

Presupposition in Postmodifying Participles: *the Assumptions Made*

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Abstract

The paper comments on the use of the uncomplemented past participial post-modifiers. It is shown that these *-ed* clauses are elliptical and have a cohesive effect. Their use is thus dependent on the presence of the presupposed element in the preceding context. Related issues, such as the applicability of the criteria for ellipsis, the type of definiteness in these noun phrases, and a comparison with the pre-head participles are discussed as well.

0. Introduction

“Minulé přičestí se postponuje zčásti za stejných podmínek jako v češtině, tj. je-li rozvito ... Na rozdíl od češtiny se však často postponuje i nerozvitě minulé přičestí, a to většinou v případech, kdy není v premodifikaci přijatelné, např.: One or more of the assumptions made must be wrong. ... I v případech, kde je prepozice minulého přičestí možná, se dává přednost postpozici, např.: The results obtained show a small temperature dependence.”¹

(Dušková et al. 1994: 582; MSA henceforth)

It is the aim of this article to comment on the use of the postmodifying uncomplemented *-ed* clauses of the type *the results obtained* with respect to the function of their post-head placement and, consequently, the conditions allowing their use.

The above quoted description implies a certain ‘inconsistency’, or, rather, a clash between two word-order tendencies. The post-head placement of the modifying participial clause is required by the presence of complementation, i. e. the end-weight principle within a noun phrase (right branching). In cases where the participle is not complemented, this principle should not be operative. On the other hand, there are restrictions on the possibility of the uncomplemented participle to occur in the pre-head position, unless it is modified by an adverb (**the built house* vs. *the recently built house*, **the discussed problem* vs. *the problem discussed* etc.).

The explanation provided sometimes for the postpositive use of the uncomplemented participle parallels the postpositive use of adjectives, i. e. the position before the noun expresses more permanent characteristic, the position after the noun expresses more of an action or a temporary state of affairs (e. g. Swan 1980: 453). This description, however, seems difficult to apply to the past participles.

The uncomplemented participle cannot occur freely in the pre-head position, the preferred placement thus being after the head. This, however, implies that any (semantically compatible) bare *-ed* modifier can be placed after the head.

In this paper certain specific features of this type of participial modifiers are identified and related to the function and constraints on the use of the *-ed* clauses in question. It will be shown that the placement of the uncomplemented participles cannot be explained in terms of sentence grammar (hence the difficulties), since their use requires specific contextual conditions to be met. This construction will be shown as being a form of presupposition, thus having a cohesive effect. As such its occurrence is rather a matter of discourse grammar, in the sense that it can “be explained by regarding the sentences in which they occur as ‘constituents of text’” (Tárnyiková 2002: 14).

1. Definitions. This study deals with the *-ed* participial clauses in the function of postmodifier within a noun phrase. The *-ed* modifiers can be viewed as reduced passive relative clauses (*the problem which/that was discussed* > *the problem discussed*), or as bare passives realizing the postmodifier function (different realization forms of the same function). The distinction between the two types of syntactic relations is irrelevant for the purpose of the present study. In both cases, the postmodifiers represent passive constructions, i. e. only verbs that occur in the passive are found in this function.

The *-ed* participles of intransitive verbs are also sometimes acceptable in the postmodifier function² when modified (*the train recently arrived at platform 1 is from York*, Quirk et al. 1985: 1265; CGEL henceforth), the adverb compensating for the meaning of the present/past perfect meaning. However, since the primary concern here is ‘bare’ past participles, the intransitive verbs are not taken into account.

The presence of an adverb in front of the participle increases the acceptability also in the case of transitive verbs (cf. above).

In the postmodifying passive constructions the semantic/valency object of the verb is constructed as the head of the noun phrase in which the participle is the postmodifier; or, as a relative pronoun coreferent with an element in the main clauses in the case of the finite relative clause. In *the results obtained*, *results* is the head of the noun phrase and the antecedent of the postmodifying construction, which may be either finite or nonfinite: *the results (which were/have been) obtained*, the antecedent being the valency object of the verb (*somebody obtained the results*).

The term ‘un/complemented’ is crucial in this study because complemented participles are placed in the post-head position by default and represent the canonical type of the *-ed* postmodifying clauses, while the uncomplemented cases seemingly represent an exception to this rule.

