený krajíc máslem.*  
 Martha<sub>FS,NOM</sub> spread cut<sub>MS,ACC</sub> slice<sub>MS,ACC</sub> butter  
 'Martha spread a *cut* slice with butter.'

These adjectives also follow the respective generalizations on word order and agreement made in Chapter 1, but in comparison to the *lexicalized passive adjectives* they are productive.

It should be emphasized that the present participle in French has no productive attributive use as we saw in section 3.1.1. The passive participle, on the other hand, is used attributively and this use is productive. As we can see in (711) - (713) the derivation of adjectivized passive participles is not limited.

- (711) *La chambre rangée a fait plaisir à la mère.*  
 the<sub>FS</sub> room<sub>FS</sub> tidied<sub>FS</sub> has<sub>AUX</sub> made joy to the<sub>FS</sub> mother  
 'The *tidied* room made mother happy.'

- (712) *Les cheveux coupés lui allaient bien.*  
 the<sub>PL</sub> hair<sub>MPL</sub> cut<sub>MPL</sub> him<sub>DAT</sub> went well  
 'The *cut* hair suited him well.'

- (713) *Le linge étendu a séché rapidement.*  
 the<sub>MS</sub> clothes<sub>MS</sub> hung<sub>MS</sub> has<sub>AUX</sub> dried quickly  
 'The *hung* clothes dried quickly.'

This attributive use of passive participles in French is sharply unlike the case of *syntactic verbal adjectives* derived from the present/active participle. In Chapter 3 (sections 3.1.1 and 3.4) we saw that these were found only in Czech and English, not in French. It has already been mentioned that in French the present participle does not give rise to *syntactic verbal adjectives* (714) and (715).

- (714) \**L' enfant tachant la nappe était puni.*  
 \*the<sub>S</sub> child<sub>MS</sub> staining the<sub>FS</sub> tablecloth<sub>FS</sub> was<sub>AUX</sub> punished

- (715) \**La femme ouvrante la fenêtre attirait l' attention des garçons.*  
 \*the<sub>FS</sub> woman<sub>FS</sub> opening<sub>FS</sub> the<sub>FS</sub> window<sub>FS</sub> was.attracting the<sub>S</sub> attention<sub>MS</sub> of  
 boy<sub>MPL</sub>

It turns out now, nonetheless, that the passive participle is used productively in the formation of *syntactic passive verbal adjectives* in French (716) and (717).

- (716) *La mère a enlevé la nappe tachée.*  
 the<sub>FS</sub> mother<sub>FS</sub> has<sub>AUX</sub> removed the<sub>FS</sub> tablecloth<sub>FS</sub> stained<sub>FS</sub>  
 'The mother removed the *stained* tablecloth.'

(717) *La fenêtre ouverte attirait l'attention des garçons.*  
 the<sub>FS</sub> window<sub>FS</sub> opened<sub>FS</sub> was.attracting the<sub>S</sub> attention<sub>MS</sub> of boy<sub>MPL</sub>  
 'The *open* window was attracting attention of the boys.'

Thus, there is an important difference in French between the possibilities of adjectival derivation from the present active participles and from the passive ones.

In this section we saw that the attributive passive participles are productive not only in English and Czech, but also in French. In section 3.1.1 where we examined the attributive use of present participles in French, it turned out that the attributive use of present participles is not productive. The difference of productivity between the attributive present participles and the passive ones in French is remarkable.

#### 5.1.4 English Passive Participial Verb Phrases

Another important distinction among attributive passive participles concerns English word order. As we have mentioned above regarding (644) and (693), in case of verbal adjectives derived from the passive participle, post-position of an intransitive passive participle is also possible (718) and (719) and (658) - (660).

(718) *The roads **paved** can be opened for public transport now.*

(719) *The money **spent** made her feel guilty.*

Thus, we see again, as in Chapter 3, that in English there is a third kind of verbal adjective which does not follow the word order generalization of English Adjectival Word Order (173) for simple primary attributive adjectives made in Chapter 1, which states that "a primary attributive adjective usually pre-modifies the noun. It is post-posed only in fixed phrases." That generalization is applicable to *lexicalized* and *syntactic verbal adjectives*, but not to the third kind of adjectival form in English that can be derived from the passive participle, the *participial verb phrase*. These *passive participial verb phrases*, as explained in section 5.1.1, have only a verbal interpretation because the *-en* morpheme is not present before PF, so any adjectival interpretation is impossible. Thus, in (656) the attributive passive participle expresses a more or less stable characteristic of the head noun. It has adjectival interpretation. The *participial verb phrase* in (659) does not convey the presence of the feature as a stable characteristic; rather it is viewed as something transitory or accidental. The interpretation here is verbal, not adjectival.

