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**The Positions of Finite and Non-finite Subject
Clauses**

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PROHLÁŠENÍ

Prohlašuji, že jsem tuto disertační práci vypracoval samostatně a použil jen pramenů, které cituji a uvádím v příložené bibliografii.

PhDr. Vladislav Smolka

Ve Frymburku 29.3.2007

To Libuše Dušková, who opened my eyes to language.

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1. Introduction

Owing to its typological characteristics, English displays limited positional mobility of clause constituents, their position within the clause being an important signal of their syntactic function. At the same time, clause constituents may move out of their usual position if prompted by factors such as emphasis, structural complexity, information status, etc.

What is true of clause constituents also applies to some extent to whole clauses. Unlike coordinate clauses in a compound sentence, subordinate clauses, particularly adverbial, may vary in their position, either preceding, following or even being inserted into their superordinate clause, with the resulting linear arrangement reflecting the relative weight of information which they convey, with the informationally heavier element placed finally. The position of nominal clauses and nominal relative clauses is determined largely by the usual position of the syntactic element they represent (i.e. the object clauses following the matrix clause predicate, etc.). Subject clauses, which represent the focus of this dissertation, are basically limited to two positions in relation to their matrix clauses: they either occupy the canonical initial position (i.e. before the matrix clause predicate) or are extraposed towards the end of the sentence, following the matrix clause predicate. The distribution of these two positional options is far from equal; on the whole, cases of extraposition significantly outnumber the non-extraposed variants. As a matter of fact, with some of the subtypes of subject clauses the initial position is so rare in authentic, naturally occurring texts that a unique combination of factors must be in operation to allow it. What the factors determining the choice of position are, how they operate, and what their relative importance is are all questions which, in spite of previous research, have not been conclusively answered and therefore leave an open field for further exploration.

While the issues of word order within clauses have been studied extensively, the position of clauses within sentences has been receiving significantly less attention, one reason being that the phenomena affecting the choice are often very subtle and, consequently, extremely difficult to describe.

The purpose of this study therefore is to compile a corpus of authentic finite and non-finite subject clauses taken from contemporary sources of various kinds, to examine them in detail with a view to the existing linguistic descriptions of the problem, and to suggest possible explanations concerning the factors that affect their position. Although

the scope of research is fairly focused, the present study cannot aim to reach definitive conclusions. At best, it can hope to throw new, or at least alternative, light on the problem and make a valid contribution to the current state of knowledge in the field.

2. Outlining the scope of the dissertation

The structures in question, i.e. subject clauses, are by no means a homogeneous category. What is common to all of them is the fact that syntactically they perform the function of the subject in their superordinate clauses. Depending on other criteria, they may be classified into a number of separate subtypes.

According to the form of their predicate verbs:

- (i) finite (containing a finite verb as their predicate)
- (ii) non-finite (containing an infinitive or gerund as their predicate)

Functionally, all subject clauses rank among nominal clauses (displaying essentially the same behaviour as noun phrases), but fall into a number of subcategories (Quirk et al., 1985: 1048-1049):

- (i) *that*-clauses (subordinate declarative clauses)
- (ii) subordinate interrogative clauses
- (iii) subordinate exclamative clauses
- (iv) nominal relative clauses
- (v) *to*-infinitive clauses
- (vi) *-ing clauses* (with a gerund as the predicate)

These categories differ significantly in terms of their relative frequency, and also in their preference of either the initial or the final position in relation to their superordinate clauses.

Analysing authentic examples of subject clauses in detail, the linguist is faced with some additional aspects of subject clauses which do not readily fit into the framework presented in most grammars. One of these is that the boundaries between some of the subtypes are somewhat fuzzy. For instance, nominal relative clauses functioning as subjects largely seem to be restricted to the initial position, unlike subordinate interrogative subject clauses, which readily occupy both positions, but the distinction between the two subtypes is often difficult to establish. It is probably for this reason that, while the existence of both is acknowledged, the two subtypes are treated for most purposes as a single category, referred to as *wh*-clauses (e.g. Biber et al., 1999: 193). On the other hand, neglecting the finer distinction may sometimes result in important

characteristic features being missed. The present study will therefore treat the two as distinct categories of subject clauses, as long as this is feasible.

Another difficulty lies in the fact that even the positional characteristics of subject clauses cannot be strictly reduced just to the initial position (non-extraposition) and the final, post-matrix-clause position (extraposition). Examples from authentic texts indicate the existence of a finer scale of positional possibilities, reflecting varying degrees of integration into the sentence, such as embedding into the matrix clause, cases of left- and right-dislocation, or even cases where a prospective subject clause acquires the characteristics of a formally independent sentence. While it is true that some of these fall outside the scope of this dissertation proper, the link to the two basic positional standards is strong enough to justify the inclusion of relevant comments when and where appropriate. Indeed, it is felt that without this broader perspective, the dissertation would provide an unduly simplified picture of reality.

3. A survey of previous research

One of the essential notions encountered in any study of clause position within the sentence is that of *extraposition*, a term coined by Otto Jespersen (1954, III: 357). However, Jespersen's original concept of extraposition was much broader than it is understood today and included what is now considered apposition or dislocation. For Jespersen, extraposition was simply words which "may be added as a kind of after-thought after the sentence has been completed" (Jespersen, 1954, III: 357), and his examples of extraposition do not include extraposed clauses, the only exception being "It was a pity that she should hear it" (ibid.). Jespersen does not elaborate on functional aspects of extraposition nor does he explain what exactly he means by "after-thought" (e.g. what determines the choice of either the extraposed or the non-extraposed variant, or whether the extraposed elements are communicatively more or less important than the preceding structure), but is aware of the smooth transition from extraposed elements to a following independent sentence, which suggests an early analogy to the modern concept of a scale. In the present study, the term extraposition will be used in its current narrower sense, and formal similarity to other structures, such as dislocation, will be accounted for as far as possible.

Another treatment of extraposition and non-extraposition is found in Bolinger (1977). The choice of one or the other is conditioned, in Bolinger's view, largely by the need to establish a cohesive link to the previous context. The pronoun *it* is broadly anaphoric¹, referring to some prior basis (Bolinger, 1977: 72 - 73), and is therefore likely to be used initially, i.e. in the extraposed variant, where such previous basis for reference occurs. On the other hand, the absence of anaphoric referential link increases the acceptability of the non-extraposed variant. Bolinger, however, points out a functional distinction between extraposed infinitival subjects and *that-clause* subjects, namely in the tendency of the former to carry the topic, i.e. the given information, whereas the latter may equally carry new information, the comment. This is manifested in the prosodic structure of the sentences, with the main intonation nucleus on the matrix clause of the extraposed infinitival structures, but usually on the extraposed *that-clauses*. The principal reason for the overwhelming majority of *that-clause*

¹ Bolinger rejects the traditional distinction between referential and impersonal uses of *it*, preferring to perceive these different uses as the opposite ends of a scale.

extrapositions is seen in the semantic weight that finite clauses carry, rather than the “knownness” of their content (Bolinger, 1977: 74).

Bolinger’s treatment of the introductory *it* as an anaphoric element is in contrast with the more common concept of *anticipatory it* (Quirk et al., 1985: 1391). His interpretation of extraposition suggests that the normal initial position of the subject is filled by the anticipatory pronoun *it*, while the notional subject in the form of finite or non-finite clause is postponed, i.e. placed after the matrix clause predicate, with the former indicating the presence of the latter. Consequently, the sentence has two subjects. As far as the referential status of the anticipatory *it* is concerned, Quirk admits that there is pronominal correspondence to a later item (carefully suggesting a cataphoric, forward-pointing reference), but at the same time is quick to point out that informationally, the pronoun is similar in effect to *prop it*, as in “*It started to rain*” (ibid.: 1392), indicating that it also displays some characteristics of a semantically empty item. The use of extraposition is motivated by the possibility to place a focal element in the final position, in correspondence with the *end-focus* principle (ibid.: 1365). This means that Quirk et al., on the whole, consider the extraposed subjects as informationally more important than their matrix clauses, which, particularly in the case of infinitival subjects, runs counter to the findings presented by Bolinger. Another observation made by Quirk et al. is that the separate subtypes of subject clauses differ in how readily or whether at all they can be extraposed.

Another account of extraposition and non-extraposition is provided by Huddleston (1984). He is careful to distinguish cases of extraposition from those of right-dislocation, paying attention not only to structural, but also prosodic properties of the two constructions. He argues that the main function of extraposition is to shift an informationally heavy element towards the end of the clause and so reduce the processing effort. As a consequence, he finds a relationship of direct, if not absolute, proportion between the length of the subordinate clause and the likelihood that it will be extraposed. His conclusions may be summarised, albeit in a simplified form, as follows: short subject clauses containing “given” information are less likely to be extraposed than longer clauses containing “new” information. He notes, however, that gerunds do not extrapose as readily as infinitives or *that-clauses*, and even if they do, they may not be universally accepted by native speakers as fully grammatical (Huddleston, 1984: 452). This concept of extraposition is elaborated in *The Cambridge Grammar of the*

English Language (Huddleston, Pullum et al., 2002: 1403 – 1407), where the felicitousness of the extraposed and the non-extraposed version (sometimes referred to as *basic*) is examined in detail from a variety of viewpoints, including pragmatic constraints (e.g. the information status of the clauses, i.e. discourse-old or discourse-new, the link between presupposed information and non-extraposition, and that between relative weight of the clause and extraposition), syntactic constraints, and lexical constraints (a list of verbs or verbal idioms which only occur in the extraposed variant). Extraposition of gerund is treated separately, along with the, admittedly rare, cases of NP extraposition, which is perfectly in line with the aforementioned reluctance of subject gerunds to be moved out of the canonical initial position.

The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language is based on the analysis of large electronic corpora of authentic language. The same is true about *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (Biber et al., 1999), based on the Longman Spoken and Written English Corpus of over 40 million words, which, in addition to presenting a wealth of authentic examples of the structures explored, provides valuable quantitative data concerning their relative frequencies in different registers and types of texts, and sometimes even comments on text topics which exhibit a strikingly idiosyncratic occurrences of particular structures, e.g. the unusually high proportion of non-extraposed *that-clauses* in sports articles (Biber et al., 1999: 679).

Apart from these major comprehensive grammars, where subject clauses feature as one of the many topics, with all the resulting limitations in terms of space and detail, there are a number of studies specifically devoted to subject clauses and their position within the sentence, the recent ones usually based on the study of electronic or other corpora of authentic texts. One such study was carried out by Erdmann (1987) and includes an analysis of over a thousand instances of extraposition and non-extraposition taken from fiction, scientific writing and journalism, all written in British English. His definition of extraposition stems from Jespersen (1954) and includes also cases of right-dislocation and apposition. His essential claim is that the choice of either the extraposition or the non-extraposition is significantly affected by the weight of the matrix clause predicate, with heavier predicates increasing the probability of the latter (Erdmann, 1987: 41-42). He distinguishes between unmarked and marked variants: the unmarked variants include extraposition of “heavy” subjects occurring with “light” predicates and non-extraposition of “heavy” subjects occurring with “heavy” predicates

(op.cit.: 43-44), while the marked variants are represented by non-extraposed “heavy” subjects along with “light” predicates and extraposed “heavy” subjects occurring with “heavy” predicates. However, he does not elaborate on what exactly he means by “weight”, i.e. whether he associates the concept with the length or the structural complexity or both, and does not consider the influence of the weight of the subject clause relative to that of the matrix predicate. He also distinguishes between semantic classes of verbs displaying inclination to either extraposition or non-extraposition: according to him, verbs like *strike*, *worry*, *dawn (up) on*, *occur*, which express emotive or cognitive relationship to the person concerned, tend to favour extraposition, whereas verbs like *entail*, *lead to*, *make*, *prove*, *etc.*, which comment on things/events seem to prefer non-extraposition.

Unlike Erdmann, who drew exclusively on written texts, a study by Mair (1990) also includes examples of spontaneous speech, but is limited to infinitival subject clauses. He used the data from the corpus of the Survey of English Usage at University College London, which spans a variety of different text types and stylistic variants. He points out that the non-extraposed variant, which is considered the structurally unmarked variant, constitutes a minor category in terms of actual frequency, and associates the non-extraposition of infinitival subjects with instances of fronting, arguing that non-extraposed infinitives possess a lower informational value in comparison with the matrix clause predicates, and seem to be in harmony with the given-before-new principle (Mair, 1990: 39).

Collins (1994) studied the issues of extraposition and non-extraposition, both in writing and speech, on the material provided by a corpus of contemporary Australian English. Unfortunately, the results are affected by the limited size of the corpus and, consequently, by the low number of examples. In spite of these limitations, Collins was able to conclude that, alongside other factors, the choice of one or the other variant is affected by register factors, namely by formality and mode. His examples suggest that the tendency to extrapose is strongest in informal, strictly spoken texts.

In contrast to previous studies, whose main focus was on the syntactic and functional properties of subject clauses, Herriman (2000) attempts a semantic categorisation of the data obtained from the LOB Corpus. She divides the matrix predicates into four categories: epistemic modality, deontic modality, dynamic modality, and evaluation. Each of these categories is then split into a number of

subcategories, so, for instance, the category of epistemic modality includes *truth* (e.g. *it is true/clear*), *existence* (e.g. *it followed/happened*), and *perception* (e.g. *it occurred to me*). Having classified the data semantically, Herriman sets out to establish links between separate semantic categories and the syntactic types of the extraposed clauses, arguing, among other things, that finite subject clauses are more frequent within the semantic category of epistemic modality, while non-finite subject clauses show a preference for the deontic modality. She also suggests that different structural types of subject clauses exhibit different ranges of semantic contexts in which they can occur (Herriman, 2000: 592-593). While combining a semantic and syntactic analysis of subject clauses is an approach providing potentially interesting results, it is also plagued by the obvious problem of delimiting the exact boundaries of the separate semantic categories and subcategories. These are, by their very nature, much more difficult to establish than in the case of the corresponding structural categories.

Another attempt to explore the choice of extraposition or non-extraposition of subject clauses was made by Miller (2001), who challenges some of Bolinger's views (Bolinger, 1977), namely that the extraposed infinitive may only be used when the topic has been introduced, that non-extraposition is impossible if the content of the sentential subject is topical, and that even *that-clauses* extrapose more readily if they represent something more or less known (Miller, 2001: 5-6). Miller presents examples found in novels, newspapers and electronic corpora that suggest the opposite, concluding that the "reference of the sentential or infinitival VP subject must be discourse-old or directly inferrable from the previous discourse context in order to remain in subject position. If this condition does not hold, extraposition is obligatory" (Miller, 2001: 7). Consequently, non-extraposition is only associated with discourse-old subject clauses, while extraposed clauses may contain both discourse-old and discourse-new information. With discourse-old subject clauses the choice of extraposition or non-extraposition is further conditioned in the following way: "First, there is a strong tendency not to extrapose if the [matrix clause] predicate is discourse new", and "it is important to consider the way the sentence connects with the following discourse. If the predicate provides the topic of the next sentence (or is directly linked to it), nonextraposition is preferred. On the other hand, if the sentential subject provides the topic of the next sentence, the opposite is true" (Miller, 2001: 10).

The most comprehensive study of extraposition and non-extraposition as yet was undertaken by Kaltenböck (2004). He combines a formal syntactic analysis with a functional description of the two structural variants, based on data obtained from the British component of the *International Corpus of English (ICE-GB)* compiled by the *Survey of English Usage* at University College London. The ICE-GB includes samples of written and spoken texts, covering a wide range of text types and styles, originally printed or recorded between 1990 and 1994, and with its total of one million words offers a representative picture of contemporary British English. Overall, the corpus yielded 1,701 instances of extraposition and 217 instances of non-extraposition. In addition to subject extraposition, the study pays marginal attention to object extraposition. Having thoroughly analysed the material on syntactic, semantic, functional and other grounds, Kaltenböck identifies two fundamentally distinct types of extraposition: Given Complement Extraposition (type I) and New Complement Extraposition (type II). Type I is considerably more frequent in spoken texts, particularly in the register of *private dialogue*, and displays an essentially backward-looking function (to comment on some previously mentioned state-of-affairs and as an instrument of repair). Type II extraposition, on the other hand, has a forward-looking character and is especially suitable for presenting a new topic (Kaltenböck, 2004: 296). Non-extraposition, functionally a much more uniform construction, may also be subdivided into the much more frequent Given Subject Non-extraposition, which plays the role of an important cohesive device and operates in line with the end-focus principle, and the much rarer New Subject Non-extraposition, whose basic function is that of a rhetorical device for presenting a new topic as if it were given (*ibid.*). An important observation made by Kaltenböck is that even in instances where both extraposition and non-extraposition are theoretically possible (i.e. where perfect or near-perfect synonymy of the two variants is preserved), the choice is by no means arbitrary but is, in actual use, heavily constrained by a variety of functional factors, which effectively prevent replacement of one by the other (Kaltenböck, 2004: 297-298).

In addition to the aforementioned grammars and studies dealing with subject extraposition and non-extraposition broadly within the structuralist-functionalist tradition of linguistics, there is also a wealth of generative-transformational literature on the topic. However, as the present dissertation follows the former line of linguistic thought, the transformational accounts have been largely disregarded. For the sake of

completeness, several examples of the transformational treatment are included in a note², with full bibliography in the reference section. On the whole, the transformationalists have been more concerned with the formal relationship of the two constructions and the transformational or derivational rules involved, leaving virtually untouched their communicative functions or the factors conditioning the choice of either one or the other in a given context.

The purpose of this chapter was to outline the history of linguistic treatment of the topic, rather than provide a detailed description of each of the studies. This, along with the effort to prevent this account from being unduly profuse, has left many of the important aspects of subject clause position out of its focus. References to the aforementioned, as well as other, theoretical sources will be made in the relevant sections of this dissertation, where more in-depth and more detailed analysis of the problem will be presented.

² Rosenbaum (1967), Ross (1967), Lakoff (1968), Emonds (1970, 1976), Jackendoff (1977)

4. The data

4.1 Written versus spoken

The present study is based on the analysis of authentic instances of subject clauses found in a variety of texts. Stylistically, these include fiction writing, academic writing and journalism, i.e. the material database is exclusively written. The principal reason for this decision was that a corpus of authentic spoken language was unavailable when the data for the dissertation were being collected..

As already pointed out by Vachek (1973), spoken and written language are two functionally differentiated and to some extent autonomous systems, and it is therefore a legitimate assumption that the differences include some aspects of use of the subject clauses. It is also important to note that both fictional and journalistic texts include a variety of instances of spoken language. However, a distinction must be made here between the *channel* and the *medium* (Halliday and Hasan, 1989: 58). The former refers to the modality through which messages are transmitted between participants in communication, either as sound waves (*phonic channel*) or recorded as written characters (*graphic channel*). The concept of *medium* (*spoken* or *written*) refers to the typical features associated with spoken and written language respectively, such as grammatical complexity, lexical density, typical patterning of words, etc. Though clearly related, *channel* and *medium* are distinct phenomena. Seen in this perspective, all of the instances of spoken language in the present corpus eventually use the graphic channel, but vary from written imitation of spoken discourse (particularly in fiction) to actual, originally spoken messages recorded to be read (journalism and, to some extent, academic writing, which includes interviews). In both cases, some features of genuinely spoken language are lost, as there is an element of editing. Imitated spoken discourse is, at best, an idealisation, a projection of the writer's idea of spoken language, or, more precisely, of the spoken medium. Graphically recorded authentic spoken messages, although reflecting the "spoken reality" have invariably been stripped of some of their "spoken" characteristics, such as false starts, repetitions, unfinished or incomplete structures, etc., and naturally of all their prosodic variables. However, with all these limitations in mind, for the purpose of the present study all instances of subject clauses which were *meant* to represent spoken language (albeit imperfectly) were considered as spoken, the rationale being that the primary relevant characteristics, i.e. the position of subject clauses in relation to their matrix clauses, remained unaffected by the editing.

4.2 Determining the register

While the sources of data broadly fall into three distinct registers (fiction, academic writing, and journalism) it is fair to admit that neither of these is a uniform category. This is particularly true about journalism, where a single issue of any newspaper spans an amazingly broad range of sub-registers and stylistic variants from news reporting and political commentaries to readers' letters to the editor. These differ in their respective length, in the presence or absence of a personal point of view, their communicative function, as well as a number of other important parameters. It is reasonable to assume that these differences will somehow be reflected in the choice of linguistic means of expression, possibly even in the type of subject clauses preferred, but it is difficult to imagine how this continuum should be subdivided into distinct categories. The same is true about the language of fiction: if it is understood as a reflection of (possible) reality, it is only logical that it must vary to the same extent as the reality it aspires to capture. Other differences include the proportion of the author's narrative and the direct speech, the level of formality, whether the language of the dialogues is used to characterise the protagonists, etc. To a lesser degree, these internal stylistic variations are found even in the language of academic (or scientific) writing, depending on the writer, the target readership and, possibly, on the subject matter. Among the sources of linguistic material used for this dissertation was a collection of literary essays on the genre of detection, which displayed transitional characteristics, oscillating between academic writing and fiction. Additionally, it is worth noting that even the tradition of strictly academic writing has undergone changes in recent years, with some writers opting for less "dry" ways of expression.

On the whole, it has to be accepted that the three essential registers, although being internally varied and far from homogeneous, still represent standards in their own right. A more detailed classification of text categories, although possible, would run into difficulties concerning the number of categories and their exact delimitation, and would probably require some arbitrary choices anyway.

4.3 Collecting the data

The data for the research were collected in the rather old-fashioned manner of reading carefully through the actual printed sources and then manually transcribing the instances of subject clauses into an electronic corpus. Although this may seem rather anachronistic, there are certain advantages of obtaining the data not from an already

existing electronic corpus but rather by going over printed material. First, the researcher is free in determining the sources and, second, the process of identifying the instances one by one while processing the authentic texts uncovers constructions which, in spite of being different from the prototypical examples of subject clauses, are structurally or functionally related to them, and which might have gone unnoticed had the parameters of selection been specified a priori. Additionally, the researcher is not limited in the extent of the context within which the structures are judged and which may prove to be a crucial factor in determining the position of the clause. Printed sources, in addition to the co-text (Yule, 1996: 21) provide a better understanding of the situational context, and sometimes, as in the case of the newspapers, even offer aspects of intertextual context. This is, however, not to deny that these advantages are bought at a high price as manual collection of the data is an extremely time-consuming and laborious task.

4.4 The source data quantified

The source texts which yielded the data are given in Table 1, along with the number of words. As the texts were unavailable in the electronic version, the word-count is, at best, an approximation, but every possible care was taken to standardise the process of counting in order to obtain results which reflect reality as closely as possible. For each of the book sources the average number of words per page was determined by counting the number of words on ten randomly selected pages and then by multiplying the average number per page by the number of pages, discounting pages that contained no text and making adjustments for pages that contained tables, graphs, and pictures in addition to text, or where the text was restricted to a few lines. For the newspaper sources the process was modified, as the texts were arranged in columns of different width, the number of the columns on the page ranging from two to eight. For each type of the columns the average number of words per 100 lines was first determined and then the total number of lines of the respective format was established, making it possible to calculate the overall number of words for each of the column width, and eventually for the whole newspaper. This somewhat complex procedure made it possible to minimise the influence of the pictorial material, of different type sizes, etc. Pages containing material which by virtue of its content was an unlikely source of subject clauses (contents pages, stock exchange rates, classified advertisement pages, etc.) were not included into the count.

Table 4.1

| Abbr. | Title | Register | No. of words | Sub-total |
|--------------|--|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| SAU | Carson, R. (1961) <i>The Sea Around Us</i> , New York and Scarborough: Mentor Books. | Academic writing | 88 043 | |
| P | Hatch, E.M. (1983) <i>Psycholinguistics: A Second Language Perspective</i> , Cambridge, Massachusetts: Newbury House Publishers. | Academic writing | 101 070 | |
| L | Halliday, M.A.K. and Hasan, R. (1989) <i>Language, Context, and Text: Aspects of Language in a Social-semiotic Perspective</i> , Oxford: University Press. | Academic writing | 58 242 | |
| C | Browne, P. (1985) <i>Clues. A Journal of Detection</i> 6:1 (Spring/Summer 1985), Bowling Green State University Popular Press. | Academic ³ writing | 54 981 | 302 336 |
| RD | Harris, T. (1992) <i>Red Dragon</i> , Transworld Publishers Ltd. | Fiction | 118 994 | |
| M | Armstrong, C. (1991) <i>Mambo</i> , Harper & Row | Fiction | 162 301 | |
| CF | Bryers, P. (1987) <i>Coming First</i> , London: Bloomsbury Publishing Ltd. | Fiction | 94 656 | 375 951 |
| WT | <i>Weekly Telegraph</i> , Issue 699, December 14-20, 2004 | Journalism | 76 671 | |
| T | <i>Time</i> , Vol. 157, No. 5, February 5, 2001 | Journalism | 25 634 | |
| G | <i>The Guardian</i> , June 19, 1999 | Journalism | 94 685 | 196 990 |
| Total | | | 875 277 | 875 277 |

As the numbers of words vary across the separate sources and the registers, whenever frequency data are shown, they will be stated in relative proportions with a view to the actual extent of the respective texts and/or registers.

Wherever other sources of data are used in the dissertation to demonstrate a particular phenomenon, the source is given, but these examples do not feature in the quantitative analysis of the data.

³ This source is stylistically diverse, including, in addition to literary essays, also tapescripts of interviews with writers.

5. Subject clauses in perspective

5.1 Beyond the sentence

While the standard approach is to restrict the category of subject clauses to units functioning as true clause elements within the sentence, when the examples below are perceived as different structural variants of encoding a given conceptual content, the perspective may be extended to include units exceeding the scope of the sentence (examples adapted from Greenbaum and Quirk, 1990: 446). The ordering of the variants (all of which, for the sake of simplicity, represent just one subtype of the subject clauses, namely the *that*-clauses) primarily reflects the gradual movement of the unit which may potentially become a subject clause from left to right:

- (i) Some students never improve. A terrible shame.
- (ii) Some students never improve. It is a terrible shame.
- (iii) Some students never improve, and it is a terrible shame.
- (iv) That some students never improve is a terrible shame.
- (v) Some students, it is a terrible shame, never improve.
- (vi) A terrible shame is that some students never improve.
- (vii) A terrible shame, that some students never improve.
- (viii) It is a terrible shame that some students never improve.
- (ix) It is a terrible shame, some students never improve.
- (x) It is a terrible shame – some students never improve.
- (xi) It is a terrible shame. Some students never improve.
- (xii) A terrible shame. Some students never improve.

The list is by no means complete, potentially including structures like *Some students never improve – a terrible shame* or *It is a terrible shame, (namely) that some students never improve*, etc. but it is not clear where exactly they should be placed on the scale and how significant the difference is from the structures above. Admittedly, some of the variants are less likely than others, but none can be said to be utterly unacceptable.

While there is little doubt that all of the subtypes are closely related semantically, with differences in meaning between some of them so minute as to make them practically indistinguishable from one another, it is equally clear that syntactically they fall into separate categories, ranging from independent sentences which are coherent but not linked by explicit cohesive ties (Halliday and Hasan, 1992: 3) to the complex sentence, including instances of comment clauses, dislocation, ellipsis, etc. Separate

examples thus exhibit different levels of integration of the proposition *Some students never improve* into a higher syntactic unit. The level of integration is signalled by a variety of linguistic means: by punctuation, by the use of the pronoun *it*, the conjunction *that*, and, in spoken language, also by intonation. In some cases, it may not be quite obvious what exactly the choice of different punctuation marks indicates and whether the change in punctuation is reflected in any way at the level of prosody, which corresponds quite closely to the view that while clearly related, prosody and punctuation are by no means in a one-to-one relation:

- (x) It is a terrible shame – some students never improve.
- (x') It is a terrible shame: some students never improve.
- (x'') It is a terrible shame; some students never improve.

A traditional treatment of the structures therefore restricts the range of structures to the initial position (or non-extraposition) represented by (iv), extraposition (viii), and to the final position (or postposition) hinted at by (vi). For (vi) to be treated as a true instance of subject clause postposition, the other complement of the verb *be*, which is placed in the initial position, has to be non-nominal, preventing the possibility of being interpreted as the subject of the sentence and assigning instead the role of the subject to the *that*-clause in the final position (Smolka, 2005a: 210-211). Such structures are, notably, rather rare in comparison with the extraposed, and even the non-extraposed variants.

- (vi') Equally interesting is that some students never improve.

When the complements of a copular verb are a NP and a *that*-clause respectively, English has a strong preference for the NP to be placed initially (consequently performing the role of the subject), particularly when the NP is given, suggesting that the form of the complements is an important, albeit not the only, factor determining the choice of their linear sequence. In addition, the NP is typically shorter than a *that*-clause and often “lighter” in terms of its information content, which means that the initial position of the NP is also in harmony with the *end-weight* and *end-focus* principles. This convergence of factors is disturbed when the NP is “new” as is manifested by the progressively diminishing felicitousness of the following structures.

- (a) The problem is that few cases studies show how ethics can be integrated into the earliest phases of the invention process.
- (b) A related problem is that few cases studies show how ethics can be integrated into the earliest phases of the invention process.

- (c) A pressing problem is that few cases studies show how ethics can be integrated into the earliest phases of the invention process.

While in (b) the participle *related* indicates some degree of context dependence, i.e. givenness of the noun *problem*, there is no such indication in (c), and the initial position of the NP is therefore felt as somewhat odd, possibly calling for repair by means of extraposition, allowing for the postverbal position of the NP. The distribution of syntactic roles changes accordingly in the process, the NP becoming the Cs and the *that*-clause the extraposed subject of the sentence. The extraposition thus demonstrates the tendency of the initial position in the sentence to be filled by a non-rhematic element.

- (d) It is a pressing problem that few cases studies show how ethics can be integrated into the earliest phases of the invention process.

Abandoning the traditional narrow treatment of subject clauses and considering their non-extraposition, extraposition and postposition as three focal points on a broader scale of semantically similar structures, linguistic analysis reveals links to other structures which are formally or semantically close to subject clauses although functionally they may be substantially different.

5.2 Related structures

There are syntactic structures in English which are either identical in form with subject clauses, giving rise to potential ambiguity, or at least strikingly similar in form, although not in function. The ambiguity is usually, though not always, resolved by context, however the inclusion into or exclusion from the category of subject clauses depends not only on semantic similarity or dissimilarity, but also on the formal criteria chosen.

5.2.1 *If*-clauses

The conjunction *if* normally suggests adverbial interpretation as a clause of condition, nevertheless the exact boundary between conditional clauses and subject clauses is not always easy to identify (Quirk et al., 1985: 1053).

- (1) a. It's irrelevant that she is under sixteen.
b. It's irrelevant whether she is under sixteen.
c. It's irrelevant if she is under sixteen.

While (1a) and (1b) are examples of extraposed subject *that*-clauses and dependent interrogative clauses respectively, and both have the corresponding non-extraposed variants, the interpretation of (1c) is somewhat more complex. Depending on the reference of the subject pronoun *it*, the clause may be understood either as a variant of (1b), i.e. a dependent interrogative clause functioning as the extraposed subject or a true conditional clause (for a detailed discussion of the factors favouring the use of either *whether* or *if* see Huddleston, Pullum et al., 2002: 973-975, and Quirk et al., 1985: 1053-1054). In the former interpretation the initial pronoun in (1c) has some characteristics of anticipatory *it*, pointing forward to the extraposed clause, however this link is understood more or less on logical grounds, as it cannot be proved by formal transformations. An attempt at the non-extraposed variants results in an ungrammatical structure.

(2) *If she is under sixteen is irrelevant.

In order to produce an acceptable structure, the initial pronoun *it* has to be retained, which in turn points to the conditional interpretation and suggests that the reference of the pronoun is something else than the proposition in the subordinate clause.

(3) If she is under sixteen, it is irrelevant. (e.g. *Her undeniable skill/maturity is irrelevant if she is under sixteen, because her age prevents the possibility of her being employed/getting married, etc.*)

At the same time there is a logical connection between conditional clauses and dependent interrogative *yes/no*-clauses in that the latter inherently contain conditional relationship in the choice between *yes* and *no*, i.e. condition fulfilled or unfulfilled (Smolka, 2003a: 113), i.e. both convey doubt about the truth value of the clause (Quirk et al., 1985: 1054, Note a). Significantly, interrogative *yes/no*-clauses, unlike *wh*-clauses, are neutral in relation to the truth value of the proposition. Examples such as (1c) can therefore be interpreted as a combination of a subject clause and a conditional clause which have merged and where the subject clause is only meaningful if the condition expressed in the *if*-clause holds true.

(4) If she is under sixteen, then *the fact* that she is under sixteen is irrelevant.

In such case the initial pronoun *it* may be considered as truly anticipatory, but only in relation to the true subject clause, the potentiality of which is in turn signalled by the conjunction *if*.

5.2.2 *When*-clauses

As Quirk et al. point out (1985: 1392), some *when*-clauses display behaviour very much like extraposed subjects.

(5) It'll be a great day when you win the sweepstake.

Semantically the subordinate clause expresses temporal information, and the interpretation as an adverbial rather than the subject is supported by the variant where the clause is fronted, with the subject pronoun *it* retained. However, omission of the pronoun is, at least marginally, acceptable, suggesting a possible nominal status of the *when*-clause and its syntactic function as the subject.

(6) a. When you win the sweepstake, it'll be a great day.

b. ?When you win the sweepstake will be a great day.

The acceptability of (6b) becomes more understandable in the light of examples of 'phrasal extraposition' where a fronted prepositional phrase can act as an adverbial or the subject (*ibid.*).

(7) From Boston to New York (it) is two hundred miles.

One possible treatment of such structures might be to view them as instances of ellipsis, i.e.:

(8) *The day* when you win the sweepstake will be a great day.

(9) *The distance* from Boston to New York is two hundred miles.

However, it seems more realistic to assume that the acceptability of the *when*-clause in the initial subject position, as well as of the prepositional phrase, depends on the degree of 'nominalisation' of the structure in question. Kaltenböck (2004: 90) introduces an example of a *when*-clause which, in spite of conveying temporal information, favours, in addition to the common extraposition, the non-extraposed variant, rather than the initial placement of an adverbial clause.

(10) a. It shall be stated in the additional conditions of appointment/conferment approved for individual Appointed Teachers *when section 4.5.2. of the Regulation is applicable*.

b. *When section 4.5.2. of the Regulation is applicable* shall be stated in the additional conditions of appointment/conferment approved for individual Appointed Teachers.

c. * *When section 4.5.2. of the Regulation is applicable* it shall be stated in the additional conditions of appointment/conferment approved for individual Appointed Teachers.

This may seem to point against the largely adverbial interpretation of such structures suggested by Quirk et al. above. What Kaltenböck fails to take into account here is that the matrix clause predicate in these examples is in the passive voice and that a change into the active assigns the subordinate clause the role of the subject.

- (11) The additional conditions of appointment/conferment approved for individual Appointed Teachers shall state *when section 4.5.2. of the Regulation is applicable*.

Consequently, this is unmistakably an instance of a nominal clause which fulfils the role of the subject or the object and which happens to convey a semantic content usually associated with adverbial clauses of time, but not a transitional case between the two categories. In other words, the terminology of subordinate clauses based on the introductory element may create false expectations as it is easy to forget that a *when*-clause is not necessarily an adverbial clause of time. If we compare (5) and (10), it is easy to see yet another indicator that the former is closer to an adverbial clause of time than the latter, namely the use of the present tense in (5) to refer to future time, while the present tense in (10) can only be interpreted as an instance of unrestrictive present (Leech, 1987: 5-6). At the same time, this is not to deny that the delimitation of the two categories often remains blurred, which suggests the existence of a scale.

5.2.3 Dislocation

When Jespersen originally introduced the term extraposition (1954, III: 357), the concept was broad enough to accommodate cases of extraposition as it is understood today, as well as phenomena now referred to as apposition and dislocation. Further research elaborated on the distinction between these categories, one essential factor being the formal status of the elements moved. Extraposition is understood as a movement of a subordinate clause into a position at the end of the matrix clause (Huddleston, Pullum et al., 2002: 1403), while right-dislocation (the only type that can, owing to the direction of the movement, be confused with extraposition) involves the movement of a clause constituent, typically a noun phrase (op.cit.: 1408). What both of these operations have in common is that the shifted element is represented in its original position by a referential item. Example (12) is thus an instance of extraposition, while (13) represents dislocation, and the two structures are also different in terms of prosody (Huddleston, 1984: 451-52).

- (12) It's obvious he was $\not\approx$ angry.

(13) They're excellent ⌘ company, the ⌘ Smiths.

It has to be noted that the distinction based solely on the form of the dislocated element is neither sufficient nor free of criterial fuzziness. Evidence suggests that the transition from noun phrases to clauses takes place in degrees along a scale, and it is therefore necessary to allow for the existence of the in-between cases. Additionally, there are cases of extraposition involving noun phrases, however, they are rather rare, the noun phrase is typically modified by a relative clause, and the matrix clause predicate conveys exclamatory meaning (Huddleston, Pullum et al., 2002: 1407-8).

(14) It impressed me the way she disarmed him.

Semantically, noun phrases typically refer to a single referent (a 'thing'), while clauses usually express some 'state-of-affairs', however even this does not apply universally, particularly in the case of nominal relative clauses and *ing*-clauses with gerundial predicates. The latter category alone exhibits varying degrees of nominalisation, manifested in their syntactic behaviour. For the gerund to behave largely as a verb it has to be complemented in the same way as the finite forms of the verb in question. On the other hand, when an *ing*-form is preceded by an article, a possessive or a demonstrative pronoun, modified by an adjectives rather than adverb, or followed by an *of*-genitive which is not part of its valency, it behaves as a nominal element, the only remaining verbal feature being the semantic content. If the gerund is unexpanded, i.e. without syntactic signals of its status, it is virtually impossible to determine its position on the scale between the noun and the verb. Such cases are syntactically ambiguous between an *ing*-clause and noun phrase with a verbal noun in *-ing* as its head (Quirk et al., 1985: 1065, Smolka, 2005b: 138-139). In the absence of syntactic indicators the decision about verbal or nominal status of the *ing*-clause remains largely arbitrary.

(15) Therefore, switching can occur. (Hatch, 1983: 112)

On the whole, extraposition of *ing*-clauses is uncommon outside informal speech, one of the reasons being their resistance to bearing the main information focus. The initial subject position, on the other hand, makes it possible to start the sentence with an informationally weak element, which is in correspondence with the *end-focus* principle.

Even when gerunds do extrapose they tend to convey information which is thematic. On the prosodic level, this is signalled by intonation. It is assumed that the extraposed subject along with the matrix clause constitute a single unit of intonation, whereas the dislocated element has a separate intonation contour, divided by a pause, and, correspondingly, by punctuation in spelling. However, the low information content

of both extraposed and dislocated gerunds makes them prosodically less prominent than the matrix clause, and consequently hard to distinguish from each other. To make matters even more complicated, analysis of authentic language data reveals that intonation is by no means a reliable criterion; there are no absolute values concerning the length of a break in speech that would guarantee its function as a tone-unit boundary, or a width of the pitch range that would reliably signal the intonation nucleus, etc. All of these may, and in reality often are, influenced by the situational variables of the communication. The same can be said about punctuation, which is, at best, only an approximate equivalent of prosodic features in a spoken text (and often functions in its own right within texts that are exclusively written). The following example, containing an *ing*-clause separated by a comma, would be equally acceptable without punctuation. In this particular example, it is possible that the punctuation is used to indicate a pause signalling hesitation, a broken way of expression, segmentation into small bits at a time (because the speaker finds the topic uncomfortable), rather than an intentional instance of dislocation.⁴ The information conveyed by the *ing*-clause is undoubtedly discourse-old, and it is difficult, with a view to the broader context, to imagine the position of the intonation nucleus anywhere else than the matrix clause predicate (Smolka, 2005b: 139).

- (17) I was in the psychiatric wing. It bothers you, finding out I was in there.
Because I'm married to your mom. (Harris, 1992: 132)

5.2.4 Cleft-sentence

The structure known as cleft-sentence (or *it*-cleft) bears a superficial similarity to subject *that*-clauses (and possibly some other types, such as the relative clause), whereas functionally it remains substantially different. The similarity lies in the fact that both the cleft-sentence and the extraposed subject *that*-clause are introduced by the pronoun *it*, followed by the verb *be* – invariably in the cleft-sentence and commonly in the latter type. Accordingly, the following example may be interpreted, depending on the context, in as many as three different ways (Dušková, 1999: 320).

- (18) It is an advantage (that) the team is afraid to lose.
a. What the team is afraid to lose is an advantage (cleft-sentence).
b. This (grant/circumstance) is an advantage (that) the team is afraid to lose

⁴ In natural, particularly spoken, communication, participants do not think in terms of linguistic categories, instead these are attached to their output ex post facto in the process of analysis and classification. Therefore it should not be surprising to find instances that defy classification into preconceived classes.

(adjectival relative clause).

c. That the team is afraid to lose is an advantage (nominal subject clause).

What makes the three interpretations different is their respective distribution of FSP: in the cleft-sentence the sentence stress is placed on the noun *advantage*, making it the rheme of the sentence; in b) it is the adjective relative clause that carries the rheme, while in c) it may be either the noun *advantage* or one of the constituents of subject *that*-clause, most likely *lose*, that bears the intonation nucleus and hence the rheme of the whole sentence. Even when the subject *that*-clause has the noun *advantage* as the rheme, it still remains different from the cleft-sentence in that such rheme is unmarked, whereas the rhematic noun in the *cleft*-sentence represents an example of a marked rheme (particularly when the *that*-clause in the *cleft*-sentence is context-dependent), implying contrast:

(19) It is an advantage (not a problem) that the team is afraid to lose.

An essential difference between the cleft-sentence and the subject *that*-clause lies in the nature of the initial pronoun *it*. This can only be replaced by the *that*-clause when it is truly anticipatory, i.e. when followed by a subject clause, not when it is used to single out the highlighted element in the cleft-sentence; the status of the initial pronoun in the *cleft*-sentence has been the subject of a long-running discussion among linguists and remains insufficiently clarified, and similarly unsatisfactory is the description of the *cleft*-sentence structure in terms of clause constituents, particularly the assignment of the *that*-clause to one of the existing categories of subordinate clauses.

Even in situations where the subject complement in a sentence containing an extraposed subject *that*-clause bears contrastive stress, the semantic difference from the cleft-sentence is preserved although prosodically the two are indistinguishable.

(20) It is an advantage (*i.e.* not a problem) that the team is afraid to lose.

The *cleft*-sentence interpretation presupposes a related simple sentence *The team is afraid to lose an (unspecified) advantage, not something else*, whereas the extraposed subject *that*-clause may be interpreted as *The (very) fact that the team is afraid to lose constitutes an advantage, not something else*; i.e. the latter interpretation corresponds to an equative predication. The non-extraposed variant does not permit any interpretation other than that of the subject clause.

Another type of the *cleft*-sentence, rather a minor one, singles out an element which is not rhematic but rather fulfils the role of a scene-setting constituent while the

rheme remains in the *that*-clause. This is similar in FSP terms to simple thematic fronting of a scene-setting elements (Quirk et al., 1985:1384, Note b).

(20) Late last night a group of terrorists attacked an army post.

(21) It was late last night that a group of terrorists attacked an army post.

By marking the clefted element syntactically in addition to the near-initial position, this formal clefting arguably lends the clefted element a higher degree of independence of the sentence than a simple fronting would, but this structure is sometimes considered little more than a stylistic cliché. It is probably not a mere coincidence that the thematic elements formally clefted within this structure are usually adverbials of place and, most particularly, of time.

(22) Perhaps it was in some coastal lowlands, periodically drained and flooded, that some such plants found it possible to survive, though separated from the sea. (Carson, 1961: 25)

(23) It was not until Silurian time, some 350 million years ago, that the first pioneer of land life crept out on the shore. (Carson, 1961: 25)

Some of the temporal elements are in fact so common that they constitute a set of standard means of packaging temporal information: *it was not until*, *it was (only) when/then*, etc. An attempt to convert these structures into non-extraposed subject *that*-clauses yields improbable results (*cf.* 5.2.2).

(24) That the first pioneer of land crept out on the shore was not until Silurian times.

5.2.5 Pseudo-cleft sentence

The pseudo-cleft sentence, also known as the *wh*-cleft, bears structural resemblance to two types of subject clauses, namely to subordinate interrogative clauses and to nominal relative clauses respectively. In fact, unlike the *it*-cleft, which cannot be accounted for in terms of traditional categories of subordinate clauses, the *wh*-cleft is regarded as one subtype of the latter, i.e. as a nominal relative clauses functioning as the subject of the sentence (Quirk et al., 1985: 1388).

(25) *What you need most* is a good rest.

On the other hand, the *wh*-cleft is restricted to instances where the predication is equative, i.e. where the copula *be* has the function of identification. This explains that, contrary to the *it*-cleft, the *wh*-cleft is reversible (*ibid.*).

(26) A good rest is *what you need most*.

As with the *it*-cleft, the main communicative function is that of a foregrounding construction highlighting the rhematic element. Both the *it*-cleft and the *wh*-cleft therefore presuppose a simpler structure: *You need something*. Distinction must be made between identifying and attributive interpretations of superficially similar structures, or in Huddleston's terms, specifying and ascriptive uses of the verb *be* (Huddleston, Pullum et al., 2002: 1421).

(27) What they did was a disgrace.

Here the predicate *was a disgrace* expresses a judgement about what they did, not an identification, and has to be read as:

(28) What they did was disgraceful.

