

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	vi
FOREWORD	vii
ABBREVIATIONS	ix
TABLES	xi
GRAPHICS	
 CHAPTER 1	
An introduction to the thematic systems of the clause:	
Grammatical and informative considerations	
1. Introduction	1
2. The periods covered: Late Middle English and Early Modern English	3
3. The methodology: Corpus linguistics	5
3.1. Introduction	5
3.2. The <i>Helsinki</i> and the <i>LOB</i> corpora	7
3.2.1. The <i>Helsinki Corpus of English Texts</i>	7
3.2.2. The <i>Lancaster/Oslo-Bergen Corpus of British English</i>	7
3.3. Collecting the data: Database design and automatic textual analysis	9
4. The topic: Word order, thematic organisation and information	15
4.1. Word-order studies in the English language	15
4.2. The importance of thematic organisation: Systems and unmarkedness	16
4.2.1. Thematic organisation as a hearer-oriented strategy:	
On the importance of the concept 'theme'	16
4.2.2. Towards a definitive concept of 'theme'	17
4.2.2.1. Themes and related concepts	17
4.2.2.2. Towards the concept of 'theme'	19
4.2.3. Thematic subsystems	21
4.3. An overview of thematic organisation from an informative point of view	23
4.3.1. Informative/communicative principles of thematic organisation	23
4.3.2. Towards a taxonomy of informative content	25
5. Length	30
6. Summary and concluding remarks	31
 CHAPTER 2	
Subjects as the unmarked themes in English declarative clauses	
1. Subjects and unmarked themes	33
2. (C)overt subjects and their typology	35
2.1. Categorical taxonomy of subjects	35
2.2. Corpus-based analysis of overt and covert subjects	38
2.2.1. Clauses with overt-subjects: A categorical account	38
2.2.1.1. General considerations on overt subjects	40
2.2.1.2. Analysis of overt subjects	41
2.2.1.3. Concluding remarks	43
2.2.2. Subjectless clauses	43
2.2.2.1. Clauses which are subjectless due to referring coordination	45

2.2.2.2. <i>As</i> -clauses with covert subjects	47
2.2.2.3. <i>Than</i> -clauses with covert subjects	48
2.2.2.4. Final and concluding remarks	48
3. Referentiality of subjects	50
3.1. An overview of the informative potential of unmarked themes in the recent history of the language	50
3.2. Informative potential of unmarked themes: A categorial analysis	53
3.3. Textual analysis of the data and concluding remarks	54
4. Length of subjects	55
5. Placement of subjects	57
6. Concluding remarks	61

CHAPTER 3

Marked thematic variants (I): *There*-sentences

1. Introduction	63
2. The syntactic characterisation of <i>there</i>	64
2.1. Existential <i>there</i> vs locative <i>there</i>	64
2.2. Influential syntactic accounts of (<i>be</i> -) existential- <i>there</i> constructions	67
2.2.1. <i>There</i> -insertion analyses	68
2.2.2. Base-generation analyses	70
2.3. Non- <i>be there</i> -existential sentences	72
2.3.1. Syntactic differences between <i>be</i> - and non- <i>be there</i> -sentences	72
2.3.2. Verbs allowed in non- <i>be</i> existential sentences	74
2.3.3. Syntactic analysis of non- <i>be there</i> -sentences	74
3. Informative content of <i>there</i> -sentences	75
3.1. Organisation of the information	76
3.2. Existence	77
3.3. Topical meaning	78
3.4. Locative meaning	78
3.5. Possession	80
4. The nature of <i>there</i> : Concluding remarks	81
5. Historical overview of <i>there</i> -sentences	88
6. A corpus-based study of <i>there</i> -constructions in the recent history of the English language	90
6.1. Delimitation of the 'existential'- <i>there</i> construction	90
6.2. Distribution of the existential construction in the corpus	91
6.3. Syntactic issues	96
6.3.1. The so-called 'dummy issue'	96
6.3.2. Agreement matters	96
6.3.3. Categories in the postverbal position of <i>there</i> -sentences	99
6.3.4. The NP+NP/AP constraint	102
6.3.5. The left-most condition and the semi-modal matter	103
6.3.6. The sourcelessness issue	104
6.3.7. Embedded <i>there</i> -constructions	105
6.4. Verbs in <i>there</i> -sentences	105
6.5. Syntactic weight and the <i>there</i> -construction	107
6.6. Semantic, informative and pragmatic issues related to existential- <i>there</i> sentences	109
6.6.1. Content of the participants in existential sentences	109
6.6.2. (In-)Definiteness in <i>there</i> -sentences	113
6.6.3. Locative/temporal meaning	114
6.6.4. The appearance effect	116
7. Final and concluding remarks	117