(656) *The recently **published** stories did not please the children as much.*

(659) *The stories recently **published** did not please the children as much.*

The difference between (656) and (659) in interpretation is caused by the difference in insertion of the *-ed* morpheme. In (656) the *-ed* morpheme is inserted at Spell Out at input to LF. The word categories which influence the interpretation are defined at Spell

Out, at the input to LF too. Therefore, the attributive prenominal passive participle in (656) is a *syntactic verbal adjective* and it has an adjectival interpretation. In (659) the –*ed* morpheme enters the insertion process late, in PF when the word categories are already defined. The attributive post-nominal passive participle thus does not have any adjectival interpretation. It is verbal and so it is called a *participial verb phrase* in this dissertation.

In conclusion, we can say that the attribute classes defined in Chapter 3 to the active participle apply also in case of the passive participle attributes in English and in Czech. However, in French, there is a difference. While the adjectivized present participle is not productive and it is always lexicalized in French, the passive participle gives rise not only to *lexicalized verbal adjectives* but also to *syntactic verbal adjectives*. These findings are summarized in Table 9.

Attributive passive participles	lexicalized verbal adjectives	syntactic verbal adjectives	participial verb phrases
French	+	+	-
Czech	+	+	-
English	+	+	+

**Table 9:** Attribute uses of non-finite *passive forms* in French, Czech, and English

French and Czech attributive passive participles like the primary attributive adjectives discussed in Chapter 1 agree in  $\phi$ -features with their head nouns. Throughout this dissertation many observations on agreement have been made. Even though Czech adjectival agreement is richer in that it reflects not only number and gender but also the case, we can see that the agreement in both Czech and French follows the same principles. The attributive adjectives show agreement in  $\phi$ -features with their head nouns. The generalizations made in Chapter 1 apply also to the present/active attributive participles treated in Chapter 3 and to the passive attributive participles discussed in Chapter 5.

	English	French	Czech
Agreement	-	+(number and gender)	+(number, gender, and case)
Pre-position	+	-	+
Post-position	+	+	-

**Table 10:** Morphological properties and distribution of unmodified adjectival passive participles

With respect to word order, in English and Czech the adjectival passive participles behave like the primary attributive adjectives discussed in Chapter 1. They pre-modify the head noun. In Chapter 1 we saw that in French the pre-position is impossible due to adjectives of any complexity regularly following the head noun. There is not some ad hoc rule for participles, the attributive passive participles in French are always post-posed. The post-position of the adjectival passive participles is not found in Czech, but

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it is possible in English. Already in Chapter 3 we saw that the English active participles can be post-posed and now we see that post-position is possible also in case of the adjectival passive participles. The position of the adjectival passive participle is related to its interpretation. As we saw in section 5.1.1, if the morphemes are inserted early in the "T-Model", the interpretation is adjectival, but if they are inserted late, only the verbal interpretation is possible.

## 5.2 Complex Adjectival Passive Participles

We have now discussed the position and interpretation of the unmodified adjectival passive participles in all three languages. We came to the conclusion that there are two kinds of unmodified adjectival participles in English, Czech, and French, *lexicalized* and *syntactic verbal adjectives*, which are placed similarly to primary (non-derived) adjectives described in Chapter 1. We saw also that in English there is a third kind of the unmodified passive participle, which is the *participial verb phrase* and that this participle is uniformly placed after the noun. That is, it does not conform to the word order of modifying adjective phrases.

Now we are going to focus on the complemented adjectival passive participles. The post-nominal occurrence of the complemented participle (720) - (723) is obligatory in English.

(720) *The letter **written by John** was lying on the table.*

(721) *The tree **blown down in the gale** damaged three cars.*

(722) \**The **written by John** letter was lying on the table.*

(723) \**The **blown down in the gale** tree damaged three cars.*

In Czech in cases that the verbal adjective is further post-modified, the post-position is also obligatory (724) and (725).

(724) *Kufr **sbalený na cestu** (ona) nechala v předsíni.*  
 suitcase<sub>MS.ACC</sub> packed<sub>MS.ACC</sub> on journey<sub>FS.ACC</sub> (she) left in hallway  
 'She left the suitcase *packed for the journey* in the hallway.'

(725) \****Sbalený na cestu** kufr (ona) nechala v předsíni.*  
 \*packed<sub>MS.ACC</sub> on journey<sub>FS.ACC</sub> suitcase<sub>MS.ACC</sub> (she) left in hallway

However, similarly to the complex adjectives discussed in section 1.5.3, in this case also if the order of the individual constituents of the complex is reversed, the complemented verbal adjective can also in this case appear in the pre-modifying position (726).