For this reason, structures like (27), while still falling into the scope of nominal relative clauses, are not regarded as *wh*-clefts. It has to be noted here that Huddleston, Pullum et al. prefer to use the term *fused relative* rather than the more traditional *nominal relative clause*, on the grounds that this category behaves syntactically more like NPs, rather than clauses (Huddleston, Pullum et al., 2002: 1068 - 1069).

Admittedly, there are instances where the distinction between the attributive and identifying interpretations are not immediately obvious, giving rise to ambiguity, cf an example by Gundel quoted in Dušková (1999: 323).

(29) What you heard was an explosion.

Even here, the ambiguity between identification and qualification may be resolved, for it is only the identification sense which allows the reversed pattern.

On a more general level, *wh*-clefts may be confused with dependent interrogative clauses functioning as syntactic subjects of their matrix clauses (Huddleston, Pullum et al., 2002: 1070).

(30) What she wrote is completely unclear.

This can be interpreted in two ways, either as a *fused relative*, i.e. a nominal relative clause, or an *open interrogative*, i.e. a dependent *wh*-interrogative clause:

(31) *The material she wrote* is completely unclear.

(32) *The answer to the question 'What did she write?'* is completely unclear.

In most cases it is the semantics of the verb that provides the clue to the interpretation, since some predicates do not allow complementation by an interrogative clause. However, as both of these subtypes fall within the scope of this dissertation, the distinction between them will be explored in more detail later.

5.2.6 Appositive clauses

A potential initial subject *that*-clause may be assigned the syntactic status of an appositive clause by the insertion into the sentence of a noun, which it postmodifies.

(32) That he wrote a letter to her suggests that he knew her.

(33) *The fact* that he wrote a letter to her suggests that he knew her. (Quirk et. al., 1985: 1260)

Owing to the semantic content of the noun there is little, if any, difference in meaning between (32) and (33). The factual character of the *that*-clause is obvious even in the absence of the nominal element, making it a kind of a dummy, i.e. a semantically weak element. On the other hand, there is a significant difference in the frequency of the two structures, with the appositive clause being considerably more common, which reflects the tendency of English to start the sentence with NP-subjects. Where the noun contributes little semantic input, its introduction into the sentence is therefore primarily motivated by structural, rather than semantic factors.

However, while all the nouns constituting the heads of the NPs are general abstract nouns such as *fact, idea, proposition, reply, remark, answer*, etc., not all of them are necessarily semantically empty or weak; rather they vary in degrees of their semantic load, constituting a scale from almost empty to semantically relatively heavy; in the latter case the appositive clauses do not have subject immediate *that*-clause counterparts because the omission of the noun results in important part of the information being lost.

(34) *The belief* that no one is infallible is well-founded. (Quirk et. al., 1985: 1260)

(35) ? That no one is infallible is well-founded.

(36) The first *hint* that alienation can be embraced and that art can be made out of doubts and ambiguities about who we are occurs in the 1920s, in the photos of the Surrealist Claude Cahun. (WT 29)

(37) ? That alienation can be embraced and that art can be made out of doubts and ambiguities about who we are occurs *for the first time* in the 1920s, in the photos of the Surrealist Claude Cahun.

Nouns of the aforementioned kind are also used to introduce infinitive predicates; in such case an alternative form would express the semantic content of the noun verbally, changing the structure accordingly. The use of a noun, as in (34), (36) or (38) corresponds to the tendency of English to use NP subjects and to the general preference for nominal ways of expression.

(38) The club's *decision* to put their future in Hoodle's hands took many by

surprise, though it could turn out to be a good move - ... (WT 51)

(39) That the club decided to put their future in Hoodle's hands took many by surprise, ...

(40) It took many by surprise that the club (had) decided to put their future in Hoodle's hands, ...

It is of interest that, in addition to using nouns to introduce heavy clausal structures in the initial position, English employs a similar strategy by introducing *that*-clauses by infinitive verbs such as *say*, *think*, etc., both in the initial position and extraposition.

(41) But it would be a mistake *to think* that writing something down is simply a matter of putting down graphically what you could have said phonically. (L 69)

(42) *To think* that writing something down is simply a matter of putting down graphically what you could have said phonically would be a mistake.

In addition to bringing into the sentence a new semantic component (relativisation, potentiality, etc.), the presence of the infinitive, which is used as a kind of “anchor”, makes the initial position of the *that*-clause somewhat more acceptable, and is roughly equivalent to the strategy of using a noun as a similar “anchor”.

(43) *The idea* that writing something down is simply a matter of putting down graphically what you could have said phonically would be wrong.

The relationship between appositive and subject *that*-clauses is not restricted to the initial position in the sentence. It is found even in the rare cases of *that*-clauses in the final position, in structures manifesting the reversed order of the subject and the subject complement, with the subject complement placed initially and without the usual anticipatory *it* (Smolka, 2005a: 211).

(44) Equally curious is (*the fact*) that his personal history, and the dates of the publication of his works, are largely unknown, as well as the reason for his nickname Bigallone, or blockhead.

Although both the variant with and without the noun *fact* are possible, the presence of the ‘dummy’ noun makes the inverted sequence more natural, and therefore more frequent than the one without it. Interestingly, ‘dummy’ nouns are sometimes used as a nominal part of the subject complement, as an alternative to an adjectival subject complement, where their presence does not necessarily affect the acceptability of the structure (op.cit.: 210).

(45) It is surprising that people fall for the marketing.

(46) It is *a* surprising *thing* that people fall for the marketing.

5.2.7 Tough movement

Formally dissimilar, yet functionally related to subject clauses is a construction known either as *object-to-subject-raising* or the *tough movement*. The functional relation lies in the fact that the *tough* movement may be treated as a transformation of structures containing infinitive subject clauses; the object (or, in some cases, an adverbial) complementing the infinitive in the subordinate non-finite clause is raised to the status of the subject of the matrix clause. Accordingly, the following three variants are largely equivalent in terms of their meaning, although they may tend to favour different distribution of communicative dynamism and hence different FSP structure (Biber et al., 1999: 728); the principal motivation for the *tough movement* probably is the thematic character of the object of the infinitive (manifested in the fact that the subject in such structures is often pronominalised) and the tendency of English to start the sentence with a semantically weak element, i.e. a thematic subject, placing the more dynamic elements in the postverbal position. Such distribution of functional units in the sentence corresponds to the principle of *end-focus*⁵.

(47) To get them is hard.

(48) It is hard to get them.

(49) They're hard to get.

In addition to this semantic similarity and structural interrelatedness, cases may occur where the two constructions are identical in form and therefore become formally indistinguishable from one another (a modified example from Kodadová, 2007):

(50) It's amazing to watch.

In the absence of complementation of the infinitive, the key to the interpretation of the structure either as an extraposed infinitive or the *tough movement* lies in the reference of the subject pronoun *it*: when it is anticipatory, i.e. pointing to the infinitive, the interpretation is that of the extraposed subject clause roughly equivalent to *Watching is amazing*. In such case the phenomenon to be watched is known either from the linguistic or situational context and may therefore be elipted, or is irrelevant, in which case the statement is of a general kind. On the other hand, if the subject pronoun refers

⁵ In comparison with an inflected language, such as Czech, where clause constituents exhibit more positional mobility within the same syntactic structure, English often cannot merely rearrange syntactic constituents into a different linear sequence reflecting the desired FSP. Instead it may have to assign the semantic constituents new syntactic roles allowing a particular linear arrangement.

to the phenomenon fulfilling the logical function of the object of the infinitive, the interpretation has to be that of the *tough movement*.

(51) It's amazing to watch (*the horse*).

(52) It (i.e. *the horse*) is amazing to watch.

The presence of an overt object as the complementation of the infinitive, or the plural form of the logical object (formally functioning as the syntactic subject), or possibly the use of a pronominal element other than *it* (e.g. anaphoric *this, that*) disambiguates the structure, only allowing one of the interpretations, either as an instance of extraposition or *tough movement*, respectively.

(53) It's amazing to watch the horses/them.

(54) They are amazing to watch.

In relation to this, an interesting tendency can be identified in English to avoid, if possible, constructions containing extraposed infinitive subject clauses introduced by the anticipatory *it* where the infinitive is complemented by an object formally realised by another, this time usually anaphoric, pronoun *it*.

(55) It's amazing to watch it.

Although these constructions do occur, in terms of frequency there seems to be a distinct preference for the *tough movement* (as in 50) wherever possible. The reason for this may lie in the fact that the final object pronoun *it* does not contribute any additional semantic content, constituting a "light" element which is normally dispreferred in the end-position. On the other hand, the thematic status of the pronoun ideally correlates with the thematic initial subject position. In a broader perspective, the avoidance of a "superfluous" element corresponds well with the general pragmatic tendency in language known as language economy, or, more precisely, the maxims of quantity and manner of the Cooperative Principle (Yule, 1996: 37).

While there are contexts which, in case of ambiguity, semantically make one or the other interpretation more plausible, it is not difficult to imagine cases where even the context may not provide a reliable clue.

(56) It is hard to read in lamplight.

This example may be a reflection on the difficulty of reading in lamplight in general:

(57) Reading in lamplight, as a rule, is difficult.

On the other hand, it may point to the difficulty of reading a particular document, letter or inscription in the absence of daylight.

(58) This letter/inscription on the wall is difficult to read in lamplight.

The perceived ambiguity is, however, does not seem to present a serious semantic problem because the general interpretation automatically implies the inclusion of the specific instance: *If reading in lamplight is generally difficult, then it follows that reading this letter/inscription in lamplight will/must also be difficult.*

6. The positions of subject clauses explored

When considering the three basic positions of subject clauses within the sentence, i.e. the initial position, extraposition and postposition, respectively, one might be tempted to assume that, under particular circumstances and within one overall sentence structure, the subject clause may move from one position to another, while the general meaning remains largely unaffected.

In reality this free movement of the subject clause in relation to its superordinate clause is restricted by a set of factors which play a crucial role in determining the resulting position. The complexity of the process lies in the fact that, as in the case of word order in general, it is virtually never a single factor that is accountable for the actual linear arrangement of the clause elements. In most cases the speaker or writer is faced with a complex interplay of separate factors, which may point in the same or in the opposite directions. In the latter case, the relative importance of the separate factors must be examined.

In addition, there are instances of subject clauses where one of the positional options is impossible for structural or other reasons, leaving only either the non-extraposition or extraposition a grammatically acceptable variant. These examples will be treated in more detail in the respective sections of the dissertation below.

The last of the three essential positions, the postposition, is so exclusive (and so rare) that it requires a particular combination of circumstances to for it to be used, and will therefore be treated separately. Most of the following description of the positions and the factors affecting their choice will focus on the initial position and the extraposition respectively.

Even with these limitations in mind, traditional descriptions treat the separate positions as structurally related (albeit not necessarily in the narrow sense of the word as within transformational grammar). However, there are alternative approaches: the recently developed cognitive approach rejects the concept structural/transformational relatedness between non-extraposition and extraposition, and instead, each of the positional variants is perceived as an autonomous means whereby the conceptualiser (speaker/writer) construes the same objective situation. The separate positional variants are seen as primarily related to and motivated by the situational context, the lexical semantics of the predicates, etc. (Hamawand, 2002: 8). Seen in a broader perspective, this is more a methodological and terminological rather than a strictly factual difference; whatever the methodology chosen, as long as the relation between form and function is

taken into account, any description must deal with semantic, situational, pragmatic, etc. parameters.

6.1 Factors affecting the position of the subject clause

Let us now specify which variables potentially come into play in shaping the linear arrangement of sentences containing a subject clause where alternatives are grammatically possible; these factors do not include the syntactic function of a clause element, as the syntactic function of the subject is in common to all the examples explored. Theoretically, if this function could assert itself in full, all the structures in question would be found in the canonical initial position. The order of the factors does not necessarily reflect their relative importance as this may vary from case to case. Additionally, it is useful to keep in mind that scrutinising the influence of the separate factors in isolation is a gross simplification, because in actual use they are interdependent. However, this initial simplification in description, based on theoretical literature, is necessary in order to capture the essential effect of the separate factors before proceeding to more complex, and more realistic, description of how they work in real examples of subject clauses from the corpus constituting the database of this dissertation.

The following list of the factors is by no means complete, but some additional factors potentially affecting the position of subject clauses (e.g. regional varieties of English) are difficult or impossible to account for within the framework of this dissertation.

- a) type of subject clause predicate
- b) length of the subject clause
- c) structural complexity of the subject clause
- d) information status of the subject clause
- e) channel/medium (spoken/written)
- f) register (conversation, fiction, journalism, etc.)
- g) individual stylistic preference
- h) formal and semantic class of the matrix clause predicate
- i) cohesive (text-forming) role of the sentence structure
- j) unavailability of one of the positions

In the following section the separate factors as well as their interplay will be explored in relation to the positions of the subject clause they favour, and reference will be made to these general tendencies where appropriate.

6.1.1 Type of subject clause predicate

As mentioned earlier, different types of subject clauses display different preferences for either the initial position or the extraposition, or seem to be open to both. Clearly on the initial-position part of the scale is the *ing*-clause, and the nominal relative clause, while the opposite part of the spectrum is occupied by the finite *that*-clause. Dependent interrogative clauses occupy an intermediate position, and infinitive subject clauses show a preference for extraposition, although instances of initial position are by no means infrequent⁶. The type of the subject clause correlates with other factors, such as the length and the complexity, pointing to the same position within the sentence: for instance, the *ing*-clauses tend to be short and structurally simple, which makes them an ideal choice for the non-extrapolated subjects, whereas subject *that*-clauses are typically longer and heavier structures, hence their predisposition for the extraposition.

Although it may not be immediately clear to what extent the type of the subject clause alone contributes to the interplay of the other related factors, with the types occupying the opposite ends of the non-extraposition – extraposition scale, i.e. the *ing*-clauses and the *that*-clauses respectively, the preference for one or the other position is so striking that this factor cannot be discounted.

6.1.2 Length

There are no absolute values pertaining to length which would describe a particular structure either as “short” or “long”, and there is no clear-cut boundary between these two qualities. Instead, the distinction is based on relative proportions. Roughly speaking, the longer the subject clause, the more likely it is to be extraposed, however, this tendency does not seem to work well in the opposite direction: although it is true that non-extrapolated subjects tend to be short, a short subject alone does not necessarily guarantee non-extraposition; it is by no means exceptional to find instances of very short extraposed subjects.

⁶ A detailed quantitative analysis of the data documenting the influence of type of the subject clause, as well as that of the other factors, will be given in subsequent section of the dissertation.

An important aspect of this factor is that it is not only the length of the subject clause that matters, but that it has to be considered in relation to the length of the matrix clause, viz Erdmann's "light" and "heavy" predicates (1987). The linear arrangement starting with relatively short clause elements and proceeding to the longer ones is known as the principle of *end-weight* (Quirk et al., 1985: 1282; see also Huddleston, Pullum et al., 2002: 1382-1383), a concept which goes back to the *rhythmical principle* suggested by Mathesius, 1975: 155).

The length of the subject clause depends on the complementation of the verb functioning as its predicate. In this respect, *that*-clauses, owing to their finite form, are expected to take the same range of complementations as finite predicates in the matrix clause, and it is therefore no surprise that they tend to be long. The influence of the formal characteristics of their predicates (finiteness) is intuitively associated with "weight", and the fact that a substantial majority of them occur in extraposition supports this intuitive expectation. Actually, *that*-clauses often count as "heavy" structures even if they happen to be short, which suggests how important the category of finiteness is, viz. the terms *major* and *minor sentence*, Quirk et al., 1972: 385, 411).

Conversely, in comparison with *that*-clauses, non-finite clauses are associated with limitations in the range and the extent of their complementations. In addition, analysis of empirical data suggests that there may be differences even within the category of non-finite predicates, between the gerund and the infinitive. The complementation of the former is, on average, shorter than the complementation of the latter (Smolka, 2007, Kodadová, 2007).

6.1.3 Structural complexity

The factor of length is intrinsically related to that of structural complexity, which may be understood in terms of the extent of branching of the structure and the number additional hierarchical levels. In most cases, the two principles are in direct proportion: longer structures tend to be more complex structurally, and the vice versa. Obviously, a sequence of coordinated clause elements complementing a predicate constitutes a simpler structure than a structure involving a series of several levels of subordination. In this respect, structural complexity contributes to the choice of position of a subject clause in the same manner as the length of the clause.

The relative weight of the structure with the subject clause predicate at its top does not only depend on the number of additional levels of subordination, but also on the

formal realisation of the separate complements. For instance a *that*-clause functioning as the object within the subject clause will typically be both longer and “heavier” than a noun phrase in the same function. Similarly, if a noun complementing the subject clause predicate is postmodified by a finite relative clause, the structure will be both longer and “heavier” than if the postmodification is in the form of an infinitive or prepositional phrase.

A related issue may be the tendency of complex constructions to keep their vertically unfolding hierarchical structure uninterrupted by the insertion of an “alien” element (i.e. an element belonging to different levels), in other words, a tendency to achieve structural continuity, avoiding discontinuous ordering of elements, if possible. Consequently, if there is reluctance to break a chain of progressively unfolding subordinated structures, the chain acquires substantial length in proportion to the number of levels of subordination, and becomes an unlikely constituent to fill the initial subject position. This typically applies to series of *that*-clauses functioning as objects.

6.1.4 Information status

The role of an element in the hierarchy of information units (or, to use the Firbasian term, in functional sentence perspective) is an important factor affecting its position within the sentence. However the resulting word order is co-determined by a series of other factors, e.g. the syntactic role of the element, i.e. the grammatical principle, the rhythmical principle, and the principle of emphasis (Mathesius, 1975: 153-160, Dušková, 1988: 518-520), which may point in different directions. Owing to the non-inflected character of English, functional sentence perspective often cannot fully assert itself, its influence being blocked particularly by the fact that the position of a clause constituent has an important function of signalling its syntactic status.

Another difficulty lies in the fact that the experience of how functional sentence perspective affects the word order in a simple sentence cannot be easily transposed into a complex sentence. One reason is that the mobility of clause elements within a simple sentence, though limited, still exceeds that of elements in a complex sentence which are themselves in the form of clauses. However, a more important reason is that the secondary predication brings into the sentence an additional field within which the functional sentences perspective operates, i.e. another field of distribution of

communicative dynamism (Firbas, 1992: 17)⁷. When comparing the relative informational value of two elements occurring in different subfields of distribution of CD, the influence of the respective fields has to be taken into account. The fields are typically arranged in a hierarchical order, and each of the fields consists of elements ranging from thematic to rhematic, depending on the degree of CD they carry, which is precisely what makes judgements about the relative informational value of the elements across the subfield boundaries difficult. The process may be complicated further if the subfields of distribution of CD in question are not adjacent, but separated by an intervening structure (clause) bringing into play yet another distributional subfield. The speculation may go even further, suggesting that the more distant two distributional subfields are, the more difficult it is to determine their relative informational weight.

With these limitations in mind, it is still safe to maintain that English is a language which favours the placement of rhematic (i.e. informationally heavy) elements towards the end, observing what is called the *end-focus principle*⁸, unless this is prevented by other circumstances. Consequently, when applied to the position of a subject clause within the sentence, the influence of the FSP factor forces the subject clause into the initial position when the subject clause is less dynamic than the matrix clause predicate, and into extraposition when the situation is reversed. However, owing to the complex interplay of different factors, this does not in reality mean that all extraposed subject clauses necessarily constitute the rheme of the whole sentence; on the other hand, non-extraposition of subject clauses is a very strong indication of their thematic status.

6.1.5 Channel and medium

The distinction between written and spoken language cannot be reduced merely to the way in which a message encoded into language is transmitted between participants in communication, i.e. the *channel*, but, more importantly, it has to take into account how the phonic character of transmission affects the choice of linguistic units and their overall organisation, i.e. the *medium* (Halliday and Hasan, 1989: 58), namely how it influences the choice of either the extraposition or non-extraposition of subject clauses.

It is a well-known fact that spoken language, on the whole, tends to use shorter and simple structures, principally because both the encoding and decoding of the message

⁷ A distributional or communicative field is a term coined by Aleš Svoboda (1968).

⁸ The principle of *end-weight* typically applies in neutral sentences, whereas the complementary *initial-focus* principle can be operative in marked, emotionally coloured sentences, and in structures representing the presentation scale with subject as the element presented (Firbas, 1992: 66-69).

take place in real time. The limits to the length and the complexity of the structures employed are related to the short-term memory span and the processing speed, both of the encoder and the decoder. Exceeding those limits would invariably result in the communication breaking down – a situation frequently occurring when a primarily written text is read out to listeners. From the pragmatic point of view, for the communication to be successful, the participants must observe the conversational maxims of the co-operative principle (Levinson, 1983: 101), of which the maxim of manner plays a crucial role with respect to the choice between extraposition and non-extraposition. Using different terminology but referring essentially to the same phenomenon, this might be described as the principle of processibility (Biber et al., 1999: 677): in this respect, extraposition in spoken language is believed to tax the speaker's/listener's short-term memory less, particularly in cases where a short matrix clause predicate precedes a longer subject clause. The speaker/listener processes the matrix clause predicate before reaching the extraposed subject clause, and, having done so, can “delete” the information stored, restoring the short-term memory capacity for the longer subject clause. This is particularly the case of *that*-clauses, whereas structures which tend to be shorter, such as *ing*-clauses are typically found in the initial position even in spoken language.

In written language, where neither the writer nor the reader normally operate under time constraints, this factor becomes much less important. Accordingly, written text typically manifests higher levels of the density of information and the information is structured in a more complex manner, without negatively affecting the success of communication.

Spoken language brings into play an additional level of the language system which is intrinsically related to the phonic channel of transmission: the level of prosody. Among the complex system of prosodic features, the placement of the intonation nucleus in an utterance stands out as crucial since it operates as an additional marker of FSP structure, coinciding with the nucleus of information (the rheme). The role of intonation in spoken language is so prominent that prosodic indication of the rheme may resolve potentiality of FSP structure arising from the interplay of the other non-prosodic indicators operating in written language (i.e. the contextual factor, the semantic factor and the factor of linear modification), or even plainly override all of them if they seem to point to different FSP interpretation (Firbas, 1992: 180).

This suggests a potential difference in the relative importance of word order as an FSP marker in written and spoken language, respectively. So, for instance, the final position of a *that*-clause in exclusively written texts may point to the rhematic character of the clause more strongly than in exclusively spoken texts, where the marking of the rheme rests on the placement of the intonation centre, irrespective of its position within the sentence. This above tendency works even more strongly in the opposite direction: when subject *that*-clauses are found in the, admittedly, rare non-extraposed position, followed by a short matrix clause, it is typically so in written texts, where the principle of *end-weight* was sacrificed to clear the final position for the rhematic element, i.e. in favour of the *end-focus* principle. The unusual linear arrangement provides the principal clue to the identification of the rhematic element. In spoken language, this is unnecessary as the rhematic status of the matrix clause is sufficiently signalled by intonation even in the position preceding the extraposed *that*-clause. The importance of intonation also explains why constructions such as the cleft-sentence, employed to unequivocally single out the rheme of a sentence, tend to be more frequent in written language.

6.1.6 Register

Although the concept of register is sometimes mistakenly reduced to the choice of lexis, a more realistic definition by Halliday describes it as a particular configuration of meanings that are typically associated with a particular configuration of situational parameters, i.e. the notion of register includes the expressions, the lexico-grammatical and phonological features that typically realise these meanings (Halliday and Hasan, 1989: 39). In this respect it is understood as a variety of language according to the use, as opposed to a dialect, which is essentially a variety of language according to the user (op.cit.: 41).

When understood in this broader perspective, differences in the register may be reflected in the choice of linear arrangement of syntactic constituents within the sentence. In the broadest sense, the concept of register overlaps with the distinction between written and spoken language, but the discrimination may be developed further within these two essential domains.

It would be unrealistic to assume that register preferences for a particular position of a subject clause can be postulated in a straightforward manner. In this respect, Biber et al. (1999) represents a valuable source of information presenting quantitative data

concerning the distribution of particular structural types across four registers (conversation, fiction, news, and academic prose), but even here, the results are worded very carefully, rather as tendencies than clear-cut rules. So, for instance, pre-predicate *that*-clauses are found to occur rarely in all registers, but seem to be more frequent in academic prose and news (occurring 10-20 times per million words), while in conversation they are virtually non-existent. Within the register of news reporting, 60% of the pre-predicate *that*-clauses occurred in the sports section, although it only constituted 15% of news writing in the corpus (op.cit.: 679). On the other hand, extraposed *that*-clauses occur over 200 times per million words overall, rising to more than 500 per million words in academic prose (op.cit.: 676).

6.1.7 Individual stylistic preference

As with the factor of register, individual stylistic preference may play an important part in the choice of either the initial position or the extraposition, but is even more difficult to account for. Once again, Biber et al (1999) provides valuable insight into how these individual variable might operate, pointing out that there is a clear correlation between pre-predicate *that*-clauses and clauses beginning with *the fact that* (i.e. appositive clauses) since they tend to be more frequent in texts by the same writers. Significantly, 60% of all pre-predicate *that*-clauses found in academic prose come from only four texts, representing only about 7% of academic prose in the sample explored (op. cit.: 679).

It is by no means inconceivable that what is superficially manifested as personal preference might actually be attributable to foreign language interference in writers who are not native speakers of English. With English becoming the new lingua franca of the scientific community, not only are most papers written in English, but the mobility of academic staff has reached unprecedented levels. Accordingly, even if a particular proportion of academic prose is written in English speaking countries, it may still be the product of not native authors (or mixed teams). Although their command of English may be near-native, their foreign language background still makes room for minor idiosyncrasies. Whether the finer aspects of foreign influence can be eliminated in the process of editing is a question which can hardly be answered conclusively.

Mention should be made here about the possible influence of regional or national varieties of English with respect to the positions of subject clauses preferred. The corpus contains both British and American sources, however, they are not necessarily

represented in equal proportions and are not treated separately. In order to obtain conclusive evidence of possible regional/national differences, the corpus would have to be structured differently, and it would still be difficult to distinguish between systematic variation of this kind and purely individual idiosyncrasies.

6.1.8 Formal and semantic class of the matrix clause predicate

As pointed out by Kaltenböck (2004) and others, in addition to the types of subject clauses favouring one of the positions, even matrix clause predicates of certain structural and semantic classes potentially prefer or disprefer a particular position of their complementing subject clause, or at least complementation by a structural type of subject clauses which manifests positional preferences.

One factor is the particular formal realisation of the matrix clause predicate, the four types being verbal, nominal, adjectival and prepositional predicates. The type of the predicate is related to the factor of length: on average, matrix clauses with verbal predicates are longer than those with adjectival predicates. According to Kaltenböck (2004: 147-149), this explains why extraposition of an *ing*-subject clause is more common with adjectival, i.e. short, matrix clause predicates, while non-extraposition is typically found with verbal matrix clause predicates.

Similarly, the rare instances of subject clause postposition are typically found with adjectival and prepositional predicates, while verbal and nominal predicates are excluded (Smolka, 2005a: 210-213).

(1) Surprising is that people fall for the marketing.

(2) It is surprising that people fall for the marketing.

If the adjective *surprising* is replaced with the noun *surprise* in the postposed variant, the initial noun assumes the role of the subject, turning the *that*-clause in the post-verbal position into a subject complement.

The influence of the semantic character of an item is more difficult to account for, but there are instances where constraints on the range of semantic units apply, *cf.* the overwhelming majority of extraposed *ing*-clauses occur with verbonominal predicates where the nominal component (adjective or noun) expresses evaluation of the content presented by the subject clause, either in terms of ease/difficulty or on the scale from positive to negative, such as *it was (no/quite) good, bad (enough), nice, typical, weird, (no) fun, a problem, all right*, etc. (Smolka, 2005b: 143).

6.1.9 Cohesive role of the sentence structure

The cohesive role of extraposition, non-extraposition, or postposition, respectively, consists in creating smooth transition from one sentence (section of text) to another, establishing cohesive ties in the process. The link between two sentences can be realised in two ways.

One strategy is to construct sequences where the focal information at the end of one sentence is repeated or referred to as given information at the beginning of another sentence, constituting a point of departure towards another new item. The cohesive effect of this strategy consists in placing the two related items of information in close proximity (Quirk et al. 1985: 1430).

This is in most cases the effect of non-extraposition, since the initial clausal subjects are thematic, and particularly of the postposition, especially in structures where the initial lexical item (typically an adjectival subject complement) is repeated, creating mirror-like symmetry of structure, as in the following example from Smolka (2005a: 212).

(3) Thus, rules of origin become extremely important, and more important is that the two negotiating teams should agree on those rules.

On the other hand, the extraposition invariably has an intervening element at the beginning, the anticipatory *it*, irrespective of whether the new information is conveyed by the matrix clause predicate or the extraposed subject clause.

The other strategy of creating cohesion is through similarity of structure, typically by repeating a formally identical structure with the same linear arrangement of its constituents. In this case, the cohesive effect stems from formal similarity, which may be called parallelism (the following example comes from Hatch, 1983: 142).

(4) However, even from this brief review of conversation as a speech event, it is clear that such researchers have shown that conversation does have an abstract system which can be described. It is also clear that the abstract system can be used to predict the form of new conversations.

Parallel structures of this kind are found in conversation, where one participant models his turn on the preceding turn of the other participant, correcting a particular item of information. The contrasted element, which is not emphasised by position, is highlighted prosodically, by means of contrastive stress. The following is a hypothetical example of an exchange of this type (the stressed intonation centre is capitalised):

(5) a) It's **WRONG** to behave like that.

b) It's unWISE to behave like that.

It is of interest that employing the former strategy, i.e. starting with the thematic infinitive subject clause and placing the contrasted element in the final position, produces a similar effect of highlighting, albeit through different means:

(6) a) It's WRONG to behave like that.

b) To behave like that is unWISE.

6.1.10 Unavailability of one of the positions

In addition to constructions which allow, at least theoretically, a choice between non-extraposition and extraposition of the subject clause, there are instances when one of the options is unavailable for syntactic reasons. In such case the above factors co-determining the final linear arrangement do not apply. The following examples illustrate just some of such cases.

Extraposition becomes an unavailable positional option when both the subject clause and the matrix clause predicate are identical with respect to the formal category of the predicate, most commonly when both of them are in the form of the infinitive. Syntactically, they represent instances of equative (identificational) predications:

(7) To wonder impatiently why man is not a constant witness of such arrivals is to fail to understand the majestic pace of the process. (Carson, 1961: 91)

An extraposed version would bring the two infinitives in juxtaposition, making their syntactic relationship opaque.

(8) *It is to fail to understand the majestic pace of the process to wonder impatiently why man is not a constant witness of such arrivals.

Structures of this kind are not restricted to infinitives, nor to equative predications, as the following example demonstrates (Kaltenböck, 2004: 281). The unacceptability of extraposition lies in the fact that the matrix clause predicate contains another *that*-clause, in this particular example an object clause:

(9) That he continued working hard after all the disappointments shows that he was extremely motivated.

(10) *It shows that he was extremely motivated that he continued working hard after all the disappointments.

Another reason to exclude extraposition is the possibility that the extraposed subject clause will be interpreted as a different clause element complementing the matrix clause, e.g. as postmodification of a nominal complement of the matrix clause

(op. cit.: 282): while in (11) there is no doubt that the sentence contains an initial subject clause realised by a gerund, (12) suggests the interpretation of *encouraging* as a participial postmodifier of the noun *policy*.

(11) Encouraging low income tenants into owner occupation at a time of deepening recession is a high risk policy.

(12) *It is a high risk policy encouraging low income tenants into owner occupation at a time of deepening recession.

The above examples demonstrate the unavailability of extraposition, however, there are structures which only allow extraposition (or at least employ a distribution of constituents which is formally identical), excluding non-extraposition. This applies to predicate verbs like *seem*, *appear*, *happen*, *chance*, *follow*, *be* (Quirk et al, 1985: 1392).

(13) It seems that everything is fine.

(14) *That everything is fine seems.

The reason for the ungrammaticality of (14) is the striking gap in the sentence structure after the matrix clause verb.

The verbs *seem* and *appear* are copular, normally creating the S-V-Cs structure, and from the semantic point of view they ascribe or attribute to the subject a feature or quality expressed by the subject complement. The final position of the clause makes it possible to remove the expression of the feature/quality from the structure, preserving only the essential semantic content of the predicate verb, i.e. relativisation of the claim (Smolka, 2005b:142).

(15) It has always seemed to me that the character of the victim is as important as the character of the detective or the suspect. (Browne, 1985: 48)

Significantly, the perceptor alone, even when present in the structure, cannot fill the postverbal slot:

(16) *That the character of the victim is as important as the character of the detective or the suspect has always seemed to me.

The necessity of having a postverbal complement after verbs like *seem* and *appear* is often manifested by structures known as subject-to-subject raising:

(17) The character of the victim has always seemed (to be) as important to me as the character of the detective or the suspect.

However, if the verb is followed by a non-clausal element, e.g. an adjective or prepositional phrase, such a phrase, even when short, adopts the role of the subject

complement, rendering non-extraposition of the subject clause acceptable (albeit not common), as long as the *that-clause* is less dynamic than the subject complement.

(18) That the character of the victim is as important as the character of the detective or the suspect has always seemed interesting/of interest to me.

For these reasons, and in spite of the occasional treatment in literature of such clauses as extraposed subjects, it appears more realistic to classify the *that-clause* as the true subject of the sentence only in the presence of a non-clausal subject complement, whereas in the absence of it the *that-clause* itself is best interpreted as the subject complement itself, in accordance with Dušková (1988: 596). In this case the status of the initial pronoun *it* is shifted further towards from anticipatory to empty *prop it*.

This solution makes it possible to consider every instance of *seem* as an intensive verb, while the previous interpretation has to assume the existence of intransitive *seem*. The unavailability of what seems like non-extraposition in the above examples then primarily stems from the absence of the subject complement, rather than from some purely structural limitations. The need for the subject complement in the structure is further highlighted in short responses of the following type; the proform for the clause clearly functions as the subject complement:

(19) A: Can this be true?

B: It seems *so* / *So* it seems / It seems to be / ? It seems.

The last response is the least likely, being structurally defective. Occasionally, this structure may occur as a comment clause, expressing relativisation of the semantic content of the sentence, .i.e. functioning as hedges (Quirk et al. 1985: 1113-1114, the following example is modified).

(20) There were no other applicants, *it seems*, for that job.

On the other hand, the verbs *happen* and *chance*, owing to their valency, cannot take a subject complement, and the *that-clause* therefore has to be interpreted as the subject. The verb *be* is used for the expression of possibility, and in reflective questions (Quirk et al. 1985: 1392). Structures containing the verb *be* are sometimes treated as elliptical, however, it is not clear what exactly has been ellipted (*the case, true, etc.*).

(21) It may be that she no longer trusts you.

(22) Could it be that you left the key in your office?

The unavailability of non-extraposition in (22) does not only result from the predicate verb, but rather from the modality of the sentence, .i.e. the interrogative

sentence format, which generally does not allow non-extraposition even with verbs that readily extrapose the subject in the declarative form.

(23) "Is it possible that British intelligence is responsible for the deaths of our members?" he asked. (Armstrong, 1991: 353)

The only exception to this is the category of nominal relative clauses functioning as syntactic subjects, which behave largely as noun phrases and, consequently, do not extrapose in interrogative sentences but employ a subject-operator inversion; this is a factor (along with an NP-like S-V concord and the impossibility of fronting a preposition) prompting Huddleston, Pullum et al. (2002: 1071-1072) to treat them not strictly speaking as clauses but as fused relatives, i.e. structures having a similar status like noun phrases. This syntactic behaviour distinguishes the nominal relative clauses from dependent interrogative clauses (which have an undeniably clausal status) in situations where the two categories might seem superficially identical.

(24) Is what she wrote unclear? (fused participle, i.e. nominal relative clause)

(25) Is it unclear what she wrote? (dependent interrogative)

A similar restriction on the use of non-extraposition applies to the passive voice (Quirk et al. 1985: 1392).

(26) *That he slipped arsenic into his tea is said.

On the whole, non-extraposed subject *that*-clauses, while not totally unacceptable with passive matrix clause predicates, are extremely rare, and even if they do occur, they are restricted to a small number of verbs (Huddleston, Pullum et al., 958, 1434-1435).

(27) That they mislead us cannot be disputed.

These restrictions do not apply to non-extraposed dependent interrogative subject clauses, nor to nominal relative clauses (owing to their NP-like nature).

(28) Whether this is feasible hasn't yet been determined.

(29) Whatever composes it is apparently strongly repelled by sunlight. (Carson, 1961: 52)

6.2 The initial position

The initial position, or non-extraposition, is syntactically the neutral position of the subject, and is therefore sometimes called the *canonical* position. While the concept of the initial position as the neutral one is amply supported by evidence provided by NP-subjects, where the initial (preverbal) position in the sentence serves as a strong clue to the identification of the NP-element as the subject, with subjects containing a

predication the situation is rather more complex. In reality, a substantial proportion of subject clauses, with exception of the *ing*-clauses and nominal relative clauses, seem to prefer the postverbal position, i.e. the extraposition.

In judging one or the other position as marked or unmarked respectively, one has to specify the criteria of markedness employed: if the key factor of markedness is the deviation from an ideal linear distribution of clause elements (i.e. the basic linear distribution of grammatical roles), the initial position is rightly considered as the norm. The strength of this traditional approach is perceived in the very term *extraposition* coined by Jespersen, suggesting that a clause element is moved out of its expected position within the sentence.

Conversely, when frequency factors are treated as primary, the fact that the extraposed variants (with the above exception) significantly outnumber the non-extraposed ones renders the initial position marked. Both approaches are legitimate as long as the criteria of markedness are made explicit. With the former approach in mind, it is interesting to note here that the distributional primacy of extraposition is manifested in the alternative term for the initial position, i.e. the *non-extraposition*, which seems to be of a later coinage, when distributional factors became more prominent; it is only mentioned in Quirk et al (1985) as an ad hoc opposite to the well-established term *extraposition*, whereas it is becoming increasingly common in newer linguistic literature on the topic, such as Miller, P.H. (2001), Kaltenböck, G. (2004).

An interesting discussion of the factors of markedness is presented by Lambrecht (1994 [1998]: 15-18), who, while admitting the historical and notional justification of the terms, rejects a straightforward extension of the concept of grammatical un/markedness into pragmatics, arguing that there is nothing like “pragmatically neutral syntax or prosody” because this would involve the assumption that grammatical form “normally” has no correlation to pragmatics. According to him, when two allosentences are regarded, the unmarked member is the one with a broader range of discourse function, while the marked member is characterised by just one discourse function.

6.2.1 Properties of the initial position

In sentences containing non-extraposed subject clauses, the subject slot is filled with a finite or non-finite clause constituting the syntactic role of the matrix clause subject, and the distribution of the matrix clause elements therefore conforms to the basic sequence which characterises English word order, i.e. S-V-O-A. In this respect the

arrangement of the matrix clause constituents follows an uninterrupted sequence, making the overall structure syntactically simpler.

At the same time, there is a price to pay for this superficial simplicity: owing to its clausal form, a clausal subject fills the initial position with a structure which is unusually heavy in terms of its information content, as well as relatively long and structurally complex usually, potentially involving an additional level of subordination (or more such levels) and making the overall hierarchy more intricate. This happens when the finite or non-finite predicate constituting the core of the matrix clause subject has a set of clause elements as its complements some of which are in turn, also in the form of clauses. In such case the elements/structures occurring on lower levels of hierarchy which are subordinate to the core predicate of the subject clause constitute a substantial intervening chain between the core of the subject and the rest of the matrix clause, actually making the interpretation of the overall structure more difficult than in the case of extraposition.

It is therefore no surprise that the initial position is most frequent with clausal subjects which tend to be short and nominal in nature, i.e. *ing*-clauses (gerund) and nominal relative clauses. Longer subject clauses in the initial position are less common, and when they are employed, they tend to indicate very strongly that the information (and intonation) nucleus is to be found in the matrix clause, after the matrix clause predicate. If the initial subject clause is not thematic, it is probably a case of *second instance*, i.e. a repetition of a structure occurring in order to throw a special emphasis on the information conveyed by one of the components (Firbas, 1992: 111); on the level of prosody this implies the use of contrastive stress on the component brought into prominence.

However, the instances described above, where the initial subject clause is not thematic, are extremely rare, and consequently the initial position of a subject clause may be perceived as an arrangement of clause elements allowing the basic linear distribution of communicative dynamism, with the theme at the beginning and the rheme at the end.

6.3 The extraposition

Although the extraposition of a subject clause is, from the syntactic point of view, the less straightforward positional variant, it clearly predominates in terms of actual use, significantly outnumbering the syntactically more orthodox initial position in all

structural types of subject clauses with the exception of *ing*-clauses and nominal relative clauses. In this respect it can be considered the more basic variant on the functional level.

6.3.1 Properties of extraposition

The extraposition of the subject clause may be regarded as a subtype of postponement which involves the replacement of postposed element by a substitute form. The logical subject of the sentence is moved into the final position in the sentence (after the main clause predicate), while the usual subject slot in the initial position is filled by the pronoun *it*. This means that a sentence containing an extraposed subject clause has two subjects: one formal in the usual initial position, and a notional subject in clausal form at the end (Quirk et al., 1985: 1392).

6.3.1.1 The status of the anticipatory *it*

The initial pronoun *it* owes its name to the fact that it points to an element positioned further down the linear sequence of the sentence constituents. From the processing point of view it represents an informationally weak unit whose main function is to signal to the reader/hearer (in other words, to anticipate) the presence of the true notional subject of the sentence. It is only after reaching the extraposed subject that the information void is filled and the sentence can be interpreted semantically. Owing to this forward pointing character, the anticipatory *it* is similar to the cataphoric pronoun *it*, however, it is more often treated as a kind of “dummy” expression, similar to the “prop” *it* occurring in sentences denoting, time, distance, weather, etc. (Quirk et al., 1985: 349, see also Biber et al., 1999: 660).

The main difference between the cataphoric and the anticipatory pronoun is that an instance of cataphoric *it* may be turned into anaphoric⁹ (Quirk et. al., 1985: 351), i.e. whatever their sequence, both the pronoun and its referent must be present (examples 30-33 are mine).

(30) When you least expect *it*, *a mistake* invariably occurs.

(31) *A mistake* invariably occurs when you least expect *it*.

On the other hand, the presence of the anticipatory *it* is only required with the extraposed subject clause; when the initial pronoun is replaced by the logical subject

⁹ Another formal feature of cataphoric pronouns is that they typically occur at lower hierarchical levels in the structure than their antecedents.

within the non-extraposed construction, it becomes superfluous, and its presence would render the structure ungrammatical. The unacceptability of (33) suggests that the anticipatory *it* is not strictly referential.

(32) *It is clear that something must be done immediately.*

(33) **That something must be done immediately is clear it.*

However, the fact that the subject clause replaces the pronoun in non-extraposition indicates that the anticipatory *it* is not completely devoid of meaning. At least, it seems to be more referential than the pronoun *it* in cleft-sentences, where the replacement of the subject *it* by the rest of the sentence following *that* is clearly impossible. This interpretation goes contrary to the treatment by Quirk et al. (1985: 349), where the two are considered on a par in terms of their referential potential (cf Dušková, 1999: 320-321).

(34) *It must have been here that I first met her.*

(35) **That I first met her must have been here.*

The two possible treatments of the anticipatory *it* in extraposition, either as an empty “prop” element or a marginally referential item, might well stem from two different lines of reasoning going in opposite directions: starting from the non-extraposed variant and proceeding to extraposition reveals that the latter constructions is no different semantically, i.e. there is no semantic component in addition to those already present in the non-extraposed variant, the only potential difference being a different distribution of relative information weight, hence the initial pronoun is assigned the status of an empty element. On the other hand, proceeding from extraposition to non-extraposition cannot miss the fact that the logical subject in clausal form effectively replaces, as long as the particular structure allows its initial position, the anticipatory pronoun in terms of both position and syntactic function, which may be interpreted as a strong signal of co-referentiality. Accordingly, the pronoun is interpreted as referential.

Taking into account the positional relationship between the pronoun *it* and the elements it, at least potentially, points to throws some light on the reasons leading Bolinger (1977) to consider it a definite nominal retaining at least some referential force allowing a referential link with some clausal constituents in the context. Using an example from Quirk et al. (1985: 349), Kaltenböck (2004: 246-249) attempts to reconcile the divergent interpretations of *it* by taking into account instances involving ellipsis which allow alternative interpretations.

(36) A: They lost the game.

B: Yes, so I hear. Isn't *it* a shame?

While Quirk's interpretation is that of an elliptical extraposed subject clause, prompting him to consider the pronoun as anticipatory (37), it is equally possible to regard the pronoun as primarily anaphoric, pointing to the sentence constituting speaker A's turn in (36).

(37) Isn't *it* a shame (that they lost the game)?

The anaphoric interpretation of *it* is supported by the possibility of replacing it by *that*, which can only be interpreted as anaphoric.

(38) Isn't *that* a shame?

On the other hand, combining the anaphoric *that* with an extraposed clause is rather unlikely, but seems more acceptable when the extraposed clause is dislocated.

(39) ? Isn't *that* a shame that they lost the game?

(40) Isn't *that* a shame, (I mean) that they lost the game?

Also worth noting is the fact that in this particular example the pronoun *it* is not the only (potentially) referential element. Whatever its status may be, there is no doubt that the clausal pro-form *so* in (36 B) represents the content of (36 A), i.e. it is unequivocally anaphoric. The recurrence of potentially co-referential items constitutes chains of cohesive devices, employing immediate and mediated cohesive links described by Halliday and Hasan (1992). On top of that, the elliptical response *yes* establishes yet another link to the preceding proposition. As a result, in (36) the content of A's proposition is extremely strongly present in the minds of the communicators (context dependent) for the following reasons:

- by being uttered by speaker A at the beginning of the exchange
- by the elliptical response *yes*
- by substitution with *so* in the first utterance of B's turn
- by potentially being referred to anaphorically by *it*
- by the potential retention of the extraposed subject clause, as in (41), or if it is ellipted, by the ease with which the ellipted part is recovered

(41) A: They lost the game.