Complementation³ can either follow the verb form (*access produced recently by Scottish National Heritage*; ALV,1822)⁴ or precede it (*the regulations recently produced*; FT6,467). The term ‘bare’⁵ participle or ‘bare’ postmodifier will be used, for the sake of brevity, to refer to the combination noun + *-ed* participle⁶ (*the foam produced would cause problems*; APV,696). The term ‘bare participle’ does not include postmodifying clauses realized by a complex verb phrase, namely the progressive form (*to cut down on the waste matter being produced*; AOE,732).

By ‘complemented’ we understand complemented at the surface level (not necessarily in the valency of the verb). The verbs found in this construction will be mainly of the SVO type (*the human aspirations expressed*; ACG,58), the SVOO (*sentence given*; A9F,799) or the SVOA (*the differences found*; ALN,248). However, the valency pattern SVO is the central type, since the modifier clause appears without the optional adjunct. The canonical modifying participles are complemented by prepositional phrases (1), including the *by*-agents (2), by a noun phrase or an adverb phrases (cf. above), most frequently realizing an adverbial element in the modifying clause (right-branching), the subject (valency object) being gapped.

- (1) Of all the hard cheeses *produced throughout the world*, Parmesan must surely be the most famous. (ABB,1605)
- (2) Greenhouse gases, *produced by every country on earth in varying amounts*, may change the climate of every country. (ABH,1934)

-ed forms reclassified into adjectives are not taken into account, i. e. items such as *concerned*, *involved* or *known* are not included. *There* constructions are disregarded as well since in these structures it is not easy to distinguish between a modifier or an extension function of the participle (*there were several people killed*, cf. Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1394–95).

2. Data. The data consist of two subsets. Sample 1 was used to formulate a hypothesis, Sample 2 was created to test it.

Sample 1: The primary data for the analysis were obtained from a set of 651 postmodifying *-ed* clauses drawn together with 158 finite passive postmodifying clauses from eight running texts (two texts representing natural sciences, two from social sciences, and four representing fiction). The total excerpted length was 197,816 words. Of the 651 *-ed* clauses, 37 (5.7%) are bare participles. Overall, passive postmodifiers are most frequent in the academic writing samples. Correspondingly, the highest frequency of bare participles is found in this register, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: The distribution of complemented and bare *-ed* postmodifiers

	natural sc.		social sc.		fiction		total	
	abs	freq*	abs	freq	abs	freq	abs	freq
passive postmodifiers	410	6.97	207	6.14	192	1.82	809	4.09
finite relative clause in passive	61	1.04	69	2.05	28	0.27	158	0.80
<i>-ed</i> (incl. bare postmodifiers)	349	5.93	138	4.09	164	1.56	651	3.29
uncomplemented <i>-ed</i>	33	0.56	3	0.09	1	0.00	37	0.35
uncomplemented as % of all <i>-ed</i>		9.5%		2.2%		0.6%		5.7%

*freq = frequency per 1,000 words

Following is a list of 27 verbs (lexical items) encountered as bare participles in Sample 1. The most frequent verbs are *examined*, *observed* and *produced* (three occurrences each), *considered*, *erupted*, *formed* and *required* (with two occurrences):

applied, *attracted*, *considered*, *consumed*, *created*, *dispersed*, *encountered*, *envisaged*, *erupted*, *examined*, *exploited*, *expressed*, *formed*, *generated*, *introduced*, *observed*, *offered*, *posed*, *produced*, *proposed*, *released*, *removed*, *represented*, *required*, *studied*, *taken*, *tamed*.

Sample 2: Subsequently, 200 examples were drawn from the British National Corpus (2000), regardless of register, to test the hypothesis formulated on the basis of instances from Sample 1. In order to extract more examples of bare participles, the list of verbs which had appeared in Sample 1 (cf. above) was used. This set was further extended by 10 items selected from the list of the most frequent verbs appearing in the passive (Biber et al. 1999: 479): *done*, *expected*, *found*, *given*, *held*, *made*, *needed*, *reported*, *seen* and *used*. The verb *obtained* was added to verify the above quotation.⁷

Despite the fact that the results obtained from the primary sample indicate differences in the frequency of occurrence of bare participles among registers, it is not the quantitative characteristics that are of concern in the present article, but the general character of the construction in question.