(726) ***Na cestu** sbalený kufr (ona) nechala v předsíni.*  
 on journey<sub>FS.ACC</sub> packed<sub>MS.ACC</sub> suitcase<sub>MS.ACC</sub> (she) left in hallway  
 'She left the suitcase *packed for the journey* in the hallway.'

We see that Czech and English word order are the same, except for this proviso just discussed.

In French, whether or not the verbal adjective is further complemented, it usually follows the head noun (727) and (728), as we determined in the generalization of French Adjectival Word Order (128).

(727) *Julie a trouvé sa robe suspendue à un cintre.*  
 Julia<sub>FS</sub> has<sub>AUX</sub> found her<sub>FS</sub> dress<sub>FS</sub> hung<sub>FS</sub> on a<sub>MS</sub> hanger<sub>MS</sub>  
 'Julia found her dress *hung* on a hanger.'

(728) \**Julie a trouvé sa suspendue à un cintre robe.*  
 \*Julia<sub>FS</sub> has<sub>AUX</sub> found her<sub>FS</sub> hung<sub>FS</sub> on a<sub>MS</sub> hanger<sub>MS</sub> dress<sub>FS</sub>

In section 1.5.3 when complex adjectives were discussed, it was concluded that the constituents of the adjectival complex cannot be separated. The "inseparability" is also the case for the complex adjectival passive participles (729) - (734).

(729) *A balloon filled with helium flew away.*

(730) *Sarah was sorry about the lamp broken into pieces.*

(731) \**A filled with helium balloon flew away.*

(732) \**Sarah was sorry about the broken into pieces lamp.*

(733) \**A filled balloon with helium flew away.*

(734) \**Sarah was sorry about the broken lamp into pieces.*

Neither in English (733) and (734) nor in Czech can a complemented verbal adjective be separated from the complement and used prenominally, leaving the complement to follow the noun (735).

(735) \**Sbalený kufr na cestu (ona) nechala v předsíni.*  
 \*packed<sub>MS.ACC</sub> suitcase<sub>MS.ACC</sub> on journey<sub>FS.ACC</sub> (she) left in hallway

Thus, (724) and (726) illustrate the only grammatical uses of the Czech adjectival passive participle when it is complemented.

In Czech there is also the "short form", the passive or *-n/-t* participle agreeing with the head noun in all  $\phi$ -features, but ending in a short or no vowel,  $-\emptyset$  for the singular masculine, *-a* for the feminine singular and neuter plural, and *-o* for the neuter singular and *-y* feminine plural.<sup>94</sup> Interestingly, the short form cannot be used for nominal pre-modification (736). Concerning the use of the short form for attributive pre- or post-

<sup>94</sup> The short form has already been mentioned in sections 3.2.1 and 4.3.

modification Komárek et al. (1986) only observes that in the attributive function "the verbal adjectives ending in *-ný/-tý* must have the long form"(144).<sup>95</sup>

- (736) \**Tomáš*            *si*    ***koupe-n***        *lístek*        *schoval do kapsy.*  
           \*Thomas<sub>MS.NOM</sub> REFL bought<sub>MS.ACC</sub> ticket<sub>MS.ACC</sub> put        in pocket

For pre-modification only the long form is used in Czech, thus only (737) is grammatical.

- (737) *Tomáš*            *si*    ***koupen-ý***        *lístek*        *schoval do kapsy.*  
           Thomas<sub>MS.NOM</sub> REFL bought<sub>MS.ACC</sub> ticket<sub>MS.ACC</sub> put        in pocket  
           'Thomas put the ticket *bought* in the pocket.'

The short form occurs only in post-modification and only if it is further complemented (738).

- (738) *Lávka*            ***sbit-a***                            *ze*    *starých*    ***prken***        *nevypadala*  
           bridge<sub>FS.NOM</sub> nailed.together<sub>FS.NOM</sub> from old<sub>N<sub>I</sub>PL.GEN</sub> plank<sub>N<sub>I</sub>PL.GEN</sub> looked<sub>NEG</sub>  
           *stabilně.*  
           solidly  
           'The pedestrian bridge *hammered together from old planks* did not look stable.'

As we have already mentioned in section 4.3 when discussing the passive in Czech, there is a tendency to replace the short form in the predicative passive with long form. The same happens in the attributive use (739). The short form is used as an attribute usually only in literary style. This is confirmed also by Veselovská and Karlík (2004) : "[i]n **attributive** (modifying) positions the long/pronominal form is taken as standard (and the short form as archaic)" (63).