B: Yes, so I hear. Isn't *it* a shame *that they lost the game*?

It is impossible to determine with any degree of reliability if any of the elements commented on above plays a more important role than others in making the exchange so easily understandable, i.e. in keeping the content of the initial proposition in the minds

of the communicators; at the same time, the obvious ease of interpretation is in sharp contrast with the difficulty encountered in attempting a description of the functions of *it*. Quite clearly, the structures examined above typically contain more information than necessary for a successful interpretation. Strictly speaking, while (41) represents the maximum degree of redundancy, the minimum structure still allowing communication of the semantic content is demonstrated by (42), and it is possible to imagine a number of intermediate levels displaying different degrees of retention/repetition of A's proposition, as in (43):

(42) A: They lost the game.

B: (*Yes.*) Isn't *it* a shame?

(43) A: They lost the game.

B: *Yes. So I hear. It's a shame they did.* (Kaltenböck, 2004: 247)

However, owing to the negative-interrogative form of B's original response, the preparatory elliptical response *yes* is unlikely to be left out.

(44) A: They lost the game.

B: ? Isn't *it* a shame?

On the other hand, using the form of a positive declarative sentence makes the response quite natural.

(45) A: They lost the game.

B: *It/that's* a shame.

The reason is that in (44) the elliptical *yes* (and, more explicitly, *So I hear* in 36B), indicates that the information is already known to speaker B, whereas (45) implies that that B has just learnt from A that it is so. Consequently, although in both (44) and (45) the loss of the game is given, the two exhibit different degrees of givenness with respect to the two participants in communication.

The preceding discussion indicates that the givenness/knownness of a particular element often does not stem from a single occurrence in the context or from a single instance of reference, substitution, etc., but results from a complex interplay of indicators suggesting different degrees of its presence in the linguistic or extralinguistic context.

Seen in this perspective, when considering the referential status of *it* in matrix clauses followed by extraposed subject clauses, there seems to be a crucial difference between instances of discourse-old and discourse-new extraposed subject clauses. With discourse-old/given subject clauses, the semantic content of the clause is typically

present, at least partially, in the preceding text (or possibly in the situational context, particularly in spoken communication). Hence the pronoun *it* can be considered as both anaphoric and anticipatory, pointing simultaneously to the foregoing element and the extraposed subject clause. Conversely, when introducing a discourse-new subject clause in extraposition, the anticipatory function becomes dominant, as there is nothing else in the previous text that the pronoun might possibly point to.

This difference between *it* anticipating a discourse-old and discourse-new subject clause respectively is manifested in how readily the pronoun, along with the copular verb *be*, can be ellipsed in colloquial communication (the following examples are modifications of those in Kaltenböck, 2004: 249). Apparently, ellipsis of the pronoun is much more felicitous when it anticipates a discourse-old subject clause in extraposition.

(46) A: He read three books in one day.

B: Easy to do that.

(47) ? Easy to play tennis.

However, in practice a clear delimitation of the two functions faces problems resulting from two factors: one is the scalar character of the known-new opposition: rather than being clearly defined as two opposite poles, they are relative concepts, moving along a continuum. Secondly, information presented by a clause typically does not constitute a homogeneous unit but consists of a range of items displaying varying degrees of knownness-newness.

In the description of the status of anticipatory *it*, the terms *old/given* and *new* were used respectively, rather than the terms associated with the theory of FSP, i.e. the *theme* and *rheme*. The reason is that although the theme is associated with known information and the rheme with new information, the correspondence is by no means absolute. The delimitation of the theme and rheme is based on relative degrees of communicative dynamism (the relative importance of the information for the development of communication), i.e. in some cases the rheme may be “known” information and the theme may represent “new” information. In this respect, the FSP categories of *context dependence* and *independence* represent a closer match to the concepts of “old” and “new”.

6.4 The postposition

Postposition is by far the least common position of subject clauses in terms of frequency. Owing to the final position of the subject clauses, it is superficially

reminiscent of extraposition, however there is a notable difference consisting in the absence of a proform in the prototypical subject position at the beginning of the sentence. There is nothing to point out to the subject clause in the final position, apart from a syntactically and semantically unusual opening of the sentence. This is because, for obvious reasons, postposing of the subject is invariably accompanied by preposing (fronting) of another clause constituent, typically a subject complement; were this not so, the construction would collapse, because it would start with the predicate verb, with no left-hand complements, while all the other complements would follow it in a heavy cluster. Subject postposing can therefore be considered a kind of inversion, however not of the subject-operator type, but rather a complete reversal of the usual sequence, with the verb functioning as a pivot in the middle. By exchanging their normal canonical positions, the subject and the subject complement preserve a balance of the preverbal and post verbal components of the sentence, while the primary motivation for the postposition of the subject clause is that it makes possible an arrangement of the constituent in which their informational heaviness increases from beginning to end (Huddleston, Pullum et al., 2002: 958).

(48) Even more disturbing is that the neighbours hadn't noticed his absence.

All instances of subject postposing are rather infrequent, but still they seem to be noticeably more common with subjects in the form of noun phrases. With clausal subjects, the same distribution of informational weight is usually achieved by means of alternative constructions, namely by the insertion of a noun like *fact* before the *that*-clause (which then becomes an appositive clause), by means of a pseudo-cleft sentence, or by extraposition of the subject clause (ibid.).

(49) Even more disturbing is *the fact* that the neighbours hadn't noticed his absence.

(50) What is even more disturbing is that the neighbours hadn't noticed his absence.

(51) It is even more disturbing that the neighbours hadn't noticed his absence.

The predominance of NP subjects in postposition can therefore be explained not by an inherent predisposition of NPs to be postposed, but rather by the unavailability of NP extraposition; in terms of information content, subject clauses typically outweigh NP-subjects, which would make them better candidates for postposition on FSP grounds.

Extrapolation of NP subjects is not a strictly non-existent phenomenon, but when it does occur, it is restricted to a very narrow range of types (Huddleston, Pullum et al, 2002:1407-1408), and the difference between extrapolation and a right dislocation is not easy to specify.

(52) It's extraordinary the amount of beer he puts away.

(53) It impressed me the way she disarmed him.

Importantly, all these extrapolated NP subjects contain a clausal element in the extrapolated section, namely a postmodifying relative clause after the head of the NP, and can easily be converted into instances of true clausal extrapolation, while remaining semantically identical.

(54) It's extraordinary how much beer he puts away.

In addition, the non-extrapolated variant is also available.

(55) The way she disarmed him impressed me.

An important feature of extrapolated NP subjects like (52) and (53) is that their matrix clauses suggest an exclamatory meaning, which is lost in the non-extrapolated paraphrase (55).

Another point in question is the information status of the extrapolated NP. In the non-extrapolated variant it is, in all probability, topical, with the rheme in the matrix clause, while the position of the theme and the rheme in the extrapolated version is less clear: if the matrix clause has informational and prosodic prominence and the extrapolated NP is thematic, the difference between extrapolation and right dislocation is negligible, but for the presence or absence of punctuation, which, however, can hardly be regarded as a reliable distinguishing marker. At the same time, it is precisely this reading, with the rheme at the beginning, which seems to convey the exclamatory meaning:

(56) How imPRESSive the way she disarmed him was!

Considering that the primary motivation for a postposed subject is to achieve a linear distribution of communicative dynamism, with the rhematic element at the end, it is no surprise that postposition is rarely found with *ing*-subjects. These tend to contain thematic rather than rhematic information, so when they happen to occur in postposition, they must be used in a contrastive context, as in the following example from Petrlíková (2006: Appendix, p. I):

(57) "Only permitted is having a sweet," says the stewardess.

7. Data analysis

The following section will examine instances of subject clauses from the corpus with respect to their structural types and their positions in the sentence, offering a quantitative analysis of their occurrence.

For the sake of simplicity, when examples from the corpus are presented, they will be marked by abbreviations consisting of a letter or letters referring to the source and a number identifying the page in the source on which they were found. So, for instance, RD 107 refers to the following source: Harris, T. (1992) *Red dragon*, Transworld Publishers Ltd. Where examples of subject clauses from different sources are used, they will be duly marked in accordance with the current practice.

The meaning of abbreviations is given in a separate list and in a table showing an overview of the sources on page 15.

The corpus of roughly 875,000 words yielded 373 instances of initial position of subject clauses, which is roughly a quarter of the total, with extraposition constituting the rest, while the remaining few instances of postposition are statistically insignificant. However, the distribution of the separate types is far from even: the initial position is the norm with *ing*-clauses and nominal relative clauses, while being extremely rare with *that*-clauses.

7.1 Non-finite subject clauses

The category of non-finite clauses can be subdivided into two subcategories: *ing*-clauses (or gerund clauses) and infinitive clauses. Although related structurally by their non-finite nature, they display strikingly different qualities in their positional behaviour.

Infinitive clauses are further subdivided into two subcategories: with and without explicit subject of the infinitive clause, which will be referred to as *for*-infinitive and *to*-infinitive, respectively.

7.1.1 *Ing*-clauses

Ing-clauses (or gerund clauses)¹⁰ represent a category of subject clauses which constitutes roughly one sixth of the total number of all examples. Of the 229 instances of *ing*-clauses retrieved from the corpus, 199 are non-extraposed (i.e. 86.9%), which indicates a very strong positional preference. This is probably due to the fact that *ing*-

¹⁰ The two terms are used interchangeably in this dissertation.

clauses have the most nominal status among all the other subtypes of subject clauses (in other words, they resemble most closely the prototypical NP subject), are associated with little structural weight (their complementation is typically short), and manifest little functional weight (on the FSP level they rank among thematic elements).

7.1.1.1 *Ing*-clauses in initial position

This analysis only includes instances of *ing*-clauses which employ gerunds in the narrow sense of the word as their predicates. Care was taken to eliminate from the corpus superficially similar structures in the *ing*-form which display nominal features (cf 5.2.3), like deverbal nouns or even instances of true nouns which only happen to have the *-ing* suffix. For an *ing*-form to qualify as a gerund, i.e. to be further on the verbal side of the scale, it has to meet the following requirements: it must have the same valency/range of complementation as the finite verb, only allowing as its complement a prepositional phrase if the finite verb is complemented by an identical prepositional phrase. Instances where the *ing*-form was determined by a demonstrative pronoun or a noun in the possessive case, or modified by an adjective or converted noun were excluded, as well as instances where the *ing*-form was preceded by articles or followed by an *of*-genitive which was not part of the verbal valency.

For these above-mentioned reasons, examples like the following were excluded from the analysis:

(1) Understanding of Sweeney's purpose came swiftly to the crew. (M 151)

Another factor testifying to the verbal nature was the possibility, at least theoretical, for the gerund to display the verbal categories of voice and the limited category of tense. In reality, however, an overwhelming majority of the *ing*-subject clauses occurred in the essential present active form, the others being marginal, so this criterion was of limited use in discriminating between nominal forms and gerunds. And even when forms other than the present active did occur, the gerund typically had complements which revealed its verbal character anyway.

(2) Being thought funny hasn't stopped the British thriving in New York. (WT 33)

In some cases, particularly when the *ing*-form is unexpanded, it is virtually impossible to determine its formal status on the verbal-nominal scale. The absence of complementation, while suggesting a nominal nature of the *ing*-form, is not in itself a reliable indicator, as the lack of complementation might be due to ellipsis. Semantic consideration, i.e. judging whether the *ing*-form denotes a static concept or rather a

process does not seem to provide a reliable clue; in some cases a clue might be supplied by the context. The following two examples share a copular structure, yet the form *writing* in (4) feels more verbal than that in (3). A possible explanation might be the presence of a noun and a gerund respectively in the postverbal section of the two sentences.

(3) Writing is a compulsion; it is a need of the personality. (C 32)

(4) Writing for me is rather what I imagine shooting a film is. (C 48)

Additionally, even in the absence of complementation, it is sometimes possible to test the *ing*-form in question by supplying a dependent element: the possibility of adjective modification suggests nominal features, whereas complementation by an adverb points to the verbal character of the *ing*-form. Moreover, adverbial complementation imparts to the structure the meaning of a process, whereas modification by an adjective is better interpreted as an event.

(5) A: Posting early for passports is the key to success. (G 10)

B: Early posting for passports is the key to success.

(6) A: Painting rapidly from nature was always crucial to Nancy Carline's practice.

(WT 35)

B: Rapid painting from nature was always crucial to Nancy Carline's practice.

The presence of a dependent element may not sufficiently clarify the status of an *ing*-form if such an element can function both as a complement to a verb (object, adverbial) or a modifier to a noun.

(7) Lending to hedge funds, they say, is on the increase again. (G 25)

In the absence of a clearly verbal complement, such as an object, the prepositional phrase might fulfil both functions as is clear from the following modified versions:

(8) A: Lending (money) to hedge funds, they say, is on the increase again.

B: Loans to hedge funds, they say, are on the increase again.

Interestingly, instead of making the status of the *ing*-form more transparent, dependent elements may occasionally point in different directions, further obscuring the situation. This happens when an *ing*-form is preceded by a possessive pronoun (supporting the nominal interpretation), and followed by a complementing adverb, as in the following example from Dušková (1988: 570):

(9) His drawing the picture so rapidly fascinated me.

A similar example from the corpus shows the combination of a typically verbal quantification and complementation by an adverbial combined with an *of*-genitive:

(10) Part of the work of the team members at each plan level is independent, each may work on some small part of the total discourse, but much *shunting* back and forth of the partially formed product must be going on among the team members as well. (P10)

When the *ing*-form is preceded by a noun, which may potentially function as the logical subject, structural ambiguity may arise:

(11) Police reporting can change forever your view of kitchens. (RD 171)

This structure is open to as many as three interpretations: the word *reporting* may be considered a nominal form preceded by a nominal modification (cf *police investigation*); it may be a true gerund with an explicit subject *police*; and finally, it might be a participle postmodifying the noun *police*, which in that case functions as the head of the subject NP.

On the whole, although it might seem that the effort to specify the position of a particular form on the verbal-nominal scale is pure formalism, since the effect on the meaning often remains negligible, for the purpose of this dissertation the extent to which the *ing*-form behaves nominally or verbally affects how readily, or whether at all, such a structure occurs in extraposition.

The existence of the verbal-nominal scale is not restricted to *ing*-forms but seems to be a more universal phenomenon; e.g. nouns denoting meanings typically associated with verbs, such as action/activity, sometimes manifest their “fuzzy edges” by dropping articles, i.e. by losing some of their typically nominal features, making the dividing line between the two essential word classes less clear than usually thought..

(12) Study of the input to the learner and the interaction that determines that input is now seen as a major way to understand how acquisition of languages is possible. (P 235)

With respect to the type of their matrix clause predicates, non-extraposed *ing*-subjects occurred within the following structures (a total of 183 sentences):

| | |
|----------------------------|----|
| A) verbal predicates | 85 |
| B) copular NP predicates | 57 |
| C) copular AdjP predicates | 32 |
| D) copular PP predicates | 4 |
| E) others | 5 |

Category A is of course a fairly general category comprised of a wide range of complementation types, and therefore much more varied than categories B, C and D, but

it is interesting to note that when the separate subtypes of copular predication are considered together as one general predicate type, they are roughly equivalent in terms of frequency to category A.

The following examples illustrate the separate matrix clause subtypes.

(13) Being in a home excited him. (RD 236)

(14) Dusting the can would be a straightforward job. (RD 89)

(15) Since there was only one door on each floor, finding Rosabal's apartment was easy. (M 422)

(16) This is hardly surprising, since valuing a life fund is not for the faint-hearted, even assuming no new shocks such as mis-selling. (WT 37)

(17) Taking in boarders was out. (RD 212)

Initial *ing*-subjects tend to be light in terms of length and structural complexity, which is manifested in the following overview of the structures complementing the *ing*-verb. Altogether, there were 199 initial subject *ing*-clauses. The number of the separate instances of *ing*-clauses is higher than the number of sentences in which they occurred (183), as some of the sentences contained multiple, usually double, *ing*-subjects.

As most instances of unexpanded *ing*-forms were excluded on the grounds of their uncertain clausal-nominal status, a large proportion of the *ing*-clauses remaining in the corpus only contain one complement, typically an object, which turned out to be by the most frequent complement of the *ing*-predicates in the initial position:

Table 7.1 Complementation of initial ing-clauses

| | | | | | | Total |
|----------------------------|----|-----|-----|----|----|-------|
| Matrix clause predicates | | | | | | 183 |
| <i>Ing</i> -clauses | | | | | | 199 |
| Complements per clause | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | |
| No. of <i>ing</i> -clauses | 14 | 133 | 49 | 3 | 0 | 199 |
| Type of complement | S | Cs | O | A | Co | |
| No. of complements | 5 | 17 | 149 | 63 | 6 | 240 |

It follows from the table, that a prototypical example of an initial *ing*-clause functioning as the subject has a monotransitive verb as its predicate, while with every additional complement the number of predicates decreases dramatically, and there are

never more than three complements per clause. Two aspects of this quantitative analysis have to be stressed here: First, the number of complements is not reduced to obligatory complements resulting from the valency of the verb, but includes all the complements present in the surface structure of the *ing*-predicate, including optional adverbials. Second, it is sometimes extremely difficult to classify a particular complement with respect to its syntactic function; as most linguistic categories, clause elements, apart from the prototypical examples, have fuzzy edges, transcending from one category to another. Yet, it is believed that the classification of clause constituents is reliable enough to indicate the basic tendencies in their distribution.

Subject *ing*-clauses typically have no explicit subject, but if one is present, it is either in the form of a possessive or personal pronoun, or, by analogy with infinitive clauses, in the form of the preposition *for*. It has to be pointed out that with infinitive subject clauses the introduction of the subject by the *for*-phrase occurs much more frequently than in gerunds. What is common to both types of the non-finite subject clauses is that in addition to introducing the subject the *for*-phrase potentially fulfills other syntactic roles within the clause.

(18) "My mother's not being Indian was so little a conscious part of my life that when she died I went with my sister to cremate her, and immerse her ashes in the river." (GS 6)

(19) For psycholinguists, simply describing the sentences learners can produce or comprehend is not enough. (P 109)

When the subject is not explicitly present, the logical subject of the *ing*-verb coincides with the subject of the matrix clause, or with another element in the sentence structure, or is of a generic kind.

(20) While giving such advice clearly allows Beaumont to feel superior, it also seems intended to promote his friend's welfare. (C 117)

The avoidance where possible of explicit subject is in line with the general tendency to keep the initial subject element short. However, this is not to say that the *ing*-verb cannot take structurally heavier complements, only that they occur less commonly. It is also important to point out that the heaviness of the complementation is not in direct proportion to the number of complements, but rather to the type of their realising structures: a single clausal complement or a complex NP containing a postmodifying finite clause will typically be heavier than two or three non-clausal or non-finite complements as can be seen from the following examples..

- (21) Hearing *people say "G'day" all the time* is engaging too - like the moment you first hear a French person say "Oh, la, la!" (GS 12)
- (22) Installing *him in the boardroom again* could cause embarrassment for Barclays, where Sir Peter Middleton is acting chief executive while the search for a permanent replacement continues. (G 22)
- (23) Wanting *to get revenge on her Swedish rival Lillhage, who she beat 12 months ago for the title, at next summer's World Championship*, has given Marshall back her desire. (WT 51)
- (24) "Setting up *an operation like this, prompted by an influx of asylum seekers who are overwhelmingly from one comparatively easily identifiable racial or ethnic group*, requires enormous care if it is to be done without discrimination," she said. (WT 4)

The *ing*-predicate may open a complex chain of gradually unfolding subordinate structures as in the above examples, or, in turn, the *ing*-clause might itself be embedded down in a chain of superordinate structures.

- (25) In an interview with The Sunday Telegraph, Sir John said: "I am convinced that *enabling householders to use whatever force is necessary* will discourage burglars." (WT 1)
- (26) Its (*sic*) is hard to know where to start with such gut-wrenching hypocrisy, but the day that *opening fire on unarmed civilians* is enshrined into the standing orders of the Parachute regiment and viewed as acting in the service of this country is the day the entire British army should be disbanded. (G 18)

With respect to the form of the *ing*-clause, the overwhelming majority of the predicates were the basic present active gerunds; only five instances out of the 199 were different, all of them in the present passive form.

- (27) Being thought funny hasn't stopped the British thriving in New York. (WT 33)

Of the five, two could alternatively be interpreted as combinations of the copular verb *be* and an *-ed* adjective, owing to the stative nature of the predicate.

- (28) 'Being embarrassed is a condition of being Preston.' (CF 94)

Most sentences contained just one *ing*-subject clause, but in nine sentences they occurred in coordinated pairs or triads with one matrix clause predicate, and in one instance there were as many as five coordinated *ing*-clauses.

- (29) Saving seed, reusing and sharing it are fundamental freedoms. (GW 12)

(30) Keeping a luncheon table going, pacing the service, managing conversation, batting easy conversational lobs to the strong points of the shy ones, turning the best facets of the bright ones in the light of the other guests' attention is a considerable skill and one now sadly in decline. (RD 206)

Interestingly, with respect to S-V concord in terms of number the separate examples of coordinated subject clauses manifested considerable variation. In the above examples the singular or plural form of the verb seem to be dictated, besides the coordination in the subject, by the grammatical number of the subject complement, i.e. *freedoms* and *skill*, respectively, however, this factor did not apply absolutely.

(31) Line 11 shows that dog could very well be included amongst those who chuck the bear out of the room; chasing and chucking out are, after all, part of the same general activity. (L 89)

(32) Picking up our belongings and edging out the door doesn't work when we're at home. (P 131)

In two instances *ing*-subjects did not occur within a single matrix clause but in two coordinated clauses.

(33) *Agreeing* a sale was one thing, *completing* the deal was another as, according to Ms Brown, the agent and local notaire, whose presence is necessary for the deal to be concluded, dragged their feet. (WT 43)

Instances of coordination of *ing*-subject clauses or their occurrence in adjoining superordinate clauses may be regarded as an instance of parallelism. Similar parallelism or symmetry can be observed in sentences containing a post-predicate gerund in addition to that in the initial subject clause. There were as many as 35 instances of this kind, differing in the degree of the symmetrical effect; it was strongest when the pre-predicate and post-predicate gerunds were used within the same or similar syntactic structure (e.g. within comparison) but was not completely lost even in cases where the presence of the post-predicate gerund was prompted by the valency of its superordinate verb or by its being part of a prepositional phrase.

(34) *Attempting* to understand Amazon.com's finance is like *exploring* the banks of its rain-forest namesake with a blunt machete. (T 41)

(35) *Forbidding* one of the symptoms of "indifference" is not the same as *abolishing* indifference itself. (GS 2)

(36) He watched her and wondered if *being* a friend of the family was worse than *being* a policeman or a snoop from Social Security. (CF 123)

Significantly, no instances of this kind contained a combination of a gerund and an infinitive, which points to the two non-finite forms' different semantic potential, with gerunds typically expressing factual meaning, whereas infinitives being more common in non-factual, hypothetical uses. At the same time, there was no symmetrical structure containing a gerund both in the subject and the subject complement of the type *Seeing is believing*, but there were three structures containing an *ing*-verb both in the subject and the object.

(37) This is what we refer to as 'buying', and buying always implies selling. (L 56)

Relatively infrequent, compared to infinitive subject clauses, were the instances where the gerundial predicate governed another predicate, finite or non-finite (cf examples 23, 25, 34).

(38) It's worth noting that listening to Soros listen to his money is an awfully fun activity. (T 29)

Especially striking is the almost absolute absence of *that*-clause complements and other finite clause complements; these are virtually excluded, probably because they constitute items which are structurally too heavy for the initial subject position. An isolated example of a *that*-clause complementing a gerund is presented below, and even here the structure of the *that*-clause is restricted in length, and the *that*-clause represents discourse-old information.

(39) Even conceding that the pronominals are exophoric does not force us to accept that they are irrelevant to texture. (L 79)

If finite-clause complements occur at all, it is predominantly as postmodifying relative clauses within complex noun phrases, as in examples (23) and (24) above. However, even those are rare, particularly in comparison with infinitives, which, on the whole, take heavier complements.

In one instance the initial gerund belonged to the auxiliary component of the predicate, namely the verb *have*, which was followed by the infinitive of the lexical verb; in this case it was the lexical verb which determined the complementation.

(40) "I didn't mind coming once but *having* to come up again makes me very angry - I have had to take a day and a half off work. (G 10)

7.1.1.2 *Ing*-clauses in extraposition

With only 29 instances of *ing*-clauses, extraposition cannot compete with the initial position either in terms of frequency, or in terms of distribution across registers.

While non-extraposed gerunds were almost equally represented in fiction and science, while being markedly more frequent in news writing, the extraposed variants were almost exclusively found in fiction, and perhaps even more importantly, in spoken language. If they did occur in news and science writing, it was particularly in quotations of direct speech. The difference becomes particularly striking in relative terms: spoken language yielded 28 instances of initial subject gerunds of a total of 199 spoken predicates (i.e. 14%), while with extraposed gerunds the proportion rose to 12 out of 29 (i.e. over 41%). This proportion would have been even higher had instances of indirect speech and internal monologues been counted as spoken language. Also, modern fiction often employs a kind of narrative reminiscent of spoken language (sometimes at the expense of the range and complexity of language means available in written discourse), and this accounts for a substantial proportion of the remaining instances of extraposed gerunds.

The proportion of separate types of matrix clause predicates can be seen in the following overview (a total of 28 sentences):

| | |
|----------------------------|----|
| A) verbal predicates | 2 |
| B) copular NP predicates | 8 |
| C) copular AdjP predicates | 14 |
| D) copular PP predicates | 1 |
| E) others | 3 |

Especially striking in comparison with the non-extraposed variants is the marked drop in verbal predicates and the almost absolute predominance of copular NP and AdjP predicates. This is, once again, very much in line with theoretical literature, confining the use of extraposed *ing*-subjects to the register of spoken language and, semantically, to being used with a limited set of adjectival and nominal lexical units expressing evaluation of a phenomenon in terms of ease/difficulty, positive/negative, useful/useless, etc. The most frequent adjectival expressions were: *nice* (4), *bad* (3), followed by a single instance of *strange*, *easy*, *harder*, *embarrassing*, *difficult*, *weird*, and *typical*. The nominal complements included *no good* (4), *no use*, *no fun* and *problem*. With the latter, it does not seem to be a mere coincidence that the absolute majority have negative orientation, either through the presence of the negative quantifier *no*, or on semantic grounds (*problem*). This negative orientation was found in seventeen out of the 29 *ing*-clauses, a proportion high enough to suggest a potential correlation between subject *ing*-

clause extraposition and negation. In some cases, the negative orientation was merely suggested by the semantic content of the proposition.

(41) And isn't that just typical of a girl, Preston thought, marching off when she was losing, and taking the ball with her. (CF 20)

In this particular example, it is difficult to distinguish between extraposition and right-dislocation, since the gerund is separated from the matrix clause by punctuation. However, the presence of the commas is primarily motivated by the need to separate an inserted comment clause, rather than to background the *ing*-clause. Understandably, in the absence of prosodic signals structures like this will remain open to potential ambiguity.

The following table offers an overview of the kind of complements following the extraposed *ing*-verbs.

Table 7.2 Complementation of extraposed ing-clauses

| | | | | | | Total |
|----------------------------|---|----|----|----|----|-------|
| Matrix clause predicates | | | | | | 28 |
| <i>Ing</i> -clauses | | | | | | 29 |
| Complements per clause | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | |
| No. of <i>ing</i> -clauses | 1 | 17 | 11 | 0 | 0 | 29 |
| Type of complement | S | Cs | O | A | Co | |
| No. of complements | 2 | 2 | 20 | 16 | 0 | 40 |

The distribution of separate syntactic types of complements shows a similar pattern as that found in non-extraposition, although the predominance of objects is not so striking.

A more interesting difference between initial and extraposed *ing*-subject clauses is superficially less conspicuous. The above-mentioned restriction on the distribution of extraposed *ing*-subject clauses may create the impression that the extraposed gerunds take light (i.e.) short complementation. This is supported by the examples quoted in grammars, such as Quirk et al. (1985: 1393).

(42) It's fun being a hostess.

However, a count performed initially on a part of this corpus revealed that the opposite is true (Smolka, 2007). Extraposed subject gerunds take, on average, more

complex complementation, both in terms of the number of complements and the actual number of words occurring in the complementation. Results for the whole of the present corpus of *ing*-clauses are the following:

Table 7.3 Average number of complements/words per ing-clause

| | Complements per <i>ing</i> -clause | Words per <i>ing</i> -clause |
|-------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>Initial</i> | 1.206 | 4.085 |
| <i>Extraposed</i> | 1.379 | 6.276 |

While it is true that there is variation across registers, with some of the sources (science writing) yielding a higher proportion of longer complements than others, the difference between the two positions is substantial enough in both of the parameters to be significant. The register-related variation in the length of complementation is less prominent in extraposition, namely because an overwhelming majority of the examples were found in fiction, so register diversity does not play an important part.

There is a clear correlation between gerund extraposition and spoken language, however this correlation does not work in the opposite direction, since non-extraposed gerunds are by no means restricted to written language but occur freely in natural spoken communication. Contrary to expectations, spoken language exceptionally yielded very long instances of initial gerunds, cf example (24) above. This may seem rather surprising, as spoken language is regularly associated with spontaneity, lack of preparation, production under real time constraints, etc. (cf the factor of processibility), which results in shorter sentence structures. However this particular example is exceptional, since the speaker is Lady Hale, a Court of Appeal judge, actually reading out a ruling, i.e. a particularly carefully prepared text. This demonstrates the importance of distinguishing between the channel and the medium (Halliday and Hasan, 1989: 58); while the channel here is quite clearly phonic, the medium is written, i.e. the text was written to be read.

The willingness of extraposed *ing*-subject clauses to take heavier complements is manifested by the occurrence among the complements of as many as three *that*-clauses (out of 29 extraposed gerunds), which in relative terms significantly outnumbers initial gerunds complemented by a *that*-clause. The higher relative frequency of this type of complementation suggests that the resistance to taking a heavy complement is not

exclusively the property of the gerund as a grammatical form, but also, significantly, also the property of the initial position; whichever factor plays a more important part in deciding on one or the other position is hard to specify, but there seems to be a general adherence to the end-weight principle.

7.1.1.3 *Ing*-clauses in postposition

The present corpus did not yield examples which might be considered prototypical instances of subject gerund postposition, such as the one quoted in Petrlíková (2006: Appendix, p. I), example (57) in 6.4 above. This points to the fact that subject gerund postposition is extremely rare, in most cases being prevented by the nominal status of the form and by little structural weight (the length of the structure governed by the *ing*-predicate). Another reason why *ing*-subject clauses show resistance to postposition is their information status. They typically present discourse-old information, whereas one of the most important conditions of postposition is that the postposed element has to be information-heavy. As a result, for the gerund to occur in postposition its information content has to be boosted, e.g. by being presented in a contrastive context, which seems to be the case of Petrlíková's example, where *having a SWEET* is clearly contrasted with *having SOMETHING ELSE*, where this something else is NOT permitted:

(43) "Only permitted is having a sweet," says the stewardess.

The contrastive interpretation is further supported by the presence of the adverb *only*, but would have been the most likely even in its absence, the sole remaining indicator of contrast in such case being the unusual word order (cf the concept of mirror-like symmetry in 6.1.9, which may be described as this: *X is not permitted – only permitted is Y*). There is no doubt, however, that the adverb makes the structure considerably more felicitous.

Another factor making subject gerund postposition possible, though by no means guaranteed, is its being used within a construction where postposition readily occurs, e.g. the comparative construction, cf an example from Huddleston, Pullum et al (2002: 1382); this involves the postposition of a NP subject, but the principle remains the same for an *ing*-subject.

(44) Spain's financial problems were less acute than had been *those of Portugal*.

The present corpus yielded one instance of gerund postposition used within comparative context.

(45) Blumenthal and his colleagues have determined that exercise, combined with

weight loss in a support-group setting, allows more people with mild hypertension to normalize their blood pressure than does *changing just one of those variables*. (T 50)

Even here, the information status of the *ing*-clause is made more prominent by confronting *two variables* (*exercise + support-group setting*) and *only one variable*, respectively. Also notable is the presence of the focussing subjunct *just*. Arguably, even in its absence, the last element in comparison would still have more informational prominence than the first: should it be the other way round, the comparative construction allows reversal of the order of the elements compared by means of a converse predication.

7.1.1.4 Marginal cases

Adopting a wider perspective, we might broadly include into the category of postposition yet another syntactic construction, namely the existential *there is* pattern. When it introduces a gerundial subject, it conveys the meaning of an activity, rather than presenting a static nominal entity. Owing to the position of the notional subject, this construction bears superficial similarity both to extraposition and postposition. What is common with extraposition is the presence of a “prop” word in the position of the grammatical subject at the beginning of the sentence; on the other hand, the notional gerundial subject cannot be moved to the beginning and replace *there*, as would be the case with extraposition. The postverbal position in the *there is* construction indicates rhematicity of the information conveyed by the gerund, i.e. the motivation for the non-initial position is the same as in postposition.

The corpus yielded the following example of a gerund used within the existential construction. As it is unexpanded, it is difficult to judge its formal status on the verbal-nominal scale, however semantically it undoubtedly conveys the meaning of activity, i.e. the process of writing, rather than pointing to a static concept, such as a book or other result of the activity of writing); on the other hand, there is a discontinuous adjectival relative clause postmodifying the *ing*-form and signalling its partly nominal status.

- (46) “I wonder, was there *writing* before that from which you learned your craft?”
(C 43)

Instances of this kind are not very frequent, and when they do occur, the *ing*-verb tends to have a limited range of complements, cf an example from Petrlíková (2006: Appendix XLIV).

(47) There's a lot of *waiting about* in this business.

As the present corpus contained an insufficient number of similar structures to provide conclusive evidence about the weight of complementation following the *there is* + *ing-verb* pattern, additional instances were retrieved from internet sources by means of the WebCorp tool (<http://www.webcorp.org.uk>) from texts of unknown extent. On the whole, the findings support the original indication that the *ing*-verb within the *there is* construction takes hardly any complementation. Additionally, some of the *ing*-verbs are rather nominal in character or take complements which are not exclusively verbal but behave rather like NP modifiers.

(48) "Well, look at this picture; and also think how absurd the accusation is, because of course there was *shouting against Zapatero*." (<http://barcepundit-english.blogspot.com>)

(49) Several grown-up people added that in their day, when they were young, schools were very rough: there was *bullying*, they didn't get enough to eat, they had "to break the ice in their pitchers" each morning ...
(http://learninfreedom.org/Nobel_hates_school.html)

(50) Ever heard of the Stockholm Syndrome, where one begins to identify with one's captor's out of a need to cope psychologically! Also there is *brainwashing*! Put a sock in it and go do something useful, like vacuum your prayer rug.
(<http://www.brusselsjournal.com/node/792>)

(51) As the result of godless dictatorships, there is *suffering in the form of heartbreak*.
(http://www.cbn.com/spirituallife/BibleStudyAndTheology/Perspectives/Why_The_here_is_Suffering_in_the_World.aspx&term=there%20%5bis|was%5d%20*ing&case=case)

Classification of authentic occurrences of structures is made difficult by the absence of clear boundaries between the separate categories. Subject gerund extraposition is hinted at by the following verbless clause.

(52) An elegant gesture, his arranging that. (RD 257)

Functionally, it manifests affinity to extraposition, postposition, and dislocation, but as instances of this kind are by means exceptional, it may be treated as a structure in

its own right (Dušková, 1988: 388). Obviously, adopting the last perspective does not eliminate the necessity to account for the functional similarity to the abovementioned categories.

The initial NP *an elegant gesture* clearly performs the function of the subject complement, while *his arranging that* is the subject. Consequently, the same proposition could be worded in the following ways.

(53) His arranging that is an elegant gesture. (non-extraposited subject)

(54) It is an elegant gesture his arranging that. (extraposited subject)

(55) An elegant gesture is his arranging that. (postposed subject)

(56) It is an elegant gesture, his arranging that. (dislocated subject)

In its original verbless form, the initial subject complement *an elegant gesture* carries the information nucleus of the sentence, which means that the alternative with the initial subject has the same distribution of FSP roles, however in a different linear sequence. This is important, because this makes the original verbless version doubly marked: once owing to the unusual sequence of its clause elements, and secondly, owing to the less usual initial position of the rheme. On the other hand, the variant with the initial subject gerund corresponds both to the grammatical principle of word order and to the tendency of English sentences to display, as long as possible, a linear distribution of communicative dynamism.

Compared to the extraposited variant (54), the original verbless sentence has the same linear arrangement, but for the anticipatory *it*, which, on the whole, does not bring into the structure a semantically important element. The extraposited variant may carry the rheme either on the subject complement (in which case it has the same FSP structure) or on the extraposited subject, in which case it is different. However, in this particular example the extraposited subject is an unlikely rheme, because the *ing*-clause contains the anaphoric (or possibly exophoric) pronoun *that*, and the interpretation of the gerund is that of a real past event/activity, which lowers its communicative dynamism and makes it rather part of the thematic level. Also, instances of extraposited *ing*-subjects were shown to be rather rare, being restricted to spoken registers.

The postposed variant (55) is an unlikely replacement for (52), because postposition, if it could occur at all, would have been motivated by the rhematic character of the *ing*-subject, while the verbless sentence has the information focus on the subject complement. Moreover, as the initial element *an elegant gesture* is nominal, it would most likely be assigned the status of the subject, while the role of the subject

complement would fall on the postverbal *ing*-clause. Contrary to this interpretation is the indefinite article preceding *elegant gesture*, which suggests ascription of a quality/inclusion into a class, i.e. semantics usually associated with the subject complement. Yet the structure would be acceptable in a somewhat marked contrastive context of an argument about what is and what is not an elegant gesture.

Finally, the dislocated variant (56) shares the same linear arrangement of clause elements as the extraposed version and the original verbless sentence, as well as the same distribution of FSP functions. The *ing*-subject is backgrounded, which is indicated by separation with a comma in writing and by prosodic shading (absence of prosodic prominence) in spoken language. In this respect, it is a kind of afterthought, an explanatory remark, the purpose of which is to bring back into the retrievability span an element which has fallen out of it. In this respect, the dislocated subject gerund is the closest counterpart of the verbless variant.

This is not surprising, since the two display a high level of formal similarity, and the absence of the anticipatory subject and the copular verb may be explained as an instance of ellipsis. If there is some difference, it is rather on the stylistic, rather than functional level.

It has already been pointed out that the presence or absence of a comma does not have to be a reliable distinguishing factor between extraposition and dislocation, as in written language there are only these two distinct possibilities, i.e. either the presence or the absence of punctuation. On the other hand, prosodic backgrounding is very clearly a scalar phenomenon, consisting of a number of prosodic variables, such as the length of a pause, choice of tone (intonation contour), pitch range, etc., offering a range of degrees of relative im/prominence. Consequently, the exact delimitation of extraposition and dislocation remains a problem. However, in the verbless sentence (52), the presence of the comma is absolutely essential, for it is not only a signal of backgrounding of the final *ing*-clause, but, more importantly, it performs the function of a boundary between the subject complement and the subject part of the sentence. In other words, it fulfils the function normally performed by the verb in a regular sentence structure, and without it, the structure would collapse, or at least, be puzzling.

7.1.1.5 The choice of position discussed

An overwhelming majority of *ing*-clauses occur in the initial position, making it the unmarked position in terms of frequency. This striking positional preference cannot

be attributed to a single factor but rather to an interplay of more factors. Two reasons, however, stand out rather prominently: the nominal character of the gerund and the tendency of the gerund to convey thematic information.

The nominal character of the gerunds puts them close to the prototypical NP subjects, i.e. a form which is strongly preferred in this syntactic function in English. It has already been pointed out that when a NP and a clause respectively complement a copular verb, where each may potentially function as the subject and the subject complement while the other adopts the complementary role, the NP very strongly favours the role of the subject.

Hand in hand with the nominal character of the gerund goes the FSP factor. When subject gerunds are placed initially, their predominantly thematic status enables a linear distribution of communicative dynamism, with the rhematic element at the end. The thematic status of gerunds is in correspondence with their semantic predisposition to express factual, concrete meaning, often known from the previous context¹¹. Gerunds typically, though not invariably, denote real past events, which means that they are, at least to some extent, context dependent, frequently having occurred in the previous text or at least having been hinted at. For this reason the information which they present can be formulated economically, in a compact package involving the use of anaphoric elements. It will be shown later that in comparison with infinitive subject clauses, *ing*-clauses, on the whole, tend to take shorter complementation, particularly in the initial position.

On the other hand, most instances of subject gerund extraposition are not necessarily motivated by FSP factors; only a minority of extraposed *ing*-subject clauses carry the rheme, the majority of them are thematic or their FSP status remains unclear, allowing both interpretations. It is significant that a substantial proportion of extraposed *ing*-clauses come from informal spoken (or pseudo-spoken) texts, where the linearity of distribution of CD was probably sacrificed for the sake of easier processibility (i.e. to strain less the listener's memory). In spoken language linearity of CD distribution is less important as an indicator of FSP, since it is compensated for by prosodic parameters, namely by the placement of intonation nucleus. The processibility factor can thus lead to the application of initial-focus principle, which can be perceived as complementary to the end-focus, without denying its importance. Preference of one or the other principle

¹¹ Semantic aspects of gerundial and infinitive structures will be treated in a separate section.

may be a general feature of a given language, or both of the principles may apply simultaneously within the same language (such as English), however under different circumstances and being functionally distinct. English, on the whole, tends to observe the end-focus principle in unmarked sentences (one notable exception to this being a rhematic NP subject presented as newly occurring on the scene), whereas the initial-focus principle typically suggests markedness, e.g. greater empathy, etc.

The difference between the following hypothetical examples *Playing golf is FUN* and *It's FUN playing golf*, where in both cases the rheme falls on *FUN*, may therefore be described as the difference between a neutral statement, a descriptive comment on the quality of the game (the former), while the latter is more likely to be used as a turn in spontaneous communication or argument about reasons for playing golf, as an impromptu response to something like *I wonder why so many people play golf these days* or *Why do you/should I play golf*, etc. In such case the extraposed *ing*-clause could be omitted altogether and the communicative function would remain essentially the same, however its omission would render the response somewhat laconic, and potentially less polite.

In this respect, the non-linear distribution of communicative dynamism in sentences containing non-rhematic extraposed *ing*-clauses reminds of exclamatory sentences, as in the following example from the corpus.

(57) It reminded him of how nice it had been being a bachelor. (CF 169)

Other instances of *ing*-subject extraposition are best accounted for by the factor of end-weight. It has been pointed out that extraposed gerunds tended to take longer and more complex complements, including finite clauses, than their non-extraposed counterparts, allowing even multiple embedding (Huddleston, Pullum et al. 2002:1405-1406).

(58) It was going to be terribly embarrassing telling Carla that Their Affair Must End (sic). (CF 170)

(59) It's also strange being in a country where sporting success is so taken for granted. (GS 12)

The influence of structural weight is accompanied by that of functional weight, as in these examples the rheme of the sentence is carried by elements in the dependent clauses further down the hierarchical structure, i.e. in the object clause and the relative clause, respectively.

7.1.2 Infinitive clauses

With as many as 652 instances pertaining to 589 matrix clause predicates, infinitive subject clauses constitute a substantial proportion of all of subject clauses in the corpus. In comparison with *ing*-clauses, they show the opposite positional preference; extraposed infinitive subjects outnumber their initial counterparts by a ratio of more than 10:1. The majority of subject clauses, at least theoretically, allow both of the major positions, i.e. the initial position and extraposition, however, in some cases extraposition is rendered unavailable by structural properties of sentence structure. Postposition, as in the case of *ing*-clauses, remains so rare as to be statistically insignificant.

7.1.2.1 Infinitive clauses in initial position

There were 52 matrix clause predicates in the corpus complemented by a total of 57 initial infinitive subject clauses. The proportion of separate types of matrix clause predicates is presented in the following overview and the separate categories are exemplified, in the same order, by examples of actual sentences further below:

| | |
|----------------------------------|----|
| A) verbal predicates | 12 |
| B) copular NP predicates | 11 |
| C) copular AdjP predicates | 9 |
| D) copular PP predicates | 1 |
| E) copular infinitive predicates | 17 |
| F) others | 2 |
| Total | 52 |

- (1) "To have visit breaks up the monotony," Terry tells us from behind the mesh.
(WT 33)
- (2) "To build a high structure in that part of the river is madness." (WT 19)
- (3) For example, we might have to say that texts do not have generic structure; and to concede this is quite absurd. (L 78)
- (4) To tell her all the small things like this seemed like bothering her with a lot of trivial (in most cases, but I never knew just which ones weren't) details. (P 125)
- (5) To wonder impatiently why man is not a constant witness of such arrivals is to fail to understand the majestic pace of the process. (SAU 90)
- (6) In her middle thirties she'd realized that to be a soldier was not enough in itself.

(M 26)

The three major categories A, B and C are represented more or less evenly, however, taken separately, each of these types is outnumbered by category E exemplified by (5), where both the subject and the subject complement are infinitive clauses. This special symmetrical subtype of identifying (equative) predication is, strictly speaking, not unique to infinitive clauses; there are instances of similar kind involving a preverbal and postverbal gerund, or a preverbal and postverbal finite clause, however none of these can match the infinitival structure on frequency grounds. Obviously, extraposition of the initial infinitive subject is an unavailable option because it would bring the two infinitives into juxtaposition, making their syntactic relationship unclear.