3. Analysis. Section 3 discusses and illustrates features which were found characteristic of the bare participial postmodifiers. The hypothesis is presented in 3.1 and subsequent sections provide comments on some of the related issues: the cohesive nature of the construction (3.2), the nature of ellipsis and relation to other forms of presupposition (3.3), the use of determiners (3.4), and a comparison of the pre-head and the post-head placement of the participles (3.5).

3.1 Within the smaller Sample 1 (37 instances), two tendencies in the occurrence of the bare participles were observed:

1) The first group (30%) contains participles of verbs that refer to scientific methodology. This fact is not surprising since the passive forms of these verbs are very frequent in academic prose (cf. Biber et al. 1999: 480).

- (3) In the most diversified locality *examined*, in south-east Peru, size has effects on not only diet and prey search but also ... (J18,880)
- (4) Depending on the assumptions *applied* this process could lead... (JOT,519)
- (5) In years with more bees, there is clearly a different quality of pollination and this varies with the time in the season *considered*, but... (J18,779)

The implied agent in these passive clauses is always the author-scientist,⁸ this fact being one of the factors leading to the frequent use of the passive in academic writing (cf. Dušková 1999: 113–148).

2) The second, more numerous, group of bare participles appeared to display one feature in common, namely an anaphoric relation to some portion of the preceding text. It was observed that in all instances there was a relationship between items preceding the modified noun phrase, and the participle. In this anaphoric relation the participle summarizes (or is lexically related to) an action of which the noun it modifies is the result (or is in relation to it). These participial forms are anaphoric in that they do not introduce a new entity into the noun phrase.⁹ A comparison with the participles complemented by an adverbial element is illustrative (cf. examples (1) and (2)). The anaphoric content seems to be reflected in the use of the definite article within the antecedent noun phrase and in the impossibility to separate the participle by a comma.

- (6) When an earthquake occurs the energy *released* is transmitted in wave form in all directions. (JOT,45) [energy released by that earthquake]
- (7) The attractants appear to change geographically and seasonally, while it is perhaps the blending of compounds that restricts the number of bee species *attracted*, although there are overlaps between them... (J18,633) [attractants – attracted; the number of bee species attracted by the attractants]
- (8) Evidence suggests that, on the contrary, grazing pressure is evenly spread throughout the area *exploited*... (J18,129) [grazing exploits the area]
- (9) What makes swearing different is that the emotions *expressed* are both strong and negative, emotions which are socially dangerous... (Hudson 1996: 13) [emotions expressed in swearing]

In this latter group, anaphoric relation between the participle and some preceding part of the sentence was identified as present in all examples. This leads us to believe that the anaphoric relation is a constitutive feature of the bare postmodifiers.

We can extend this observation and view the ‘methodological’ verbs alternatively, as being grounded¹⁰ in the context of a scientific treatise, and, accordingly, as displaying a different kind of anaphoric relation as well (*the results obtained – the results we obtained from this particular experiment*). The ‘anaphoric’ requirement may thus be the principal condition for a participle used with no complementation.

The validity of this observation may be tested on the finite relative clauses in the passive containing no further complementation. In (10) the participle does not express anaphoric relation and, consequently, the clause cannot be reduced to a bare participle:

- (10) The second reason is that speech has a social function, both as a means of communication and also as a way of identifying social groups, and to study speech without reference to the society which uses it is to exclude the possibility of finding social explanations for the structures *that are used*. (Hudson 1996: 3)
- (10') > ... the possibility of finding social explanations for the structures *used.

An alternative acceptable expression is achieved by the progressive form *being used*. The acceptability of the progressive form appears due to two reasons: first, contrary to the progressive form, the bare passive clause expresses result, serving well the anaphoric function; second, the lack of anaphoric meaning in the progressive form may be also correlated with the fact that simple tense forms require more context than the progressive forms (cf. MSA: 233).

The following examples illustrate uncomplemented finite clauses in the past tense, where the passive form cannot be replaced with the progressive, since it expresses a definite event in the past. These clauses thus have no participial counterpart.