- (739) *Lávka*            ***sbit-á***                            *ze*    *starých*    ***prken***        *nevypadala*  
           bridge<sub>FS.NOM</sub> nailed.together<sub>FS.NOM</sub> from old<sub>N<sub>I</sub>PL.GEN</sub> plank<sub>N<sub>I</sub>PL.GEN</sub> looked<sub>NEG</sub>  
           *stabilně.*  
           solidly  
           'The pedestrian bridge *hammered together from old planks* did not look stable.'

We saw in section 1.5.3 in discussing modification by complex adjectives, and coming to the generalization of Czech Complex Adjective Modification (196), that there is the possibility of reversing the word order of the constituents of the pre-modifying AP. This is possible also in the case of the complemented adjectival passive participles. Thus, (740) where the adjectival passive participle directly precedes the head noun is

<sup>95</sup> "VA *ný/tý* musí mít jen formu dlouhou"(Komárek et al. 1986, 144)

grammatical, while (741) where the complement is between the adjectival passive participle and the head noun is ungrammatical.<sup>96</sup>

(740) *Ze starých prken sbit-á lávka nevypadala*  
 from old<sub>NiPL.GEN</sub> plank<sub>NiPL.GEN</sub> nailed.together<sub>FS.NOM</sub> bridge<sub>FS.NOM</sub> looked<sub>NEG</sub>  
*stabilně.*  
 solidly  
 'The pedestrian bridge *hammered together from old planks* did not look stable.'

(741) \**Sbit-á ze starých prken lávka nevypadala*  
 \* nailed.together<sub>FS.NOM</sub> from old<sub>NiPL.GEN</sub> plank<sub>NiPL.GEN</sub> bridge<sub>FS.NOM</sub> looked<sub>NEG</sub>  
*stabilně.*  
 solidly

In this case of pre-modification by a complemented adjectival passive participle the verbal adjective occurs only in the long form (740), not in the short (742) form.

(742) \**Ze starých prken sbit-a lávka nevypadala*  
 \*from old<sub>NiPL.GEN</sub> plank<sub>NiPL.GEN</sub> nailed.together<sub>FS.NOM</sub> bridge<sub>FS.NOM</sub> looked<sub>NEG</sub>  
*stabilně.*  
 solidly

Now, if we consider the possibility to separate individual parts of the complemented passive participle in French, we see that the situation is similar to Czech. Nor in French can the complemented adjectival passive participle be separated so that the passive participle precedes the head noun and the complement follows it (743).

(743) \**Julie a trouvé sa suspendue robe à un cintre.*  
 \*Julia<sub>FS</sub> has<sub>AUX</sub> found her<sub>FS</sub> hung<sub>FS</sub> dress<sub>FS</sub> on a<sub>MS</sub> hanger<sub>MS</sub>

In French like in English and Czech the complemented passive participle is inseparable and it has to follow the head noun (744).

(744) *La montre posée sur l' étagère faisait un bruit imperceptible.*  
 the<sub>FS</sub> watch<sub>FS</sub> put<sub>FS</sub> on the<sub>S</sub> shelf<sub>FS</sub> was.making a<sub>MS</sub> noise<sub>MS</sub> silent<sub>MS</sub>  
 'The watch *put on the shelf* was making a silent noise.'

In this case also, we can see that in French any longer element cannot be used prenominally (745).

<sup>96</sup> Considering observations in Daneš et al. (1987, 159) on the use of the attributes in Czech, even though, there are the two possible positions for the complex adjectival passive participle, (739) would certainly be preferred by the speakers to (740).

(745) \**La posée sur l' étagère montre faisait un bruit imperceptible.*  
 \*the<sub>FS</sub> put<sub>FS</sub> on the<sub>S</sub> shelf<sub>FS</sub> watch<sub>FS</sub> was.making a<sub>MS</sub> noise<sub>MS</sub> silent<sub>MS</sub>

This is in accordance with the generalization on French Adjectival Word Order (128) repeated here for convenience:

### (128) French Adjectival Word Order.

The Adjective which has two syllables or more post-modifies the Noun. If the Adjective has less than two syllables, it pre-modifies the Noun.

The distribution of the complex adjectival passive participles in English, French, and Czech are presented in Table 11.

Complex adjectival passive participles	English	French	Czech	
			long form	short form
Pre-position	-	-	+	-
Post-position	+	+	+	+
Separability	-	-	-	-

**Table 11:** Distribution of complex adjectival passive participles

Overall, we have seen that in English, Czech, and French the complex adjectival passive participles follow the head noun and they cannot be separated. In Czech there are two kinds of verbal adjectives derived from the passive or *-n/-t* participle. Both short and long adjectivized passive participles occur post-nominally if they are complemented. But the short passive participles are rarely used in attributive modification of nouns. Complex long adjectivized passive participles can, provided that their complement precedes them, also occur preminally.