(7) Again and again the message seems to be, to seek the food your soul desires is to release the serpents of destruction. (C 121)

(8) *Again and again the message seems to be, it is to release the serpents of destruction to seek the food your soul desires.

In some cases, the extraposed infinitive might be interpreted not as the subject but rather as an infinitive of purpose; while this is not plausible in the following example, it is not difficult to imagine constructions where such interpretation would be completely natural.

(9) ?Again and again the message seems to be, it is to release the serpents of destruction (*in order*) to seek the food your soul desires.

In addition to the non-availability of extraposition, it is interesting to note that in spite of constituting an equative predication, the two infinitives are fixed in terms of their order, as their relationship is not pure identification of the type $X=Y$, so $Y=X$, but is tinged with temporal, conditional or other kinds of meaning. According to Quirk et al. (1985: 1063) the second clause expresses a characterisation of the first. Reversal of the order of the infinitives in the sentence would therefore indicate reversed order of the two events in reality, or a reversed direction of reasoning.

(10) ?Again and again the message seems to be, to release the serpents of destruction is to seek the food your soul desires.

(11) ... if you release the serpents of destruction, you (then) seek the food your soul desires.

(12) ... once you release the serpents of destruction, you seek the food your soul desires.

Even in contexts where the subject and the subject complement seem more ready to exchange their positions, a noticeable difference between the two linear arrangements remains.

(13) To be human is to err. (Quirk et al., 1985: 1063)

(14) To err is to be human.

Although the two features/qualities are obviously not restricted in time and apply simultaneously, the choice of their relative order reflects the line of reasoning, i.e. *if one is human, one invariably errs* and *if one errs, one must be human*, respectively. In the FSP perspective, the initial element is perceived as context dependent or “known” (unlike *to err*, the quality of *being human* is automatically presupposed when speaking about people). Consequently (14) may be a straightforward reflection on somebody actually making a mistake and an attempt to justify why it happened by referring to their human rather than superhuman status, whereas (13) used in the same situation requires a greater effort on the interpreter’s part, because *to err* is used in the general sense of the word (as rhematic information), and it is up to the interpreter to establish a link between the general human propensity to err and a particular error made.

The relatively high frequency of this symmetrical infinitive construction, typically used to express hypothetical meaning, suggests that on the functional level it can be considered as an approximate and stylistically marked equivalent of the more regular conditional clause.

It has to be pointed out that the possible conditional interpretation is not an exclusive property of this symmetrical structure but rather stems from the general semantic character of the infinitive: the distinction between factual and hypothetical meaning is neutralised to an extent, since the infinitive is capable of expressing both, and the proposition may be viewed as a possibility or fact, i.e. something that actually occurred. The distinction between the two interpretations is sometimes provided other components of the sentence, but in some cases the ambiguity remains unresolved.

When the infinitival predicate of the subject clause has an explicit subject of its own which is distinct from that of the matrix clause, it is introduced by the preposition *for*, both in the non extraposed and the extraposed variants.

(15) For the detective "to have invincible strength and to be inviolable ... appear ... not only desirable but indispensable (sic)". (C 110)

A passive matrix clause usually excludes the possibility of non-extraposition, with the exception of instances where the subject is related to a predicative complement: (16)

and (17) are real examples from the corpus, (18) and (19) are their hypothetical but admissible non-extraposed counterparts.

(16) "It is regarded as extremely rude not to listen to women". (G 24)

(17) "I think among some researchers it's considered chic to correspond with him – I've seen his letters framed in psychology departments - and for a while it seemed that every PhD. candidate in the field wanted to interview him. (RD 59)

(18) "Not to listen to women is regarded as extremely rude".

(19) "I think to correspond with him is considered chic among some researchers – I've seen his letters framed in psychology departments - and for a while it seemed that every PhD. candidate in the field wanted to interview him.

In other types of passive clauses infinitive subjects occur only in extraposition and only with a limited set of matrix clause verbs, such as *decide, desire, hope, prefer* (Huddleston, Pullum et al., 2002: 1435).

A single example from the corpus suggests that the non-availability of non-extraposition with passive matrix clauses is not an absolute restriction but, simultaneously, demonstrates the extreme scarcity of such structures, as well as their markedness. The non-extraposed arrangement is quite clearly limited to the very formal register of academic writing and still feels rather stilted.

(20) For obstruents to become voiceless in word final position is more expected than for obstruents to become voiced in that environment. (P 26)

(21) It is more expected for obstruents to become voiceless in word final position than ((it is) for obstruents) to become voiced in that environment.

The hypothetical example (21) shows that the extraposed variant is available, as well as somewhat more natural, without noticeable change in meaning. It may be of significance that example (20) occurred as an item within a numbered list of rules/tendencies and was not therefore fully integrated into the text. Had it occurred within a naturally unfolding text, the initial position of the subject *for obstruents to become voiceless* might have been motivated by an effort to use it as a cohesive link to previously mentioned *voiceless obstruents*; this, however, does not seem to be the case here, and this unusual structure rather results from an intention to underline the somewhat austere manner of presentation of the separate points on the list.

Initial infinitive subject clauses in the corpus took complements whose numbers and types are given in the following table. In comparison with initial *ing*-clauses, their complementation was typically longer and more complex.

Table 7.4 Complementation of initial infinitive clauses

| | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|---|----|----|----|----|-------|
| | | | | | | Total |
| Matrix clause predicates | | | | | | 52 |
| Infinitive clauses | | | | | | 57 |
| Complements per clause | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | |
| No. of infinitive clauses | 1 | 31 | 23 | 2 | 0 | 57 |
| Type of complement | S | Cs | O | A | Co | |
| No. of complements | 4 | 3 | 45 | 28 | 3 | 83 |

The capacity to take longer and structurally more complex complements than *ing*-clauses is manifested in the actual length of the complements and in the type of formal structures they represent; these two parameters are quite clearly interrelated as clauses are typically longer than phrases. Although this tolerance of longer complements is more prominent in extraposed infinitive subject clauses, it is no exception to find complements in the form of finite or non-finite clauses even in initial subject clauses. Among the 57 instances of initial infinitives, nine had a finite-clause complement and three a non-finite clause complement. Four of the finite-clause complements were *that*-clauses functioning as objects of verbs of speaking (typically *say*).

(22) However, to say that this latter distinction is not relevant to the identity of a CC is not to imply that the variation is either unimportant or superficial - simply that whatever aspects of text they might motivate, these are not crucial to the text's generic status. (L 105)

(23) To write off all houseplants because they remind you of, say, a depressing bedsit is, surely, taking things to extremes. (G 66)

(24) To watch Wilbert bustling about the kitchen in a starched, white chef's apron is to see a man at ease with his work. (G 48)

Although the heaviness of the initial subjects was usually associated with complements in clausal form, there were instances of long initial subjects not involving an additional predication.

(25) To think of text structure not in terms of the structure of each individual text as a separate entity, but as a general statement about a genre as a whole, is to imply that there exists a close relation between text and context, precisely of the type that has been discussed in the preceding pages. (L 68)

The degree of tolerance of heavy initial subjects was quite clearly register-dependent: longer initial subject structures were distinctly more common in the more formal, particularly written registers, whereas informal language, especially spoken or pseudo-spoken, showed a clear preference for shorter subjects.

(26) "To have a visit breaks up the monotony," Terry tells us from behind the mesh. (WT 33)

(27) "To build this structure here will create a wall between the old city and the river." (WT 19)

In a number of instances the subject is kept short by the use of pro-forms pointing anaphorically to elements in the previous text and, making the presentation economical and establishing cohesive links to it.

(28) To do so was tasteless as well as distracting. (RD 14)

(29) To say this is to imply that in the absence of SI, a text would still be interpreted as embedded in CC1 so long as it contains the obligatory elements. (L 61)

An important factor to consider is the relative weight of the subject and the matrix clause. On the whole, the length of initial subject clauses in the corpus tends to be in balance with that of the matrix, and in most cases the subject part is shorter. Long and heavily complemented subject clauses usually occur with similarly long matrix clauses, and exceptions to this trend are infrequent. A short subject part of the sentence underlines its predominantly thematic status, while the disproportion of a long subject in combination with a short subject complement or other postverbal complement (in other words, a deviation from the usual end-weight principle) does not necessarily mean that the subject is the focus of information, but it rather puts a strong emphasis on the short postverbal element.

(30) Yes, to read about a murder that involved the handicapped was new to me. (C 42)

As in the case of *ing*-clauses, initial subject infinitives are occasionally found in coordination.

(31) To fire weapons in the Everglades or assemble guns in the Keys (from where, frustratingly, you could practically smell Havana on the wind) was useful; but useful wasn't enough. (M 26)

(32) To dispose first and investigate later is an invitation to disaster, for once

radioactive elements have been deposited at sea they are irretrievable. (SAU 12)

In addition to the symmetrical structure containing the infinitive both in the subject and the subject complement, there were infrequent instances of sentences where the matrix clauses contained a gerund in addition to the infinitive in the subject.

(33) To say that some elements may be optional is not the same as saying 'anything goes'. (L 62)

(34) To tell her all the small things like this seemed like bothering her with a lot of trivial (in most cases, but I never knew just which ones weren't) details. (P 125)

(35) To fix *The Harvest* in this context of self-consciously provincial English writing risks making it seem simply representative (G 10)

The use of the gerund here does not introduce a semantic disproportion between the largely hypothetical meaning of the infinitive and the factual meaning of the gerund. First, the semantic distinction between the two forms does not apply absolutely and, second, with the exception of (33) the use of the gerund is motivated by grammatical reasons; the infinitive cannot be used after a preposition (as in 34) and the verb *risk* in (35) cannot be complemented by the infinitive. Even in (33) the gerund seems more natural than the infinitive, partly perhaps because *as* may be used both as a conjunction and, albeit in different contexts, a preposition.

What is significant is the absence in the corpus of instances combining an infinitival initial subject and an *ing*-subject complement in their pure form, a modification of the following real example. It would be in this context that the disproportion of the semantic potential would render the sentence infelicitous.

(37) In this sense, to study language is to explore some of the most important and most pervasive of the processes by which human beings build their world. (L 0)

(38) *In this sense, to study language is *exploring* some of the most important and most pervasive of the processes by which human beings build their world.

7.1.2.2 Infinitive clauses in extraposition

As pointed out before, extraposition of infinitive subject clauses is much more frequent than non-extraposition. There were 537 matrix clause predicates complemented by an extraposed infinitive subject clause. The proportion of separate types of matrix

clause predicates can be seen in the following overview, with examples of the separate types of predicates following:

| | |
|----------------------------|-----|
| A) verbal predicates | 71 |
| B) copular NP predicates | 63 |
| C) copular AdjP predicates | 384 |
| D) copular PP predicates | 17 |
| E) others | 2 |
| Total | 537 |

(39) "I think it would kill him to have to fight." (RD 8)

(40) "It's my job to stick my nose in, Freddie." (M 515)

(41) It was very hard to imagine Miranda seriously putting her mind to Preston, but you never knew. (CF 94)

(42) And it is in the nature of things for this quantity to be gradually increasing over the millennia, for although the earth is constantly shifting her component materials from place to place, the heaviest movements are forever seaward. (SAU 173)

(43) 'But far be it from me to force you to do this, Preston.' (CF 19)

In comparison with initial infinitive subject clauses, the proportion of AdjP predicates strikingly exceeds all other types, representing alone over 70% of all matrix clause predicates. The only other categories relatively commonly occurring in the corpus are the verbal predicates and the NP predicates, but the gap is enormous. In addition, a substantial proportion of the verbal predicates (45 out of 71) fall into one particular marginal subcategory of subject clauses using the verb *take* followed by an object to express how much time, effort, etc. were needed to do something. The instances referring to time are by far most common, but not exclusive. If these examples constituted a separate category or were excluded, the disproportion between the AdjP predicates and the other types would be even more prominent.

(44) It took her twenty minutes to empty the case. (M 29)

(45) "It would take warrant to go in there and Bogart the mail." (RD 118)

(46) "It took some persuasion and a bit of the old school tie to get these, Frank." (M 154)

This structure is most common in the less formal register of fiction, particularly in spoken language, but is found even in academic writing and in news writing and can be

found in modification where the infinitive takes an explicit subject introduced by the preposition *for* or where the matrix predicate verb *take* has progressive aspect..

(47) It is also more "natural" that languages have voiceless than voiced stops, for it takes extra glottis control for the vocal cords to vibrate when the air is stopped in the oral tract. (P 25)

(48) 'And how long will it take for them to go?' (CF 85)

(49) Ministers admitted this week that passport offices have been swamped and that it is taking 34 working days instead of the target of 10 to issue a new passport. (G 1)

The AdjP predicates used a range of predicative adjectives which might be broadly classified into several semantic categories depending on which aspects of the proposition they express/comment on:

- truth (clear, true, apparent, obvious, etc.)
- likelihood (*im/possible, un/likely, certain, probable, usual, common*, etc.)
- importance (*important, essential, useful, pointless*, etc.)
- ease or difficulty (*hard, difficult, easy, simple*, etc.)
- positive or negative (*good, bad, awful, right, fair*, etc.)
- reasonableness (*reasonable, sensible, stupid, weird*, etc.)
- other, more specific judgement (*interesting, surprising, amazing, funny*, etc.)

This classification is necessarily only approximate because the separate categories are not clearly delimited. The relative frequency of the separate adjectives in matrix clause predicates taking infinitive subjects probably reflects their general frequency in all syntactic functions rather than being related to this particular construction. However, two points seem to be worth mentioning: By far the most common adjective was *im/possible*, followed by *difficult, hard, easy, good, interesting* and *nice*. The second point is that different registers displayed different distribution of the adjectives. The register of academic writing, on the whole, showed much greater uniformity than fiction or news writing, with the most frequent adjectives in this register being the same as those absolutely most frequent across all registers, particularly those referring to likelihood, truth, importance and ease. This is, on the whole, not surprising, considering the communicative needs of academic prose.

Although the predicative adjectives used in matrix predicates taking the infinitive subject clauses are by no means unique in terms of their semantics, their high frequency can be explained by the fact that infinitive subjects (as well as other subjects in clausal

or semi-clausal form) do not represent simple entities like most NP subjects, but rather complex concepts and are naturally prone to being commented on, which is precisely the most important function of adjectives. The semantic character of the adjectives also helps to indicate whether the infinitives are to be interpreted as factual or hypothetical.

The following table presents the type and number of complements occurring with extraposed infinitive subject clauses.

Table 7.5 Complementation of extraposed infinitive clauses

| | | | | | | Total |
|---------------------------|----|-----|-----|-----|----|-------|
| Matrix clause predicates | | | | | | 537 |
| Infinitive clauses | | | | | | 595 |
| Complements per clause | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | |
| No. of infinitive clauses | 20 | 310 | 223 | 40 | 2 | 595 |
| Type of complement | S | Cs | O | A | Co | |
| No. of complements | 57 | 15 | 517 | 267 | 28 | 884 |

The distribution of the types of complements as well as the proportion of infinitive clauses is surprisingly similar to that displayed by initial infinitive subject clauses (considering that the extraposed variants are roughly ten times more frequent), which indicates that the infinitive takes roughly the same kind of complements in both positions. However, when the average number of words per subject clause is taken into account, it becomes clear that the complements taken by extraposed subject infinitives are markedly heavier. Once again, this is in harmony with the principle of end-weight.

Table 7.6 Average number of complements/words per infinitive clause

| | Complements per infinitive clause | Words per infinitive clause |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>Initial</i> | 1.456 | 5.544 |
| <i>Extraposed</i> | 1.486 | 8.111 |

It is interesting here to go back to *Table 7.3* showing the same data for *ing*-subjects. The infinitive quite clearly exceeds the *ing*-subject clauses in all quantitative aspects, both in the number of complements taken and their average length, which indicates that its complementing potential is greater than that of the gerund, quite as

might be expected given the position of the two non-finite verb forms on the nominal-verbal scale.

Also clear from *Table 7.6* is that while there is hardly any difference between the average number of complements per subject infinitive clause in the initial position and in extraposition, the increase in the structural weight of the complements is substantial. Such a difference is best accounted for in terms of the formal realisation of the complements. It has been shown earlier that *ing*-clauses hardly ever took complements in the form of a finite or non-finite clause, whereas about a sixth of the initial infinitive subject clauses did. With extraposed infinitive subject clauses the proportion of clausal complements rose to 203 finite clauses and 68 non-finite clauses, respectively, which means that over 45% of the extraposed infinitives had complements in the form of a clause; for finite clauses alone the proportion is 34%.

The most frequent type of such clausal complements are finite *that*-clauses functioning as objects of infinitive verbs of speaking and verbs of cognition. Such clauses typically constitute the only complement of the infinitive verbs, which explains why there is hardly any increase in the number of complements between initial and extraposed infinitives, and, at the same time, the clauses are typically longer and more complex structures, with explicit subjects of their own, which accounts for the marked rise in the length of complements following extraposed infinitives. The introduction into the sentence of a finite clause as a complement of the infinitive thus increases the potential of the infinitive for taking additional complements to that of the finite clause, and it is not rare to find complementation in the form of complex structures spanning several levels of subordination.

(50) It is a mistaken view of both text and learning to imagine that one can get children to write an essay on the relationship between climate and vegetation by simply talking about it; and it is still worse to imagine that one can do this without talking about it at all. (L 69)

(51) For one thing, the element Sale Compliance cannot appear; and second, it is important to realise that any SP constructed to meet CC2 must be such as to take care of the discrete temporal staging, which has the effect that each element - if element it is - has to be completely finished before another can begin. (L 106)

Obviously, finite clauses complementing subject infinitives are not restricted to *that*-clauses but may be dependent interrogative clauses.

(52) In any event, it is hard to see how they could have been worn down so far

below 'wave base' unless the crust of the earth sagged under its load. (SAU 79)

The most common infinitive verbs introducing dependent finite clauses are the following: *see* (15), *say* (13), *think* (8), *know* (8), *claim* (7), *find* (3), *imagine* (3), and a number of others occurring once or twice, such as *explain*, *hope*, *remember*, *realise*, *hear*, *tell*, *conclude*, *suppose*, *convince*, *determine*, *show*, *surmise*, *explain*, *recognise*, *emphasise*, *predict*, *recall*, *maintain*, *discover*, *ascertain*, *contemplate*, *pretend*, *ensure*, *argue* and *assume*.

(53) It is important to recognise that control may shift from one agent to the other, and that a person carrying a subordinate hierarchic role in the agent dyad is not necessarily submissive. (L 57)

The length of the structure is not an exclusive property of finite-clause complements but also of the register and style. Formal written registers tend to employ longer structure, whereas in informal spoken language even a that-clause complement may be relatively short. However, this is not to deny the capacity of finite clauses to take long and complex additional complements; it is just to admit that this potential is not always used. Considerable complexity and structural weight may arise from a combination of finite and non-finite predicates or may be triggered by a finite clause postmodifying a nominal complement of the infinitive.

(54) But it would be a mistake to think that writing something down is simply a matter of putting down graphically what you could have said phonically. (L 69)

(55) It is easy to dismiss critics who hold, more or less proudly, that any story set in the "mean streets" of Los Angeles, San Francisco, Baltimore, or just about anywhere, in and of itself, superior to any story set in England - much less in the Senior Common Room of an Oxford College. (C 67)

Even non-finite clausal complements may form long sequences with finite clauses occurring further down on additional levels of subordination.

(56) Thor Heyerdahl reports that at night his raft was literally bombarded by squids; and Richard Fleming says that in his oceanographic work off the coast of Panama it was common to see immense schools of squid gathering at the surface at night and leaping upward toward the lights that were used by the men to operate their instruments. (SAU 53)

(57) But it is interesting to hear some readers say that since one of my characters expresses a particular opinion that I myself must share it. (C 42)

Some of the verbs used to introduce finite or non-finite clause complements are semantically related to nouns introducing appositive clauses, depending on their semantic content either rendering the proposition hypothetical or factual, or imparting to it other possible shades of meaning.

(58) There is now an international lobby against torture, but it is foolish *to think* that awareness and concern will end it soon. (GS 2)

(59) There is now an international lobby against torture, but *the idea* that awareness and concern will end it soon is foolish.

(60) It is not surprising, then, *to find* that much of early conversations are "negotiations of meaning" (see Schwarts, 1980). (P 74)

(61) *The finding/discovery* that much of early conversations are "negotiations of meaning" is not surprising.

However, the alternative employing the initial noun is unlikely where the following appositive clauses are long because it makes the subject part of the sentence unduly heavy; but for the nominal head of the subject this constructions are reminiscent of non-extraposed infinitive subject clauses, showing the same linear arrangement of elements.

(62) *To find* that much of early conversations are "negotiations of meaning" is not surprising.

It is no exception to find among the examples from the corpus sentences where one subject infinitive is complemented by two coordinated *that*-clauses.

(63) "It annoyed me *to find* I was staring into the girl's eyes as fixedly as she into mine, and that when I wanted to take my gaze away it wasn't easily done." (C 113)

(64) It is important *to recognise* that control may shift from one agent to the other, and that a person carrying a subordinate hierarchic role in the agent dyad is not necessarily submissive. (L 57)

However, it is more common to come across coordinated infinitive subjects in extraposition; this is quite logical as multiple extraposed subjects constitute heavy structural units which are better suited for the postverbal position. In addition, some of the coordinated structures manifest formal similarity, often in the form of parallelism, which is not purely incidental but rather results from a deliberate effort of the speaker or writer to highlight their stylistic prowess.

(65) "It isn't wise to listen only to special advisers, and not to listen to fuddy-

duddy civil servants who may produce boringly inconvenient arguments," he said. (WT 11)

(66) While it is difficult to show that the grammar of such natural data is different in kind, it is not difficult to show that it is different. (P 119)

In one sentence the number of coordinated extraposed subjects amounted to fourteen, which is something of an extreme, but as the coordinated infinitives were used as separate items in a list of activities, the whole structure feels compact and relatively natural. It is worth noticing how the separate infinitives are arranged in rhythmical groups of two and three, with the infinitive particle *to* ellipped in the internal members of the groups, and noteworthy is also the last triad of infinitives linked by alliteration.

(67) It has taken 25 years *to catalogue* and *photograph* the collection, *to mount* the paper works on acid-free card and *store* the majority in solander boxes, *to stretch* the oils, *clean* and *conserve* them, *to choose* the best and *frame* them, *to sort* the boxes of letters and photographs, *to bring* our ramshackle house into order, *to rebuild*, *restore* and *redecorate*. (GW 38)

While it is not unusual to find long, often coordinated complements of the infinitive verbs, there is also a complementary tendency, sometimes applied simultaneously within the same sentence, to make the structures economical by means of ellipsis, particularly in spoken language.

(68) "It's hard to have anything, isn't it? Rare to get it, hard to keep it." (RD 135)

(69) Best to go directly to the Dutch suppliers and order them by post. (GW 68)

(70) "It never occurred to me to ask, nor her to tell." (GS 6)

In some cases it is difficult to determine whether a particular clause element complements the extraposed infinitive, or rather the matrix clause predicate, with the infinitive intervening in between. This is particularly true about adverbials. However, with adverbials of time the semantic difference is often negligible as demonstrated by the paraphrases following the original sentences.

(71) Why was it so hard to concentrate during his speeches *these days*? (M 533)

(72) Why was it so *hard these days* to concentrate during his speeches?

The position of the adverbial clause sometimes seems to be determined by its relative structural heaviness rather than by the position of the element it belongs to syntactically.

(73) It was useless to feel such a sense of violence *when there was nothing you could do to vent it*. (M 520)

(74) When *there was nothing you could do to vent it*, it was useless to feel such a sense of violence.

(75) In the case of Tony Martin, many argued that it was reasonable for Mr Martin to shoot the burglar dead, *although he was running away at the time*. (WT 25)

(76) In the case of Tony Martin, many argued that *although the thief was running away at the time*, it was reasonable for Mr Martin to shoot him dead.

In some cases ambiguity arises as it is not clear whether the infinitive is an extraposed subject or rather a postmodification of a noun.

(77) Desai says: "I remember being very lost at school, not being popular or successful. It was always a great struggle *to belong*." (GS 6)

One extraposed infinitive subject clause was used in combination with a fronted matrix clause subject complement and subject-verb inversion. In this case, the fronted element was rhematic, indicating leaving the thematic role for the extraposed infinitive subject.

(78) My doubts about New Labour began well before the general election. But *bliss* was it on the polling day *to be alive*. (GS 9)

7.1.2.3 Infinitive clauses in postposition

The corpus yielded a single sentence containing three coordinated infinitive subject clauses in postposition, which is sufficient evidence of the extreme scarcity of such structures. It may be of importance that the actual example is the closing sentence of a newspaper article about a poem written by a newly appointed poet laureate. The final position of the infinitive subject clauses give the sentence a summarising feel as all the three infinitive structures carry both structural and information weight.

(79) Among his ambitions in the post, he says, are to raise money to provide places where poets can work uninterrupted, to edit regular poems about national events and to produce a "gigantic" poetry anthology for schools. (G 15)

It is symptomatic that the initial element in the sentence is in the form of a prepositional clause, which is one of the more common realisations of this construction, cf Smolka (2005a: 213-214).

7.1.2.4 For-infinitive

Out of the 652 infinitive subject clauses (57 initial and 595 extraposed), 61 had an explicit subject introduced by means of the preposition for (four among the initial

subject clauses and 57 in extraposed clauses). This means that in the vast majority of subject clauses the notional subject remains unexpressed because it is either identical with the subject in the superordinate clause or because it is of a general kind.

(80) For him to vary is "no more unusual than to wake up at nine o'clock some day to find, on looking out of the window that the sun had chosen not to rise" (Death After Breakfast, p. 1). (C 89)

(81) 'And how long will it take for them to go?' (CF 85)

The subject is typically in the form of an anaphoric personal pronoun, which is quite logical given its thematic status, but it is by no means restricted to pronouns.

(82) 'It's very important for a baby to be cuddled when it comes out.' (CF 239)

(83) It takes about half a year for the plants torn from West Indian shores to reach the northern border of the Sargasso, perhaps several years for them to be carried into the inner parts of this area. (SAU 40)

The *for*-subject most commonly occurs just before the infinitive, but occasionally may be found at the beginning of the sentence before anticipatory *it*.

(84) But for many native speakers it's very difficult to control this shift in intonation, even when the shift and its insulting quality are clear. (P 181)

(85) "For a poet like me, it is quite a test to write about public things." (G 15)

The *for*-constituent has an uncertain syntactic status, because in addition to fulfilling the role of the notional subject of the infinitive, it may sometimes be regarded as a complement in the matrix clause, such as an experiencer or a beneficiary, and it is often difficult to distinguish which of these roles is primary. Kaltenböck (2004: 101-104) presents a series of tests to determine the syntactic role of the *for*-element (e.g. the form of the non-extraposed variant, the possibility of passivisation, the compatibility of the *for*-element semantics with the role of experiencer, separation of the *for*-element from the infinitive by an adverbial or a filler, etc.), but is quick to point out that none of them are completely satisfactory. Considering the following examples, we may see a scale with the *for*-constituent functioning more or less only as the subject of the infinitive on one end, and with both roles combined on the other end.

(86) It would take a long time *for this chaos* to yield anything useful. (M 191)

(87) And it is in the nature of things *for this quantity* to be gradually increasing over the millennia, for although the earth is constantly shifting her component materials from place to place, the heaviest movements are forever seaward. (SAU 173)

(88) It is far more common *for unregulated assisted dying* to take place in Britain or for people to travel overseas for help to die. (WT 25)

(89) They married when it was still rare *for an Indian man* to wed a European woman, and moved to the "neutral territory" of Old Delhi, then, Desai recalls, "a sleepy, provincial place". (GS 6)

The above examples seem to stress the role of the *for*-element as the subject of the infinitive, the non-animate character of the first three definitely plays a role. The last example, however, includes an animate subject, so another criterion must be used, namely a consideration to what extent the *for*-phrase constitutes part of the valency of the predicate, i.e. to what extent it is a necessary, or at least a natural, complement. This can be tested by moving such an element into the usual adverbial position, or by examining how natural such complementation when it is the only complement of the predicate adjective, in the absence of the infinitive.

(90) They married when to wed a European woman was still rare *for an Indian man*, and moved to the "neutral territory" of Old Delhi, then, Desai recalls, "a sleepy, provincial place".

(91) ?It was rare *for an Indian*.

On the other hand, some adjectives tested in this way produce more satisfactory results, which suggests that the role of a matrix clause adverbial, in addition to that of the subject, is a likely interpretation: *it is profitable / helpful / easy / difficult for sb*, and, to a lesser extent, *possible*. On the whole, it does not seem reasonable to strictly separate the roles of the subject and an adverbial; the combination of the syntactic role of the subject and a largely adverbial meaning in a single element is by no means unusual in English: *I find st profitable / helpful / easy / difficult / possible / ?rare*

For these reasons, the *for*-element in the remaining examples may be interpreted as combine the role of the subject of the infinitive verb with that of an adverbial complementing the matrix clause.

(92) So it was no source of joy *for him* to be associated, even remotely, with men who were little better than animals, scum like this German that had to be rescued four days ago in London. (M 52)

(93) As the chill of the northern waters has abated and the fish have moved poleward, the fisheries around Iceland have expanded enormously, and it has become profitable *for trawlers* to push on to Bear Island, Spitsbergen, and the Barents Sea. (SAU 170)

(94) While it may be helpful *for a man and a woman who link their lives together* to share the same vision of life, it would seem something of a disadvantage for that vision to be one which holds all desire - including their desire for each other - to be ultimately destructive. (C 122)

(95) Although it is clear that plans at higher levels influence plans at lower levels, all levels must be considered simultaneously, even though it may be impossible *for us* to research more than one level at a time. (P 9)

(96) Anyone trying to learn Vietnamese knows that it is difficult *for Americans* to pronounce words that begin with velar /n/. (P 16)

(97) Otherwise it would not be so easy *for us* to find rhyming words (excluded from Baker's analysis). (P 64)

In the following example, the *for*-element is separated from the rest of the sentence by punctuation which ought to indicate its parenthetical status, yet it is difficult to imagine an interpretation in which it would not be the subject of the infinitive as well as an adverbial in the matrix clause.

(98) It is a humbling experience, *for a patriotic Briton*, to discover quite how comical the rest of the world finds us. (WT 33)

7.1.2.5 The choice of position discussed

As has been shown, roughly 90% of subject infinitive clauses in the corpus occur in extraposition. Even if instances of extraposition where the complementary initial position is unavailable are deducted (extraposed infinitives within interrogative matrix clauses or exclamatory clauses, as well as within most passive matrix clause predicates), the difference remains substantial. Conversely, removing from the corpus all instances of the initial position where the extraposed variant does not exist (symmetrical structures containing the infinitive both in the subject and the subject complement) would result in a significant drop in the number of initial infinitive subjects, leaving the overall proportion largely unaffected.

It has been shown that one important factor for the decision between the initial position and extraposition is that of the relative structural weight, i.e. the length and structural complexity of the sections governed by the subject infinitive and the matrix clause predicate respectively. A substantial proportion of the initial infinitive clauses from the corpus seem to fulfil this general tendency; this does not mean that the initial

subject structure has to be short “absolutely”, as is often the case, but rather that it tends to be shorter than the following matrix clause.

(99) To do so was tasteless as well as distracting. (RD 14)

(100) To penetrate these regions and bring back actual samples would therefore be an enormous step forward in understanding the nature of our earth, and would even advance our knowledge of the universe, since the deep structure of the earth may be assumed to be like that of other planets. (SAU 9)

Structural weight is often, though by no means necessarily, associated with functional weight, that is, the rhematic status of a given element on the FSP scale. Longer structures tend to be more important in terms of the information they convey than short ones. This is because the brevity of expression is often achieved by the use of pro-forms, typically anaphoric, which in addition to making the expression economical indicate context-dependence of the structure in which they occur, such as the pro-form *so* in (99) or in the following example.

(101) Some languages do not allow you to fade out the hero or heroine (even if it's yourself) as much as English does. She or he has to stay there as a proper name; not to do *so* would be considered rude. (P 116)

On the other hand, there are numerous instances of initial infinitive subjects which are considerably longer than their matrix clauses, yet they appear to be thematic, because they present information that is, in Firbasian terms, context-dependent, or at least inferrable.

(102) To live in a global society without any understanding of it would truly be the worst of all worlds. (GS 19)

In written language the linear arrangement of the constituents plays a more important part in the interplay of FSP factors than in speaking, since spoken language can indicate the position of the rheme by means of prosodic factors (the position of the intonation nucleus) irrespective of the actual linear arrangement. This is not to say that initial infinitive subject clauses can never be rhematic, only to point out that for the initial subject clause to be rhematic, it has to be used in a very special context where the information conveyed by it is context independent, possibly contrastive, while the matrix clause is old information. No such instance was found in the corpus but it is not difficult to imagine one, using a modification of an actual infinitive subject clause from the corpus and developing it into a mini-conversation. In this hypothetical example A's turn carries the rheme on the subject complement, whereas B's response must carry the

rheme on the contrasted element *any structure* within the initial subject clause. This contrast alone is enough to mark the initial subject clause as rhematic, not only in spoken but also in written discourse.

(103) A: “To build a high structure in that part of the river is madness.” (WT 19)

B: “To build *any* structure in that part of the river is madness.”

Of course, B’s turn could have been in the form of an extraposed infinitive with linear distribution of communicative dynamism.

(104) It is madness to build *any* structure in that part of the river.

The choice of (103 B) rather than (104) is prompted by structural similarity of the two sentence structures, a kind of ‘echo response’, where the different position of the intonation nucleus stands out more clearly than in a modified linear sequence.

The choice of the initial position may also be motivated by an effort to establish a smooth transition from sentence to another, in this case by repeating the final rhematic item of one sentence as the thematic element of the following sentence.

(105) To fire weapons in the Everglades or assemble guns in the Keys (from where, frustratingly, you could practically smell Havana on the wind) was *useful*; but *useful* wasn't enough.

A different kind of transition is demonstrated by the following sequence. While in the previous example the transition from rheme to theme is realised at the boundary of the sentences by repeating the same semantic unit in different syntactic roles, in the example below the two rhematic elements, *bliss* and *heaven*, frame the intervening less dynamic infinitive clauses which create a transition from one thematic element to another, as well as a very different kind of structural symmetry. It has to be noted that fronting of a rhematic element is by no means a neutral word-order pattern and it is no coincidence that the sequence occurred in ambitious journalistic writing.

(106) My doubts about New Labour began well before the general election. But *bliss* was it on the polling day to be alive. And to spend most of the night on television with an increasingly disconsolate Norman Tebbit was *very heaven*.

(GS 9)

On the whole, it is safe to say that in most instances the initial position of infinitive subject clause indicates its thematic status.

On the other hand extraposition does not automatically mean rhematicity. There is an important difference between spoken language (or even informal written language modelled after the spoken mode) on the one hand, and more formal registers of written

language on the other. In academic writing and in news writing the structures governed by the extraposed infinitive are typically long, sometimes unfolding on several additional levels of subordination. It is only logical that the information conveyed by these structures is also heavy in FSP terms, i.e. the rheme of the whole sentence typically occurs in the postverbal part of the matrix clause, close to the end of the sentence further down in the hierarchical structure. This is underlined by the capacity of extraposed infinitives (particularly of verbs of speaking and cognition) to be complemented by *that*-clauses or other structural types of finite clauses, such as dependent interrogatives, etc. Once again, the linear arrangement of the separate constitutive components of the sentence has a signalling function, proceeding from the less dynamic to the more dynamic elements.

In spoken, particularly informal spoken language, the situation is less clear. The structures tend to be shorter, rendering the end-weight principle less important and making more room for the contextual factor of FSP. The position of the rheme then depends on the distribution of context-dependent and context-independent elements. Although it is still more common for extraposed infinitives to be rhematic, there are frequent instances requiring precisely the opposite interpretation, i.e. with the rheme on the matrix clause followed by a thematic infinitive subject clause in extraposition. Once again, in the spoken registers, the principle of end-focus applies to a lesser degree, its signalling role being overridden by prosodic indication of the rhematic element.

(107) “I think it would kill him to have to fight.” (RD 8)

Out of context, both the predicate *kill* and the infinitive subject clause *to have to fight* have an equal chance to carry the rheme of the whole sentence, in fact extraposition of the subject makes it a more likely candidate for the rheme. However, when considered in the actual context of use, the distribution of FSP roles becomes different. In this particular example, Jack Crawford wants to persuade his colleague, a former detective Will Graham, who sustained a near-fatal injury and a nervous breakdown when working on a previous case and retired as a result, to get back on the job which involves searching for a psychopathic serial murderer. Will Graham’s wife is trying to persuade Jack Crawford not to insist, but when she sees she cannot avert her husband’s being engaged, implores Jack to keep her husband out of danger.

(108) “Promise me something, Jack. Promise me you’ll see to it he doesn’t get too close. I think it would *kill* him to have to fight.”

The likely prosodic structure is one which places the intonation nucleus on *kill*; if there is more than one nucleus, *kill* carries a falling tone, whereas *fight* may potentially carry a rise.

A superficially similar structure, yet one requiring a completely different FSP interpretation is the following. Will Graham's son speaks to his father about the murderer.

(108) "You gonna *kill* him?"

Graham closed his eyes for a moment. "No. It's just my job to *find* him.

They'll put him in a mental hospital so they can treat him ..."

In this example, *find* is in contrast with *kill*, making it the rheme of the structure. It is easy to imagine the same turn in a different context, where the rheme would have to fall on *job*.

(109) "Do you have a *grudge* against him?"

"No. It's just my *job* to find him"

The difficult thing in assessing the relative information weight of infinitive subjects and their matrix clauses is the internal complexity of clauses. They typically contain a mixture of context-dependent and context-independent elements, each representing a distributional subfield of communicative dynamism, and their overall information weight cannot be easily measured, since it is not simply a sum of the informational potential of the separate clause constituents.

7.1.3 Choice of the infinitive or the gerund as subject

Infinitives and gerunds have a number of features in common. Both rank among non-finite verb forms, display, in varying degrees, nominal features and share certain aspects of syntactic behaviour. Both forms can fulfil the roles of nominal clause constituents, and it is therefore natural to ask to what extent they are interchangeable. For the purpose of this dissertation the examination will be restricted to the competition of the two forms in the role of the subject.

The semantic distinction between the infinitive and the gerund has been described by many authors. According to Quirk et al. (1985: 1062-1063), the proposition in the form of the nominal infinitive clause is often perceived as a possibility or a proposal rather than something already fulfilled, whereas the gerund normally refers to a fact or an action. Huddleston, Pullum et al. (2002: 1253-1255) point out that the situation described by the infinitive is often merely potential rather than actualised, which is

reflected in the frequent co-occurrence of the infinitive with *would be* in the predicate. Conversely, the *ing*-verb denotes a specific, actualised situation. Leech (1987:113-114) distinguishes between factual and theoretical meaning; consequently he describes the difference between the following two sentences as that between an idea and a fact.

(1) It's nice to be young. (idea)

(2) It's nice being young. (fact)

He gives a list of grammatical forms which normally express one or the other meaning, while pointing out that the distinction does not apply absolutely.

Factual meaning: indicative mood in dependent clauses

Verb-*ing* construction

Theoretical meaning: to + Infinitive construction

Should (putative) + Infinitive in dependent clauses

Present subjunctive

Although the above grammatical constructions are prone to expressing factual or theoretical meaning, their predisposition to do so may be counterbalanced by the semantics and/or the tense of the predicate verb.

Huddleston, Pullum et al. (2002: 1253-1255) examine different types of predicates combined with infinitives and gerunds and comment on the acceptability of such constructions, as well as on possible semantic differences, e.g. they point out that adjectives concerned with the ease or difficulty of doing something take infinitives, whereas those concerned with truth or likelihood take declaratives (i.e. finite declarative clauses). They also adduce examples where the infinitive and the *ing*-verbs behave contrary to their essential uses.

(3) It was a mistake to invite your uncle.

(4) Changing the arrangements would be very difficult at this stage.

In (3) it is the past tense of the matrix predicate which overrides the usual theoretical interpretation of the infinitive, assigning it the status of a real event, while in (4) the normal factual interpretation of the gerund is rendered theoretical by the use of the conditional *would*.

Both forms are capable of expressing general statements of the kind *Seeing is believing* or *To see is to believe*, but on the whole, their interchangeability is significantly restricted.

Looking at real examples from the corpus reveals that why most infinitives and gerunds are used in accordance with the general tendencies outlined above, it is not rare for them to be used in the opposite contextual situations.

- (5) Looking for a terrorist in hiding was going to be the kind of thing where luck, that grinning bitch, would play a significant role. (M 77)
- (6) It was going to be terribly embarrassing telling Carla that Their Affair Must End. (CF 170)
- (7) Bombing and strafing from the air would knock out any small pockets of Cuban air defences that were still manned; (M 429)
- (8) Bringing the Gulf Stream closer to the American east coast, for example, would make our winters worse instead of better. (SAU 157)
- (9) Dusting the can would be a straightforward job. (RD 89)
- (10) “Lifting the embargo does not mean China would start buying lots of arms in the EU,” he said. (WT 23, from an article called “EU in dispute as arms ban on China remains in force”)
- (11) Two weeks ago, after a long and dirty fight, Millar's reputation and bank balance were restored - although resurrecting his career could prove a challenge. (G 26)

In all the above examples the actions/events expressed by the *ing*-verbs are oriented into the future with respect to the moment of speaking/writing and therefore are not real in the sense of having already occurred. At the same time, they are presented as events which are either certain or at least likely to happen, or events perceived as practical possibilities, procedures to achieve certain goals. For instance, a finite clause paraphrase for (5) and (6) would probably be in the form of a *when*-clause rather than an *if*-clause: *When they start looking for a terrorist in hiding* / *?If they start looking for a terrorist in hiding*; *When he tells Carla ...* / *?If he tells Carla...*

The verb *would* in example (9) is best interpreted as backshifted *will* rather than conditional *would*, which makes it similar to (5) and (6). It is interesting to note that if the gerunds were replaced by infinitives, the sentences would not become more felicitous.

Fanego (2006) suggests that the prevalence of gerunds in preverbal subject positions is the result of a historical process started in the 18th century, in which gerunds have been gaining ground at the expense of the infinitives and have virtually displaced them by now. This process is perceived as a drift towards functional specialisation of the

two forms; there is a complementary process in which infinitives have been replacing gerunds in the extraposed position. If this is the case, the semantic difference between the two forms should be gradually becoming less prominent. While it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to prove or disprove this claim, as it employs a synchronic approach, such a trend would be in harmony with the undisputed preference of English for NP subjects. However, it is true that of the following two paraphrases of (11) by means of the infinitive, the extraposed one is much more felicitous than the non-extraposed.

(12) Two weeks ago, after a long and dirty fight, Millar's reputation and bank balance were restored - although *to resurrect his career* could prove a challenge.

(13) Two weeks ago, after a long and dirty fight, Millar's reputation and bank balance were restored - although it could prove a challenge *to resurrect his career*.

Let us now examine instances of infinitive subject clauses from the corpus with respect to their factual or hypothetical meaning. Some of the uses of the infinitive are clearly hypothetical, as suggested by *would* in the following matrix clause predicate, or only potentially happening in future as indicated by means of will, whereas the use of past tenses suggests a real event.

(14) But to treat this volume of water in a year would require the twice-daily filling and emptying of 200 tanks of water, each 500 feet square and 5 feet deep. (SAU 176)

(15) "To build this structure here will create a wall between the old city and the river." (WT 19)

(16) To do so was tasteless as well as distracting. (RD 14)

(17) Yes, to read about a murder that involved the handicapped was new to me. (C 42)

It seems that at least sometimes the difference between the infinitive and the gerund consists in relative degree of probability of the event happening. So, for instance if the infinitive in (15) were replaced by the gerund, the resulting change could be expressed as a move from a plan/possibility (the infinitive) to future realisation of an approved project (the gerund). Another way to look at infinitives and gerunds is to perceive them as pointing forward and backward, respectively. Of course, even this semantic difference does not apply absolutely. This characteristic is more prominent

when they are used as objects, e.g. *I remembered to phone him / phoning him; I hate to tell / telling you this*, etc. The infinitive denotes an event following the finite verb, while the gerund points to one preceding it. Although it does not seem possible to simply transpose this behaviour of object infinitives and gerunds to situations when they are used as subjects, there are indications that some aspects of their temporal orientation are preserved, at least potentially, even in this syntactic role.

(18) To avoid this calamity required a very fine judgement on Bengochea's part, an instinct for prediction in unpredictable circumstances - two feet higher, then three, four, whatever it took to keep the chopper just beyond the reach of the masts. (M 467)

While the use of the past tense predicate *required* forces the interpretation of a real past event (there is no doubt that this is a past event), on closer look we may distinguish yet another level of reality/hypotheticality. This may be described in terms of temporal relationship of the event/activity conveyed by the non-finite subject and the matrix clause predicate. Obviously, it would be possible to replace the initial infinitive with the gerund, however, the meaning would slightly change: In *Avoiding this calamity required a very fine judgement* the gerund gives the impression of a posterior comment (the calamity was avoided and it had taken very fine judgement) where the basic point of orientation is the moment of speaking, whereas the infinitive suggests future orientation with respect to the situation described, which can be paraphrased as *in order that this (impending) calamity might be avoided, very fine judgement was needed*. Additionally, the gerund implies that the calamity actually *was* avoided, while the infinitive allows an interpretation where this was not so.