- (11) The Oxford Study reveals that of 169 people who reported receiving damages as a consequence of an accident suffered, only four received them as a result of a court order. Of the 165 cases in which damages were received without a court order, 104 were on the basis of the acceptance of the first offer *that was made*. (GVH,1239)
- (12) The subdivision into groups or subsections is similar to that employed in supplement J for Psychiatric Rehabilitation. One suggestion *that was made* was that an adjoining pair of single bedrooms might be made inter-connecting to accommodate, for instance, a married couple. (FTY,1145)

3.2 The relation observed between the meaning of the participle and some preceding part of the text was termed anaphoric. The use of bare participle is thus an instance of presupposition. Whenever a bare participle is used, it presupposes some information retrievable from the context, i. e. the presupposing and the presupposed elements can be identified. Hence the use of the bare participial modifier has a cohesive effect, and as such, its use is subject to stricter contextual constraints, in contrast with the use of a full clause, a complemented participle or a progressive participial form.

To illustrate the cohesive effect, examples with the presupposed and the presupposing elements across sentence boundaries are now given, since cohesive effect has nothing to do with sentence boundaries:

- (13) Coffee *decaffeinated by chemicals* is generally thought to be as harmful as the beans containing caffeine, so always look for *the water processed decaffeinated coffee*. The price of the product will reflect *the process used*, water processing producing a better quality, purer coffee at a higher price. (ABB,653) [the process used in decaffeinating coffee]
- (14) The inspection covers all *those parts of the property that are readily visible or accessible, including the roof space – if there is easy access via a roof hatch*. It will not normally include tests of the electrical, heating or drainage services. Any major defects noted on *those parts of the building examined* will be listed, with any recommendations for further investigations or courses of action. (AS1,118)

3.3 The use of bare participle is an instance of presupposition, and since the expressions in square brackets (e.g. in exx [6]–[9]) can be supplied, this construction can be seen as elliptical.

“...sentences, clauses, etc. whose structure is such as to presuppose some preceding item, which then serves as the source of the missing information. An elliptical item is one which, as it were, leaves specific structural slots to be filled from elsewhere.”

(Halliday and Hasan 1976: 143)

The identification of ellipsis is based on the principle of verbatim recoverability (*CGEL*: 884), and the criteria listed *ibidem* include: (a) the ellipted words are precisely recoverable, (b) the elliptical construction is grammatically ‘defective’, (c) the insertion of the missing words results in a grammatical sentence (with the same meaning as the original sentence), (d) the missing word(s) are textually recoverable, and (e) are present in the text in exactly the same form (*ibid*: 885–888). As with other language phenomena, different degrees of ‘strength’ in the identification of examples of ellipses apply (*ibid*: 889), as the next paragraph shows.

Criterion (a): the square brackets in examples such as (13) suggest that the words are precisely recoverable. In other examples, however, the precision is weaker, as shown by examples of the ‘methodological’ verbs (5), or by (15):

- (15) However, Pearson’s lack of interest in the methods of play construction led him towards even more unfocused ways of organizing his films, aiming for a sort of primitive naturalism – ‘nothing more than the capture of *things seen*, life in the living, and by selection and arrangement, the flow of the human tale’. (A7L,290)

Criterion (b): this criterion is fulfilled by all examples because the bare participial construction can be viewed as structurally ‘defective’ in that the canonical participial modifiers in the post-head position are complemented.

Criterion (c): the insertion of the bracketed expressions in most examples above shows that this criterion applies at the level of sentence grammar. However, at the discourse level the ‘grammaticality’ of the ‘full’ form is questionable in many cases. Thus with the ‘methodological’ group the *by*-agent can be supplied, but with a debatable result (e.g. (4’) *?Depending on the assumptions applied by us ...*).

Criteria (d) and (e): there is again variation among the examples, however, in many cases the ellipted words are not present in the same form – a change in wording occurs (13) or a preposition must be supplied (6).

The efforts to comply with the identification criteria for ellipsis are a result of attempts to “project ellipsis against the explicitness of the non-elliptical ‘idealizations’ (as if the complete sentences were ideal communicative prototypes and ellipsis their peripheral manifestations)” (Tárnyiková

2002: 50). As has been demonstrated, it is preferable to regard contextually recoverable complementation of bare participles as ‘implicit signals of cohesion’ (ibid.), regardless of the applicability of the criteria for ellipsis, i.e. without attempts at the precise *verbatim* recoverability. Such a unified and broad requirement allows us to account for all occurrences of bare participles as of instances of the same construction (or the same process). This can be supported by the example of the nonagentive passives reclassified into adjectives, such as *involved* or *concerned*, which were not included in the data but seem to obey the same principle leading to their post-head placement.