In French adjectival passives syntactically and morphologically behave like primary attributive adjectives. They are used post-nominally and they show agreement in number and gender with the head noun. Also when they are complemented they behave like the complex adjectives in terms of word order and agreement. They follow the head noun and they cannot be separated.

### 5.3 Overview of Participial Attribute Patterns

We have seen that the adjectival passive participles in English, French, and Czech typically behave morphologically like the primary attributive adjectives with respect to agreement as stated in the generalization on French Adjectival Agreement (35) and Czech Hard Adjectival Agreement (36). In English the adjectival past/passive participle is invariable (746) and (747).

(746) *Nobody managed to discover the **hidden** treasure for centuries.*

(747) \**Masheds potatoes were her favourite side dish.*

## 5. Modification of Nouns by Past/Passive Participles

In French they agree with the head noun in number and gender (748) and (749).

(748) *Ils ont ajouté les feuilles pourries dans le compost.*  
they<sub>M</sub> have<sub>AUX.3PL</sub> added the<sub>PL</sub> leaf<sub>FPL</sub> rotten<sub>FPL</sub> in the<sub>MS</sub> compost  
'They added the *rotten* leaves in the compost.'

(749) *\*Elles ont apprécié les jardins suspendu.*  
\*they<sub>F</sub> have<sub>AUX.3PL</sub> appreciated the<sub>PL</sub> garden<sub>MPL</sub> hung<sub>MS</sub>

In Czech the adjectival passive participle agrees not only in number and gender but also in case (750) and (751).

(750) *(Ona) Koupila kilo mletého masa do plněných paprik.*  
(she) bought kilo<sub>NIS.ACC</sub> minced<sub>NIS.ACC</sub> meat<sub>NIS.GEN</sub> to stuffed<sub>NIS.GEN</sub>  
pepper<sub>FPL.GEN</sub>  
'She bought a kilo of *minced* meat for the *stuffed* peppers.'

(751) *\*Vykoštěná rybu obalila ve strouhance.*  
\*deboned<sub>FS.NOM</sub> fish<sub>FS.ACC</sub> coated in breadcrumbs

The word order of the adjectival passive participle is essentially identical to the placement of adjectives formed by the present/active participles discussed in Chapter 3. In English the passive participle forms three types of attributive adjectives, so it is parallel to the present/active attributive participle described in the generalization of the English Attributive Active Participles (512) repeated here for convenience:

### (512) English Attributive Active Participles.

There are three kinds of the attributive Active participle. (i) *Lexicalized verbal adjectives* and (ii) *syntactic verbal adjectives* have the distribution of primary attributive adjectives, i.e. they occur pre-nominally if they lack complements. (iii) *Participial verb phrases* are uniformly used post-nominally.

The English attributive past/passive participle can thus be found both pre- and post-nominally (752) - (754).

(752) *The girl had an **amused** look on her face.*

(753) *The children never dared to enter the **abandoned** house at the end of the street.*

(754) *The roads **paved** can be opened.*

When the passive attributive participle is complemented, it occurs post-nominally (755) and (756) and it is inseparable from this complement (757).

(755) *The letter **left on the table** remained untouched.*

(756) *\*The **left on the table** letter remained untouched.*

(757) *\*The **left** letter **on the table** remained untouched.*

In Czech as well, the adjectival passive like the adjective derived from the present/active participle in Chapter 3 is prenominal (758), and moreover it occurs *only* in the so-called "long form" (759).<sup>97</sup>

(758) ***Lomen-ý**      gotický      oblouk      připomíná      sepjaté      ruce.*  
 broken<sub>MS.NOM</sub> gothic<sub>MS.NOM</sub> arch<sub>MS.NOM</sub> reminds      clasped<sub>FPL.ACC</sub> hand<sub>FPL.ACC</sub>  
 'The *pointed* gothic arch looks like *clasped* hands.'

(759) *\***Lome-n**      gotický      oblouk      připomíná      sepjaté      ruce.*  
 \*broken<sub>MS.NOM</sub> gothic<sub>MS.NOM</sub> arch<sub>MS.NOM</sub> reminds      clasped<sub>FPL.ACC</sub> hand<sub>FPL.ACC</sub>

The complex adjectival passive participles are post-nominal (760) and inseparable from their own complements (761) if they are complemented (762) .