CHAPTER 4**Marked thematic variants (II): Subject-extraposition and *it*-insertion**

1. Introduction: delimitation of the system EX/ <i>it</i>	119
2. The nature of EX/ <i>it</i> : Focusing, information and end-weight	122
3. Syntactic overview of EX/ <i>it</i>	123
3.1. Nature of <i>it</i>	123
3.2. Nature of the EX/ <i>it</i> constituents	124
3.3. Optionality, obligatoriness and impossibility of EX/ <i>it</i>	126
3.4. Transformational accounts of EX/ <i>it</i>	130
4. Historical overview of EX/ <i>it</i>	131
4.1. EX/ <i>it</i> of to-infinitive clauses	131
4.2. Historical overview of <i>that</i> -clause EX/ <i>it</i> : The nature of <i>it</i>	132
5. Corpus-based account of EX/ <i>it</i>	133
5.1. Statistical (un)markedness of EX/ <i>it</i> : A corpus-based overview	133
5.2. Diachronic account of the categories undergoing extraposition in EX/ <i>it</i> sentences	136
5.3. Compulsory vs optional EX/ <i>it</i>	143
5.3.1. Lexically conditioned EX/ <i>it</i>	143
5.3.2. Syntactically conditioned EX/ <i>it</i>	147
5.3.3. Impossibility of EX/ <i>it</i>	147
5.4. EX/ <i>it</i> and 'end-weight'	147
5.5. Referentiality in EX/ <i>it</i> sentences	149
5.6. EX/ <i>it</i> and text types, style and gender	153
5.6.1. EX/ <i>it</i> and text types	153
5.6.2. EX/ <i>it</i> and gender	157
6. Summary and concluding remarks	157

CHAPTER 5**Marked thematic variants (III): *It*-clefts**

1. Introduction. Delimitation of the concept 'cleft sentence'	159
2. <i>Wh</i> -clefts	159
2.1. Semantics and pragmatics of pseudo-clefts	160
2.2. Syntax of pseudo-clefts	161
3. (<i>It</i> -)clefts	162
3.1. Structure of <i>it</i> -clefts	162
3.2. <i>It</i> as the (structural) theme of a cleft sentence: Semantics/pragmatics of cleft sentences	165
3.2.1. Presupposed <i>that</i> -clauses	166
3.2.2. Clefts as focusing devices	166
3.2.3. Clefts as identifying structures	167
3.3. Nature of <i>it</i>	169
3.3.1. Synchronic characterisation of <i>it</i>	170
3.3.2. Historical overview of <i>it</i>	171
3.4. Agreement facts	171
3.4.1. <i>It</i> /matrix-verb agreement facts	171
3.4.2. Agreement between foci and subject-gaps	171
3.5. Case-marking of the post- <i>be</i> element	172
3.6. Syntactic generation of the <i>it</i> -cleft construction	173
3.6.1. Transformational analyses	173
3.6.1.1. Cleft <i>that</i> -clauses as headless relative clauses	173
3.6.1.1.1. The <i>that</i> -clause as a headless relative clause	173
3.6.1.1.2. Transformational and non-transformational approaches against the relative-clause proposal	174