A similar interpretation might be applied to (17), where the infinitive could be interpreted as referring to the moment when the speaker/writer was beginning to read about a murder involving the handicapped (he was surprised to find that the article or book was going to be about this), while the gerund would best be interpreted as *I read about a murder that involved the handicapped and what I learnt was new to me*.

If the infinitive retains at least some of the forward-pointing force, it is not surprising to find most of its occurrences in extraposition; in such arrangement the linear ordering of the events in the sentence is the same as their sequence in reality. Conversely, if the basic orientation of the gerund is past, it is logical for it to occupy the initial position in the sentence.

(19) It was embarrassing to talk about it. (RD 154)

(20) Talking about it was embarrassing.

The actual example (19) is used in a context of an ongoing communication where the talk would continue, while (20) gives the impression of a comment on a past event which has already been completed.

The semantics of the infinitive and the gerund may be seen as related to FSP factors, their interplay affecting the choice of one or the other form: the factual semantic character of the gerund makes it better suited for conveying thematic, context-dependent information, which in turn explains its limited extent of complementation and its preference for the initial position: the gerund is an ideal initial subject since it is both structurally and informationally light. On the other hand, the non-factual interpretation of the infinitive predisposes it for presenting new information, which must consequently be worded more fully, not being anchored in the previous context. The infinitive is therefore more likely to be found in extraposition, in compliance with the end-weight and end-focus principles.

7.2 Finite subject clauses

There are three major categories of finite clauses functioning as subject in their matrix clauses: *that*-clauses, dependent interrogative, and nominal relative clauses. In addition to dependent interrogative clauses, there is another category of dependent clausal structures, namely the dependent exclamatory clauses, however, these are infrequent in comparison with the former type and will therefore not be treated as a separate subtype.

7.2.1 *That*-clauses

That-clauses represent by far the most common type of subjects in the form of finite clauses and, following the infinitive subject clauses, the second most frequent clausal subjects absolutely. Obviously, they are not restricted to this syntactic function, but occur in all syntactic roles compatible with their nominal character.

Structures which are considered by some as exclusively extraposed instances of subject *that*-clauses with matrix predicates containing verbs like *seem*, *appear*, *happen*, *chance*, *follow*, *be* (Quirk et al, 1985: 1392) of the type *It seems that everything is fine*, with the subject pronoun *it* as the only other constituent in addition to the *that*-clause, were not included in the analysis. It was pointed out earlier in 6.1.10 that they are better treated as subject complement clauses, because they do not allow, even theoretically, the

non-extraposed version. On the other hand, where the matrix clause predicates of the above-mentioned verbs included an element functioning as the Cs (an AdjP, NP, or PP), the *that*-clause was interpreted as the subject and included in the corpus, such as *It seems natural that everything is fine.*

7.2.1.1 *That*-clauses in initial position

While the initial position of the subject clearly is the canonical position with NP subjects, the initial position of subject *that*-clauses is a very rare phenomenon. The corpus yielded as few as ten authentic examples of non-extraposed subject clauses, which represents a fraction of subject *that*-clauses in the corpus, a mere 2.5%. This is probably best explained by the structural weight of their finite-clause form which conflicts with the tendency to start an English sentence with a light element.

For an initial subject *that*-clause to be used, special circumstances must apply. It is surely significant that three of the ten examples come from a single page of a single text about the American rock band Aerosmith published in *The Guardian Weekend*, which very clearly shows the writer's individual stylistic preference for this structure. In addition, examples (2) and (3) immediately follow each other in the text in the same order as that in which they are presented here, occurring in the closing section of a lengthy article.

- (1) *That they entered their 40s with this aura still intact* made them now internationally popular and supremely attractive to young bands. (GW 26)
- (2) *That five high-school dropouts who set out searching for cheap thrills are now part of America's iconography, the Mount Rushmore of Yankee rock bands*, is, I guess, some kind of validation of the American Dream. (GW 26)
- (3) *That these palookas ended up healthy, wealthy and wise* reinforces it, surely. (GW 26)

Individual and register preferences are not restricted to the three *that*-clauses above. Biber et al. (1999: 679), for instance, points out that 60% of all instances of initial subject *that*-clauses come from sports articles (seven out of 12 in a million-word sample), while others come chiefly from academic writing, and, more specifically, from a very limited number of articles, which shows extremely strong personal stylistic preference. It is therefore very much in line with these findings that the remaining initial subject *that*-clauses in the present corpus also come from a rather restricted range of sources.

One initial subject *that*-clause was found in an article on Indian agriculture in the same issue of The Guardian Weekend as (1), (2) and (3).

(4) But in India, the very idea was dynamite. *That farmers should not be able to replant seeds* was inconceivable and offensive. (GW 15)

One is from an article in the sports section of The Weekly Telegraph.

(5) If Ross Lavery, a 22-year old history and German undergraduate, manages to make as much impact in his finals as he did in the 123rd Varsity Match at Twickenham, then he can start toasting a first-class degree right now. *That all others of a Dark Blue persuasion will be piecing together the remnants of their brain cells this morning after suitably heavy celebrations* owed much to the 77th-minute try scored by the red-haired Oxford wing just seconds after coming on as a substitute. (WT 49)

Four instances were found in the register of academic writing:

(6) *That the sun, with a mass 27 million times that of the moon, should have less influence over the tides than a small satellite of the earth* is at first surprising. (SAU 143)

(7) *That McCoy ventured on this project with the utmost seriousness* is asserted by Thomas Sturak when he reports in his essay, "Horace McCoy's Objective Lyricism," that Kiss Tomorrow Goodbye was to be the "acid test of his creative genius and artistic talents." (C 17)

(8) *That they all sprang from the same mind* is rather obvious in the parallel – though at times not close - development. (C 96)

(9) *That memory is a cognitive process related to language learning* is clear in this summary of Neisser's position: (a 20-line summary follows) (P 230)

The only instance of initial subject *that*-clause to be found in the register of fiction is (10). This is rather surprising, considering that in terms of extent this register represents 43% of all texts explored, but less so in the light of Biber et al.'s quantitative analysis of the structure.

(10) *That they could make incalculable fortunes at the same time* was not unattractive. (M 92)

All the initial subject *that*-clauses are thematic, however, their thematicity is not a sufficient condition which could alone justify their initial position. If it were, the proportion of initial clause would have to be much more substantial. Biber et al. (1999: 677-679) suggests that the primary function of an initial *that*-clause is to present the

information about the referent as factual. Once again, this does not seem to be an exclusive property of initial *that*-clauses; in fact most *that*-clauses employing a predicate in indicative mood have factual interpretation.

Another factor making the initial position of a *that*-clause more natural is when the post-predicate of the sentence includes heavy structures, such as clauses or heavily modified phrases or their sequences or a combination of both (ibid). In other words, the initial *that*-clause is justified by the principle of end-weight. However, this is not the case either, with the exception of (5), (7), and particularly (9), where an extensive 20-line quotation follows the colon. The other examples are distinctly “beginning-heavy”.

Interestingly, Miller (2001: 7) observes that the factor of end-weight is often inoperative, as a number of his examples also had light predicates following heavy subjects. He points out that while sentences like (10) would be extremely unnatural as introductory sentences of a discourse, they are perfectly acceptable if the initial subject clause, in addition to providing a cohesive link to previous discourse, has a summarising function, summing up the content of the previous discourse. This is the same as saying that the subject clause manifests an exceptionally high degree of context dependence.

Huddleston, Pullum et al. (2002: 1404-1405) add that it is not necessary for the information presented by the *that*-clause to be discourse-old in the sense of being already mentioned. All that is necessary is that the information is treated by the speaker/writer as if it were familiar to the addressee, i.e. something that does not have to be presented as new because it can be assumed to be part of shared knowledge.

If we now re-examine the examples above in a broader context, it will become clear that the factors mentioned last account for the initial *that*-clauses more convincingly than the other factors.

(11) The Aerosmith machine now went into overdrive, and 1989’s *Pump* sold nine million copies. Not only did they come back bigger than ever but they cleaned up just in time. The band’s mix of toughness and vulnerability, carnality and humour, always did set them apart from their more metalhead competition. *That they entered their 40s with this aura still intact* made them now internationally popular and supremely attractive to young bands. (GW 26)

The aura is a summary of the foregoing description of the band (*toughness and vulnerability, carnality and humour*, etc.), and the information that they managed to keep the band’s character intact even as they entered their 40s is clear from the previous text, or is something that an Aerosmith fan is likely to know.

(12) Indeed, so wholesome are Aerosmith in 1999 that Disney is launching an \$80-million ride, Aerosmith's Rock & Roller Coaster, in Orlando this August. *That five high-school dropouts who set out searching for cheap thrills are now part of America's iconography, the Mount Rushmore of Yankee rock bands, is, I guess, some kind of validation of the American Dream. That these palookas ended up healthy, wealthy and wise* reinforces it, surely. (GW 26)

The initial sentence gives an example of one aspect of the iconic status the band has acquired, which is referred to in the *that*-clause by comparing them to the famous sculptures of early American presidents in Mount Rushmore National Memorial. The second of the two *that*-clauses then links to the concept of American Dream, i.e. something inherently positive, which is echoed in the modified saying *Early to bed, early to rise makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise* in the *that*-clause; this is only symptomatic, since a substantial proportion of the article is about the band's career plagued by alcohol and drugs-related excesses, a problem the band eventually managed to cope with, *cleaning up just in time*, cf the phrase used in (11). It is also no coincidence that the two initial *that*-clauses in (12) occur very nearly at the end of the text, which is in line with their summarising function. The remaining three short paragraphs fulfil the function of a coda: all that is important has been said (and summarised) before.

Similarly, in example (5), a celebration involving heavy drinking following a winning match is something to be expected; actually it is probably something that already happened: it is presented as fact, with consequences very likely happening now - note the interesting combination of the past form of *owe* and *will be piecing together the remnants of their brain cells this morning*.

Using initial *that*-clauses thus makes it possible to present information which is, strictly speaking, not necessarily discourse-old or known to the addressee (and perhaps even largely new at least to some addressees) as if it *were* old, i.e. giving the addressee the impression that this is something that is understood, something the addressee *should* know. These aspects of the construction make it so specific that the scarcity of occurrence becomes less surprising.

The only example of non-extraposed subject *that*-clause from fiction corroborates the hypothesis that the scene must be very carefully prepared for the introduction of such an unusual construction.

(13) The Society, although profoundly secretive and jealous of its own anonymity,

had gone beyond those forms of play-acting. It promised more than fabulous wealth, it pledged a share in power, in shaping the destinies of countries like Cuba, sinking under the miserable weight of Communist mismanagement. The Society assured personal contact with history. It rendered senseless the notion that men were powerless before destiny. Some men, such as the members of the Society, could make an amazing difference. *That they could make incalculable fortunes at the same time* was not unattractive. (M 92)

As wealth is specifically referred to in the previous text, the status of the initial *that*-clause in the final sentence is thematic; this alone would, however, not suffice to justify the initial position. More importantly, the *that*-clause does have a summarising function, referring to the combination of wealth and importance, and moreover, involves a clever use of formally symmetrical, parallel structures in the last two sentences (*make an amazing difference* and *make incalculable fortunes*). The repetition of the same pattern in close proximity highlights the subject complement of the last sentence. Furthermore, the prominence of the subject complement is increased by the marked use of the double negation (Smolka, 2005: 35).

7.2.1.2 *That*-clauses in extraposition

Corpus data yielded 372 matrix clauses complemented by extraposed subject *that*-clauses. The proportion of separate types of matrix clause predicates can be seen in the following overview (a total of 372):

| | |
|----------------------------|-----|
| A) verbal predicates | 110 |
| B) copular NP predicates | 45 |
| C) copular AdjP predicates | 215 |
| D) others | 2 |
| Total | 372 |

Compared with extraposed infinitive clauses, the predominance of AdjP predicates is less striking, while the proportion of verbal predicates has increased, largely owing to a higher proportion of passive matrix clauses in this category.

Of the 372 matrix clauses, 24 took two coordinated *that*-clauses and one matrix clause three, so the overall number of subject *that*-clauses is 397, which shows that coordination of the subject clauses is a less frequent phenomenon than in infinitive

subject clauses, however in relative proportions (i.e. the number of subject clauses related to the number of matrix clauses) the difference is by no means huge.

Sometimes it was difficult to distinguish between instances of coordinated *that*-clauses, sometimes with *that* ellipsed before the second clause, and instances of coordination of two main or other clauses.

(14) But by the end of the week it was clear that none of this was adequate and Coca-Cola's problems had fed into a European-wide food sensitivity. (G 23)
This may be read in the following ways.

(15) But by the end of the week it was clear [*that none of this was adequate*] AND [(*that*) *Coca-Cola's problems had fed into a European-wide food sensitivity*].

(16) But by the end of the week [*it was clear that none of this was adequate*] AND [*Coca-Cola's problems had fed into a European-wide food sensitivity*].

Similarly, the following sentence has two interpretations, either as containing two coordinated subject *that*-clauses or two coordinated appositive clauses:

(17) "It is essential that everyone buying property abroad has confidence that their affairs are in order and that their wishes will be carried out after they die." (WT 43)

(18)) "It is essential [*that everyone buying property abroad has confidence that their affairs are in order*] AND [*that their wishes will be carried out after they die*]."

(19) "It is essential that everyone buying property abroad has confidence [*that their affairs are in order*] AND [*that their wishes will be carried out after they die*]."

In the absence of formal indicators pointing to one or the other interpretation (punctuation being an unreliable clue), the addressee has to resolve the ambiguity on logical grounds. This may work in a number of potentially ambiguous structures, as long as one of the interpretations is considerably less likely, leaving the other as a plausible solution. In other instances, the semantic difference between the separate interpretations may be so small as to be negligible. It is safe to assume that a casual reader/hearer processing the text under real-time constraints is hardly aware of the potentially different interpretations.

The following example demonstrates how one interpretation may be rendered more plausible by formal means.

(20) In this later book it is important that some investigation be carried out in

Colorado and Mark Haskell is sent to do it, though he will only be carrying out Chambrun's plan and organization. (C 95)

(21) In this later book it is important [*that some investigation be carried out in Colorado*] AND [(*that*) *Mark Haskell is sent to do it*], though he will only be carrying out Chambrun's plan and organization.

(22) In this later book [*it is important that some investigation be carried out in Colorado*] AND [*Mark Haskell is sent to do it, though he will only be carrying out Chambrun's plan and organization*].

In this particular case, (22) is much more likely than (21), not only on logical grounds but also because of the mismatch of verb forms: the subjunctive *be carried out* and the indicative *is sent*. The subjunctive is motivated by the adjective *important* and expresses an event that is only potential at the moment of speaking, whereas the indicative presents the action as fact (at least within the imagined, fictional reality of the book) by means of historic present (Leech, 1987: 10-11).

Of course, it is not totally impossible for a potential and a real event to be coordinated, but as the subjunctive and the indicative after *important* have different meanings, the interpretation would then be the following. Two things are important: that some investigation should be carried out (important for the situation described, the police, etc.) and (for the plot/reader of the book, etc.) that it is Mark Haskell who is sent to do it. Under real-time processing constraints, it is unlikely that any addressee would venture into such a apparently treacherous territory of reasoning.

(23) In this later book *it is important that some investigation be carried out in Colorado* AND, *importantly, Mark Haskell is sent to do it*, though he will only be carrying out Chambrun's plan and organization.

As we have seen,

Coordination of subject clauses is a factor in favour of extraposition because it increases the weight of the post-predicate section. It has been shown that the relative proportion of coordinated *that*-clauses, while being higher than in *ing*-subjects, did not surpass that of the infinitive clauses. This may be because coordination plays a minor role as a weight-contributing factor in finite clauses, which are sufficiently structurally “heavy” even when they stand on their own. Moreover, *that*-clauses have a higher potential than non-finite clauses to take additional, potentially also heavy, complements, often in clausal form, creating long, hierarchically structured chains in the process. A single *that*-clause can thus trigger off a complex, vertically unfolding structure where

weight is spread vertically across several levels of subordination, rather than being added horizontally in the form of coordinated elements.

From the processing point of view, the length of such structures makes them unlikely candidates for the initial position, since in some more extreme instances the addressee's memory span would be exhausted even before reaching the matrix clause predicate in the linear sequence of sentence constituents.

Hand in hand with the factor of end-weight and the processing factor goes the factor of end-focus, for structural weight is typically associated with functional weight: longer constructions are potentially more informative than shorter ones and more likely to carry the rheme of the whole sentence.

This evident synergy of the above three factors, each of which would be powerful even on its own, makes the scarcity of non-extraposed subject *that*-clauses somewhat less surprising.

Additionally, there are relatively frequent instances of subject clauses (or at least superficially similar constructions) where extraposition is the only choice. Some of these constraints are motivated lexically (Huddleston, Pullum et al. 2002: 1406), or more precisely, by the syntactic properties of the predicate verb chosen on lexical grounds. (with matrix clause verbs such as *be*, *happen*, *turn out*, etc.).

(24) Hence it follows that Thorpe had an interest in the dedicatee, and the latter might have had nothing to do with Shakespeare himself.

(25) *Hence that Thorpe had an interest in the dedicatee follows, and the latter might have had nothing to do with Shakespeare himself.

It is noteworthy that if the verb *follow* had a suitable additional complement (for instance one providing reasons why it was clear that Thorpe had an interest in the dedicatee) and the *that*-clause represented thematic rather than rhematic information, i.e. if it was discourse-old, a non-extraposed version would be perfectly acceptable.

(26) That Thorpe had an interest in the dedicatee follows *from a letter he wrote ...*
Another verb used in constructions not allowing non-extraposition is *be*.

(27) Therefore, we would expect that it is not *that learners are unable to hear accurately*. (P 21)

It is probably more appropriate to treat this as an instance of a *that*-clause functioning as subject complement rather than the subject, however, another possibility is to view this as an instance of ellipsis of the subject complement, with the caveat that

is not quite clear what has been left out, i.e. the missing element is not unambiguously recoverable.

(28) Therefore, we would expect that it is not (*the case/true*, etc.) that learners are unable to hear accurately.

In the original example (27) the introduction of the verb *be* into the structure might have been motivated by the need to bring in an additional negation; a double negation in a sentence is interpreted much more easily when the negations occur in different predications rather than in one, cf the following example.

(29) Therefore, we would expect that learners are *not unable* to hear accurately.

Other constructions are limited to extraposition by syntactic constraints, e.g. sentence modality; it is well-known that subject *that*-clauses, unlike *ing*-subject clauses, cannot be placed initially with interrogative and exclamatory matrix clauses.

(30) Given that interior plants are identified so closely with that era (Martin's gloom-inducing prose aside) is it any wonder that today's minimalism-minded style leaders will have no truck with them? (GW 66)

(31) *Given that interior plants are identified so closely with that era (Martin's gloom-inducing prose aside) is *that today's minimalism-minded style leaders will have no truck with them* any wonder?

(32) Is it the case, then, *that children who once knew but have since forgotten a language actually have it permanently stored in memory*? (P 228)

(33) *Is *that children who once knew but have since forgotten a language actually have it permanently stored in memory* the case, then?

It might be argued that the intervention in (33) of a lengthy postmodifying relative construction makes subject clause non-extraposition even less acceptable, however, the following example demonstrates that it is the interrogative format alone that makes it ungrammatical.

(34) *Is *that children actually have it permanently stored in memory* the case, then?

The following examples show that the same limitations on non-extraposition apply to instances where inversion in the matrix clause is motivated by factors other than the interrogative format (e.g. following an initial negation), and to the somewhat rarer instances of exclamatory matrix clauses.

(35) Neither does it matter *that "house plant" covers a huge variety of species*.
(GW 66)

- (36) *Neither does *that "house plant" covers a huge variety of species* matter.
- (37) Nothing makes us see the shortcomings of this approach so effectively as the study of text, for nowhere in the study of language is it so imperative *that we clarify our ideas of the relationship between language and the so-called extra-linguistic reality*. (L 117)
- (38) *Nothing makes us see the shortcomings of this approach so effectively as the study of text, for nowhere in the study of language is *that we clarify our ideas of the relationship between language and the so-called extra-linguistic reality* so imperative.
- (39) Does he not realise how monstrous it is *that poorly paid professionals, such as deputy headteachers and senior nurses, are now having to pay tax at the top rate of 40 per cent?* (WT 27)
- (40) *Does he not realise how monstrous *that poorly paid professionals, such as deputy headteachers and senior nurses, are now having to pay tax at the top rate of 40 per cent* is?

A substantial proportion of subject *that*-clause extraposition can be accounted for by passive matrix clauses. This is not to say that the other factors favouring extraposition (such as end-weight, end-focus, processibility) are rendered inoperative in such case. In reality all of them push the balance, along with the passive voice, in favour of the post-predicate placement of the *that*-clause. Instances of initial *that*-clauses with passive matrix clauses are rare, cf the only example from the corpus in 7.2.1.1.

- (41) *That McCoy ventured on this project with the utmost seriousness* is asserted by Thomas Sturak when he reports in his essay, "Horace McCoy's Objective Lyricism," that Kiss Tomorrow Goodbye was to be the "acid test of his creative genius and artistic talents." (C 17)

The motivation for such a rare construction is to be looked for in three separate needs: the need to keep the *that*-clause in the initial position as a summarising device, a means of transition from the previous sentence *AND* to put emphasis on the agent, which can be placed postverbally when functioning as an adverbial in the passive structure, *AND* to keep the agent (*Thomas Sturak*) as close as possible to the following *when*-clause, where the pronoun *he* refers to *Sturak*. A corresponding extraposed variant, while acceptable, would only keep focus on the agent, but lose the cohesive function of the initial *that*-clause, and remove the pronoun *he* out of the retrievability span of *Thomas Sturak* by inserting *McCoy* in between.

(42) It was asserted by Thomas Sturak *that McCoy ventured on this project with the utmost seriousness* when he reports in his essay, "Horace McCoy's Objective Lyricism," that *Kiss Tomorrow Goodbye* was to be the "acid test of his creative genius and artistic talents."

This demonstrates that even when some options appear unlikely, they may still be employed as long as the other possibilities remain even less likely.

This singular instance of subject non-extraposition in a passive matrix clause cannot counterbalance the obvious predominance of extraposition in other circumstances. As far as the use of passive matrix clauses is concerned, it is noteworthy that their frequency is much higher with subject *that*-clauses than with infinitive subject clauses. Among the 372 matrix clauses taking extraposed subject *that*-clauses, as many as 79 were in the passive voice. The distribution of passive was, however, uneven across the separate registers: academic writing came at the top with 46 passive matrix clauses, followed by news writing with 23 instances, while fiction, in spite of representing the most extensive part of the corpus yielded as few as 10 passive matrix clauses.

While passive matrix clauses and extraposition are quite clearly co-related, with regard to register differences it is primarily the frequency of the passive which is determined by the register, whereas the prevalence of extraposition is a secondary consequence of the frequency of the passive. It is not part of this dissertation to establish the proportion of active and passive verb forms in the registers in general, in other constructions than those involving subject *that*-clauses, however, it is a reasonable guess that passive verbs would be distributed similarly unevenly.

There is clearly a functional difference in the use of passive matrix clauses with extraposed *that*-clauses across the registers; in fiction the passive is in addition to static uses sometimes employed in the dynamic sense, with verbs like *be decided, said, revealed, felt, made obvious*, and with explicit by agent.

(43) It was decided by all parties that instead of an ostentatious escort we would transport Ruhr quietly by a highly secret route. (M 41)

In news writing the passive is often employed to indicate how certain or uncertain something is, how exact, what the truth value of something is, etc. Consequently the most common verbs used are *be understood* (6x), *estimated, believed, thought, suspected, alleged, hoped, felt, shown, disputed*, etc. The by-agent remains largely unexpressed.

(44) It is now alleged that Mrs Quinn, when she was still Mr Blunkett's lover,

presented him with a letter from the Immigration Directorate, which warned her nanny, Leoncia Casalme, that she faced a wait of around nine months. (WT 26)

In academic writing the main function of the passive is to present information in an impersonal manner, to distance the writer from what is presented, and possibly also to mark the content of the message as certain, hypothetical, etc. A number of verbs that occur frequently in passive matrix clause predicates are therefore verbs of speaking and cognition, such as *be assumed* (7x), *supposed*, *known*, *suggested*, *established*, *implied*, *denied*, *believed*, *noted*, *argued*, *agreed*, *surmised*, etc.

(45) Language ability has always correlated highly with I.Q. measures, and it has often been assumed that language tests, in fact, measure the same thing intelligence tests measure. (P 227)

(46) As in the case of this Tomlinson's stanza, so here it can hardly be denied that the perception of continuity presupposes the perception of a relation of co-reference between the pronominals. (L 79)

(47) It could be argued, in fact, that there was a theory of context before there was a theory of text. (L 5)

In a manner similar to the register-dependent uses of passive verbs, similar differentiation can be observed among the other types of matrix clause predicates, e.g. the adjectival predicates. Particularly in the register of academic writing, some writers manifest a high degree of uniformity in employing structures of the following type.

(48) Just as it is *clear* that lexicon puts constraints on syntax (and vice versa), so it is also *clear* that discourse puts constraints on syntactic choice as well. (P 108)

(49) It is *clear*, though, that one is not just a faulty version of the other. (P 120)

(50) It is *clear* that lack of language proficiency is at the bottom of Johnston's comment that her directness hurt others, that she needed less direct (more mitigated) ways of speaking with people. (P 125)

(51) It is also *clear* that the abstract system can be used to predict the form of new conversations. (P 142)

(52) It soon became *clear* that language used in communicating with young children (and others with less verbal ability or less facility with a particular language) is modified in specific ways. (P 153)

The above pattern is so common that it may be thought of as a functional equivalent to adverbial disjuncts.

(53) Clearly, the abstract system can also be used to predict the form of new

conversations.

There are other adjectives used in a similar manner, typically referring to truth, likelihood, and importance, such as *probable*, *doubtful*, *true*, *likely*, *significant*, *natural*, *plausible*, *surprising*, etc., however none of them is as frequent as *clear*. Some of these have developed standard communicative functions, e.g. the adjective *true* almost invariably suggests concessive or contrastive relationship and is frequently followed by *but* or introduced by *while*, *although*, etc.

(54) It is *true* that in the classical detective story the disposal of the corpse is usually cleansing, but to a feminist reader the violent eradication of any woman is disturbing. (C 6)

(55) *While* it is *true* that the developing tradition of language education which these volumes represent does, as I have noted, take up some of the concerns of the older rhetorical studies, it nonetheless also looks forward, pointing to ways of examining language which were not available in earlier times. (L 0)

(56) *While* it seems more *plausible* that intonation depends both on discourse and on syntactic plans, whatever the order of plans within the hierarchy, differences in meaning signaled by stress, juncture and intonation are important in second language learning. (P 38)

(57) It should not be *surprising*, then, that Hungarian students try to transfer this productivity to English morphology. (P 42)

Interestingly, several instances of *that*-clauses involving the adjective *clear* were in the negative. While in positive context the adjective indicates factuality of the event or phenomenon conveyed by the *that*-clause, negation renders it non-factual. In spite of this, there were several occurrences of *that*-clauses after such structures, instead of the more expected *wh*-interrogatives introduced by *whether*. As all of the following instances occurred in one text, it is hard to say to what extent such practice is accepted by other writers, whether it is a property of a regional or other variety of language or is purely idiosyncratic.

(58) It is not clear, however, that formality of the speech situation will invariably cause the learner to use more accurate forms. (P 31)

(59) It isn't clear from the Stanford Archive data display that the order is statistically similar to those of child language, misperceptions orders, or to this second language data. (P 34)

(60) It is not clear that this occurs in second language acquisition. (P 53)

Adjectival matrix clause predicates employed outside academic writing, i.e. in fiction and in news writing, on the whole, manifested greater lexical variation.

Some of the extraposed subject *that*-clauses in the corpus were found with *that* ellipated. In judging the factors leading to ellipsis or retention of the subordinator, distinction must be made between cases where the omission is motivated by coordination, and others. If the omission is triggered by coordination, it is not only the conjunction that is omitted, but also the subject, as long as it is identical with that in the preceding coordinate clause, and sometimes an auxiliary verb. It has to be noted that coordination of *that*-clauses typically favours retention of *that* in the first of the coordinated clauses, and omission of *that* in the second (or any other following) clause is by no means guaranteed, although it seems to be a frequent phenomenon in such cases, analogical to the omission of the infinitive particle *to* in the second of two coordinated infinitives. Retention of *that*, in addition to marking the boundary between two clauses, unambiguously presents the subject clause as subordinate while its omission may give rise to ambiguity as to its syntactic status.

(61) It is now established beyond question *that* a definite change in the arctic climate set in about 1900, *that* it became astonishingly marked about 1930, and *that* it is now spreading into sub-arctic and temperate regions. (SAU 168)

(62) It is quite possible *that* such ambiguity and relative lack of coherence are the product of the same factors, and *that* there is no logical direct relationship between ambiguity and relative lack of coherence. (L 89)

(63) It is a sign of her extraordinary skill that she has introduced change without losing the large popular audience which the genre attracts and (*that she*) has established herself as an important practitioner of the art. (C 4)

(64) If globalisation is to mean anything at all, it is vital *that* such documentaries are made and (*that*) such stories are written. (G 19)

Of more interest are instances of *that* omission caused by other factors.

(65) When she told him to go away, he observed that it was her fault (*that*) the marriage failed and (*that*) the child was stillborn. (RD 198)

According to Kaltenböck (2004a), there are two principal factors leading to *that* omission or retention: the level of formality and the type of text. The less formal modes of presentation manifest higher proportion of *that* omission (importantly, formality or lack of it, although clearly related to writing and speaking, are not seen in direct

proportion with written and spoken mode, respectively). As far as different text types are concerned, *that* omission is, in Kaltenböck's opinion, most frequent in what he calls *reportage* and *scripted monologue*. In these text types a substantial proportion of the matrix predicates contain a passive reporting verb without agent of the type *it is said*. As these verbs typically introduce new information, it is possible that the omission of the subordinator is motivated by an effort to avoid the perceived incompatibility of syntactic backgrounding of the complement clause signalled by *that* on the one hand, and the discourse-new, i.e. typically rhematic, character of the information conveyed by the subordinate clause. The absence of the subordinator somewhat neutralises the hierarchical syntactic difference between the matrix clause and the complement clause. The finding that *that* omission is particularly usual in news writing after passive matrix clause predicates goes contrary to description presented in Biber et al. (1999: 682), where the passive voice in the main clause is considered a strong factor favouring *that* retention. It is important to note, however, that Biber's examples are almost exclusively instances of object *that*-clauses, and it is reasonable to expect that the findings cannot be easily applied to subject clauses.

Examining *that* omission in the present corpus revealed 12 instances where the omission occurs within coordination, in the second of the two subject clauses; the first of these typically retains the subordinator, with the exception of (65) above.

Outside coordination, 24 instances of *that* omission were observed, ten in fiction, four in academic writing, and the remaining ten in news writing.

(66) 'It's possible they won't have me,' he said. (CF 173)

(67) All entanglements involved sperm whales and it is possible the concentration of reports off the coasts of Ecuador and Peru may be related to a seasonal migration of these whales. (SAU 199)

(68) It's no wonder the prisoners call them 'banana visits', looked on as they are like monkeys caged in zoo. (WT 33)

In three instances, all of them from spoken discourse, in addition to *that* omission, another ellipsis occurred, underlining the informal character of the presentation.

(69) "Too bad he got the Leedses when old Parsons was right down the street convenient," Lewis observed. (RD 36)

(70) "No wonder they often rot." (GW 68)

News writing yielded three instances of *that* omission with passive matrix clauses of the kind described by Kaltenböck (2004a):

(71) The government announced over a week ago that Joseph Kabila would succeed his father, although it is believed he does not draw widespread support in a country that has suffered years of war and instability. (T 16)

(72) During the first world war, for example, it was generally believed the Germans were boiling down the bodies of British soldiers to use as soap. (G 4)

(73) It is understood he was sacked by the board of governors after a boy was hit on the head with his own school bag. (WT 9)

Interestingly, outside news writing, a single *that* omission of this kind was found in the register of academic writing.

(74) The Danish research vessel Galathea brought up living animals in dredges operated at great depths, where only recently it was supposed life would be too scanty to permit such sampling. (SAU 10)

On the other hand, intervention of an element between the matrix clause predicate and the *that*-clause blocks subordinator omission.

(75) It is now clear, from the work of the nuclear submarines and from other, more conventional explorations, that the bottom topography of the Arctic Ocean is for the most part that of a normal oceanic basin, with flat abyssal plains, scattered sea mounts, and rugged mountains. (SAU 203)

The predicates in subject *that*-clauses in the corpus are in most cases in the form of the indicative, however, there are also five instances of mandative subjunctive, four of them undisputed, one of them ambiguous between indicative and subjunctive. The use of subjunctive is prompted by the use of adjectives or nouns expressing necessity, plan or intention for the future (Quirk et al. 1985: 1012, Huddleston, Pullum et al. 2002: 994); the subjunctives and the expressions licensing them are italicised.

(78) In this later book it is *important* that some investigation *be carried out* in Colorado and Mark Haskell is sent to do it, though he will only be carrying out Chambrun's plan and organization. (C 95)

(79) In this model one searches for a scale (the gradual move from incorrect to correct) and then tests the scale to discover the systematicity of the progression; so it is *important* that research also *describe* precisely how "scalable" the data actually are. (P 32)

(80) While it is not *binding* on the customer that, in response, he or she - let's say she - *make* a sale request, this strategy forces her to come clean. (L 66)

(81) It was Miss Rice's *idea* that she *be married* surrounded by the life's work of

her distinguished peers and Ned was delighted to grant her request. (C 131)
(82) The director of the Poetry Society, Chris Mead - who had read the wedding poem in advance - said: "I think it's *important* that these poems *speak* for themselves," and declined to comment further. (G 15)

The last of the above examples may be reinterpreted as indicative, albeit with a shift in meaning; if the interpretation is subjunctive, it could be rephrased as *it's important that these poems should speak for themselves* in the sense *it is desirable*, whereas the indicative interpretation merely comments on a fact: *these poems speak for themselves and it is important that they do*.

Twelve subject *that*-clauses had predicates containing putative *should* (Quirk et al, 1985: 1014; Leech, 1987: 115), ten of them in extraposition and the remaining two in the initial position. Putative *should* presents events with a non-factual bias, as potentially existing, as ideas rather than facts. The potentiality of constructions such as *It's a pity that they should be sorry* is best seen when they are paraphrased by means of conditional clauses: *If they are sorry, it's a pity*, suggesting that their *being sorry* is by no means guaranteed, but possible. On the other hand, indicative verb forms are factual: *It's a pity that they are sorry*, where *being sorry* is an established fact. Huddleston, Pullum et al. (2002: 1001-1002, 1010) refer to this use of *should* as 'attitudinal *should*', suggesting that it is used to convey subjective attitude or evaluation and, and this seems like a paradox, occurs with factive governors, such as *extraordinary, surprising, right, wrong, etc.*, which, rather surprisingly counterbalance its non-factual character. The meaning of this syntactic construction therefore hangs somewhere between factual and hypothetical interpretation. All of the following examples refer to events that either happened, are happening or are about to happen, but their factuality is played down by *should*. All of them can be paraphrased by means of conditional clauses and all of them appear to be thematic.

(83) It was utterly *natural* to them that Daddy *should* sleep downstairs and Mummy upstairs. (CF 31)

(84) It was *typical* of the BBC that they *should* put her on Shrews at Ten. (CF 44)

(85) It is a *curious situation* that the sea, from which life first arose, *should* now be threatened by the activities of one form of that life. (SAU 12)

(86) Perhaps it is not *surprising* that there *should* be such radical disagreement. (SAU 105)

(87) It is *surprising*, but pleasant, that sailing directions of one and the same

vintage *should* contain instructions for obtaining position by the use of loran, and *should* also counsel the navigator to be guided, like the Norsemen a millennium ago, by the flight of birds and the behavior of whales in making land in foggy weather. (SAU 195)

(88) Confident of her ability, she wrote: "It is *not possible* that a mystery story *should* be 'great but badly written' ", and Sayers wanted nothing less than greatness. (C 68)

(89) None the *worse*, perhaps, that an almost stranger *should* write about him – uninhibited, unprejudiced, knowing nothing of his family, his back-ground, his life-history - judging him simply as a man one has met and from that moment respected, admired and loved. (C 133)

(90) Divorce is usually a traumatic, nerve-racking and fiercely confrontational business, so it seems *odd* that people such as the British - known for their tolerance, passivity and reluctance to argue with waiters - *should* be so eager to enter into it. (GW 7)

(91) It's an apt *paradox* that, at 61, the Delhi novelist, who has only recently found freedom in the life of an itinerant academic, *should* be escaping India - and rushing to embrace it. (GS 6)

For the sake of completeness, the two remaining examples of non-extraposed subject *that*-clauses containing putative *should* are given below.

(92) That the sun, with a mass 27 million times that of the moon, *should* have less influence over the tides than a small satellite of the earth is at first *surprising*. (SAU 143)

(93) But in India, the very idea was dynamite. That farmers *should* not be able to replant seeds was *inconceivable* and offensive. (GW 15)

7.2.1.3 *That*-clauses in postposition

It was shown earlier that non-extrapolation of *that*-clauses constituted a fraction of the instances of extraposition, which seems to be a norm with this type of subject clauses. Nonetheless, there is a positional variant which is even rarer than non-extrapolation: the postposition. Only two instances of sentences containing *that*-clauses were retrieved from the corpus, one from academic writing, the other from journalism. It is significant that both of them are introduced by the same prepositional phrase; one

contains a list of as many as ten coordinated *that*-clauses, the other a single *that*-clause. In both cases the postposed *that*-clauses represent the rhematic section of the sentence.

(94) Among the things that we know about him are *that he has an Argentine passport, that he used a soporific drug and has previously suffered a nervous breakdown, that he has spied for a variety of unnamed nations, that he participated in the Spanish Civil War on the Loyalist side, that he has killed ruthlessly, that he has few loyalties of any conventional sort, that he plays the cello, and that he is now feeling the emptiness of his life and hoping to change it.* (C 99)

(95) Among the more surprising findings of the past decade is *that weight training can reverse some effects of aging.* (T 48)

In (94) the extreme heaviness of the post-predicate section is the primary reason for postposition, and it is noteworthy that an extraposed paraphrase would be infelicitous, the reasons being the presence of the relative clause which might mistakenly be interpreted as a subject clause, and the disproportion between the singular matrix clause and the plurality of the coordinated chain of subordinate clauses.

(96) It is among the things that we know about him *that he has an Argentine passport, ...*

A more felicitous paraphrase would move the construction out of the realm of subject clauses, while keeping it equally informative, preserving even the distribution of information:

(97) The things that we know about him include *that he has an Argentine passport, ...*

On the other hand, (95) could be paraphrased by means of extraposition without a noticeable change in meaning, only removing the somewhat exotic stylistic flavour conveyed by postposition.

(98) It is among the more surprising findings of the past decade *that weight training can reverse some effects of aging.*

7.2.1.4 Choice of position discussed

With the separate positional variants distributed as unevenly as in the case of subject *that*-clauses (10 : 352 : 2 matrix clauses for the initial position, extraposition and postposition, respectively, cf *Table 7.7* below), it is obvious that the most frequent variant, the extraposition, must be universal enough to cover nearly all functional

requirements which would otherwise be performed by different positional modifications. Conversely, the use of the other two positions must be motivated by a set of very strictly specific circumstances.

Table 7.7 Proportion of the separate positions of subject that-clauses

| | Initial | Extraposed | Postposed | Total |
|----------------------|---------|------------|-----------|-------|
| Matrix clauses | 10 | 352 | 2 | 364 |
| <i>That</i> -clauses | 10 | 397 | 11 | 418 |

There are several reasons making the initial position of subject *that*-clauses a marginal option. First, it is their structural weight brought about by their finite-clause format. None of the initial *that*-clauses in the corpus are “short” in the same sense as *ing*-clauses or infinitive clauses in that position. Although they do not take as extensive complementation as extraposed *that*-clauses, the majority of them are longer than the post predicate section of the sentence, sometimes rather prominently. It seems that the longer the pre-predicate section in comparison with the post-predicate section, the more prominent the final rheme becomes.

In FSP terms initial *that*-clauses represent thematic information, i.e. such that is less dynamic, having occurred, at least partly, in the previous context. Although this is the expected pattern of distribution of communicative dynamism, even this factor alone cannot guarantee that a *that*-clause is suited for the initial position better than for extraposition. While most extraposed subject *that*-clauses are rhematic, the proportion of thematic extraposed *that*-clauses in the corpus is definitely higher than that of non-extraposed. Additionally, non-extraposed *that*-clauses could be turned into extraposed ones without becoming unacceptable. There were no instances in the corpus of structures of the type *That he mentioned it means that he knew it*, where extraposition does not obtain for syntactic reasons.

Therefore it seems that the primary reason to use initial *that*-clauses is their summarising function, which consists in revising what has been said before, gently reminding the addressee what might have been forgotten, and perhaps even adding some information which has not occurred yet, but is inferrable, or possibly known.

Let us examine once again one instance of *that*-clause non-extraposition, this time in a broader context.

(99) That the sun, with a mass 27 million times that of the moon, *should* have less influence over the tides than a small satellite of the earth is at first surprising.

(SAU 143)

This sentence opens a new paragraph devoted to the explanation why a much bigger heavenly object has less influence than a smaller one. The information that this is so, however, was already mentioned in the previous paragraph in the following form.

(100) Anyone who has lived near tidewater knows that the moon, far more than the sun, controls the tide.

It is separated from (99) by eight sentences, most of them lengthy, devoted to the description of the interaction of the two heavenly bodies depending on their position relative to the earth. It is therefore quite likely that the information is already on the point of falling out of the retrievability span. With so much intervening information, it would be completely unacceptable not to refresh the readers memory and merely use a pro-form instead of presenting the information in full. In such case, the referent of *this* would be looked for in the less distant sections of the discourse.

(101) ?? *This* is at first surprising.

However, the initial *that*-clause does not only revise what has already been stated; it adds information which appears in the text for the first time, namely *with a mass 27 million times that of the moon*. This is, strictly speaking, new information, but of the kind which constitutes background knowledge of the readers. It is more than likely that readers know that the sun is much bigger than the moon, yet, they are unlikely to know what the exact proportion is.

It is possible to imagine (99) in the extraposed version, however, the post-predicate position of the *that*-clause might suggest that the information conveyed by it is rhematic rather than thematic. Such interpretation would not be completely impossible if we take into account the distance of eight sentences from its first occurrence. The only remaining sign of thematicity would thus be the putative *should*.

(102) It is at first surprising that the sun, with a mass 27 million times that of the moon, *should* have less influence over the tides than a small satellite of the earth.

This process just described demonstrates how difficult it is to perform an FSP analysis of fields of CD distribution larger than the clause. What counts is the overall communicative dynamism of the field, but, at the same time, clausal (and larger) fields consist of a range of elements displaying varying degrees of communicative dynamism.

It is therefore impossible, or at least extremely difficult, to provide general guidelines for such analysis, and each instance has to be treated separately. Even so, some instances may be potentially open to different FSP interpretations.

Let us now turn to the consideration of subject *that*-clause extraposition. It is the favoured option because of an interplay of factors pointing in the same direction: the typically considerable structural weight combined with functional weight, and the processing factor all contribute to the striking predominance of extraposition.

Owing to the complexity of structure governed by the extraposed *that*-clause, it may sometimes be difficult to pinpoint the exact location of the principal rheme of the whole sentence since it does not have to be on the *that*-clause itself, but often is located further down in the chain of complex subordinate structures. Linear arrangement of the complements plays an important part here, because the principle of end-focus remains operative.

(103) Although both men were initially discreet, circumspect to the point of obscurity, their mutual confidence grew and they talked more openly as the days passed; it was vividly clear to them that unless Fidel were 'removed' then Cuba was *doomed*. (M 390)

The *that*-clause contains an embedded conditional clause, which immediately follows *that*, reserving the final rhematic position for *doomed*. It is possible to imagine the conditional clause as following the *that*-clause, however, in that case the expected position of the intonation nucleus would then be on *removed*, and *then* would have to be dropped because it makes the relative position of the two clauses fixed.

(104) ...; it was vividly clear to them that Cuba was doomed unless Fidel were 'removed'.

On the other hand, extraposed subject clauses may present thematic information as well, which makes them almost a universal word order pattern. The thematic character of the *that*-clause results from the information conveyed by it being less dynamic than that conveyed by the matrix clause, owing to context dependence, and is signalled by the use of anaphoric pro-forms.

(105) And it is fortunate *that this is so*, for if the huge masses of water that comprise a wave actually moved across the sea, navigation would be impossible. (SAU 110)

Alongside context dependence goes less prominent structural weight resulting from the use of pro forms. It is perhaps significant that (105) could employ putative

should with very little change in meaning. If putative *should* really has the capacity to mark the content of a clause as thematic, it is no surprise that it often, though by no means invariably, appears in relatively long and complex structures, substituting for the missing pro-forms as a signal of thematicity.

Similarly, it is logical that a number of thematic extraposed *that*-clauses are found in spoken language, since the signalling function of prosody surpasses that of linear arrangement. Moreover, in the following example, the thematic status of the subject clause is attested by the following elliptical sentence, which would constitute the subject complement in a non-elliptical format, with the *that*-clause functioning as the subject.

(106) "It was a coincidence *that I had seen it*. A piece of luck." (RD 55)

The rarest of the positions taken by subject clauses is definitely the postposition. It can be thought of as a stylistically marked variant of extraposition, with which it shares the distribution of communicative dynamism, with focus on the final clause. It can use a limited range of fronted element at the beginning, such as prepositional phrases, adjective phrases, etc., all of them low in information content and typically indicating connection to previous text, often by means of comparison (such as *Among the MORE SURPRISING findings was ..., of PARTICULAR interest*, etc.). In this respect, the fronted element plays a semantic role usually associated with disjuncts (Smolka, 2005a: 212-214).