(760) *\***Ušitou**      **na míru**      sukni      si      doma      rychle      znovu*  
 \*sewn<sub>FS.ACC</sub> to measure<sub>FS.ACC</sub> skirt<sub>FS.ACC</sub> REFL at.home quickly again  
 (ona) vyzkoušela.  
 (she) tried.on

(761) *\***Ušitou**      sukni      **na míru**      si      doma      rychle      znovu*  
 \*sewn<sub>FS.ACC</sub> skirt<sub>FS.ACC</sub> to measure<sub>FS.ACC</sub> REFL at.home quickly again  
 (ona) vyzkoušela.  
 (she) tried.on

(762) *Sukni      **ušitou**      **na míru**      si      doma      rychle      znovu*  
 skirt<sub>FS.ACC</sub> sewn<sub>FS.ACC</sub> to measure<sub>FS.ACC</sub> REFL at.home quickly again  
 (ona) vyzkoušela.  
 (she) tried.on

'At home she quickly tried on the *made-to-measure* skirt again.'

Finally, in French the adjectival passive always occurs post-nominally (763) and (764) and in French it is also inseparable from the complement (765).

<sup>97</sup> We discussed the Czech "long form" in section 3.2.1.

## 5. Modification of Nouns by Past/Passive Participles

(763) \**La suspendue au mur pendule le rendait nerveux.*  
\*the<sub>FS</sub> hung<sub>FS</sub> on wall<sub>MS</sub> clock<sub>FS</sub> him<sub>ACC</sub> was.making nervous<sub>MS</sub>

(764) *La pendule suspendue au mur le rendait nerveux.*  
the<sub>FS</sub> clock<sub>FS</sub> hung<sub>FS</sub> on wall<sub>MS</sub> him<sub>ACC</sub> was.making nervous<sub>MS</sub>  
'The clock *hung* on the wall was making him nervous.'

(765) \**La suspendue pendule au mur le rendait nerveux.*  
\*the<sub>FS</sub> hung<sub>FS</sub> clock<sub>FS</sub> on wall<sub>MS</sub> him<sub>ACC</sub> was.making nervous<sub>MS</sub>

Speaking now in terms of the broadest generalizations this dissertation has been able to formulate, the word order generalizations made in Chapter 1 for primary attributive adjectives can be extended also to the adjectives derived from the past/passive participles. With regard to their distribution these adjectives have a lot in common with the adjectives derived from the present/active participle in Chapter 3. For both present /active participles and passive participles, in English there are three types of participial adjectives – *lexicalized verbal adjectives*, *syntactic verbal adjectives*, and *participial verb phrases*, while in Czech and French there are only two types – *lexicalized verbal adjectives* and *syntactic verbal adjectives*. In French, *syntactic verbal adjectives* occur only in the passive and not in the active.

## Summary of Content and of Results

This dissertation has made a cross-linguistic comparison of nominal modification by participles. More specifically, I focused on the present/active participles and the past/passive participles in English, Czech, and French. These modifiers have a similar distribution and agreement patterns like adjectives and adjective phrases in the three languages.

Chapter One has examined the adjectival modification by simple primary adjectives as well as by complex adjectives in the three languages. These examinations led to important generalizations concerning adjectival functions (=grammatical relations), agreement, and position within the DP in the individual languages. In English, Czech, and French adjectives mainly have the function of complements, nominal parts in predicates, and attributes in NPs as stated in generalization (18). Unmodified primary adjectives used attributively in Czech and English occur pre-nominally, while in French they can occur both pre- and post-nominally. These findings were summarized in generalizations on word order in French (128), English (173), and Czech (179).

In investigating agreement in attributes, we found, in line with traditional observations, that in English there is no agreement of Adjectives with their head Nouns (34), in French adjectives agree with their head Nouns in number and gender (35), and finally in Czech, the agreement is the most complex; the adjectives agree with their head Nouns in number, gender, and case as given by the generalizations (36) and (37).

Concerning the position of the adjective within the nominal complex, the situation in English and Czech is very similar, since the usual unmarked word order is such that an adjective with no complement precedes the head noun, as given by generalizations of English Adjectival Word Order (173), Czech Adjectival Word Order (179), and Czech Adjectival Modification (436). In French, the modification of nouns by adjectives is somewhat more complex as given by the generalization of French Adjectival Word Order (128). When it comes to the modification by complex adjectives, post-position is found in all three languages as stated in generalization on English and French Modification by Complex Adjectives (193) and Czech Complex Adjective Modification (196). However, pre-position is also possible under certain conditions, but only in Czech as stated in (196).

Chapter Two surveyed the non-attributive uses of the present/active participle in English, Czech, and French, with the attention of laying them aside in the later focus on attributes. In this chapter we saw that the formation of the active participle is the least restricted in English. The active participle can be a part of the predicate or it can be used as an adverbial. In French the present participle also gives rise to the adverbial, but their distribution is more limited. In Czech there are few restrictions on the formation as such; however, the use of the adverbial is outdated and not frequent nowadays. It is found only in written form.