3.6.1.2. Chomsky's (1977) topicalisation of the X-segment within the post-be S"	177
3.6.1.3. Clefts derived from pseudo-clefts	178
3.6.2. Base-generation analyses	179
3.6.3. Concluding remarks	180
3.7. Corpus-based study of <i>it</i> -clefts	181
3.7.1. Distribution of <i>it</i> -clefts	181
3.7.2. Syntactic issues	182
3.7.2.1. Syntactic organisation of <i>it</i> -clefts: Introducing and final clauses	182
3.7.2.2. Functions of the gaps in the <i>it</i> -clefts	185
3.7.2.3. Agreement	187
3.7.2.4. Case-marking of X-segments	188
3.7.3. Communicative potential and syntactic weight of the main constituents of <i>it</i> -clefts	190
3.7.3.1. End-focus in <i>it</i> -clefts	190
3.7.3.2. End-weight in <i>it</i> -clefts	192
4. Concluding remarks	192

CHAPTER 6

Marked thematic variants (IV): Topicalisation, left-dislocation and subject inversion

1. Introduction	195
2. Preposing structures: Topicalisation and left-dislocation	195
2.1. Introduction	195
2.2. Topicalisation and left-dislocation as syntactic phenomena	196
2.3. Syntactic account of topicalisation and left-dislocation	200
2.3.1. Base analysis of left-dislocation	203
2.3.2. Topicalisation as movement	203
2.4. Informative account of topicalisation and left-dislocation	206
2.4.1. Accounting for constructions with left-dislocation in informative terms	206
2.4.2. Accounting for constructions with topicalisation in informative terms	208
2.5. Preposing of adverbials	209
2.6. A corpus-based analysis of topicalisation, left-dislocation and adverbial fronting	211
2.6.1. An overview of topicalisation, left-dislocation and adverbial fronting in the corpora analysed	212
2.6.1.1. A corpus-based overview of LD and <i>wh</i> -LD	217
2.6.1.2. A corpus-based overview of sentence-initial adjuncts, disjuncts and conjuncts	218
2.6.1.3. Complements in (T-) initial position	221
2.6.2. Left-dislocation, topicalisation and suprasyntactic issues	222
2.6.2.1. Style	222
2.6.2.2. The influence of orality over T and LD	223
2.6.2.3. Gender	224
2.6.3. Length of fronted themes	225
2.6.4. Referentiality of fronted themes	228
2.6.4.1. Referentiality of left-dislocated themes	228
2.6.4.2. Referentiality of fronted adverbials	228
2.6.4.3. Referentiality of topicalised arguments and complements	231
2.7. Summary and final remarks	233

3. Subject inversion	235
3.1. Introduction: concepts and terminology	235
3.2. Grammatical characterisation of subject inversion	237
3.2.1. Structural types of inversion	237
3.2.1.1. Types of inversion according to the structure of the verb phrase	237
3.2.1.2. Types of inversion according to the sentence initiator	238
3.2.1.2.1. Triggered inversion: Types of triggers	238
3.2.1.2.2. Nontriggered inversion	240
3.2.2. Syntactic treatment of inversion	240
3.2.3. Other related issues: Agreement and nature of the verbs	242
3.2.3.1. Agreement	242
3.2.3.2. Verbs occurring in inverted structures	243
3.3. Communicative characterisation of subject inversion	243
3.4. Historical overview of subject inversion	246
3.4.1. Inversion in Old English	247
3.4.2. Inversion in Middle English	248
3.4.3. Inversion in Early Modern English	249
3.5. Corpus-based overview of inversion in the recent history of English	251
3.5.1. Distribution of inversion in the corpus: An overview	252
3.5.2. Taxonomy of inversion in the corpus	253
3.5.2.1. Structure of the verb group	253
3.5.2.2. Triggers	256
3.5.3. Inversion and referentiality	265
3.5.4. Length	270
3.5.5. Inversion in embedded clauses	272
3.5.6. Textual issues affecting subject inversion	273
3.5.7. Subject inversion and gender	279
3.5.8. Summary	279
 CHAPTER 7	
Summary and concluding remarks	283
 APPENDICES	
Appendix 1: Text types	297
Appendix 2: Primary sources	302
 REFERENCES	313