7.2.2 Dependent interrogative clauses

Dependent interrogative clauses, also referred to *wh*-interrogatives, are the subordinate analogies of independent interrogative sentences, both of the *yes/no* and the *wh*-question types. As their independent counterparts, they leave a gap of unknown information represented by the *wh*-element (Quirk et al. 1985: 1050-1054).

- (1) "Does she like the present?"
- (2) It is not clear to me if/whether she likes the present.
- (3) Whether she likes the present is not clear to me.
- (4) "How did he get there?"
- (5) It's irrelevant how he got there.
- (6) How he got there is irrelevant.

Dependent interrogative clauses are superficially similar to nominal relative clauses, also known as *fused relatives* in the terminology used by Huddleston, Pullum, et al. (2002: 1068-1079). However, while the latter display behaviour which leads

Huddleston, Pullum et al. to treating them as noun phrases rather than clausal entities, dependent interrogative clauses display characteristically clausal properties, representing an immediate constituent of their superordinate clause, such as subject, object, etc. (Dušková, 1999a: 231). This means, among other things, that in the role of the subject, they can occupy either the canonical initial subject position, as in (3) and (6), or may be extraposed as in (2) and (4). In terms of subject-verb concord, they behave as singular entities, requiring the singular form of the predicate verb.

(7) Which books he has in mind is not important.

Some structures are potentially ambiguous between the dependent interrogative and nominal relative interpretation, however, there is a semantic difference (Huddleston, Pullum, et al., 2002: 1070).

(8) What she wrote is completely unclear.

The dependent interrogative interpretation can be paraphrased as follows: *the answer to the question “what did she write?” is unclear, i.e. I don’t know what she wrote* (hence the information gap), whereas the nominal relative interpretation is: *she wrote something (a letter, a message, etc) and that which she wrote (i.e. the product of her writing) lacks clarity.*

An extraposed version, on the other hand, can only have the interpretation of the dependent interrogative, since nominal relative clauses, owing to their nominal status, do not allow extraposition.

(9) It is completely unclear what she wrote?

Similarly, when changing the structure into the interrogative format, ambiguity is resolved; the dependent interrogative must be in extraposition, whereas the nominal relative occurs with subject-operator inversion:

(10) Is it completely unclear what she wrote?

(11) Is what she wrote unclear?

From what has been said follows that (10) means *Is it true that we lack information about what the product of her writing is?* while (11) means: *Does that which she wrote lack clarity?*

Significantly, therefore, syntactic behaviour of the two constructions may provide a clue when there is doubt about the status of a particular instance.

It also means that the distinction between the initial position and extraposition only applies to the dependent interrogative clauses.

Of the 64 sentences containing dependent interrogative clauses which occurred in the corpus, 31 are initial and the remaining 33 extraposed, which suggests a more even distribution of the two positions than in the previous types of subject clauses.

7.2.2.1 Dependent interrogative clauses in initial position

Among the 31 sentences containing initial dependent interrogative clauses, two are complemented by two coordinated dependent clauses and one by three clauses, which means that there are 35 dependent interrogative clauses. The proportion of the types of dependent clauses and the distribution of the interrogative expressions is given in *Table 7.8* below.

Table 7.8 Initial dependent interrogative clauses

| | | | | |
|--------------------------|---|----------------|----|----|
| Matrix clause predicates | | | | 31 |
| Interrogative clauses | | | | 35 |
| Yes/no questions | 5 | Wh-questions | 30 | 35 |
| whether | 3 | what | 9 | |
| whether ... or | 1 | whatever | 1 | |
| whether or not | 1 | which | 0 | |
| if | - | who | 2 | |
| | | whoever | 1 | |
| | | how | 11 | |
| | | where | 1 | |
| | | why | 3 | |
| | | what and why | 1 | |
| | | where and when | 1 | |

It is clear from the table that a substantial majority of the initial interrogative clauses are of the *wh*-question type; the quantitative difference seems prominent enough to suggest a general trend. The two types of dependent interrogatives also differ dramatically in the range of the interrogative expressions, which reflects the difference

in the range of types of information they question. In the initial position, the conjunction *if* is excluded for syntactic reasons.

The following are examples of the structures actually appearing in the corpus.

(12) Whether this range is wide enough is a matter of running controversy. (GS 7)

Dependent interrogative clauses tend to be used in coordination, which may acquire different forms; either each of the clauses is introduced separately with a *wh*-word of its own, or the *wh*-words are coordinated, introducing one proposition. Notably, when connected by means of a comma or by the conjunction *and*, the separate *wh*-clauses in coordination behave in the same manner as coordinated NP subjects, taking plural form of the predicate verb.

(13) *Who* these men were, and *what* their purposes might have been, were matters of no importance to Sandoval. (M 470)

(14) *How long* it will live, *how far* it will travel, to *what manner* of end it will come are all determined, in large measure, by the conditions it meets in its progression across the face of the sea. (SAU 111)

(15) It is clear that transfer/interference is an important source of error, but *where* and *when* it occurs, physiologically, is not clear. (P 22)

(16) *Whether* or *not* you notice depends on how often you do it. (T 50)

(17) Obviously the hippocampus is very important in language learning, but *what* and *why* certain things are stored and others not is unclear. (P 207)

The last example seems somewhat odd because of the unusual use of ellipsis. In full, it would read as:

(18) Obviously the hippocampus is very important in language learning, but *what* (is stored) and *why* certain things are stored and others not is unclear.

Passive interrogative clauses and clauses with passive matrix clause predicates are occasionally found in the initial position.

(19) What, precisely, was said there is still hotly contested. (WT 26)

Three sentences contained the verb *should*; in one case it modal, the other two instances are to be interpreted as putative *should*. It is significant that both occurrences of putative *should* were found among initial interrogative clauses rather than extraposed ones. The initial position of the clauses suggests that they are less dynamic than their matrix clauses and therefore thematic, cf the discussion in 7.2.1.2.

(20) How that contribution *should* be articulated is quite properly a matter of

development in partnership between educationists, teachers and linguists, and a great deal has yet to be done to achieve such articulation. (L 0)

(21) Why this *should* be the case is not clear. (P 28)

(22) Why chocolate cake and cherry pie *should* still have stress on the second part is puzzling. (P 63)

Initial position of dependent interrogatives seems to be very closely linked with thematicity, leaving the end-focus position for the matrix clause predicate. This means that the indication of the rheme is a very powerful factor of rheme placement. On the whole, this corresponds to what Firbas (1992: 97-103) says about the functional sentence perspective of questions: it is not automatically the *wh*-word that carries the focus of information, but rather the FSP of questions is determined by the same interplay of factors (i.e. including linear modification) as declaratives. Although he gives examples of independent interrogatives, it is conceivable that the general tendencies would apply even in subordinate clauses. Only two instances from the corpus need to be commented on here.

(23) It is clear that transfer/interference is an important source of error, but where and when it occurs, physiologically, is *not* clear. (P 22)

The adjective *clear* in the subject complement at the end of the sentence apparently is context dependent, which might give rise to speculation about the initial interrogative clause potentially carrying the rheme. However, the important thing here is that the final subject complement has contrastive focus brought into the sentence by the negation *not*, and this is where the intonation nucleus falls. An extraposed version would potentially place the focus on the *wh*-clause, which would establish a kind of symmetry with the first part of the sentence, which also happens to include extraposition. Arguably, this symmetry was broken here precisely to indicate the position of the information focus in (23) on the negation.

(24) It is clear that transfer/interference is an important source of error, but it is *not* clear where and when it *occurs*, physiologically.

Another instance of dependent interrogative clause also concerns structural symmetry. The sentence in question is the closing sentence of a paragraph.

(25) Graham went back to the Leeds house in the late afternoon. He entered through the front door and tried not to look at the ruin the killer had left. So far he had seen files, a killing floor and meat – all aftermath. He knew a fair amount about how they died. How they lived was on his mind today. (RD 38)

Two FSP interpretations are theoretically possible. In the last but one sentence, the rheme may fall on *fair amount* (*how they died* is retrievable information in the context of murder investigation). *How they lived* in the last sentence is apparently contrasted with *how they died*. However, if the rheme were to fall on *live*, extraposition would have been more likely: *Today it was on his mind how they LIVED*. Since the predicate *was on his mind* may also be considered as context dependent, being roughly equivalent with *wanted to know*, the rheme in the last sentence may be either *today* as suggested by linear arrangement, or the initial subject clause highlighted by the contrast as well as by the semantic factor; the predicate *be on one's mind* clearly favours the subject as the informative element. The sentence allows alternative prosodic structures and its FSP is far from clear. For the rest of the examples, the canonical word order with the subject at the beginning suggests rheme of the matrix clause.

7.2.2.2 Dependent interrogative clauses in extraposition

In extraposition, the proportion of yes/no and wh-questions is much more even, as is clear from *Table 7.9*.

Table 7.9 Extraposed dependent interrogative clauses

| | | | | |
|--------------------------|----|-------------------|----|----|
| Matrix clause predicates | | | | 33 |
| Interrogative clauses | | | | 37 |
| Yes/no questions | 19 | Wh-questions | 18 | 37 |
| Whether | 6 | what | 8 | |
| whether ... or | 9 | whatever | 0 | |
| whether or not | 1 | which | 1 | |
| If | 3 | who | 1 | |
| | | whoever | 0 | |
| | | how | 3 | |
| | | where | 1 | |
| | | why | 3 | |
| | | where and on what | 1 | |

In addition to *whether*, the corpus yielded three instances of interrogative *if*, which in extraposed interrogative clauses represents a somewhat limited alternative to *whether*. Two of these were from news writing, the remaining one from academic prose.

(26) The magazine said that it was not known if the warrant had ever been served on Mr Kerik, who won widespread recognition for his role in the aftermath of the attacks in September 11, 2001, and has become multi-millionaire since entering the private sector in 2002. (WT 22)

(27) It is unclear if Mr Bush will also visit France, as relations with President Jacques Chirac remain tetchy. (WT 22)

(28) It is, however, doubtful if Example 5.2 will be seen as representative of a genre quite so readily, though many of us who have taught a foreign language might not be surprised to find that the four sentences of Example 5.2 have been lifted from a foreign language teaching exercise. (L 71)

In terms of FSP, extraposition seems to present a reversed picture of the initial position, with a majority of the extraposed *wh*-clauses rhematic. Indeed, the factor of linear modification gains in prominence in dependent interrogatives precisely because both positions are readily available. This is in sharp contrast with the situation as we know from *that*-clauses, where non-extraposition is severely constrained and the factor of linear arrangement cannot therefore assert itself to such an extent. Of course, it would be untrue to claim that all instances of *wh*-extraposition are rhematic; examples to the contrary derive the thematic status of the dependent clause chiefly from their context dependence.

(29) Pagan looked inside the other rooms of the flat. They were empty. "Where did he go?"

"What difference does it make to you *where my husband goes*?"

As the second question echoes a previous question, and considering that *he* is co-referential with *my husband*, the dependent interrogative clause has to be thematic. It is important to keep in mind that in this particular instance the factor of linear modification cannot assert itself, since there is no alternative to the extraposition, the matrix clause also being interrogative. A version containing simple subject-operator inversion would have nominal relative interpretation, with a corresponding change in meaning.

(30) "What difference does *where my husband goes* make to you?"

Consequently, the paraphrase would be *What difference does THE PLACE where my husband goes make to you?*

Where the position of the rheme is within the extraposed dependent clause (end-focus), the principle of end-weight tends to apply simultaneously, as many of the extraposed clauses represent structures of substantial length, due to coordination or to other subordinate clauses complementing the dependent *wh*-interrogatives.

(31) After rules had been written and acquisition stages described, it wasn't clear whether growth in syntactic systems reflected development of a truly independent language system or whether it was tied to (and thus perhaps reflective of) general cognitive growth. (P 89)

(32) It has to be asked why this strategy is being questioned by some former South African players like Clive Rice who, as South Africa's first captain after readmission - albeit only in one-day cricket - experienced the strengths and limitations for himself. (WT 50)

There is one instance of a dependent *wh*-clause which reminiscent of subject clauses such as are treated in this section, a closer look however reveals that it is a fronted dependent interrogative object clause complementing the infinitive verb *to* say.

(33) Whether these descriptive details are touches of Phoenician canniness or merely the old ideas reasserting themselves it is hard to say, but much the same conceptions appear again and again in later accounts, echoing down the centuries to the very threshold of modern times. (SAU 186)

The suggested paraphrase therefore takes the following form.

(34) It is hard to say whether these descriptive details are touches of Phoenician canniness or merely the old ideas reasserting themselves, but much the same conceptions appear again and again in later accounts, echoing down the centuries to the very threshold of modern times.

7.2.3 Dependent exclamatory clauses

Dependent exclamatory (or exclamative) clauses constitute a minor category of subordinate nominal clauses functioning as subjects, direct object or prepositional complements of their matrix clause (Quirk et al. 1985: 1055-1056). Only those fulfilling the role of the subject are treated here. They may be derived from independent exclamatory clauses in the following manner.

(1) How fast she can run!

(2) It's incredible how fast she can run.

How is used as an intensifier and the structure can be paraphrased as *It's incredible that she can run so fast.*

These type of clauses bear superficial similarity to subordinate interrogative clauses introduced by *what* or *how*. Since interrogative clauses lose their subject-operator inversion when they become subordinated, the difference in word order is neutralised between the interrogatives and the exclamatives. *What* is a predeterminer in exclamatives but a central determiner in interrogative clauses, which results in the presence of the indefinite article after *what* before singular countable nouns in exclamatory clauses, distinguishing them from dependent interrogative clauses. The corpus of subject clauses yielded a total of four dependent exclamatory clauses.

(3) It is just unbelievable what a difference it has made to me in less than a week.

(L 98)

From the word order point of view, exclamatory subject clauses constitute an uninteresting category, since they are invariably extraposed.

(4) "Isn't it surprising what a man can find in an otherwise dreary English landscape?" (M 113)

(5) It was funny how little she felt, how little pain from the boots and the nightsticks, as if she no longer had a capacity for it. (M 537)

(6) From overindulgence to a lack of exercise, it's amazing how we mistreat our bodies. (T 3)

The exclamatory meaning is most easily identified when *how* precedes an adjective or an adverb which it intensifies, such as (5), whereas when it precedes a clause, as in (6), the intensifying function may be less obvious, although it is possible to imagine the insertion, for example, of the quantifier *much*:

(7) From overindulgence to a lack of exercise, it's amazing how *much* we mistreat our bodies. = the (enormous) extent to which we mistreat our bodies.

However, (6) might also have the interpretation of a dependent interrogative clause: *the ways in which we mistreat our bodies.*

In addition to the above exclamatory clauses, several instances were found in the corpus of similar structure of the following kind.

(7) It was funny *how*, after all this time, there was a streak of jealousy in him, like the trail of a very old comet, but uncomfortable just the same. (M 286)

In this example, *how* is devoid of its usual intensifying meaning, but rather becomes a kind of subordinator broadly equivalent to *that*, a use described by Huddleston, Pullum et al. (2002: 954).

(8) It was funny *that*, after all this time, there was a streak of jealousy in him, like the trail of a very old comet, but uncomfortable just the same.

This use of *how* seems to be restricted to rather informal language.

7.2.4 Nominal relative clauses

Nominal relative clauses have traditionally been on the margin of subordinate clauses. It was already observed by Quirk et al. (1985: 1056) that nominal relative clauses remind of noun phrases as they can be both concrete and abstract and can refer even to persons. This is what prompted Huddleston, Pullum et al. (2002:1068-1079) to take this claim much further and treat them not as clauses, but rather as noun phrases under the term *fused relative*, cf 7.2.2, i.e. as antecedents and relative clauses merged into a single unit.

(1) That which / the thing which he suggests is unreasonable.

(2) What he suggests is unreasonable.

Their characteristic features include: a) noun-like subject-verb number concord when they are in subject position, b) subject-operator inversion in interrogative sentences, c) unavailability of extraposition, d) and unavailability of preposition fronting.

a) Whatever book you see is mine - Whatever books you see are mine.

b) "Does what he said mean anything else to you, anything we can use?" (RD 184)

c) What you want is tricky. *It's tricky what you want.

d) What she referred to was the file. *To what she referred was the file.

It may be argued that is the nominal character of these clauses (fused relatives) that prevents the possibility of extraposition, i.e. something observed in a less extreme degree in *ing*-clauses.

The corpus yielded 67 instances of sentences containing nominal relative clauses as their subjects, 28 in fiction, 24 in academic writing, and 15 in news writing. Nominal relative clauses employ two sets of *wh*-words, with and without *-ever*, usually without a noticeable change in meaning, however, some of the forms are less common than others, e.g. *who* in (9).

(3) *Whatever they did eat* went straight into their tiny mouths and any that didn't

was promptly removed by a J-cloth. (C 17)

(4) *Whatever composes it* is apparently strongly repelled by sunlight. (SAU 52)

(5) *What happened in Derry on Bloody Sunday* was a crime by the British state.
(G 18)

(6) What it came down to was this simple: the woman in Norwich had to be ...
disposed of. (M 229)

(7) "*Whoever tries the recipes out* will be able, next time, to improvise." (GW 44)

(8) *Whoever had stashed it here between the trees* had done so in haste, or else
didn't give a damn about discovery. (M 192)

(9) *Who controls a country's food security* controls that country. (GW 16)

Some structures are potentially ambiguous, oscillating between nominal relative
and interrogative reading.

(10) What is a "clear message" between intimate friends or among family
members is likely to be much less clear to outsiders.

(11) It is less clear to outsiders what a "clear message" between intimate friends is.
i.e. They don't quite know what a "clear message" ought to be like.
(interrogative)

(12) A message which is perfectly clear between intimate friends or among family
members is likely to be much less clear to outsiders. (nominal relative)

While extraposition is unavailable with nominal relative subject clauses, right
dislocation, which is a formally similar, yet functionally different construction may
occur. Its effect is that of backgrounding the dislocated information. The dislocated
element is separated from the rest of the sentence by punctuation in writing, and by a
pause and a separate intonation contour in speaking. This may be perceived as a kind of
bracketing (Hatch, 1992: 26).

(13) "It was horrible, what happened to the Leedses." (RD 49)

The invariably initial subject position means that the signalling function of word
order is much less important than in subject clauses of other structural types, where a
there is at least some variation.

Nevertheless, the expected FSP of nominal relative clauses presupposes a thematic
initial subject clause, while the rheme is carried by the matrix clause. This is
corroborated by the fact that, unlike dependent interrogative clauses, the nominal
relative clauses do not present information gap. Should the distribution of
communicative dynamism be different under specific contextual circumstances, with the

rheme on the initial subject, signalling would have to be either on the level of prosody, or by means of a focussing structure, such as cleft-sentence.

8. Conclusions

The foregoing analysis of authentic language data suggests that the choice of position of subject clauses in present-day English is, as expected, a complicated process involving a number of factors and parameters.

On the one hand, there are general tendencies which seem to apply more or less universally, such as the principles of end-focus and weight, on the other hand, there are factors which are unique to the separate structural subtypes of subject clauses, or factors which prevent the general tendencies from asserting themselves to the same degree as in other categories.

Let us now remind once again the factors, which were considered, first theoretically and then with respect to the actual data in the corpus and comment on them, as well as on their interplay.

- a) type of subject clause predicate
- b) length of the subject clause
- c) structural complexity of the subject clause
- d) information status of the subject clause
- e) channel/medium (spoken/written)
- f) register (conversation, fiction, journalism, etc.)
- g) individual stylistic preference
- h) formal and semantic class of the matrix clause predicate
- i) cohesive (text-forming) role of the sentence structure
- j) unavailability of one of the positions

Ad a)

It seems that the separate structural subtypes show a certain predisposition to occur more frequently in some position than in others. This does not appear to be a single parameter pertaining to the particular structural type of subject clauses, but rather a particular hierarchical structure of the set of factors that potentially apply. As the factors are quite clearly interrelated, a different position of one factor on the scale of relative importance may bring about substantial differences in the prominence of other factors, and eventually also in the resulting preference for one or other position.

So, for instance, the more nominal status of gerunds in comparison with infinitives is translated into a largely nominal positional behaviour: *ing*-clauses tend to behave as

prototypical NP subjects, which means that that they typically occur in the canonical initial subject position. On the other hand, infinitives, although capable of fulfilling syntactic roles typically associated with nouns (subject, object, etc.) are shifted markedly further to the verbal end of the noun-verb scale. If the distribution of the two types is compared it is clear that they are largely complementary: the *ing*-verb is the prototypical non extraposed subject, whereas the infinitive shows precisely the opposite tendency. Among finite subject clauses a similar relationship may be observed nominal relative clauses and *that*-clauses. With the former type the avoidance of extraposition is so marked that it actually constitutes a criterial factor for the delimitation of nominal relative clauses.

It is obvious that if a subject clause which shows very strong positional preference occurs in the less typical position, there must be very powerful factors at play to make this possible, as well as a finely tuned set of specific circumstances. On the other hand, when a particular type of subject clauses is relatively equally open to both positions, a situation which is rather rare, then a single factor may decide about the resulting linear arrangement of the sentence. The only category which displayed this behaviour was that of dependent relative clauses, and it was shown that the choice of position is largely affected by the FSP status of the clause.

Ad b) and c)

Factors such as the length of the structure and the structural complexity of a subject clause are re best treated together since they are very closely related. Speaking of the length of the structure, what is actually meant is the length of complementation of the predicate verb (not of the verb itself, since there are hardly any differences across the separate subtypes of subject clause predicate verbs), and the term structural complexity, in a similar manner, refers to the degree to which the complementation of the subject clause predicate is structured, hierarchically or otherwise. Increased length as well as increased complexity means increased structural weight, which is a prominent and fairly universal factor applying in shaping the overall linear arrangement of sentences, not necessarily only to the position of subject clauses. English ranks among languages where the principle of end-weight overrides the complementary principle of initial-weight, which means that longer and more complex structures typically occupy a position close to the end of the sentence. Translated into the terms of this dissertation, the extraposition, or postposition, are the expected positions for heavy elements.

Theoretical literature, as well as analysis of authentic language data, provide sufficient evidence that this really is the case. Extraposition was found to be most prominent with structurally heavy types of subject clauses, notably *that*-clauses and infinitive clauses. While the finite-verb format of *that*-clauses intrinsically predisposes them for taking heavier complementation, it is interesting to find substantial differences even within one general type of subject clause, the two non-finite realising form, the infinitive and the gerund. It was shown that the infinitive systematically takes heavier complementation, both in terms of actual length measured as the number of words, and the average number of separate complements. To show the interrelatedness of the factors in question, it is a safe assumption that this is due to the relative degree of verbal and nominal character respectively; it is the property of the predicate verb to take complements and determine the syntactic structure of a sentence through its valency, whereas noun phrases typically play the role of the constituents governed by the verb. The infinitive also showed a curious capacity for taking complements in the form of finite clauses, which further increased its potential to take long complementation to that of finite clauses themselves.

Ad d)

As a functional analogy to the principle of end-weight, the principle of end-focus in English seems much more prominent than the complementary principle of initial-focus. This means that, unless prevented by other factors, the structure of an English sentence starts with elements which have low information value and proceeds to those which have the highest information value in a given sentence. This is described, in Firbasian terms, as a tendency of sentences, particularly neutral ones, to manifest a linear distribution of communicative dynamism, i.e. the relative degree in which a particular constituent contributes to the communication advancing further. While it is convenient in many respects to achieve this distribution of information in the linear chain, this is often made impossible by the limited flexibility of English word order. Limitations on the mobility of syntactic constituents apply no less to constituents in clausal form: although it has not been explicitly stated here, it is quite clear that subject clauses are restricted to definite, and fairly limited, set of positions. Secondly, it is often rather difficult to determine the overall information value of a subject clause because, as was pointed out earlier, it possesses a complicated internal structure containing constituents which vary in the degree of communicative importance, however, what eventually matters is the overall dynamism of the clause relative to its matrix clauses.

The factor of functional sentence perspective is quite clearly related to that of weight and complexity of complementation; it is only logical that longer structures should be more informative than shorter ones.

Ad e)

The previous factors, i.e. those of end-weight and end-focus, are quite clearly related to issues of medium and channel. The spoken channel poses pragmatic constraints on the length and complexity of syntactic structures, since they are typically processed in real time, both in terms of production and reception. At the same time, spoken language employs prosodic variables, particularly intonation, in addition to those employed by written language. As a result, for instance a particular linear arrangement of constituents, i.e. the position of a subject clause within the sentence, plays a less important role than in written language in signalling informational prominence of a given element, since its functional status (relative communicative importance) may be unambiguously signalled by the position of the intonation nucleus. For instance, while the absolute majority of *that*-clauses are found in extraposition in both spoken and written language, the post-predicate position of such a clause is more closely associated with end-focus in written language than in spoken. The reason is, once again, that in spoken language the information status of the clause is sufficiently signalled by prosodic prominence, while linear arrangement, weight, etc. may recede into the background. Similarly, extraposition of *ing*-clauses is typical of spoken language, while in writing it is rare. One of the reasons is that in writing the post-predicate position of the gerund might be inappropriately interpreted as a signal of rhematic status, whereas in the spoken mode its communicative importance is played down by prosodic backgrounding. Another aspect of the choice of spoken/written discourse is the processibility of syntactic structures. It seems logical that in written discourse the writer/reader is less constrained in time than the speaker/hearer in spoken language. Consequently the ease of processing is a more important issue in speaking, leading to the choice of shorter and syntactically simpler structures, sometimes even at the expense of accuracy. On the other hand, the motivation in writing to use longer and more complex structures may result from the need to be accurate, even more so if it is considered that the possibility of feedback is constrained, as the writer and reader are typically separated in space and time. As far as subject clauses are concerned, it is therefore not surprising to find a higher proportion of the less usual positional variants in written discourse, for instance

initial *that*-clauses. In spoken language, the length and complex internal structure of the *that*-clause would pose too much demand on the hearer's short term memory and processing capacity, potentially threatening the success of communication.

Ad f)

The separate registers differ in their respective communicative needs as well as in the level of formality. Academic prose is associated with communication of complex phenomena and accuracy of presentation is therefore priority number one, sometimes even at the expense of the ease of processibility. It is therefore not surprising that academic prose should contain a higher proportion of longer structures, as well as a higher level of structural complexity. In its extreme forms this may result in the writers indulging in unnecessarily complex and convoluted constructions, not because they are needed, but because they are perceived as constitutive parameters of that particular style, in other words, academic prose is expected to be complex and demanding on the reader, irrespective of what is communicated. Looking at the data in the corpus suggests that individual stylistic skills are absolutely crucial; some writers manage to maintain clarity of presentation even though the concepts they communicate may be complex and the way of presentation formal, others, on the other hand, prevent successful communication by overloading the language with unnecessary information presented in an unnatural manner.

Ad g)

Individual stylistic preference is related to the previous issue, though not necessarily in a direct manner. While it is clear that certain parameters of a given register or style must be observed, different writers may show striking internal variation within those registers. It has been noted that some of the less likely constructions, such as initial *that*-clauses were distinctly more prominent in the language of individuals, while remaining virtually non-existent in texts produced by others.

Ad h)

An example of the relationship between the formal and semantic class of the matrix clause predicate may be found in the analysis of the separate subtypes of matrix clause predicates in non-finite clauses (verbal, adjectival, nominal, prepositional, etc.). quantitative analysis revealed important differences in the frequency of the separate

types both in terms of the type of non-finite clause chosen, and the position of the clause relative to the matrix predicate. Another situation where a similar phenomenon was perceived was in the frequent choice of infinitive verbs of speaking and cognition of *that*-clause complements.

Ad i)

Cohesive role of sentence structure is understood as a particular manner of linear or other structuring with a view to establishing a smooth transition from one sentence (item of information) to another. Throughout the analysis of the data, mention was made of structures manifesting high levels of formal similarity, such as different kinds of symmetry, in order to achieve a particular type of transition from one sentence to another. On the surface, this may be manifested as choice of one of the positions of the subject clause rather than another, by instances of fronting, postposing, etc.

Ad j)

While it was common for the choice of position to be severely constrained by a range of factors, the most extreme cases involved unavailability of a particular positional option. It is extremely difficult to distinguish between extreme scarcity of a particular positional variant and its non-availability, with the exception of clear-cut cases, such as the same type of pre-predicate and post-predicate form a type of constituent, etc. While absence of a particular construction in even a major corpus of authentic language may be a strong indication that such an option is unavailable, it is often a matter of extent of the corpus and the method of selection of the sources, since certain structures are severely restricted in terms of register. While it is legitimate to look for rare and exotic structures and positional variants, the inclusion of such a phenomenon into linguistic descriptions of language without reference to the frequency of its occurrence may result in rare structures to be overused, particularly by non-native speakers whose competence in judging the felicity of a given construction is limited. It is therefore absolutely crucial, particularly in foreign language learning, that language phenomena are presented with respect to their actual functional potential.

On the other hand, authentic and spontaneous language use is never completely straightjacketed by any amount of language rules and prescriptions. It is one of the important freedoms of language users to use language in a creative manner, sometimes deliberately breaking what is perceived as norms, as long as such deviations from the

norms are not the result of the users' ignorance, but rather a manifestation of never-ending search for the optimum ways of expression.

8.1 Distribution of subject clauses across registers

Table 8.1 Frequency of subject clauses: absolutely and per 100,000 words

| | Fiction | 375,951 | Science | 302,336 | News | 196,990 | Total |
|---------------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------|-------------------|--------------|
| | Absol. | Per 100,000 words | Absol. | Per 100,000 words | Absol. | Per 100,000 words | |
| Initial | | | | | | | |
| <i>Ing</i> -clauses | 53 | 14.01 | 53 | 17.53 | 93 | 47.2 | 199 |
| Infinitive | 9 | 2.4 | 33 | 10.9 | 15 | 7.61 | 57 |
| <i>That</i> -cl. | 1 | 0.26 | 4 | 1.32 | 5 | 2.54 | 10 |
| Dep Int. | 18 | 4.79 | 10 | 3.31 | 7 | 3.55 | 35 |
| Nom. Rel. | 28 | 7.45 | 24 | 7.94 | 15 | 7.61 | 67 |
| Extraposed | | | | | | | |
| <i>Ing</i> -clauses | 23 | 6.12 | 3 | 0.99 | 3 | 1.52 | 29 |
| Infinitive | 197 | 52.4 | 249 | 82.35 | 149 | 75.64 | 595 |
| <i>That</i> -cl. | 88 | 23.4 | 216 | 71.4 | 93 | 47.2 | 397 |
| Dep Int. | 4 | 1.06 | 27 | 8.93 | 6 | 3.04 | 37 |
| Nom. Rel. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Postposed | | | | | | | |
| <i>Ing</i> -clauses | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0.5 | 1 |
| Infinitive | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 1.52 | 3 |
| <i>That</i> -cl. | 0 | 0 | 10* | 3.3 | 1 | 0.5 | 11* |
| Dep Int. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Nom. Rel. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | 1441 |

* A single matrix clause was complemented by 10 coordinated subject *that*-clauses in postposition, which somewhat distorts the overall proportion of this structure.

Dependent exclamatory clauses are not included in the table on account of their quantitative scarcity and positional uniformity.

9. Resumé

Tato disertační práce se zabývá studiem pozic větných a polovětných subjektů v současné angličtině. Vzhledem k typologickému charakteru anglického jazyka je mobilita větných konstituentů značně omezena, neboť pozice daného prvku ve větě primárně charakterizuje jeho gramatickou funkci. U větných členů ztvárněných finitními a nefinitními predikacemi je situace obdobná. V závislosti na tom, jaký větný člen daná struktura reprezentuje, může se vyskytovat v rámci věty v několika více či méně přesně vymezených pozicích.

Pokud jde o větné a polovětné subjekty, existují dvě základní varianty umístění: v kanonické počáteční pozici před predikátem hlavní věty, nebo v takzvané extrapozici, t.j. za predikátem hlavní věty, přičemž přítomnost extraponovaného subjektu je signalizována počátečním anticipačním zájmenem *it*. Vedle těchto dvou běžných pozic existuje ještě třetí, značně omezená varianta, kdy se větný nebo polovětný subjekt nachází v tzv. postpozici, tedy na konci věty, aniž dochází k umístění anticipačního zájmena do kanonické počáteční subjektové pozice. V těchto případech se na první místo ve větě přesouvá jiný větný člen, např. jmenná část přísudku.

Základním východiskem práce je zjištění, že umístění větných a polovětných podmětů do jednotlivých dostupných pozic není nahodilé, ale je výsledkem současného působení celé řady různých, mnohdy protichůdných faktorů. Cílem této práce je tedy prozkoumat, které faktory alespoň potenciálně umístění (polo)větných podmětů ovlivňují, jaká je jejich relativní účinnost a jak jsou vzájemně propojené, a nakolik je tedy pozice větných subjektů předvídatelná.

Jedním východiskem práce bylo zkoumání dostupné odborné literatury věnované této otázce, druhým východiskem byla analýza celkem 1441 autentických výskytů větných a polovětných podmětů nashromážděných excerpce současných psaných zdrojů ve třech základních žánrech: beletrie, publicistika a odborná literatura. Rozsah prozkoumaných textů dosáhl 875 000 slov, přičemž jednotlivé žánry nebyly zastoupeny zcela rovnoměrně.

Důležitým, byť očekávaným zjištěním je, že jednotlivé dílčí typy větných a polovětných podmětů mají různé předpoklady vyskytovat se v jedné či oné pozici ve větě. Většina z nich inklinuje silně buď k iniciální pozici (jako například gerundiální podměty či substantivní věty vztažné), jiné k extrapozici (infinitivní subjekty a subjekty ve formě tzv. *that*-clauses, tedy nominálních vět uvedených spojkou *that*). Jediným

větným typem, u něhož byla iniciální pozice i extrapozice zastoupena víceméně rovnoměrně, jsou závislé věty tázací.

Existuje řada důvodů, proč jednotlivé typy podmětných vět preferují jednu či druhou pozici. Poziční preferenci dané struktury je možno chápat jako výsledek charakteristické hierarchické konfigurace jednotlivých faktorů, která je pro tuto strukturu typická.

Typy, které mají svou syntaktickou podstatou blízko podstatným jménům, t.j. gerundiální podměty a substantivní věty vztažné, mají tendenci chovat se jako běžné substantivní fráze, které v angličtině reprezentují prototypické iniciální podměty. Naproti tomu typy podmětných vět, které mají svým charakterem blíže ke slovesu, preferují extrapozici (infinitivní věty a závislé obsahové věty oznamovací).

Dalším důležitým faktorem je relativní délka podmětové konstrukce ve vztahu k nadřazené predikaci. Delší struktury preferují extrapozici, zatímco kratší se snáze vyskytují i v iniciální pozici. Průměrná délka jednotlivých typů podmětných vět ovšem není nahodilá, ale odvíjí se od schopnosti predikátu vázat na sebe další větné členy. Bylo zjištěno, že např. gerundiální konstrukce bývají typicky kratší než infinitivní, zatímco zdaleka nejdělsí komplementace k sobě váží *that*-clauses. Výraznější výskyt delších struktur v extrapozici je dán obecnou tendencí angličtiny umísťovat do koncové pozice ve větě strukturně těžké, rozměrné prvky, tzv. princip *end-weight*.

Souvisejícím faktorem je tendence angličtiny umísťovat do koncové pozice informační vrchol věty, tzv. réma, tzv. princip *end-focus*. Podmětné věty, které tedy obsahují klíčovou informaci ve vztahu k rozvoji komunikace, mají větší pravděpodobnost ocitnout se v extrapozici než věty nesoucí informaci okrajovou, vytvářející pouhou kulisu děje. Je zřejmé, že délka struktur a informační zatíženost jsou do značné míry provázány. Rozměrnější a složitěji konstruované podmětné věty mají větší pravděpodobnost fungovat jako nositelé rematické informace, a jsou tedy častěji nacházeny v extrapozici než struktury kratší, a tedy méně informativní. Toto ovšem neplatí absolutně, neboť zejména v mluveném jazyce může být pozice informačního vrcholu spolehlivěji než lineárním rozložením prvků indikována prozodicky, zejména umístěním intonačního centra. Mluvený jazyk je obecně charakterizován kratšími strukturami než jazyk psaný, především z důvodu snazšího zpracování informací v omezeném čase, a princip umístění těžkých prvků do koncové opozice tedy platí omezeně.

Dalšími faktory spolurozhodujícími o umístění konkrétní podmětné věty v souvětí jsou faktory stylistické. V zásadě platí, že formálnější projevy jsou charakterizovány vyšší frekvencí delších podmětných struktur a tedy převahou extrapozice.

Svou roli může sehrát i individuální stylistická preference autora, či snaha dosáhnout určitých formálních rysů jazykového projevu, např. užitím symetrických struktur, atd. Individuální stylistické preference hrají ovšem významnější roli pouze u málo frekventovaných konstrukcí, jako např. u iniciálních *that*-clauses.

Závěrem je možno říci, že i při sebepečlivějším zkoumání všech faktorů ovlivňujících umístění větných a polovětných podmětů v souvětí, včetně zkoumání složitého systému jejich vzájemných vztahů, není možné spolehlivě předvídat umístění dané konkrétní podmětné struktury zcela absolutně, nicméně konkrétní příklady výskytu lze ve většině případů uspokojivě zdůvodnit.

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List of abbreviations referring to sources

In the Appendix section, examples of the sentences used in the analysis are marked in the following way, e.g.: **SAU 272**

The initial letter/s = the source

The number = page in the source on which the sentence occurred

Fiction:

- M** Armstrong, C. (1991) *Mambo*
CF Bryers, P. (1987) *Coming First*
RD Harris, T. (1992) *Red dragon*

Academic writing:

- C** Browne, P. (1985) *Clues. A Journal of Detection* 6:1
SAU Carson, R. (1961) *The Sea Around Us*
L Halliday, M.A.K. and Hasan, R. (1989) *Language, Context, and Text*
P Hatch, E.M. (1983) *Psycholinguistics: A Second Language Perspective*

Journalism:

- G** *The Guardian*
GS *The Guardian Saturday*
GW *The Guardian Weekend*
T *Time*
WT *Weekly Telegraph*

Ing-clauses

- C 42 I hadn't experienced what Dalgliesh experienced. This is what being a writer is, isn't it?
- C 37 I don't think providing that escape is an ignoble aim.
- RD 158 Smashing the mirrors tied these feelings to his appearance.
- M 4 Getting Ruhr - with all his connections in the violent half-world of international terrorism - to his destination might be something else.
- M 7 You hate a man like Gunther Ruhr, and you loathe the forced intimacy of this small car, and breathing the same damned air is repulsive - but what did feelings, those expendable luxuries, have to do with it?
- M 77 Looking for a terrorist in hiding was going to be the kind of thing where luck, that grinning bitch, would play a significant role.
- M 156 She hadn't paid *close* attention because her father was always saying that so-and-so should be hung, or that hanging was too good for some people.
- M 234 Negotiating with the General through his intermediary had been part of the arrangement from the beginning.
- M 239 Being the wife of Rafael Rosabal was a new condition for her, and one she thought fortunate.
- M 240 For his part, Rosabal believed that being the son-in-law of General Capablanca was a profitable connection: it kept conspiracy in the family.
- M 250 "Speaking of banks reminds me that Jean-Paul had an interest in an Italian financial institution."
- M 328 Feigning that particular pathos of the misguided traveller was always amusing, the doglike eagerness to get back on the right path, the profuse apologies.
- M 400 Scanning the dark sky proved nothing.
- M 422 Since there was only one door on each floor, finding Rosabal's apartment was easy.
- M 429 Bombing and strafing from the air would knock out any small pockets of Cuban air defences that were still manned;
- M 451 Giving up the gun had been the right move.
- CF 32 Dressing the twins would not induce the right attitude.
- CF 42 Later, when he knew Carla better, Preston realised that being controversial was almost as important to her as being ruler of the universe.
- CF 69 Then Preston moved to *Shrews at Ten* and discovered that inserting willies into chinas and wagging them about for one to five minutes did not automatically induce female orgasm.
- CF 88 So Preston told himself that Mother Bernard had got her facts wrong and that this wasn't a Real Sin in the sense that not going to Mass was or biting the priest's hand when he gave you the sacred Host, which was something Preston was very tempted to do, not out of any feelings of vindictiveness or anti-clericalism but just because he was so curious to know what would happen next.
- CF 88 Being a monk was safe.
- CF 94 Being embarrassed is a condition of being Preston.'
- CF 114 Of course, sleeping together was one thing, sex quite a different matter.
- CF 123 He watched her and wondered if being a friend of the family was worse than being a policeman or a snoop from Social Security.
- CF 131 Liking didn't enter into it.
- CF 131 Liking did not come into it, much less Love.
- CF 134 He could have lied, but telling the truth made him feel a lot better.
- CF 147 He had been told penis penetration was an act of imperialist aggression, just as he had been told, as a young Catholic boy, that masturbation, or as Mother Bernard put it, Being Tempted In The Night, was also wrong, but the combination of the music and Mags was making him realise what he was missing.
- CF 186 Being extreme, Carla quickly discovered, was like fucking Lol.
- CF 222 Shopping locally,' he tried again, 'must be a bit difficult for you.'
- CF 224 Wasting police time was about all they could have charged us with.'
- CF 227 Getting there, I guess, is what killed my mother.'
- CF 229 But I don't see how making a documentary about me is going to get you out of it,' said Eva Eichler.
- CF 232 But I honestly don't think making a documentary about me is going to help.'
- RD 39 Learning about him first was a way of asking permission to look at his wife.
- RD 77 It was wonderful anyway. Watching the film was wonderful. But not as wonderful as the acts themselves.
- RD 89 Dusting the can would be a straightforward job.
- RD 89 Trying for fingerprints etched by acid sweat was another matter.
- RD 103 Being in a place with a liquor license was a parole violation.
- RD115 Seeing the spidery lines spell his name started a high tone ringing in his head.
- RD 162 It was the first real lie he had ever told her and telling it made him feel as greasy as old currency.
- RD 202 Taking in boarders was out.

- RD 206 Keeping a luncheon table going, pacing the service, managing conversation, batting easy conversational lobs to the strong points of the shy ones, turning the best facets of the bright ones in the light of the other guests' attention is a considerable skill and one now sadly in decline.
- RD 236 Being in a home excited him.
- RD 237 Conversation was hard. Looking was good, though.
- RD 270 Really, didn't you feel so bad *because killing him felt so good?*
- RD 280 His appearance was impeccable, his driving precise.
- RD 283 It told him dying in a bathroom was a sorry end.
- SAU 63 But taking soundings in the deep ocean was, and long remained, a laborious and time-consuming task, and knowledge of the undersea topography lagged considerably behind our acquaintance with the landscape of the near side of the moon.
- SAU 138 When upwelling takes place along coastlines, it is the result of the interplay of several forces - the winds, the surface currents, the rotation of the earth, and the shape of the hidden slopes on the continent's foundations.
- SAU 138 Upwelling may occur in the open sea as well, but from entirely different causes.
- SAU 157 Bringing the Gulf Stream closer to the American east coast, for example, would make our winters worse instead of better.
- SAU 183 Prospecting must be followed by the leasing of potential oil-producing areas, and then by drilling to see whether oil is actually there.
- SAU 200 Splashing on the surface, as from a hose or a shower of rain, "produced great disturbance, loud sound signals, undulating porpoise 'alarm' whistles, and 'flight' swimming reactions."
- C 10 In the confusion of the 60's, she now says that "being a woman alone doesn't seem as easy as it has been."
- C 32 Writing is a compulsion; it is a need of the personality.
- C 44 I think it's not completely true to say that I had to do it to help support the children, because I didn't honestly feel that writing would do much to support the family.
- C 48 Writing for me is rather what I imagine shooting a film is.
- C 48 Writing for me is rather what I imagine shooting a film is.
- C 95 Being maimed and alienated from society causes all kinds of desperate actions.
- C 110 (After the policeman leaves his apartment, Spade curses "for five minutes without break" to relieve his pent-up rage, then announces complacently that taking the punch was "a cheap enough price to pay for *winning*" - Chapter 9, italics added).
- C 112 But sometimes overriding the sexual instinct requires a greater effort than at other times.
- C 113 The Op's ostensible motive for setting up Couihan's shooting is that bringing legal charges against the young man would give the Continental agency a black eye, while letting him go unpunished would be unacceptable.
- C 117 While giving such advice clearly allows Beaumont to feel superior, it also seems intended to promote his friend's welfare.
- C 119 Clearing Paul of Taylor Henry's murder becomes a way not only of saving Paul but of getting revenge on him - by showing him that the Henrys have used him ruthlessly all the time.
- C 122 Janet asks Beaumont to take her away with him not because she has any good reason to believe that pursuing her desire for him will turn out any better than her pursuit of vengeance, but simply because she nevertheless *does* want him.
- C 128 Living with Ned Guymon was the kind of experience and education very few are privileged to enjoy.
- RD 305 Seeing the Leedses preoccupied Graham.
- RD 317 Seeing Reba kiss Mandy had stabbed Dolarhyde deep.
- RD 329 Locating Francis Dolarhyde's house was not so easy.
- P 10 Stacking plan levels like boxes one atop the other also gives the impression that this is a sequential action model, sequential from the top down.
- P 10 Part of the work of the team members at each plan level is independent, each may work on some small part of the total discourse, but much shunting back and forth of the partially formed product must be going on among the team members as well.
- P 23 For the child, devoicing and dropping or weakening final consonants may be a matter of not yet having full physiological control.
- P 45 Obtaining acquisition data on the development of a morphological system may require a very long period of observation (sometimes years); and an even longer period of time must be spent on accurately transcribing the data.
- P 52 For example, Andersen shows that collapsing articles into only one category covers up variability of performance on definite/indefinite/zero article accuracy.
- P 55 Asked why, she said that putting in two words would make it "look longer."
- P 87 Considering this model when two languages, rather than one, are to be used raises some interesting questions.
- P 109 For psycholinguists, simply describing the sentences learners can produce or comprehend is not enough.