Chapter Three examined in detail the attributive use of the present/active participles. For a better understanding of the kinds of these adjectives I adopted Emonds's (2002) approach, which makes use of the different levels of insertion of

individual morphemes in derivations. It turned out that in French the formation and use of the verbal adjectives derived from the present participle is very restricted. These adjectives are all *lexicalized verbal adjectives*. They have the distribution of primary adjectives. These *lexicalized verbal adjectives* are inserted on the deep level, i.e. when the derivation of a phrasal domain begins.

In Czech the present/active participles also occur as *lexicalized verbal adjectives*, but they can also function as *syntactic verbal adjectives*. This means that in Czech there are two possible levels of insertion; one of them is the deep level like in French, the other one is just before the branch to Logical Form, in the T-Model of Chomsky and Lasnik (1977).

In English in addition to the *lexicalized verbal adjectives* and *syntactic verbal adjectives*, there are also *participial verb phrases*. *Participial verb phrases* are specific to English; they are found neither in Czech nor in French. *Participial verb phrases* occur *only post-nominally*; they do not take degree modifiers and they have an activity reading as stated in generalization on English Participial Verb Phrases (511). The adjectival suffix of these *Participial verb phrases* is not interpreted; the suffix is inserted late, in Phonetic Form.

Chapter Four then examined the formation and non-attributive uses of the past/passive participles in English, French, and Czech. In English the past/passive participle forms the perfect aspect and the conditional and also the passive. In French the past/passive participle forms the compound tenses, i.e. *passé composé* ('compound past'), *plus-que-parfait* ('past perfect'), as well as the passive. While in English and French the past participle and the passive one are identical in form, in Czech the past participle is distinct from the passive one. In Czech the past participle is used for the formation of the past tense, whereas a specifically passive participle is used for the formation of the passive.

Chapter Five is then the crux of the dissertation, putting together all the parts of the analysis brought out in the earlier chapters. It has focused on the adjectives that can be derived from the past/passive participles and in particular on their attributive uses. It has turned out again that these verbal adjectives also behave like the primary adjectives described in Chapter One. In English, like in case of the active participles which give rise to three kinds of verbal adjectives, there are three kinds of adjectives derived from the past/passive participles, i.e. *lexicalized verbal adjectives* (696), *syntactic verbal adjectives* (655), and *participial verb phrases* (658).

(696) *There was a **tired** man sitting on the bench.*

(655) *The **broken** window got fixed almost immediately.*

(658) *The goods **stolen** never appeared on the black market.*

In English, *lexicalized verbal adjectives* and *syntactic verbal adjectives* have the distribution of primary attributive adjectives, i.e. they occur prenominal if they lack complements and otherwise must be post-nominal. *Participial verb phrases* are

different; they are uniformly used post-nominally as stated in the generalization of English Attributive Passive Participles (512).

In Czech, there are *lexicalized verbal adjectives* and *syntactic verbal adjectives* derived from the passive participle, like in English. But there are no *participial verb phrases* in Czech. In French, while the present participle is rather unproductive and gives rise only to *lexicalized verbal adjectives* discussed in Chapter Three, the past/passive participle gives rise not only to *lexicalized verbal adjectives* but also to *syntactic verbal adjectives*. So this distinction exists even in French.

I therefore conclude that in English, Czech, and French the participial modification of nominals follows the principles of modification by primary adjectives. Thus, the generalizations made in Chapter One about modification by primary adjectives have been applied to adjectives derived from verbs in Chapters Three and Five.

	Source of derivation type of participle	<i>verbal adjectives (APs in LF)</i>		<i>participial verb phrases (VPs in LF and postposed)</i>
		<i>lexicalized verbal adjs</i>	<i>syntactic verbal adjs</i>	
<b>French</b>	present/active	+	-	-
	past/passive	+	+	-
<b>Czech</b>	present/active	+	+	-
	passive	+	+	-
<b>English</b>	present/active	+	+	+
	past/passive	+	+	+

**Table 12:** Possibilities of adjectival formation from participles in English, Czech, and French

Table 12 summarizes the attributive uses of the present/active participle and shows that the past/passive participle is the most varied in English, where both present/active participles and past/passive participles give rise to *lexicalized verbal adjectives*, *syntactic verbal adjectives*, and *participial verb phrases*. In Czech both present/active participles and passive participles give rise only to *lexicalized verbal adjectives* and to *syntactic verbal adjectives*. In French, the active/present participles are very restricted; they give rise only to *lexicalized verbal adjectives*, while the past/passive participles are a little bit less restricted; they form *lexicalized verbal adjectives* as well as *syntactic verbal adjectives*.