Example (16) illustrates that the broad category of anaphoric relation is, in many cases, the most realistic option since e.g. the adverbial of means in this example seems to have lost relevance in the bare participial construction. Moreover, lexical repetition plays a role as well:

- (16) I allow another five days and if no fry have appeared by then I drop a tiny pinch of dry food into the container. The next day you should find the fry have hatched. The tiny fry (about 1.5 mm) will be seen darting around the container and they can be *removed* by using a pipette or a teaspoon. The number of *fry removed* determines the size of their next home; ... (C96,1563)
- (16') >?The number of fry removed (*from the container*) (*by using a pipette or a teaspoon*) determines the size of their next home; ...

Since the use of nonfinite clauses as such may be regarded as the special type of ellipsis due to the lack of subject (relative pronoun) and operator (CGEL: 911), the bare participle represents a doubly elliptical construction. This, again, explains the contextual constraints on this type of modification. The postmodifiers may be ordered according to their elliptical character: finite clause > complemented *-ed* clause > bare *-ed* clause.

As an elliptical expression of presupposition, the bare participle construction is related to other forms of expressing presupposition, namely substitution and reference, which represent other “devices for identifying something by referring it to something that is already there” (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 144).

Substitution: when the anaphoric requirement for the use of the bare participle is not met (or the presupposed element is difficult to identify), an anaphoric adverbial proform is used, as illustrated by *thereby* or *thus* in (17) and (18):

- (17) Furthermore, industrialization has rarely been the panacea for rural development that had been hoped. A number of reservations have been expressed with regard to the employment created by rural manufacturing industry, concerning both type of jobs and type of firm. The type of employment offered by manufacturing industry in rural areas has been questioned for a number of reasons. It has been argued that *the jobs thereby created* do not fit the aspirations of local residents and also

perpetuate low incomes, since low wages may have been the initial attraction to employers. (FB2,124)

- (18) This is greatest at the point where the main vein, carrying blood from the animal's body back into its heart, is constricted as it passes through the animal's chest. The swirling blood is thought to make the purring noise, the diaphragm acting as an amplifier of the vibrations. *The noise thus created* is thought to be passed up the animal's windpipe and into the sinus cavities of the skull, where it resonates to produce the purring sound. (BMG,82)

Reference: when ellipsis cannot be used, the presupposition is compensated for by some reference item, or, rather a deictic item, as shown by an adverb with temporal deixis in (19):

- (19) *The regulations recently produced* were indeed unhelpful... (FT6,467)

It is characteristic that these anaphoric items should precede the participle. Example (20) seems to represent a different word-order possibility. However, the position of the anaphoric proform *then* in (20) is required by different uses of *then* in discourse (clause initial position of *then* reflects its use as a discourse marker of temporal succession (forward-looking), while the clause-final position of *then* is backward-oriented).

- (20) As a girl she had spent two years at a finishing school in Florence and before her marriage had often come back to visit friends *made then*. (Unsworth 1995: 5)

3.4 The anaphoric nature of the bare participial construction may be viewed as finding its reflex in the use of the definite article, which is the most frequent means of expressing reference of the noun phrase containing the bare participial modifier. However, it can be argued that the definite article is not anaphoric, but rather cataphoric, the presence of the presupposing participle leading to the use of the definite determiner in the noun phrase. The view of the noun phrase as consisting of a nominal plus a determinative (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 22) is useful here,¹¹ the participle being an internal dependent, the determiner by contrast is an external dependent (ibid: 330). The participle thus leads to the cataphoric reference (itself being anaphoric) of the article. This type of reference may further compete with other forms of reference, e.g. indefinite first mention or nonspecific reference (cf. MSA: 68). This view can be supported by the possibility of the postmodified nominal to occur with other determiners:

- (21) This places a critic in a privileged position, but also with a responsibility to make clear whether *views expressed* are those of the critic or those of the artist. (AO4,244)
- (22) *Countries examined* are Hong Kong, Indonesia, ... and the Philippines. (EBE,260)