- P 116 Does it mean that fading out large parts of the discourse is not universal?
- P 131 Picking up our belongings and edging out the door doesn't work when we're at home.
- P 131 In lingua franca conversation, merely overhearing a common language expression embedded in other-language talk constitutes grounds enough for entrance, and also gives the person who wants in the resources for constructing an entrance request:
- P 132 Mimicking unfamiliar sounds in the unknown language provides a way of getting into the talk, and often provides a new topic for the conversation:
- P 132 In fact, just noting that the others are speaking an incomprehensible language provides a way of getting into the conversation:
- P 141 Such patients are often in family situations where there is a conflict in role relationship, and noneating can be seen as a way of arguing a point that such patients are not in a position to make overtly.
- P 141 Since stating her feelings in this case didn't work to her advantage (Rhoda's mother being very good at turning role accusations back to the assertion that Rhoda is not adult and can't take on an adult role), then the therapist is incompetent, or at least wrong in making such suggestions.
- P 142 Inferencing is not part of this described system.
- P 209 Staining is another method used for understanding the connections among the areas of the brain.
- P 209 Matching lesion sites to language disorder symptoms, and the probe technique, established the doctrine of functional asymmetry of the right and left hemispheres.
- P 212 Reading aloud adds the mouth motor area and the auditory areas.
- P 237 For the psycholinguist interested in second language acquisition, adopting a reductionist outlook would be simpler than trying to work out relationships between cognition and two languages; or trying to discover what the core of cognition, two language systems, and social systems might consist of or which parts are independent and/or interdependent.
- L 0 Coming to terms with a semantically driven grammar is in itself quite demanding, while there is often considerable effort involved to bring to conscious awareness the ways in which we use language for the realisation of different meanings.
- L 56 This is what we refer to as 'buying', and buying always implies selling.
- L 69 But it would be a mistake to think that writing something down is simply a matter of putting down graphically what you could have said phonically.
- L 79 Even conceding that the pronominals are exophoric does not force us to accept that they are irrelevant to texture.
- L 89 Line 11 shows that dog could very well be included amongst those who chuck the bear out of the room; chasing and chucking out are, after all, part of the same general activity.
- WT 699/1 In an interview with *The Sunday Telegraph*, Sir John said: "I am convinced that enabling householders to use whatever force is necessary will discourage burglars."
- WT 699/4 "Setting up an operation like this, prompted by an influx of asylum seekers who are overwhelmingly from one comparatively easily identifiable racial or ethnic group, requires enormous care if it is to be done without discrimination," she said.
- WT 699/13 He added: "This ruling has shown that it will be virtually impossible to prosecute anyone as flushing out foxes for the purpose of control has been proved to be entirely different from hunting for all legal purposes."
- WT 699/16 Sir Tom said: "Just listening to Ben Bradshaw shows the dilemma."
- WT 699/18 "Being famous can be harmful when one is faced with illness," Mme Chirac said.
- WT 699/20 He added that offering possible reconstruction projects to the sheikhs and imams was key to minimising violence when soldiers entered the town.
- WT 699/23 "Lifting the embargo does not mean China would start buying lots of arms in the EU," he said.
- WT 699/25 Arguing about why *Fountain*, or any other object, is or is not art is the debate about value that Duchamp wanted us to have.
- WT 699/27 Lacroix confesses that writing the book, *Qui Est Lá?*, and published by Editions Mercure de France, was challenging but cathartic.
- WT 699/33 Being thought funny hasn't stopped the British thriving in New York.
- WT 699/35 Painting rapidly from nature was always crucial to Nancy Carline's practice.
- WT 699/37 This is hardly surprising, since valuing a life fund is not for the faint-hearted, even assuming no new shocks such as mis-selling.
- WT 699/42 Visiting the country is one thing, but living there can be a very different matter, according to Allen Bowen. A 64-year-old, retired postal worker who survived the wilds of Wiltshire for only 11 months.
- WT 699/42 Since Mayor Ken Livingstone lowered the bus-pass age to 60, allowing younger pensioners free rides on London's public transport, getting round the capital has been made even easier for returnees.
- WT 699/43 For Britons, owning a home in rural France offers the chance to cash in on lower property prices and enjoy the unhurried lifestyle in villages where time seems to have stood still for centuries.

WT 699/43 Agreeing a sale was one thing, completing the deal was another as, according to Ms Brown, the agent and local *notaire*, whose presence is necessary for the deal to be concluded, dragged their feet.

WT 699/49 "I lost my focus after the birth. Playing in the Ryder Cup was my No 1 goal this year, but after that it was to come here and get my card."

WT 699/51 Wanting to get revenge on her Swedish rival Lillhage, who she beat 12 months ago for the title, at next summer's World Championship, has given Marshall back her desire.

WT 699/51 Redknapp conceded that keeping Southampton in the Premiership would be "a big, big task but I've never been relegated from the Premier League and I don't intend to start now."

T 4 Feeding the pigeons in Trafalgar Square is one of London's most popular tourist activities.

T 6 In economics, half the game is expectations, and fueling thoughts of a recession will only lead to a self-fulfilling chain of events.

T 10 In fact, protecting and preserving habitat are the most important and effective ways to prevent the extinction of wildlife.

T 10 Wrong perceptions about addiction - and mislabeling legitimate patients as abusers - can result in the unnecessary withholding of opioid medications from patients in need.

T 23 Stopping aid to Russia may make good economic sense (where did those zillions go?).

T 23 But coralling them requires the old techniques: listening, bargaining, give-and-take.

T 24 Reason: addressing the frigate sale could cause the whole case to be thrown out - under French law, only a special Justice Court of the Republic has jurisdiction to try a senior government official for acts related to his functions.

T 29 It's worth noting that listening to Soros listen to his money is an awfully fun activity.

T 35 But trolling for soup ladles you can easily afford is as irrational as the Fifth Avenue matron who filches a vial of perfume from the counter at Bergdorf's.

T 39 "Being involved in an online auction is not necessarily simple."

T 41 But preserving its hands-off status has come at a cost: the occasional p.r. black eye it sustains when cases of fraud or sales of offensive items hit the news.

T 41 Attempting to understand Amazon.com's finance is like exploring the banks of its rain-forest namesake with a blunt machete.

T 46 Laboratory measurements show that eating more fruits, vegetables and fiber changes the blood's sensitivity to insulin within two weeks, helping decrease the risk of diabetes almost immediately.

T 46 Adopting healthy habits won't cure all that ails you, of course.

T 46 Unfortunately, undoing the damage from a lifetime of bad habits means learning - and sticking with - a whole new set of behaviours.

T 46 For example, doctors for years thought that lowering cholesterol levels reduces the risk of heart attack by shrinking artery-choking plaques.

T 46 As it turns out, lowering cholesterol levels doesn't change the size of the plaques very much.

T 46 "Avoiding strokes and heart attacks adds quality to your life."

T 46 Becoming more active physically, for example, inspires many people to eat a healthier diet.

T 46 Even if you don't have hypertension, decreasing your blood pressure makes your blood vessels springier and can help stabilize potentially dangerous plaques in the arteries.

T 48 Further studies have since proved that working out with either free weights or machines helps restore lost bone density, diminish knee pain from arthritis, and moderate insulin insensitivity in Type 2 diabetes.

T 49 Doctors have long known that being 15 kg or more overweight dramatically increases your risk of heart disease, diabetes, gall bladder disorders and arthritis.

T 49 Paradoxically, losing weight too rapidly increases the risk of developing gallstones.

T 50 The evidence suggests that consuming a moderate amount of alcohol, equal to a glass or two of wine, may benefit the heart and blood vessels.

T 50 Driving while drinking is obviously a bad idea.

T 50 In such cases, undoing the damage caused by alcohol requires treating the underlying psychiatric disorder as well.

T 50 More controversial has been the handful of studies that suggest that practicing yoga may help decrease the number of asthma attacks in some patients.

T 50 But if research into lifestyle changes has proved anything over the past few years, it's that while undoing the damage caused by chronic illnesses or unhealthy habits is possible, it's not always easy or foolproof.

T 56 These are the clichés of a hundred crime movies, and bringing them all together in one place does not, finally, constitute an act of originality, no matter how interesting the details sometimes are, no matter how expertly they are presented.

T 59 But the company argues that opening up its system could expose users to hackers and spam and other nastiness.

GW 5 Spending this sort of money on indulging your self-inflicted problems would seem pathetic at any time; these days when you can't get on a bus without sitting next to some poor mad bastard shouting at themselves, it seems particularly sick.

GW 12 Saving seed, reusing and sharing it are fundamental freedoms.

- GW 12 Wearing "khadi", or hand-woven cotton cloth, was the resistance movement's symbol of opposition to British rule.
- GW 12 But feeding India is vital for its political stability.
- GW 16 Just giving people ownership of the land can immediately improve production.
- GW 25 Pre-MTV, criss-crossing the US was the only way to break a band who were sneered at by Rolling Stone magazine and ignored by pop radio.
- GW 37 Looking through them was like leafing through those books that simulate a cartoon-film - as you skimmed the pages repeated figures would flicker into life.
- GW 44 A typical Indian lunch may be very laid-back, but getting all the tastes and flavours just right is tricky.
- GW 44 But recreating that authentic Indian spread, even with the help of the simplest recipes, can be tricky.
- GW 44 Persuading the novice to put together these spices and come up with a home-cooked curry and poppadums, though, is a different matter.
- GW 44 "Trying out Indian food takes a little longer, it's a bit more difficult."
- GW 53 Our neighbour was one of Lebanon's presidents, Camille Chamoun, and catching a glimpse of him every day was our summer's greatest excitement.
- GW 60 You might mock (and I did), but spending three days plodding around in soaking conditions isn't that funny.
- GW 63 Certainly no one's suggesting that you swan around in Versace couture: we're merely pointing out that taking the right clothes is important - for comfort reasons, if nothing else.
- GW 65 Washing your hair will be nigh-on impossible; pack some snag-free hair elastic, by Blax, which come in a handy matchbook-style holder and will enable you to tie back greasy tresses in a fashionable manner.
- GW 75 Eating it is impossible, but, on the other hand, Harriet doesn't want to upset them by leaving the whole lot.
- GW 78 At the turn of the century, using the law and the courts to enforce the rights was largely the preserve of the rich.
- G 4 Using war as a method of solving mankind's problems is wrong in principle.
- G 10 "I didn't mind coming once but having to come up again makes me very angry - I have had to take a day and a half off work."
- G 10 Posting early for passports is the key to success.
- G 16 But 55% believe there is a compulsive gambling problem in the US, and 68% believe betting on sports leads to games being fixed.
- G 17 "Tolerating the presence of a few wolves in the Alps would show that society has evolved, that we have overcome some of the worst faults, our need to destroy systematically everything that gets in our way."
- G 18 Naming the soldiers, the Daily Mail declares, would be a "cruel blow to men who risked their lives in the service of their country."
- G 18 Its (sic) is hard to know where to start with such gut-wrenching hypocrisy, but the day that opening fire on unarmed civilians is enshrined into the standing orders of the Parachute regiment and viewed as acting in the service of this country is the day the entire British army should be disbanded.
- G 18 Hiding behind a cloak of lies and self-vindication might satisfy the editor of the Daily Mail but it does not fool the outside world.
- G 22 Installing him in the boardroom again could cause embarrassment for Barclays, where Sir Peter Middleton is acting chief executive while the search for a permanent replacement continues.
- G 25 The closest Greenspan comes to acknowledging egg has been on his face since is his observation that "betting against bubbles is usually precarious, at best".
- G 25 Lending to hedge funds, they say, is on the increase again.
- G 26 Two weeks ago, after a long and dirty fight, Millar's reputation and bank balance were restored - although resurrecting his career could prove a challenge.
- GS 1 Writing about the experience brought home what I had suffered.
- GS 2 Forbidding one of the symptoms of "indifference" is not the same as abolishing indifference itself.
- GS 2 I agree that tackling the symptoms of indifference is not enough.
- GS 5 "Going to prison anywhere is intimidating," she recalls, "but particularly at the Scrubs."
- GS 6 "Leaving India frees one's tongue," says Desai.
- GS 6 "My mother's not being Indian was so little a conscious part of my life that when she died I went with my sister to cremate her, and immerse her ashes in the river."
- GS 7 Yet even keeping the women in the novel peripheral makes a feminist point which Desai agrees was obscured in Ismail Merchant's 1994 film, for which she wrote the screenplay.
- GS 8 Selling well is a serious business and any publisher would tell you that there is nothing simple about it and that alongside the publisher's ingenuity there must be something special about the book to sell well.
- GS 10 Not because cramming anything as self-powered as the novel into a straitjacket marked "provincial" or "urban" ever did anyone any good, but because of the listlessness of the genre which it seeks to displace.
- GS 12 Hearing people say "G'day" all the time is engaging too - like the moment you first hear a French person say "Oh, la, la!"
- M 222 It was very weird being conveyed inside one kind of transportation that was being transported inside another.

- CF 20 And isn't that just typical of a girl, Preston thought, marching off when she was losing, and taking the ball with her.
- CF 63 I suppose it's difficult writing a feminist book without mentioning men at all.'
- CF 76 Like what?' 'Like what it's like being an all-woman band in a place like Liverpool.'
- CF 87 And the trouble with lust, so far as the Church was concerned, was that it was just as bad thinking about it as doing it.
- CF 97 It's nice having the room to myself and if I get too cold I have a hot water-bottle.'
- CF 146 It was a problem shooting with only two cameras but he was recording on two machines and editing later.
- CF 147 It was all very well being the New Man, it was all right giving a woman a lot of pleasure, but now and again, not necessarily every time, Preston wanted to give a woman a lot of pleasure by fucking her.
- CF 147 It was all very well being the New Man, it was all right giving a woman a lot of pleasure, but now and again, not necessarily every time, Preston wanted to give a woman a lot of pleasure by fucking her.
- CF 147 It was all very well being the New Man, it was all right giving a woman a lot of pleasure, but now and again, not necessarily every time, Preston wanted to give a woman a lot of pleasure by fucking her.
- CF 150 If it's not bad enough having to interview morons...'
- CF 158 And it's quite nice eating mushrooms.'
- CF 162 It reminded him of how nice it had been being a bachelor.
- CF 170 It was going to be terribly embarrassing telling Carla that Their Affair Must End.
- CF 192 It was no good pointing out that you hadn't asked anyone away for a few days; they'd asked you if you'd mind if they came with you.
- CF 209 It's no good beating about the bush,' said the man at the bar.
- CF 222 As if it wasn't bad enough waiting for the missiles to land.
- CF 225 It grows so fast. It took a long time finding it.'
- CF 237 It's not going to get me anywhere, but it's nice working on film again.'
- RD 34 It was no fun opening his lunch now that he packed it himself.
- RD 132 "It bothers you, finding out I was in there."
- RD 257 An elegant gesture, his arranging that.
- C 43 I wonder, was there *writing* before that from which you learned your craft?
- C 44 It was no good thinking that there would be a time when the job would be easier, I wouldn't have to take professional examinations, or my husband might get better and the children would be older.
- RD 321 It was harder navigating in her shoes, but she kept them on.
- L 116 Mode will determine such things as whether certain kinds of implicitness can be interpreted or not; it is no use my saying *Read this stuff* if you cannot see what constitutes 'thisness'.
- WT 699/33 It is no good nursing wounded pride.
- WT 699/48 "The World Cup was an incredible high, so it's not been easy dealing with the lows of long periods out of the game with injury."
- T 50 Blumenthal and his colleagues have determined that exercise, combined with weight loss in a support-group setting, allows more people with mild hypertension to normalize their blood pressure than does changing just one of those variables.
- GS 12 It's also strange being in a country where sporting success is so taken for granted.

Infinitive clauses

- M 26 In her middle thirties she'd realized that to be a soldier was not enough in itself.
- M 26 To fire weapons in the Everglades or assemble guns in the Keys (from where, frustratingly, you could practically smell Havana on the wind) was useful; but useful wasn't enough.
- M 246 To look at Gabrielle Chapotin was to understand the word in a way no dictionary could ever define.
- M 252 To introduce the hypothesis of a fraud at this stage was a complication Pagan didn't need.
- M 467 To avoid this calamity required a very fine judgement on Bengochea's part, an instinct for prediction in unpredictable circumstances - two feet higher, then three, four, whatever it took to keep the chopper just beyond the reach of the masts.
- M 530 He wished he could sit down, and not stand the way he always did, but to sit was a weakness.
- RD 14 To do so was tasteless as well as distracting.
- RD 197 To operate sooner would distort the growth of his face.
- SAU 9 To penetrate these regions and bring back actual samples would therefore be an enormous step forward in understanding the nature of our earth, and would even advance our knowledge of the universe, since the deep structure of the earth may be assumed to be like that of other planets.

- SAU 12 To dispose first and investigate later is an invitation to disaster, for once radioactive elements have been deposited at sea they are irretrievable.
- SAU 90 To wonder impatiently why man is not a constant witness of such arrivals is to fail to understand the majestic pace of the process.
- SAU 163 To review the Pettersson theory is to review also a pageant of human history, of men and nations in the control of elemental forces whose nature they never understood and whose very existence they never recognized.
- SAU 176 But to treat this volume of water in a year would require the twice-daily filling and emptying of 200 tanks of water, each 500 feet square and 5 feet deep.
- C 42 Yes, to read about a murder that involved the handicapped was new to me.
- C 68 To provide examples from *Gaudy Night* is simply a matter of selecting one's personal favorites.
- C 74 To demonstrate this without quoting at length would be impossible, but selections from their first conversation after the exposure of the Poison Pen/Poltergeist (Chap. XXIII) may serve by way of synecdoche.
- C 76 Sayers wrote her friend Muriel St. Clare Byrne that she found writing the love scene in *Gaudy Night* very "shy-making"; faced with a situation in which to say more would be to say too much, Sayers found in ritual an escape from further prying.
- C 89 For him to vary is "no more unusual than to wake up at nine o'clock some day to find, on looking out of the window that the sun had chosen not to rise" (*Death After Breakfast*, p. 1).
- C 110 For the detective "to have invincible strength and to be inviolable ... appear ... not only desirable but indispensable (sic)" (p. 204).
- C 115 To publicly embrace a real woman, link his life to hers would similarly violate his chosen image, so the dream is also about the Op's yearning for but unwillingness to accept love.
- C 115 But to seek to destroy evil by an act of violence (as the Op is doing in Poisonville) is to become evil oneself.
- C 121 Again and again the message seems to be, to seek the food your soul desires is to release the serpents of destruction.
- C 122 As Robert Edenbaum puts it, the logical interpretation of Janet's dream is that "to get at the heart's need is to open a Pandora's box."
- P 26 For obstruents to become voiceless in word final position is more expected than for obstruents to become voiced in that environment.
- P 116 Some languages do not allow you to fade out the hero or heroine (even if it's yourself) as much as English does. She or he has to stay there as a proper name; not to do so would be considered rude.
- P 125 To tell her all the small things like this seemed like bothering her with a lot of trivial (in most cases, but I never knew just which ones weren't) details.
- P 150 I began this chapter with the hope that I could outline the areas of spoken discourse analysis. To do that entirely would move this chapter far beyond the confines of psycholinguistic research.
- P 231 Although this suggests that plans are stacked like boxes one atop the other, you should not infer that each level influences *only* the ones below it. To do so would mean that speech setting controls speech event that controls syntax that controls lexicon that controls morphology that controls phonology that controls phonetics, like the house that Jack built.
- L 0 To study language then, is to concentrate upon exploring how it is systematically patterned in response to the context of situation in which it is used.
- L 0 In this sense, to study language is to explore some of the most important and most pervasive of the processes by which human beings build their world.
- L 61 To say this is to imply that in the absence of SI, a text would still be interpreted as embedded in CC1 so long as it contains the obligatory elements.
- L 62 To say that some elements may be optional is not the same as saying 'anything goes'.
- L 68 To think of text structure not in terms of the structure of each individual text as a separate entity, but as a general statement about a genre as a whole, is to imply that there exists a close relation between text and context, precisely of the type that has been discussed in the preceding pages.
- L 72 So to say that a passage possesses texture is not to make any claim about the specific structural status of that passage.
- L 78 For example, we might have to say that texts do not have generic structure; and to concede this is quite absurd.
- L 105 However, to say that this latter distinction is not relevant to the identity of a CC is not to imply that the variation is either unimportant or superficial - simply that whatever aspects of text they might motivate, these are not crucial to the text's generic status.
- L 109 Let me also draw attention to what is implied in this answer: to say that the notion 'complete text' is explicable by reference to the obligatory elements of a particular SP is to make it dependent upon the notion of genre identification.
- WT 699/19 "To build this structure here will create a wall between the old city and the river."
- WT 699/19 "To build a high structure in that part of the river is madness."
- WT 699/24 To push for a religious hatred law here is an attempt to advance the legal privilege that Muslims claim for Islam.
- WT 699/25 To get any closer to an almost absolute presumption would require the law to allow people acting in self-defence to use more force than was reasonable; in other words, to be allowed to use unreasonable force.

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| WT 699/28 | "To have a special part of Christianity described in this way ... seems to me to be, not just disrespectful to Christians, but it is also disrespectful to the heritage of Britain and also does damage to the culture of this country," he said. |
| WT 699/33 | "To have a visit breaks up the monotony," Terry tells us from behind the mesh. |
| WT 699/56 | To fail in other sports is to edge a ball to slip, over-hit a forehand drive on a tennis court or head a ball against a post. |
| T 10 | To refer to a kilt as a skirt is a deadly insult and one not taken lightly by a Scot. |
| T 24 | "At my age, to run the risk of a dishonor is an unbearable reality." |
| GW 35 | We were brought up speaking Russian by my mother, who felt that to speak English to her children would be to make them strangers. |
| GW 48 | To watch Wilbert bustling about the kitchen in a starched, white chef's apron is to see a man at ease with his work. |
| GW 66 | To write off all houseplants because they remind you of, say, a depressing bedsit is, surely, taking things to extremes. |
| G 19 | To live in a global society without any understanding of it would truly be the worst of all worlds. |
| GS 9 | And to spend most of the night on television with an increasingly disconsolate Norman Tebbit was very heaven. |
| GS 10 | To fix <i>The Harvest</i> in this context of self-consciously provincial English writing risks making it seem simply representative. |
| RD 337 | "As section chief, it gives me great pleasure -"/ "To pull your prong, we all know that," Janowitz said, climbing from the black tangle of the cellar. |
| C 44 | It's interesting that one of the reviewers said that it was difficult to see this as a first novel. |
| M 334 | It was simpler to destroy than to love. |
| M 489 | "It would be interesting ... to fly the missile," Rosabal said. |
| M 515 | "It's my job to stick my nose in, Freddie." |
| M 7 | It was best not to be drawn to stay aloof. |
| M 8 | It was an amusing consolation to think of the circumstances of Ruhr's apprehension in Cambridge, how the elusive terrorist, whose newspaper reviews had called him 'the man without a shadow' and 'the phantom beyond human needs and desires', had been captured in a bedroom in a lodging-house near St. Andrews Road. |
| M 11 | He grabbed Ruhr by the shoulders and dragged him out of the Escort because no matter what, no matter the extent of the calamity, it was still his job to secure the German. |
| M 22 | He sucked smoke into the back of his throat and remembered how it had felt to be that man of victory. |
| M 29 | It took her twenty minutes to empty the case. |
| M 33 | But really, what harm would it possibly do to pop down there and just sniff around? |
| M 42 | "The trouble is, it's difficult to run a really thorough investigation of some thirty individuals, especially if it has to be done quickly." |
| M 43 | It was easy to see how people became addicted to Pethidine. |
| M 52 | So it was no source of joy for him to be associated, even remotely, with men who were little better than animals, scum like this German that had to be rescued four days ago in London. |
| M 65 | "It's costly to bridge that gap between the official and unofficial perception in Central America." |
| M 68 | It was of extreme importance to the Major to serve the document. |
| M 82 | It was unsettling to be adrift on a planet whose only clock belonged to Gunther Ruhr. |
| M 82 | It wasn't possible to conduct twenty-nine investigations simultaneously. |
| M 85 | It would be pleasant to come one day as a tourist, spend some time, see sights. |
| M 95 | It took him only a moment to recognize the object. |
| M 101 | But it wasn't always possible to live in such a perfect universe. |
| M 116 | "When six policemen die, when we have an atrocity of that magnitude, it's common to look immediately for an individual to take the total blame." |
| M 123 | It was fascinating to find an old passion lodged in the blood still. |
| M 130 | He'd known it wasn't a bright career move to fraternize with your prisoner, even if she'd been discharged. |
| M 132 | "It was good to see you again, Frank." |
| M 133 | He remembered what it was like to be inside this woman, that collision of flesh and how her breasts tasted between his lips. |
| M 154 | "It took some persuasion and a bit of the old school tie to get these, Frank." |
| M 156 | What would it be like to be shot through the skull? |
| M 158 | "It would be imprudent of me to release you," |
| M 171 | The Lider Maximo tossed his head back and looked up at the ceiling where a large motionless fan threw a cross-like shadow; it was possible to see, through the hairs of his beard, the thick double chin. |
| M 182 | It was important to wipe out the scattered squadron before radio communication could summon reinforcements. |

M 191 It was all right for their lordships to fuck the serving wenches but not altogether good form to become too intimate with the footmen.

M 191 It would take a long time for this chaos to yield anything useful.

M 202 Then a little indoctrination about how Castro loathed the existence of Israel and was practically a honorary Palestinian - wouldn't it be wonderful and, yes, patriotic to help bring down a regime such as Fidel's?

M 230 It was a triumph to turn the Young American around, and yet easy too, because the Duty Officer was so vulnerable.

M 231 How it pleased Ruhr to think he'd made this very ordinary young man, who was neither terribly bright nor terribly stupid, an accomplice in both crimes!

M 231 It had taken him exactly twenty-three days to get it.

M 240 She was domestic, in the sense that she enjoyed both the Havana apartment and the country house near Sancti Spiritus, but it would have been a gross underestimation to think that was the complete picture.

M 243 It was hard to concentrate on what Foxworth was telling him.

M 244 "How did it take so damned long to provide us with that item?" Pagan said.

M 269 It was pointless to remember that sort of thing.

M 272 He was surely at a loss by this time, even if he'd discovered the abduction of the child - and it didn't take a genius to get that far - he had no way of knowing where she'd been taken.

M 273 She tried to free herself but it was useless to struggle against Ruhr's strength.

M 288 It wasn't going to be fruitful to approach Rafael Rosabal in a headlong manner; there was so much tape red, as Madame Chapotin might have said, for that.

M 289 It would not do for him to moan and admit pain, although Zayas was fingering some tender spots;

M 289 It was ignominious to have cancelled a speech in which he had planned to castigate the new, cosy friendship between the Yanqui imperialists and the 'soft' reformist, quasi-capitalist regime in the Soviet Union, but the attacks of diarrhea, which left him weak and helpless, were positively humiliating.

M 299 It was left to him to assess the needs of the various underground groups and disperse the cash according to these needs.

M 300 "It would take a very long time to be exact, I agree."

M 309 It was easy to see who had the upper hand between the Italian and the Cuban.

M 315 Pagan followed, thinking how pointless it was to hope Caporelli would break down and tell all.

M 317 He was, after all, cornered in a breakfast nook, and it seemed completely absurd to be shot to death in a cranny of all places; a nook had no inherent dignity.

M 330 It took Steffie a moment to assemble her thoughts and remember where she was, and the recollection depressed her.

M 333 It was important to fight despair.

M 333 It was stupid to think so.

M 334 It would be pointless to run again.

M 338 It was damned hard to stay calm.

M 351 But was it really preferable to ascribe the killings to some faceless organization rather than to Sheridan Perry?

M 355 "I've always followed the old line that it's better to be safe than sorry."

M 363 "How nice it would be to see you."

M 363 "How nice it would be to see a friendly face."

M 397 They reasoned, quite rightly, that it was better to have Pagan on your side than against you.

M 407 Pagan stared at the green instrument lights, which meant nothing to him; how absurd it was to be suspended in black air, kept aloft by a device one didn't understand and whose instrument display was baffling.

M 407 It wasn't altogether comforting to know that Salgado, according to his own boasts, had flown surreptitiously into Cuba more than fifty times.

M 420 She understood only how odd it was actually to *be* here in her native country after thirty years.

M 421 "If you still haven't shown up, I'll make one more attempt ten minutes later provided it's safe to do so."

M 453 It took Magdalena a second to recognize it as Liberto Canto's Lada.

M 464 How was it possible to spot anything down there in that fury?

M 466 It was no great matter to secure it again.

M 466 Alejandro Bengochea took the chopper down toward the deck of the ship, but it was hard to hold the machine steady against the energetic frenzy of the wind.

M 467 To avoid this calamity required a very fine judgement on Bengochea's part, an instinct for prediction in unpredictable circumstances - two feet higher, then three, four, whatever it took to keep the chopper just beyond the reach of the masts.

M 471 It was better to get out and take her chances with the weather than to wait in this place for his return.

M 472 He thought it was possible to drown without having to sink underwater to do it.

M 472 It was amusing to see the Englishman struggle to stay upright - but then the whole day was one of imbalances and upsets, of symmetry broken down, composure destroyed.

M 482 "It can't be impossible to find a wounded woman in the fifty miles between San Jose and Matanzas."

M 483 It took almost an hour for a fuel truck to show up and another fifteen minutes during which he haggled with the driver and a bribe was eventually negotiated.

M 483 It took Bengochea another hour of patient labor to bring the machine back to life and fly the forty miles from Palma Soriano to the city of Santiago.

M 489 He thought how exhilarating it would be to see the missile riding the skies through the rain, unerring, a twenty-foot steel arrow piercing the heart of its target.

M 493 It was hard to find a comfortable position.

M 494 It was a weird thought to realize you had a bullet in your body, a foreign piece of metal in your system.

M 494 But was it any more weird to have a foreign object in your body than to have a broken heart?

M 520 It was useless to feel such a sense of violence when there was nothing you could do to vent it.

M 529 He spoke of how he had been poisoned by his trusted physician, Zayas, whose task it was to weaken the Lider Maximo, to confuse him with tranquilizers and tiny doses of a slow-acting poison.

M 531 It was important to maintain the image of standing in a high place.

M 533 Why was it so hard to concentrate during his speeches these days?

M 534 *How hard would it be to steal a missile?*

M 534 *How long had it taken the conspirators to grab the weapon?*

CF 19 But far be it from me to force you to do this, Preston.'

CF 22 It had been a mistake to finish off the wine in the fridge.

CF 57 Polly,' Preston said, when he'd read the twins their bedtime stories and been allowed into the bedroom to look for socks, 'do you think it's possible for you not to belittle me in front of the twins.'

CF 63 He wondered if Polly had told her about Carla. A few months ago it would have been impossible for her not to, but now he wasn't so sure.

CF 67 It had taken Preston some time to come to terms with all this.

CF 81 Still, once he'd got it out it was obviously up to her to make the first move.

CF 81 Still, it was difficult to see how he could whip it out without warning and slap it on her desk.

CF 85 It seemed impolite to look at his watch, as if he was impatient.

CF 85 And how long will it take for them to go?'

CF 94 It was very hard to imagine Miranda seriously putting her mind to Preston, but you never knew.

CF 98 But surely it's a-a-a sort of betrayal to have, gulp, sex before marriage, isn't it?'

CF 99 His mum and dad went on honeymoon to Blackpool where Preston was conceived in a boarding-house run by a Mrs Munster - honestly, I'm not kidding - so Mum thought it would be nice to commemorate this in the choice of name but dad said, We can't call him Blackpool, love, t'other kids'd only laugh at him.'

CF 100 What did she mean exactly, she wondered, but it was too late to ask her now and she wasn't going to ask Preston in case he thought she cared.

CF 105 It was impossible to be romantic about the three-piece suite.

CF 106 Would it be awful of me to just have the vegetables?'

CF 108 One minute they'd say something you thought was quite sensible and the next they'd be off with some loony theory about The causes of cancer or Why It Isn't Safe To Walk The Streets These Days.

CF 112 It was impossible to imagine any of them ever Totally Nude.

CF 114 It would be interesting to go to bed with his wife again.

CF 118 Preston wondered who 'They' were, but it was probably better not to ask.

CF 133 By the way, I think it would be a good idea to eat out tonight.'

CF 135 ('I'm not not eating meat for any moral reason,' Polly pointed out.) 'I just think it's healthier not to.'

CF 137 It was difficult to read her expression but he thought it was more resigned than anything.

CF 140 It was a mini-OB really, just two cameras, but the lighting was complicated and it took them all morning and most of the afternoon to rig.

CF 169 It still made him groan with embarrassment to think about it.

CF 176 He told himself that he had no choice, that it would have been callous for him to spurn her, to bring his foot down on the soft shell.

CF 179 But it wasn't silly to think Polly might phone.

CF 183 Or if they did, they were keeping quiet about it because it was daft to have a pork-pie factory in a place just because a load of Irish pigs had stopped there two hundred years ago.

CF 188 When she lost *Shrews at Ten* and hit the water and came crawling out like a half-drowned rat, it was the purest instinct for her to seek out Cristobel to remind both of them How Far She'd Got.

CF 193 Yet it was not entirely fantastical for Mr Studge to be managing a small hotel in Felixstove.

CF 209 It seemed a bit feeble to give up now, when he was so close.

CF 218 What exactly happened?' he said, because he didn't know what else to say and it would be interesting to hear what she had to say about it.

CF 218 It was difficult to know how to behave in the circumstances, to strike the right social form.

CF 227 I needed to find out and it seemed reasonable to start here.'

CF 232 He supposed he'd already made up his mind about that while they were walking across the bog but it was a surprise to hear himself say it.

CF 239 It's very important for a baby to be cuddled when it comes out.'

RD 8 "Because it's his bad luck to be the best."

RD 8 "I think it would kill him to have to fight."

RD 19 *It was maddening to have to wear gloves when you touched her, wasn't it?*

RD 24 "Dr. Princi, the press is going to ask why it took four days to get his dental representation you have here."

RD 25 "Would it be fair to say that the delay was caused by the FBI lab and not here?"

RD 25 "What it would be fair to say, Mr. Simpkins, is that a federal investigator, Special Agent Crawford, found the cheese in the refrigerator two days ago - after your people had been through the place."

RD 25 "It would be fair to say I'm relieved that it wasn't one of you that bit the goddamned thing."

RD 36 "Boy, I tell you one time I seen Mrs. Leeds - well, it don't seem right to talk about it now she's dead - but one or two times she was out there sunning herself in the backyard in her swimming suit."

RD 37 "Naw, it might do Parsons some good, talk with the law."

RD 45 But it was his curse to pick at conversations, and he began to do it now.

RD 51 Parson's voice had risen and he was talking so fast it was hard to understand him.

RD 57 Often it was difficult to get residents to answer the door.

RD 59 "I think among some researchers it's considered chic to correspond with him - I've seen his letters *framed* in psychology departments - and for a while it seemed that every PhD. candidate in the field wanted to interview him.

RD 60 "It may seem gratuitous to warn *you*, of all people, about Lecter.

RD 60 "You know, when Lecter was first captured we thought he might provide us with a singular opportunity to study a pure sociopath," Chilton said. "It's so rare to get one alive."

RD 61 "It's impossible, of course, to tell what he's holding back or whether he understands more than he'll say."

RD 67 "Of course, if one were nude, say, it would be better to have outdoor privacy for that sort of thing."

RD 82 It might be possible to pull across the ditch and hide a vehicle in the brush on the Jacobis' side of the road if the ground were hard and dry.

RD 89 It would be better to give them what he had.

RD 92 "It takes one to catch one," a high federal official told this reporter.

RD 93 "They may not see him much, but it's nice to know he's there to eat the moccasins."

RD 107 It would shame me for you to see that if I didn't know you had suffered the same distortions in the press.

RD 108 "But it takes only about a half-hour to clean it."

RD 118 "It would take warrant to go in there and Bogart the mail."

RD 129 "It'll be quicker to bring them up here."

RD 132 "No. It's just my job to find him."

RD 135 "It's hard to have anything, isn't it? Rare to get it, hard to keep it."

RD 135 Rare to get it, hard to keep it."

RD 135 Rare to get it, hard to keep it."

RD 137 True, it took her maybe four seconds to get the first one off, coming up from the bag, but three were in the X ring.

RD 140 Graham thought it would be better not to rehearse the lines.

RD 148 Marketing experts discovered it was better to have the big cover line in color on the front and play the story in the middle pages, where it was difficult to hold the paper open and manage a purse and grocery cart at the same time.

RD 148 Marketing experts discovered it was better to have the big cover line in color on the front and play the story in the middle pages, where it was difficult to hold the paper open and manage a purse and grocery cart at the same time.

RD 154 It was embarrassing to talk about it.

RD 155 "No. Hardly ever. It would be great to be able to do it, though: Send one guy in. Just one."

RD 171 "I'm scared. It's hard to concentrate when you're scared."

RD 174 "It is in your nature to do one thing correctly: before me you rightly tremble."

RD 208 Standing in the dark, it was pleasant to hear them and know they were not laughing at him.

RD 208 Grandmother let her come to play because it amused her now and then to dress the child in the clothing Marian had worn when she was small.

RD 210 It was hard to lie still and go to sleep when it was there to think about.

RD 210 It was hard to lie still on such a bright night.

RD 213 He wondered how it feels to kill a mule.

RD 220 It would be wonderful to crawl in between the sleepers with the camera going and snuggle up a little while.

RD 233 It was easy to see her value to Baeder.

RD 241 It would be so nice to be wanted by someone with the courage to get his hat or stay as he damn pleased, and who gave her credit for the same.

RD 247 Would it be better for the case to put Graham back on the street?

RD 248 It would be easy to break his neck.

RD 250 "It wouldn't do them any good to blame Bloom."

RD 254 Suddenly Dr. Warfield feared that it was cruel to talk of colors.

RD 257 She was perfectly aware that it had excited him to see her with the tiger; he had shuddered like a horse when she took his arm leaving the treatment room.

RD 273 It took fifteen minutes to go down the list of stored items.

RD 274 It was good procedure to record every person entering or leaving a murder scene, and Graham had been pleased to see that Birmingham did it.

RD 312 He had to think now and it was hard to think.

RD 341 It would have been presumptuous to thank Lloyd Bowman and Beverly Katz, so he just told them on the telephone that he was glad to have worked with them.

RD 341 It was unsettling to know that the happiest moment of his life had come then, in the stuffy jury room in the city of Chicago.

RD 349 Crawford knew it would be nearly impossible for Lecter to get what he would need, but with Lecter he took no chances.

SAU 9 Even a decade or so ago it was the fashion to speak of the abyss as a place of eternal calm, its black recesses undisturbed by any movement of water more active than a slowly creeping current, a place isolated from the surface and from the very different world of the shallow sea.

SAU 20 It is possible now to discover the age of the rocks that compose the crust of the earth by measuring the rate of decay of the radioactive materials they contain.

SAU 40 It takes about half a year for the plants torn from West Indian shores to reach the northern border of the Sargasso, perhaps several years for them to be carried into the inner parts of this area.

SAU 40 It must have taken eons of time to accumulate the present enormous quantities of weed, which Parr estimates as about 10 million tons.

SAU 41 These things we associate with the land, and it is easy to suppose that at sea there could be no such feeling of advancing spring.

SAU 46 It was impossible to behold this plain of matter, as if it were melted and consumed by heat, without being reminded of Milton's description of the regions of Chaos and Anarchy.

SAU 53 Thor Heyerdahl reports that at night his raft was literally bombarded by squids; and Richard Fleming says that in his oceanographic work off the coast of Panama it was common to see immense schools of squid gathering at the surface at night and leaping upward toward the lights that were used by the men to operate their instruments.

SAU 56 The plain truth is, however, that we really do not know, since it is obviously impossible to confine a living whale and experiment on it, and almost as difficult to dissect a dead one satisfactorily.

SAU 60 As soon as the noise had been identified and analyzed, it was possible to screen it out with an electric filter, so that once more only the sounds of ships came through the speakers.

SAU 65 The 100-fathom contour used to be taken as the boundary between the continental shelf and the slope; now it is customary to place the division wherever the gentle declivity of the shelf changes abruptly to a steeper descent towards abyssal depths.

SAU 68 Until very recent years, it has been the fashion of geographers and oceanographers to speak of the floor of the deep sea as a vast and comparatively level plain.

SAU 79 In any event, it is hard to see how they could have been worn down so far below 'wave base' unless the crust of the earth sagged under its load.

SAU 82 From their analysis it is possible to look back into the past 10,000 years or so and to sense the pulse of the earth's climatic rhythms; for the cores were composed of layers of coldwater Globigerina faunas (and hence glacial stage sediments), alternating with Globigerina ooze characteristic of warmer waters.

SAU 83 From the Piggot cores it has been possible to reconstruct four different periods of the advance of the ice, separated by periods of warm climate.

SAU 83 It is interesting to think that even now, the flakes of a new snow storm are falling, falling, one by one, out there on the ocean floor.

SAU 89 With so selective a list, it is hard to see how, as some biologists believe, the islands could have been colonized by migration across land bridges, even if there were good evidence for the existence of the bridges.

- SAU 91 As soon as it was possible to visit it, scientists searched for signs of life, although it was hard to imagine how any living thing could have survived.
- SAU 91 As soon as it was possible to visit it, scientists searched for signs of life, although it was hard to imagine how any living thing could have survived.
- SAU 93 It is a curious pleasure,' he wrote, 'to have the birds of the wilderness settling upon one's shoulders, and the pleasure could be much less rare were man less destructive.'
- SAU 95 By this time the colonists had begun to cut and burn the forests, so it is hard to say whether men or goats were the more responsible for the destruction.
- SAU 108 He could tell you where the waves were created by the action of wind on water, the strength of the winds that produced them, how fast the storm is moving, and how soon, if at all, it will become necessary to raise storm warnings along the coast of England.
- SAU 112 Before entering Pentland Firth all vessels should be prepared to batten down, and the hatches of small vessels ought to be secured even in the finest weather, as it is difficult to see what may be going on in the distance, and the transition from smooth water to a broken sea is so sudden that no time is given for making arrangements.
- SAU 123 According to Robert Cushman Murphy, it was formerly the custom of shipmasters in the guano trade to demand a special allowance for a certain number of days during which the loading of their vessels would be interrupted by the swell.
- SAU 145 But it is never safe to generalize about the kinds of places that have high or low tides, because two areas that are not far apart may respond in very different ways to the tide-producing forces.
- SAU 147 Under such conditions, no living thing could exist on the shores or pass beyond them, and, had conditions not changed, it is reasonable to suppose that life would have evolved no further than the fishes.
- SAU 148 In those early days we have spoken of, it took the earth a much shorter time - perhaps only 4 hours - to make a complete rotation on its axis.
- SAU 148 It will also take the moon longer to complete its orbit around the earth.
- SAU 149 It is only necessary to read the Coast Pilots and Sailing Directions for various parts of the world to understand the menace of such tidal currents to navigation.
- SAU 159 It is possible to follow the course of a mass of warm water that originates in the trade-wind belt of the Southern Hemisphere and remains recognizable for a year and a half, through a course of more than 7000 miles.
- SAU 159 It takes 3000 times as much heat to warm a given volume of water 1° as to warm an equal volume of air by the same amount.
- SAU 170 As the chill of the northern waters has abated and the fish have moved poleward, the fisheries around Iceland have expanded enormously, and it has become profitable for trawlers to push on to Bear Island, Spitsbergen, and the Barents Sea.
- SAU 171 But if, as Professor Brooks thinks, the Pettersson tidal theory has as good a foundation as that of changing solar radiation, then it is interesting to calculate where our twentieth-century situation fits into the cosmic scheme of the shifting cycles of the tides.
- SAU 173 And it is in the nature of things for this quantity to be gradually increasing over the millennia, for although the earth is constantly shifting her component materials from place to place, the heaviest movements are forever seaward.
- SAU 183 Despite all these improvements which allow exploration to proceed rapidly, it is no simple matter to obtain oil from undersea fields.
- SAU 188 He wrote of the sea about the British isles that it is 'impossible to penetrate very far into this ocean.'
- SAU 196 It took centuries to chart the surface of the sea; our progress at delineating the unseen world beneath it seems by comparison phenomenally rapid.
- SAU 202 In 1957 the *Nautilus* (bearing the same name as Wilkin's conventional submarine) first penetrated beneath Arctic ice in a preliminary exploration designed to discover whether it was feasible to explore these regions by submarines.
- SAU 205 Its principal defect now, however, is the fact that it is not possible to predict the height of a wave as it reaches any particular shore, and therefore the same alert must be issued for all approaching seismic waves.
- C 6 It is very hard indeed to rejoice, as we seem meant to do, at such female "progress."
- C 11 Now adultery certainly suggests freedom, but it is difficult to reconcile this freedom with Kate's earlier acquiescence in matrimony or with the conservative patterns of the detective story.
- C 12 If it is discouraging to find so skillful an artist occasionally lapsing into clichés of outmoded conventions, both literary and social, and failing to imagine completely an autonomous woman, her successes greatly outweigh her failures.
- C 18 But the fact that Cotter-Murphy has become a criminal by choice is not the only violation of the gangster tradition, and it may be useful here to contrast McCoy's portrait of a ruthless killer with the prototypical gangster hero, Rico Bandello, from W.R. Burnett's tough-guy classic *Little Caesar* (1929).
- C 20 If *Little Caesar* is drawn clearly and never falters along the way, as is emblematic of all folk heroes, it is McCoy's intention to discover and define his character as he goes and, in the end, say something of his own about the mythmaking process.