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## Appendices

### Appendix I. Hard Adjectival declension pattern *mladý* (M), *mladá* (F), *mladé* (Nt)

Singular	Masculine		Neuter	Feminine
	Animate	Inanimate		
<b>Nominative</b>	-ý		-é	-á
<b>Genitive</b>	-ého			-é
<b>Dative</b>	-ému			-é
<b>Accusative</b>	-ého	-ý	-é	-ou
<b>Vocative</b>	-ý		-é	-á
<b>Local</b>	-ém			-é
<b>Instrumental</b>	-ým			-ou
<b>Plural</b>				
<b>Nominative</b>	-í	-é	-á	-é
<b>Genitive</b>	-ých			
<b>Dative</b>	-ým			
<b>Accusative</b>	-é		-á	-é
<b>Vocative</b>	-í	-é	-á	-é
<b>Local</b>	-ých			
<b>Instrumental</b>	-ými <sup>98</sup>			

<sup>98</sup> In case of dual nouns the agreement suffix in the plural instrumental is *-ýma*; e.g. *velkýma očima* (big<sub>FPL.INS</sub> eye<sub>N+PL.INS</sub>), *dlouhýma rukama* (long<sub>FPL.INS</sub> hand<sub>FPL.INS</sub>).

## Appendix II. Soft Adjectival declension pattern *jarní*

Singular	Masculine		Neuter	Feminine
	Animate	Inanimate		
<b>Nominative</b>	-í			
<b>Genitive</b>	-ího			-í
<b>Dative</b>	-ímu			-í
<b>Accusative</b>	-ího	-í		
<b>Vocative</b>	-í			
<b>Local</b>	-ím			-í
<b>Instrumental</b>	-ím			-í
<b>Plural</b>				
<b>Nominative</b>	-í			
<b>Genitive</b>	-ích			
<b>Dative</b>	-ím			
<b>Accusative</b>	-í			
<b>Vocative</b>	-í			
<b>Local</b>	-ích			
<b>Instrumental</b>	-ími <sup>99</sup>			

<sup>99</sup> In case of dual nouns the agreement suffix in the plural instrumental is *-íma*; e.g. *psíma očima* (dog<sub>MPL.INS</sub> eye<sub>NPL.INS</sub>), *tleskajícima rukama* (clapping<sub>FPL.INS</sub> hand<sub>FPL.INS</sub>).

### Appendix III. Czech Long and Short Participial Morphology

		<b>A: Short agreement</b>	<b>B: Long agreement</b>
(a) MS	<i>Trezor byl</i> safe <sub>MS</sub> was <sub>MS</sub>	<i>otevře-n-Ø</i> open-ADJ+MS.short	<i>otevře-n-ý/ otevře-n-ěj</i> open-ADJ+MS.long
(b) FS	<i>Skříň byla</i> wardrobe <sub>FS</sub> was <sub>FS</sub>	<i>otevře-n-a</i> open-ADJ+FS.short	<i>otevře-n-á</i> open-ADJ+FS.long
(c) NS	<i>Okno bylo</i> window <sub>NS</sub> was <sub>NS</sub>	<i>otevře-n-o</i> open-ADJ+NS.short	<i>otevře-n-é/ otevře-n-ý</i> open-ADJ+NS.long
(d) M/FP	<i>Trezory/skříně byly</i> Safes <sub>MP</sub> /wardrobes <sub>FP</sub> were <sub>M/FP</sub>	<i>otevře-n-y</i> open-ADJ+M/FP.short	<i>otevře-n-é/ otevře-n-ý</i> open-ADJ+M/FP.long
(d) NP	<i>Okna byla</i> windows <sub>NP</sub> were <sub>NP</sub>	<i>otevře-n-a</i> open-ADJ+NP.short	<i>otevře-n-á</i> open-ADJ+NP.long

The Table is from Veselovská and Karlík 2004, 62.

#### Appendix IV. Czech Verb Classes and Conjugation Patterns

<b>Class</b>	<b>Pattern (3MS, Present)</b>	<b>Infinitive</b>	<b>Past participle</b>	<b>Passive participle</b>
<b>1.</b>	nese	nést	nesl	nesen
	bere	brát	bral	brán
	maže	mazat	mazal	mazán
	peče	péct	pekl	pečen
	umře	umřít	umřel	-----
<b>2.</b>	tiskne	tisknout	tiskl	tištěn/tisknut
	mine	minout	minul	minut
	začne	začít	začal	začat
<b>3.</b>	kryje	krýt	kryl	kryt
	kupuje	kupovat	kupoval	kupován
<b>4.</b>	prosí	prosit	prosil	prošen
	trpí	trpět	trpěl	trpěn
	sází	sázet	sázel	sázen
<b>5.</b>	dělá	dělat	dělal	dělán

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