- (23) The £3 supplementary charge now applies to the whole journey, rather than to *each train taken*. (A5X,124) [each train taken during the whole journey]
- (24) Moreover, companies taking it up will get £3,500 from the local authority for *every job created*. (BMB,737)
- (25) We are distinct from the private sector because *any profit generated* is used to fund new initiatives in West Belfast. (EFD,314)
- (26) It seems that existing residents have hardly benefited at all, as *most jobs created* have gone to those living outside the area, and... (B2L,1126)

A specific use of the bare participle is found following the pro-form *those*.

- (27) Similarly, contextual support and existing levels of shared understanding about routines mean that the adult is well placed to endow a child's utterance with meanings which extend or elaborate on those *expressed*. (CG6,343)

3.5 The last observation returns to the initial quotation concerning the cases with two word-order possibilities: *the results obtained* vs. *the obtained results*. "I v případech, kde je prepozice minulého přičestí možná, se dává přednost postpozici, např. *The results obtained show a small temperature dependence*." (MSA: 582)

A corpus search has confirmed the tendency mentioned in the quotation in that the post-head placement of *obtained* is more frequent than the pre-head position: in the whole corpus there are 25 occurrences of the postpositively used bare participle and only one example of the pre-head bare participle.

The one example of *the obtained results* (28) seems to confirm the observations made in the preceding sections because it appears to behave differently than the post-head participles. The passage in which it is found follows a description of the results of a certain study and therefore, at the point when *the obtained results* are mentioned, they are already known, they are not mentioned for the first time (the whole passage can be consulted in the appendix to the article).

- (28) If recognition sensitivity were directly proportional to the amount of information in a stimulus this would give *the obtained results*, risky exemplars being associated with good recognition at high risk junctions but with bad recognition at low risk junctions. (HPM,1893)

Thus it is the whole nominal which is anaphoric and, consequently, the definite article as well. This principle is consistent with the distribution of modifiers in that the first mention is usually constructed to the left, the further mentions to the right.

"Choices within the noun phrase are dependent upon the wider context within which the noun phrase is embedded. This context determines whether elements may be regarded as given (rather than new) information, either because they had been introduced earlier in the text... S-genitives are generally preferred

for presenting given information; of-phrases are preferred for presenting new information."

(Biber et al. 1999: 305)

The following two excerpts represent randomly chosen cases of participles in the pre-head position. Again, they seem to embody a different construction in that the whole noun phrase is anaphoric, not only the participle, i. e. there is no ellipsis.

- (29) Property dualism holds that the perception and the neural events which are its physical basis are simply different aspects, properties or attributes of the same (physical) events: what the physiologist observes on *examining the brain* and what the owner of *the examined brain* feels are two aspects of the same event. (AOT,1391)
- (30) To *produce natural sounding speech* it is necessary to utilise linguistic knowledge to *produce the fundamental frequency and duration of the produced signal*. (HGR,463)

The presupposition in these cases is expressed by the referential item *the*, not through the participle, which can be demonstrated by the omissibility of the modifier (*the brain, the signal*), the identity of reference being achieved through the use of the anaphoric definite article.

The same cannot be claimed about examples of the post-head participles (e. g. in (13)).

It may be possible to leave out the cohesive participle (i. e. the post-head participle), but since it is the item that expresses the presupposition, its omission results in a less cohesive sentence in which the inferential processes are more demanding, as in (31), not to mention examples with the presupposed element across sentence boundaries.

- (31) If it [water] is frozen at different atmospheric pressures, *the ice crystals formed* are different. (C9V,702)
- (31') If it [water] is frozen at different atmospheric pressures, *the ice crystals* are different.

More factors are observable in the use of some bare participles but they operate at other levels, namely the lexical or the stylistic level, as the following examples show. They include the tendency to collocate or to be used as a frozen expression (*damage done*), the use of coordinated or parallel constructions, etc. These factors, however, are beyond the scope of this paper.

- (32) The establishment of a clear link between *work done* and *resources obtained* is absolutely crucial to the future of the NHS. (A3G,262)
- (33) Prosecution itself will not necessarily remedy *losses incurred* or *damage done*. (A5A,170)
- (34) Note that a good performance is *more sums done* but *less time taken*. (A75,809)

- (35) *The questions raised* may have been interesting, but *the answers given* were tritely familiar; the authorial tone was relentlessly baleful. (A1D,142)

4. Conclusion. It has been shown that the use of the bare post-head past participles is neither idiosyncratic nor arbitrary. This construction represents a systematic means with a cohesive effect, the use of which is subject to certain contextual requirements, namely the presence/ identifiability of the presupposed element.

The lack of surface complementation (ellipsis), which in the unelipted form requires the post-head placement of the modifying clause, marks this construction as an anaphoric device, in the sense that “[a]n item is elliptical if its structure does not express all the features that have gone into its make-up” (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 144).

The anaphoric character of the construction is reflected in the use of determiners, or the impossibility to replace a finite clause containing a predicate which is not anaphoric (ex. 10) by a bare participle. A specific feature of this construction is the impossibility to separate the participle by a comma (one intonation/information unit), which may be seen as an indicator of the close relation with the preceding text. The complemented participles, on the other hand, may be construed either as relating the antecedent with a new entity (restrictive) or as presenting additional information (nonrestrictive, a separate intonation unit).

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Appendix – context for example (28)

Discussion of Total Information Given

A primary purpose of this study was to explore the distribution of risk-related information at both high and low risk junctions. From Figures 7.2 and 7.3 it is clear that there is indeed more risk-related information at the high risk junctions and this is more marked for the high risk exemplars than the low risk ones. For the low risk junctions it does not appear that high risk exemplars actually contain more risk related information than other exemplars of the same junction. This is in accord with the assumptions that were made

for the attention focusing explanation given for the different relationship between risk and P(A) in the two cases.

Although the potential risk information is in accord with the attention focusing explanation it is possible that there are more parsimonious explanations for the risk-recognition relationships. The information from the general descriptions condition in Figure 7.1 shows an interaction between the two types of risk.

For high risk junctions increasing exemplar risk is associated with an increase in the amount of information described. For the low risk junctions, however, the opposite is the case, high risk exemplars actually have significantly less information described. If recognition sensitivity were directly proportional to the amount of information in a stimulus this would give the obtained results, risky exemplars being associated with good recognition at high risk junctions but with bad recognition at low risk junctions. If this were the case there would be no need to propose that risk has any effect on memory or attention at all in these situations. (HPM,1884-1894)

(Endnotes)

¹ [The conditions leading to the post-head placement of the past participle are to some extent identical to those in Czech, i.e. when the participle is complemented ... However, in contrast to Czech, even a participle which is not complemented is often postponed, mostly in cases where it cannot occupy the pre-head position, e.g. *One or more of the assumptions made must be wrong.* ... Also in cases where the pre-head placement is possible, the post-head placement may be preferred, e.g. *The results obtained show a small temperature dependence.*]

² The past participles of intransitive verbs are found also in the premodifier position. Nevertheless, they are rare and rather exceptional (MSA: 582, Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 541-2): *a grown man, the escaped prisoner, a travelled man, faded flowers.*

³ No distinction is made between complementing and modifying adverbs, cf. CGEL: 64-67.

⁴ The codes in brackets refer to the corresponding sentence in the British National Corpus, or a page in a source book.

⁵ The term is used on analogy with bare NPs, bare passives, bare infinitives, etc. (cf. Huddleston and Pullum 2002).

⁶ The actual form may be more complex: [*the [[increase in demand] generated]*].

⁷ The procedure was to download 2,000 initial solutions for each of the 38 respective lexical verbs in the form tagged as past participle (VVN) and to separate the bare postmodifiers.

⁸ In some cases the agent may be viewed as the generic human agent (cf. MSA: 259-260), however, in all cases it must be a 'generic scientist', i.e. a more restricted meaning of the term 'generic'.

⁹ The 'anaphora' assumption also corresponds with the meaning of the passive being the result of some preceding action.

¹⁰ The referent is established in the prior discourse, although it may not be overtly expressed (Fox and Thompson 1990: 300-301).

¹¹ “A phrase consisting of a noun and the constituents that go with it most closely is a nominal; a nominal plus a determinative makes a noun phrase...”
(Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 22)