- C 22 This is the same man who thinks "how nice it would be to stick that acetylene torch down Mason's throat and burn a hole in the back of his head big enough to push my foot through."
- C 23 This accomplishment even impels the cool and pragmatic professional Mandon to marvel, "It is not every man's privilege to be reborn."
- C 36 But it's what it feels like in the morning to be a male putting on your clothes.
- C 42 But it is interesting to hear some readers say that since one of my characters expresses a particular opinion that I myself must share it.
- C 44 I think it's not completely true to say that I had to do it to help support the children, because I didn't honestly feel that writing would do much to support the family.
- C 44 But I honestly don't think I expected that it would make much, I suppose partly because one is brought up to expect that it's difficult to get a first novel published, and that when it does, you're not going to make a fortune.
- C 49 But I think it's very difficult to know really precisely where the attraction lies.
- C 50 It's only fair to judge her by her best, not the worst of her work, and the best is remarkably ingenious.
- C 60 "Would it not have been a compliment to both the family member and Shakespeare to have identified him?" he queried.
- C 67 It is easy to dismiss critics who hold, more or less proudly, that any story set in the "mean streets" of Los Angeles, San Francisco, Baltimore, or just about anywhere, in and of itself, superior to any story set in England - much less in the Senior Common Room of an Oxford College.
- C 75 "It has been my humble privilege to clean and polish your property and present her for your inspection upon a silver salver."
- C 87 Pentecost emphasises Jericho's heroic proportions. As he describes him: "It would be impossible for me to cast John Jericho in the current popular mold of the un-hero."
- C 107 Edenbaum sees the novel's central weakness as Hammett's failure (or perhaps refusal) to clarify the motives of his protagonist: "... it is impossible to tell what is under Ned Beaumont's mask."
- C 108 But more troublesome - since it is not unusual for the hero of a detective novel to hold back the solution to the mystery until the last possible moment - is the fact that the reader can only speculate on Ned Beaumont's motives for agreeing to take Janet Henry with him to New York at the end of the book.
- C 111 Angel Grace may strike the reader as a woman of integrity (it is a matter of honour to her not to inform on her criminal companions) who truly deserves pity (her lover has been killed);
- C 113 "It annoyed me to find I was staring into the girl's eyes as fixedly as she into mine, and that when I wanted to take my gaze away it wasn't easily done."
- C 118 Spade and the Op endeavor to bring criminals to justice because it is their job to do so.
- C 120 Nor is it illogical to conclude that the reason Ned is taking her is that he loves her too.
- C 121 She constructs a happy, wish-fulfillment ending in which it is possible to have and enjoy what you want and evade the dangers attendant on it.
- C 122 While it may be helpful for a man and a woman who link their lives together to share the same vision of life, it would seem something of a disadvantage for that vision to be one which holds all desire - including their desire for each other - to be ultimately destructive.
- C 122 While it may be helpful for a man and a woman who link their lives together to share the same vision of life, it would seem something of a disadvantage for that vision to be one which holds all desire - including their desire for each other - to be ultimately destructive.
- C 125 It is true he did not read all the books he collected; it would take him a better part of the century to do that, he would say, even if he read a book a night.
- C 128 For a while it seemed possible to arrange a conventional ceremony near our home, but before long Ned's breathing difficulties worsened and in the end Dr. McCarthy came to the hospital in La Jolla to present the hood and scroll to Ned as he lay in Intensive Care.
- C 141 Well, they said, Mr. Guymon, this is a very rare item and I don't think it would do any good at all to make an offer like that ... would you let us go to \$250?
- C 144 One way or the other it went down on a ship and I lost it, and you know it wasn't at the time particularly rare, but it took me years to find another first edition of *Prince Zaleski*.
- C 144 It's hard to keep up with it.
- C 151 But I had it all divided up in American authors and English authors, and I learned a long time ago that it's a very bad thing in a way to send a duplicate want list to the different dealers.
- P 9 However, it would be absurd to claim that all is peace and harmony within any of these fields.
- P 9 It is difficult to convince them that language behaviour is rule-governed, at least rule-governed in the form described by linguists.
- P 9 Although it is clear that plans at higher levels influence plans at lower levels, all levels must be considered simultaneously, even though it may be impossible for us to research more than one level at a time.
- P 12 Yet, in listening, it is difficult to say just where each sound begins and ends.
- P 16 Anyone trying to learn Vietnamese knows that it is difficult for Americans to pronounce words that begin with velar /n/.

- P 23 For example, they acquire stops before fricatives, probably because it is easier to completely stop the oral cavity than it is to modify the shape just enough to produce friction in the appropriate place.
- P 23 For example, they acquire stops before fricatives, probably because it is easier to completely stop the oral cavity than it is to modify the shape just enough to produce friction in the appropriate place.
- P 25 This is probably because it is much more difficult for the tongue muscles to effect a full closure of the vocal tract in this area than for the dental, bilabial or velar positions.
- P 25 It is also more "natural" that languages have voiceless than voiced stops, for it takes extra glottis control for the vocal cords to vibrate when the air is stopped in the oral tract.
- P 25 Conversely, it is more natural to have voicing for sonorants (the vowels, nasals, and liquids) where the vocal tract is not stopped.
- P 26 In learning such languages as French or Danish, it should be easier to learn the front unrounded and back rounded than the front rounded vowels.
- P 26 It should be easier to learn the oral vowels of languages such as French than the nasalized series.
- P 26 In learning languages such as Russian, it should be easier to learn *p*, *t* and *k* than *c*.
- P 26 For example, it is common for nasals to take the articulation position of the following consonant.
- P 26 As noted by Schane in item 11 above, it is quite common to have devoicing or weakening of consonants in word final position.
- P 30 Is it possible to predict the environments on some basis, perhaps by physiological difficulty of articulation?
- P 38 Without the suprasegmental cues, it is impossible to interpret such sentences accurately.
- P 39 Levinson and Liberman (1981) are not the first to say that it is much more difficult to build a speech analyzing computer to *comprehend* language than a speech synthesizer to *produce* language.
- P 49 It is possible to score morphemes as acquired when, in fact, the function of the morpheme has not been acquired..
- P 63 In making compounds it seems much easier to use the first part than the last part (once we equalize for number of possible compounds for each part).
- P 64 Otherwise it would not be so easy for us to find rhyming words (excluded from Baker's analysis).
- P 67 Since "no savings" has been found for antonyms or synonyms or associates, it should be possible to set up an experiment to test whether or not savings occurs for *horse* and *cheval*, and thus discover if they are likely synonyms.
- P 74 It is not surprising, then, to find that much of early conversations are "negotiations of meaning" (see Schwarts, 1980).
- P 75 It might take hours to get to the point.
- P 75 It is much more efficient simply to combine many of the propositions into one utterance.
- P 77 For example, in the negative sentences it is difficult to know what is being negated (it wasn't the *boy* who...; it wasn't the *ball* that...; he didn't *bounce* it, he kicked it, etc.).
- P 80 But by the time the Ss wrote the sentences down, it was difficult for them to remember just where the click had occurred, so the center was the safest guess.
- P 82 As the number of word templates was increased, it became more and more difficult for the computer to discriminate among words.
- P 95 Nevertheless, it was impossible for researchers to generalize the notion of stages of Interlanguage on the basis of so few studies, particularly since most of the learners were from the same first language background.
- P 97 Unfortunately, statistical analyses to support these claims are not given in the summary article, so it is impossible to determine the scalability of the continuum and how strong the support was for the other claims as well.
- P 104 It is surprising to see so little evidence of progress from level to level (and therefore no continuum).
- P 108 It is difficult to determine whether it is the presence or the accuracy of the form that is being considered.
- P 108 If this description is accurate, it shows again how easy and misleading it is to look at form outside context.
- P 114 With many such items in the questionnaire, it would be easy to see that we do have strong preferences (guided by size, age, social importance, or other "standards") and use word order to show those preferences.
- P 116 In English, our decision to repeat a noun or change to the pronoun depends, in part, on how necessary it is to reidentify the referent.
- P 116 We repeat the noun when it seems necessary to give a gentle reminder.
- P 117 New information should be placed in a position where it is most easily retrieved, and, as the previous chapter demonstrated, it's easier to retain new information when it is presented at the end of the utterance.
- P 119 While it is difficult to show that the grammar of such natural data is different in kind, it is not difficult to show that it is different.
- P 119 While it is difficult to show that the grammar of such natural data is different in kind, it is not difficult to show that it is different.
- P 120 However, in checking through taped transcripts of unplanned discourse, it isn't difficult to trace the use of similar sound patterns over a stretch of discourse.

- P 122 The question here, though, is whether frequency tells us much about the function of particular syntactic devices, for while it seems possible to do frequency counts of structures in planned monologues or text, no one has tried to describe conversations in this way.
- P 130 Then it is easy to violate all politeness rules for conversation and close off the channel by hanging up.
- P 131 And it's hard to cut off all the "by the way's" that prevent closing off the channel.
- P 139 It would be difficult to see how such a response could be any more relevant than "My daddy says so, that's why" if we could not *assume* that such responses *are* relevant.
- P 140 The following example is to encourage you to read their book, since it is impossible to summarize their method here.
- P 142 It seems unfair in every sense to include this brief section on the research on requisites of communication without also including a complete review of the researchers in sociology who are the leaders in conversational analysis: Schegloff, Sachs, Jefferson, Pomerants, Moerman, and their colleagues.
- P 143 It may seem difficult to set up situations that would elicit the data one would need to answer such questions, but procedures have been worked out.
- P 144 Unfortunately, it would be impossible to take the thirty-two child learners he used (ages: 7 - 9.5) to each of these places and have them really do the task.
- P 148 While the data analysis (and the comparisons across the three language groups) has not yet been completed, it is safe to say that strong differences have been found as to the effect of sex of addressee and of speaker across the three language groups.
- P 149 If mistakes are made, it is, she says, better to be designated as a foreigner than to risk insulting or offending the listener.
- P 152 It was popular at that time to talk about "imprinting", a term borrowed from animal behavior studies.
- P 154 First, in order to better understand how children, foreigners, or persons with language disorders learn or relearn a language, it is helpful to know the characteristics of the language they are exposed to.
- P 160 Once we are sure the referent has been identified and can be kept in mind by the listener, it is easier to change to a pronoun form.
- P 164 Individual differences among children might logically be accentuated by this treatment, and in fact it was not unusual to find three-year-old children who were less linguistically advanced than their one-and-a-half or two-year-old siblings.
- P 166 It is more sensible, however, simply to gloss them as establishing the topic "notice the pencil."
- P 169 Why doesn't Paul start immediately with "my boat" or "this my boat"? It would not be beyond his ability to do so.
- P 174 However, it is often possible to reconstruct from his answers what he thought the topic and subsequent questions were about (e.g., whether the Bogota team played in other countries besides Colombia and whether Pele actually played in Bogota on the team).
- P 174 Brunak, Fain, and Villoria's (1976) study of an adult Spanish speaker shows how difficult it is for the learner to carry out the turn:
- P 180 It is difficult, then, to make claims about just exactly what in the input helps us learn and what helps us to communicate.
- P 181 (But for many native speakers it's very difficult to control this shift in intonation, even when the shift and its insulting quality are clear.)
- P 191 These children appear to re-access the "forgotten" language, or perhaps it is more accurate to say that they reactivate the production system while comprehension may have continued all along.
- P 192 In considering the experimental studies, it is important to keep in mind just which skills are being tested; these are presented in Table 1.
- P 193 It's also possible to say that the social adjustment scores are not measures of acculturation or that teachers give inaccurate estimates of acculturation and simply disregard these data as not speaking to the acculturation issue.
- P 194 Examining the lists in Table 1, it is puzzling to see that pronunciation is better the earlier one begins to learn the language; yet find that, in other studies that look at initial learning, sometimes older Ss do as well or better than younger.
- P 196 However, given the unusual level of sophistication of the research design, it is difficult to criticize it from an evaluative research standpoint.
- P 197 If nothing changes in any of these areas with aging, then is it safe to turn to other possible explanations?
- P 198 The brain is not just one monolithic organ, but a series of organs, and it is possible to describe the anatomy of each.
- P 198 It is surprising, then, to discover that the right and left hemispheres of the brain do not seem to be nearly as perfectly matched in function.
- P 208 His drawings showed the area in the *right* hemisphere, and it was up to others to put it correctly in the left hemisphere!
- P 209 It is possible then to painlessly stimulate various parts of the brain and thus discover whether such disruption at any pressure point affects language.
- P 209 So if there is doubt, it is important to establish language hemisphere dominance prior to surgery.

- P 210 So far I have talked about evidence gathered from patients with brain disorders, and it may be unrealistic to surmise from that data how the normal brain functions.
- P 216 It should not be surprising then, if one uses the probe technique, to find differences in location for the two languages.
- P 216 It would be exciting to see if many differences were found.
- P 217 Now, it seems illogical to say that the two are the same and that both are neurophysiologically determined (in one case by lesion and the other by nonplasticity of cortex, caused by age of acquiring the second language).
- P 224 Since, according to Hartnett the two are separate (rather than the two ends of a continuum), it is quite possible for one to use different cognitive approaches at different times and still show a preference for one style over the other.
- P 229 While it is difficult for us to consider some other self doing this for us, and while such speculation reduces us to talking about self within self within self, some agent has to do this work.
- P 230 It is not necessary to postulate a homunkulus to account for the directed character of thought.
- P 230 Although here may be no Great Borrowing taking place, it seems sensible to think that some raiding of the system is going on, as Bates proposed.
- L 4 Language may be, in some rather vague, undefined sense, the most important, the most comprehensive, the most all-embracing; it is hard to say exactly how.
- L 6 It was language in action, in which it was impossible to understand the message unless you knew what was going on, unless you had some sort of audio-video record of what was actually happening at the time.
- L 6 But he also saw that it was necessary to give more than the immediate environment.
- L 6 He saw that in any adequate description, it was necessary to provide information not only about what was happening at the time but also about the total cultural background, because involved in any kind of linguistic interaction, in any kind of conversational exchange, were not only the immediate sights and sounds surrounding the event but also the whole cultural history behind the participants, and behind the kind of practices that they were engaging in, determining their significance for the culture, whether practical or ritual.
- L 10 It is by no means easy to move from the formal definition of a sentence to the interpretation of particular sentences of living language; and the problem is considerably greater in the case of the text.
- L 11 On the other hand, it is also necessary to describe the system of the language in such a way that it is conceivable that people could use it.
- L 11 And at this point, I would like to give an example of one way in which it may be possible to define the context of situation of a text.
- L 19 It has taken us two steps to reach this point, each one involving a kind of metaphorical transfer.
- L 23 It has often been assumed that each sentence has just one, or at least one primary, function; or, even if the sentence is recognized to be multifunctional, that it ought to be possible to point to each separate part of the sentence and to say this part has this function, that part has that function, and the other part has the other function.
- L 28 Otherwise, it would be impossible to explain how it is that in real life we do so readily join in and take part in a situation that previously we knew nothing about.
- L 36 I have used the term 'prediction' to refer to this, and it is perhaps important to make one point clear.
- L 39 It is a characteristic of a closed register, one in which the total number of possible messages is fixed and finite, that it is not necessary to send the message; all you need to transmit is an index number.
- L 41 So whereas, in principle at least, any individual might go through life speaking only one dialect (in modern complex societies this is increasingly unlikely; but it is theoretically possible, and it used to be the norm), it is not possible to go through life using only one register.
- L 47 But in describing the context of situation, it is helpful to build in some indication of the cultural background, and the assumptions that have to be made if the text is to be interpreted - or produced - in the way the teacher (or the system) intends.
- L 47 That is why it is so difficult to come in the middle of an ongoing discourse of this kind, such as joining in a new class half-way through the school year.
- L 48 Without an understanding of the linguistic resources involved it is impossible to give the explicit help that is needed.
- L 49 It would take a longish chapter to write them all out, and I shall not attempt to do so here.
- L 52 I want to show in some detail what it means to define text, as Halliday does, as 'language that is functional', 'that is doing some job in some context of situation'.
- L 55 Without the recognition of this bi-directionality, it would be possible to account for the possibility of verbal act, science, philosophy - in fact, the entire domain of human knowledge - or, for that matter, deceptions and misunderstandings.
- L 56 We cannot work from the general notion of, say, 'field' since it is not possible to claim, for example, that field always leads to the appearance of this or that element.
- L 56 If text can be described as 'language doing some job in some context', then it is reasonable to describe it as the verbal expression of a social activity; the C is an account of significant attributes of this social activity.

- L 57 It is important to recognise that control may shift from one agent to the other, and that a person carrying a subordinate hierarchic role in the agent dyad is not necessarily submissive.
- L 58 It is important to emphasise that medium and channel are distinct phenomena, even though they are not unrelated.
- L 60 It is important to realise that *yes* is not just meant as a short form for 'Yes, you can have ten oranges and a kilo of bananas'; rather it is an encouraging noise that says 'Yes, go on! Ask for more things'.
- L 63 It is relatively easy to demonstrate this possibility when some obligatory elements are iterative.
- L 64 It is possible to express the total range of optional and obligatory elements and their order in such a way that we exhaust the possibility of text structure for every text that can be appropriate to CC1.
- L 64 In other words it is possible to state the STRUCTURAL POTENTIAL of this genre, or its GENERIC STRUCTURE POTENTIAL.
- L 67 If we ask why it is possible to use probe or repair for obligatory elements, the answer will highlight the main difference between these and the optional elements.
- L 67 So it is desirable to find criteria for deciding what part of a text realises which element; more than that, it is important to establish what type of criteria these are.
- L 67 So it is desirable to find criteria for deciding what part of a text realises which element; more than that, it is important to establish what type of criteria these are.
- L 68 Even with an optional element, it is possible to make certain claims that may be sufficient for its identification;
- L 69 It is a mistaken view of both text and learning to imagine that one can get children to write an essay on the relationship between climate and vegetation by simply talking about it; and it is still worse to imagine that one can do this without talking about it at all.
- L 69 It is a mistaken view of both text and learning to imagine that one can get children to write an essay on the relationship between climate and vegetation by simply talking about it; and it is still worse to imagine that one can do this without talking about it at all.
- L 69 But it would be a mistake to think that writing something down is simply a matter of putting down graphically what you could have said phonically.
- L 69 It is one thing to talk about text structure to a group of students and another to write about it for the same kind of audience.
- L 71 If we compare the two occurrences of *it* in Example 5.2 with those in 5.1, we note an important difference: it would make no sense to claim that *it* in either of its occurrences in 5.2 is co-referential with any other item in the example.
- L 73 It would be untrue to claim that Text 5.2 is entirely incoherent or that it possesses no texture, though it is equally obvious that the text is less coherent than is Text 5.1
- L 74 Either of the devices can realise either of the relations, but it is more typical for reference type devices to signify co-referentiality and for substitution and ellipsis to signify the relation of co-classification.
- L 76 Note that in Example 5.2, it is impossible to sustain an endophoric interpretation of any of the implicit devices.
- L 77 It is possible to determine the kind of semantic links between the two terms of a tie, even though the intended specific meaning of the terms might not be available.
- L 78 Whenever scholars have attempted to prove that it is possible to have texts without cohesion, in order to demonstrate their point they have normally created what I would describe as 'minimal texts' consisting of either a single message by one participant, or one message per participant.
- L 78 By contrast, taking the minimal text as typical, we would be forced to concede many points that it would be absurd to have to concede.
- L 78 When the text is minimal as in Example 5.7, it appears impossible to arrive at the interpretation of such devices except by reference to the context of situation.
- L 80 In this list we have ended up grouping items such as 'flower' and 'flame', between which it is not very easy to say what kind of general meaning relation obtains.
- L 80 The members of each consecutive pair such as, say, 'flower' and 'petal', 'petal' and 'stem', and 'stem' and 'stalk' show a close meaning relation, but the further apart the item the items are the more difficult it is to relate them to each other semantically; for instance, consider 'flower' and 'faggot'.
- L 81 It is also possible to have repetition where the morphologically distinct forms of the same lexical unit occur.
- L 82 I suggested before that even if two implicit terms remain un-interpreted, as in Examples 5.8 and 5.9, it is still possible to perceive relations of co-reference and co-classification between them.
- L 82 With Example 5.12 I drew attention to the fact that even in the absence of both a specific linguistic referent and any situational clues, there are occasions when it is possible to provide an interpretation of the implicit device.
- L 84 I find that it is not possible to give talks without such expressions as 'I find ...', 'let me show ...', and 'in my opinion ...'.
- L 85 The implication is that if we know the specific social process - the field of discourse - relevant to an interaction, it will be possible to predict that some selection from this or that semantic grouping will appear in the shape of similarity chains in the texts generated;
- L 89 But even so, it is not easy to decide between the first and second alternative.

- L 89 On the principle that the probability of pronominals being co-referential with the nearest appropriate nominal group - simplex or complex - is the highest, it would be reasonable to interpret *they* as *the boy and the girl*.
- L 89 On these grounds, it seems far more reasonable to interpret *they* of line 4 as co-referential with *sailor, dog, boy and girl*.
- L 89 If this is the case, then it should be possible to find texts that are lacking in coherence without also displaying ambiguities.
- L 90 It might therefore be illuminating to look into the identity and similarity chains formed in the two texts.
- L 90 It is difficult to decide what goes into the identity chains and what the total set of lexical tokens for Text 5.2 is, without resolving the ambiguity.
- L 91 It is important to recall here that in constructing chains, we are concerned with components of messages.
- L 95 It would be a gross misunderstanding and misuse of the main message of this chapter to act as if a person can be taught to produce a coherent text by such simplistic methods as, for example, exhorting them to put in 60 per cent of pronominal, 20 per cent of definite articles, 3 causal relations, and by making the lexis hang together in chains.
- L 97 It may be useful to begin here by stating the problems explicitly.
- L 98 I must say it's a new and a very pleasant sensation to be noticed with envious admiration...
- L 99 It was necessary to make these distinctions in order to pave the way to the discussion of the identity of a CC.
- L 101 But it is important to remember that the ways of saying, being, and doing are qualitatively different in the two politico-economic cultures.
- L 101 This is what it means to say that a given context of situation - a CC - has meaning only within a culture.
- L 102 At the same time, it is important to attach greater weight to the word 'potential' in the expression 'genre-specific semantic potential'.
- L 104 Now, it would be difficult to substantiate a claim of uniqueness for what we have called CC3, since it is highly unlikely that, with everything else being equal, the GSP associated with CC1 will undergo any change in its obligatory elements as a result of a noisy channel.
- L 105 Before we close this section, it is important to comment on the implications of what has been said above.
- L 105 But if that is the case, then it would be quite wrong to claim that the genre is different depending on whether the application is, say, for leave of absence, or for travel assistance.
- L 106 But it would be impossible for us to maintain that the GSP associated with CC2 is identical to GSP1.
- L 106 For one thing, the element Sale Compliance cannot appear; and second, it is important to realise that any SP constructed to meet CC2 must be such as to take care of the discrete temporal staging, which has the effect that each element - if element it is - has to be completely finished before another can begin.
- L 107 I hope it is not too facile to say that the fuzziness is 'in the nature of things'.
- L 107 Though it is hard to imagine any two CCs that would have absolutely nothing in common, the area of overlap is variable: teaching history and poetry have more in common with each other than either has in common with buying vegetables.
- L 112 But it is not possible to claim that if two texts are generically identical then they must be structurally identical; or if two texts are structurally identical, then they must be verbally identical; or if they are verbally identical, then they must be materially identical.
- L 113 So it is possible to talk about the realisation of a structural element in terms of a set of general categories; it is not at all necessary to mention specific items as such.
- L 113 So it is possible to talk about the realisation of a structural element in terms of a set of general categories; it is not at all necessary to mention specific items as such.
- L 115 From what I say it may be possible to make predictions about how you will answer.
- L 117 In the description of text, it is difficult to provide a model that is satisfactory from all points of view.
- L 118 It is helpful to be able to explain what variations in the linguistic form correlate with which contextual value, rather than operate with a rarefied idea of 'a good style', or 'the right sequence of arguments'.
- WT 699/7 Dame Janet said that some in the profession had argued that Shipman was "so exceptionally wicked" that it would be wrong to impose changes designed only to catch another doctor like him.
- WT 699/9 It took 15 minutes for me to pass muster as a wheel clamber.
- WT 699/11 He insisted that it was not his function to point the finger, only to serve as midwife to the truth.
- WT 699/11 As it is now up to the voters to pass judgment on Mr Blair - possibly within as little as six months - Lord Butler clearly wanted to unburden himself about the way Labour governs the country.
- WT 699/11 "It isn't wise to listen only to special advisers, and not to listen to fuddy-duddy civil servants who may produce boringly inconvenient arguments," he said.
- WT 699/13 However, there has been widespread concern about how to enforce legislation, which means it will still be legal to ride to hounds to hunt rabbits or rats.
- WT 699/13 It is also not an offence to kill a fox unintentionally.
- WT 699/13 Mr Bradshaw, who has until now allowed the local hunt to cross his land, says he can see no difference between what he is doing and hunting, since it is practically impossible to prevent a dog killing a wild mammal it has run after.

WT 699/13 He added: "This ruling has shown that it will be virtually impossible to prosecute anyone as flushing out foxes for the purpose of control has been proved to be entirely different from hunting for all legal purposes."

WT 699/14 It was going to require superhuman effort to generate any thrill for the Turner Prize this year.

WT 699/16 Sir Tom Blundell, chairman of the Royal Commission on Environmental Pollution, said urgent action was necessary to compensate for the EU's failure to manage fisheries but admitted it was "a major challenge" for Britain to persuade the rest of the EU to take on the measures needed.

WT 699/17 The tales range from exhaustion with the country's epidemic of road rage incidents to fears that it is no longer safe to go shopping.

WT 699/19 "I think it would be appropriate to compare this to the fall of the Soviet Union or the fall of the Berlin Wall."

WT 699/20 "It is never good to have a feeling of no-go areas."

WT 699/23 "I do not believe it is possible to have free elections in 2005 if the situation continues," Mr Irwin said.

WT 699/24 To me, it seems anachronistic to describe Mohammed as a child molester.

WT 699/24 Mr Blunkett said that it would be illegal to claim that "Muslims are a threat to Britain".

WT 699/24 For once, the mote is in our own eye, and the beam in somebody else's - or will it soon be illegal to say that?

WT 699/25 Sir - It is cruel to force terminally ill adults, such as Mr Z overseas to seek assistance to die (Issue 698).

WT 699/25 It is far more common for unregulated assisted dying to take place in Britain or for people to travel overseas for help to die.

WT 699/25 It is easy to imagine circumstances in which a jury might conclude that the force used was reasonable, but unnecessary.

WT 699/25 In the case of Tony Martin, many argued that it was reasonable for Mr Martin to shoot the burglar dead, although he was running away at the time.

WT 699/25 It would not then be necessary to attack the intruder, but it would still be, as recognised by the law, reasonable to do so if he was invading your home.

WT 699/25 It would not then be necessary to attack the intruder, but it would still be, as recognised by the law, reasonable to do so if he was invading your home.

WT 699/26 It will be intriguing to see whether Sir Alan finds himself attracted by the same line of reasoning adopted by Lord Hutton.

WT 699/26 It's poor form to kick a man when he's down.

WT 699/26 But it's even worse politics to kick other people when you are down yourself.

WT 699/27 Small-c conservatives believe that it is in the best interests of everybody in the country - old and young, rich and poor - to be allowed to keep as much of their own money as possible.

WT 699/30 It was a flash of inspiration to start the Whitechapel Art Gallery's ambitious exhibition *Faces in the Crowd* with Edouard Manet's *Masked Ball at the Opera* of 1873.

WT 699/31 As often, though, it's hard to care about the ensuing larks with engagement rings when we've just seen the tragic villain brought so low.

WT 699/32 It takes many years of training and apprenticeship to reach the point where new developments and discoveries are made.

WT 699/33 "In the UK, I spent ten years in the Greater Manchester police force, so I thought it would just be interesting to see the other side of the coin," says Anderson, who made her first prison visit after seeing a request posted in the British Embassy.

WT 699/33 It is a humbling experience, for a patriotic Briton, to discover quite how comical the rest of the world finds us.

WT 699/33 It is possible, however, to sneak into the headlines by pretending to be one of the above.

WT 699/35 Similarly, it has been no part of my enquiry to ascertain whether the request for flesh and wine to be brought revealed that the Monarch was planning some sort of inappropriate "knees up", as some newspapers have chosen to put it, in the company of the Page and the Peasant.

WT 699/35 It was my task to investigate two aspects of this affair, first, whether there was improper use of official pine logs, and second, whether the Monarch exceeded his powers by "dinting" the snow with his footprints for the benefit of the Page.

WT 699/35 So, if he did indeed inform the Monarch that the night was darker and the wind blowing stronger, it is reasonable to assume that he was unable to make himself heard.

WT 699/35 It has been impossible to interview the Peasant because he cannot be traced.

WT 699/36 "I think it is safe to say that Europe has not embraced consolidation as a force for positive change," he continued.

WT 699/36 Another analyst added: "Terry Green will want to buy it for nothing, but to be honest it is going to be tricky for him to get financing."

WT 699/48 Toulouse's driving maul brought them a try when Jean-Baptiste Poux was carried over and they nearly scored later when it took furious scrambling defence from the Northampton pack to clear their lines.

WT 699/48 "After my first injury, it's been a big challenge to come back after another long lay-off, " said Wilkinson.

WT 699/48 "Now I'm fully fit again, it has been good to play a part in keeping the club on a roll."

WT 699/50 The hosts are a team in transition or, to be precise, transformation, and it is England's fortune to be catching them at the bottom of their cycle.

WT 699/51 "It's very good to be back," he admitted after watching his side battle back to earn a point in a dour encounter that was a world away from the rarefied heights of Premiership and international football.

WT 699/51 It was interesting to hear Wolves chairman Rick Hayward's explanation for hiring someone whose man management skills have, throughout his career, been called into question.

WT 699/56 Henry had every right to take a quick free kick, as he had done at Aston Villa last season, but it should not be up to the referee to initiate such thoughts.

WT 699/56 It is routine in Nevada boxing rings for badly beaten fighters to be taken to the local infirmary for scans.

T 6 However, it's human nature to ignore a problem, no matter how big, until it hits home.

T 6 The U.S. economy has been running on overwrought expectations for years now; it is only natural for it to slow down to a more stable, normal rate of growth.

T 6 It is disturbing to observe anti-apartheid activist Carl Niehaus' most recent participation in a campaign to orchestrate goodwill from the sins of apartheid.

T 21 Now the Administration is backing off - Rice has said that "it is important to review American deployments" but that "any review will take place with allies."

T 23 But it is not good diplomacy to relinquish a carrot that reinforces the better instincts of Mr. Putin, who is casting about for allies against American "hegemonism."

T 24 At one point Dumas declared: "It is heartbreaking to find myself here ..."

T 26 Even if that happens, it may be hard to erase Sharon's 18-point lead in opinion polls.

T 35 What's most revealing here is not the gifts themselves - although it is hard to picture one adult giving another a sofa - but how horrified people were at the very suggestion that Hillary would lean on supporters to furnish her house.

T 37 "It is not in Falung Gong's nature to be violent," says a retired teacher, who was arrested last year for her ties to the group. "But only Falung Gong believers have the bravery to die for their cause."

T 41 Level-headed Amazon watchers say it's best to divine the company's destiny thusly: FIRST-TIME SHOPPERS. At the end of the 1999 Christmas season, 27% of Amazon users were newbies.

T 48 Long-term studies now indicate that it is harder to undo the damage to the lungs from smoking than most people and even doctors realize.

T 50 Furthermore, it doesn't take much to trigger a host of ills - from fistfights to high blood pressure.

T 51 What they got was a runaway virus that wiped out the mice's immune system - a warning, perhaps, that it may be surprisingly easy to genetically engineer killer bugs for use in biological warfare.

T 54 Since it's been more than a decade since *sex, lies, and videotape* jump-started his career, you might also wonder why it has taken Soderbergh so long to capitalize on its success.

GW 5 It's a place where tough, pushy people go when they want to try on being vulnerable for size, people who fear it shows rude, peasant health to be happy.

GW 5 Why is it bad taste to boast about money, yet okay to take hundreds or thousands of pounds in return for boasting about one's relationship?

GW 7 If you are doing no work, it must be hard to imagine what else there is to do except hop into bed with someone.

GW 22 To appreciate why this dog-eared bunch of rockers could take on the status normally reserved for the likes of Elvis and Robert Johnson, it is necessary to understand the three stages of Aerosmith.

GW 26 "It rapes you and the God-given spirituality that it takes to write a song,"

GW 34 But Stalin was in power, and Boris kept fobbing him off, obliquely trying to hint at circumstances it would have been too dangerous to describe.

GW 37 It was rare enough for foreigners to visit the Soviet Union.

GW 37 "It is better not to make comments of this kind at present," my mother replied in chilly English.

GW 38 It has taken 25 years to catalogue and photograph the collection, to mount the paper works on acid-free card and store the majority in solander boxes, to stretch the oils, clean and conserve them, to choose the best and frame them, to sort the boxes of letters and photographs, to bring our ramshackle house into order, to rebuild, restore and redecorate.

GW 38 It was safer not to be found in possession of his photograph.

GW 60 With a 600-acre site to traverse and a choice of at least eight stages to navigate, it's better to look stupid than to look cool while suffering the indignities of mildewed feet and a soggy arse.

GW 65 Despite the mud and the squalor, it is possible - at a stretch - to retain a certain degree of style.

GW 66 "It is a solemn scene," intones the author, Tovak Martin, "composed of heavy mahogany and draped in dark velvet ... it is nearly impossible to peer completely across the room."

GW 68 Best to go directly to the Dutch suppliers and order them by post.

GW 76 It's hard to imagine this catching on in Britain: London - the Big Dickensian Turnip; Ipswich - Welcome to the Family.

GW 76 He says of that time: "It was very good to beat [other athletes such as Daley Thompson].

G 1 Ministers admitted this week that passport offices have been swamped and that it is taking 34 working days instead of the target of 10 to issue a new passport.

- G 3 "It is not for us to decide who is and who is not guilty of certain things."
- G 3 But privately, Nato officials had been confident that it was in Russia's interest to do a deal.
- G 4 Mr Byers's aides insist that the impetus behind the UK task force was humanitarian but conceded that a further aim was to get British businesses to see that it was "in their interests to be seen to be rebuilding Kosovo in terms of the goodwill that generates for the future."
- G 5 But with a good diet, exercise and not too many pints, it is possible to keep not only the belly at bay, but two killer diseases.
- G 10 It takes half an hour to get into the building where there is a TV camera crew filming the chaos.
- G 14 "I do not think it is appropriate for me to say where the blame lies."
- G 15 "For a poet like me, it is quite a test to write about public things."
- G 16 The Gallup poll this week sent out a mixed message: two-thirds of Americans think gambling should be legal and think it benefits an area economically to have a casino.
- G 17 "It is reassuring to see that nature is capable of regenerating itself, of taking life back to the stage it was at before mankind destroyed so much of it."
- G 18 It's hard to imagine much more because the scenario becomes too preposterous.
- G 18 Its (sic) is hard **to know** where to start with such gut-wrenching hypocrisy, but the day that opening fire on unarmed civilians is enshrined into the standing orders of the Parachute regiment and viewed as acting in the service of this country is the day the entire British army should be disbanded.
- G 18 Is it really such a big step for the British state, for once, to officially admit that we are not entirely blameless in Ulster's tragedy?
- G 21 It is fitting to find that God is a bit of a paper pusher and heaven a higgledy-piggledy mess of overturned desks and dirty coffee cups.
- G 21 It was hard on this brilliant day to imagine this to be "the land of Gwrtheyrn of the three curses", where the non-believing inhabitants were cursed thrice by monks pilgrimaging to Bardsey.
- G 22 "But it's important not to get carried away on the basis of the current figures, however."
- G 23 Nor is it any longer possible to argue that a problem in Belgium, the successor to the UK as the home of food and drink scares, is a local problem which can be contained.
- G 23 "Our licence is the foundation for future investment and without certainty it is more difficult to make big decisions."
- G 24 In India, refuse food and drink several times before accepting; in eastern Europe, drinks go straight "down the hatch"; in the Middle East "Arabs show appreciation of food by slurping and belching"; and in North America: "It is regarded as extremely rude not to listen to women".
- G 25 It would be wrong to assume, however, that just because the Fed and its counterparts are worrying the rest of us can sleep easily in our beds.
- G 26 "I got into conflict with them many times but you can't take risks with the safety of patients and it was my job to stand for things."
- G 26 It is not hard to imagine Millar in conflict with his superiors, and the picture he paints of British Biotech is of an organisation in which office politics had been elevated to an art form, where there was a huge gulf between the scientists and professional managers.
- G 26 It is hard to imagine him ever admitting that he might be wrong - about anything.
- G 26 He believes he has been blackballed by people of influence and that it will be difficult to find another position.
- GS 2 For a healthy democracy, it is not sufficient for voting to "be allowed."
- GS 2 If Jonathan Aitken is due to complete his official period of penitence after a mere six months, so long as he agrees to be tagged, it is scarcely right for Mandelson to serve out a longer term of exclusion.
- GS 2 There is now an international lobby against torture, but it is foolish to think that awareness and concern will end it soon.
- GS 3 It is hard to overstate the historical significance of this - in part a by-product of late 20th century secularism - and the repercussions for English Catholicism.
- GS 3 It's hard to think of anything comparable.
- GS 3 It is easy to understand their fascination with trash and waste.
- GS 3 It's easy to be judgmental about Tudor cockneys, apparently never out of the alehouses given the number of bottles and tankards found; and prone to fall easily into fights, given the troves of knives and daggers, we might surmise.
- GS 4 Victoria Carew Hunt's photographs of female Scottish politicians such as Helen Liddell do show a softer, more intimate side than many political images, but it's still hard to get excited about these just because Liddell is caught smiling or Margaret Ewing's hair is blowing in the breeze.
- GS 4 More like his Spitting Image puppet on acid, it's scary to contemplate that our parliament is in the hands of this mad-eyed, staring vortex of energy.
- GS 4 God knows I needed it, for a moment's inattention to a Barker play can lead you perilously on your own Ship of Fools, from where it's almost impossible to get back on to barker's course again.

- GS 4 It took only a Moorish masking of the three rounded archways at the back of the stage - a platform in front of the stable block - to transport us instantly to the Pasha's palace.
- GS 4 It was good to have her big aria of defiance, Martern Aller Arten, as a climax before the central interval, effectively improving on Mozart's three-act scheme.
- GS 4 It is hard to get a sustained impression of any dancer's style when, as on the oval stage of the Albert Hall, she's required to keep changing directions to face different parts of the audience.
- GS 6 They married when it was still rare for an Indian man to wed a European woman, and moved to the "neutral territory" of Old Delhi, then, Desai recalls, "a sleepy, provincial place".
- GS 6 "It never occurred to me to ask, nor her to tell."
- GS 6 Desai says: "I remember being very lost at school, not being popular or successful. It was always a great struggle to belong."
- GS 6 "It was an immense relief to come home to books, to be alone."
- GS 7 Yet it would be wrong to set her books in a staid English tradition.
- GS 7 "But it's wrong to pretend it never existed."
- GS 8 Because it is up to you, and other people like you, to ensure that the disruption goes away and order is restored.
- GS 9 My doubts about New Labour began well before the general election. But bliss was it on the polling day to be alive.
- GS 9 It's not Cohen's habit to balance his indictments with either pleas for mitigation or descriptions of extenuating circumstances.
- GS 9 It was absurd for Blair to say: "If I listened to Nick Cohen I would never win an election."
- GS 9 It would have been much more interesting to have had a fuller account of how he established the Himalayan Trust which has built schools, hospitals and bridges and brought water to Sherpa villages in the hills below Everest.
- GS 10 In sentences of an almost psychotic exactitude - it takes Simon seven and a half minutes to smoke a cigarette - Treuer shows us his search for a stable identity amid the bigotry and the brick-dust, "when there were times you could do damage, when you were encouraged to rip something apart".
- GS 12 (Nowadays it's almost as hard to find non-Australian wine in Oz as it is to find non-French wine in France.)
- G 19 It is the policy of the Guardian to correct errors as soon as possible.
- G 15 Among his ambitions in the post, he says, are to raise money to provide places where poets can work uninterrupted, to edit regular poems about national events and to produce a "gigantic" poetry anthology for schools.

That-clauses

- M 35 It didn't matter that the Pakistani physician Ghose, a sweet chain-smoking man with fidgety hands, kept telling him he was *very* *very* lucky.
- M 41 It was decided by all parties that instead of an ostentatious escort we would transport Ruhr quietly by a highly secret route.
- M 65 It was known that he had friends in high places in Washington who had assisted, if only indirectly, in the creation of the military force in Honduras.
- M 83 Since it was almost a certainty that neither Ruhr nor his associates had entered the UK legally, the names on the list would yield nothing
- M 107 It became clear to Gunther Ruhr that he was needless baggage to his parents - gaunt people with bright, spacey eyes and a disarmingly naïve zest for accosting strangers on street corners and shoving fundamentalist pamphlets into their hands.
- M 112 It occurred to Ruhr that he could let this girl walk away.
- M 190 He was very fond of Martin Burr, and admired him, but he disliked the way Big Shots drove up from London to ask what progress had been made when it was goddamned obvious that men were bleeding to death and ambulances slashing through the rain and the whole scorched, smoking landscape looked as if a meteor had struck it.
- M 201 It was commonly assumed, and quite wrongly, that they were too obsessed by their little world of scientific exploration to have any interest in material possessions.
- M 203 It was clear to Fuentes that he'd somehow insulted Levy, though he wasn't sure how.
- M 214 It was the woman's opinion that the man who'd rented the house was a 'foreigner', although remarkably 'civilized' for all that.
- M 217 How had it come about that Magdalena, who despised Castro's regime, whose father had been shot down and killed at the Bay of Pigs, had become the lover of Castro's Minister of Finance?
- M 252 "If it turns out that the renter wasn't your husband, why would somebody want to pose as him?"
- M 256 Somewhere over the Atlantic it had occurred to Hurt that Perry, by virtue of his need for control, was as much a candidate as anyone else and that the best way to proceed was to ask a straight question and be damned.

- M 325 Since working-class Glasgow wasn't what you'd call Limousine City, it wasn't such a coincidence that both men had been serviced by the same car firm.
- M 328 It was indeed possible, he thought, that the place was empty, in which case he'd go back to Ballantrae and ask at a local pub if anybody knew the name of the owner and where he might be found.
- M 331 Last night, when it seemed inevitable that he'd overpower her after the pointless attempted escape, he'd suddenly and strangely lost interest, pushed her away, tossed her a blanket and told her to sleep on the floor.
- M 353 "Is it possible that British intelligence is responsible for the deaths of our members?" he asked.
- M 356 It was undeniably true that he had contacts among ex-soldiers and mercenaries, men who considered killing as natural a function as, say, screwing.
- M 358 It was said that Fidel was going to send Cuban kids to the Soviet Union to be educated and raised there as good little Communists.
- M 359 It did not escape his vanity that he was one of many co-authors helping to shape forthcoming events.
- M 386 "It's my understanding that you rented a house for the German."
- M 390 Although both men were initially discreet, circumspect to the point of obscurity, their mutual confidence grew and they talked more openly as the days passed; it was vividly clear to them that unless Fidel were 'removed' then Cuba was doomed.
- M 414 It was decided that the houseboy, Paco, was hardly worth pursuing.
- M 429 Besides - and here Tomas paused for effect - it was now known that Fidel was incapacitated and couldn't lead his troops, which was certain to be a blow to Communist morale.
- M 433 Was it Estela's fault that she was the wife of Rafael?
- M 442 It was obvious he'd lied to this woman who was clearly the mistress Estela had often imagined.
- M 443 It scared her that she didn't know.
- M 516 Pagan shouldn't have been surprised by Kinnaird's knowledge of the murder attempt, because it was plain that very little had escaped Freddie.
- M 540 It soon became clear to his readers, his team of auditors, that the late terrorist often knew more about his employers than they could ever have supposed.
- M 540 In what became known unofficially as the St. Helier Accord, it was decided, within a matter of hours and hardly any debate, that the documents, to be kept from the press at all costs, would be divided among the parties with direct interests - the record of Ruhr's involvement with Basque separatists, for example, would go directly to the Spanish government to deal with as it saw fit;
- CF 1 Even when the rumours began and it became clear that suicide was not the only explanation.
- CF 12 In the first place it was felt by these same women that Preston's attempts to be a New Man lacked conviction, or 'gut feeling'.
- CF 20 It was true he hadn't put a lot into Polly's pregnancy.
- CF 29 Preston could remember his excitement when she held on to him to pull them off and his feeling of manly pride when it was revealed that in her stocking feet she was slightly shorter than he was.
- CF 31 It was utterly natural to them that Daddy should sleep downstairs and Mummy upstairs.
- CF 39 It is possible she will take me places.
- CF 44 It was typical of the BBC that they should put her on *Shrews at Ten*.
- CF 64 It occurred to him that Miranda might know something about Eva Eichler, being in the business herself, '... sort of'.
- CF 68 For six years, while otherwise occupied in the production of *Animal Antics*, it had not occurred to Preston that Polly might not be coming when he did.
- CF 75 It is possible it does not know it is only pretending.
- CF 87 When it finally dawned on him that this was exactly what Mother Bernard meant by Being Tempted in the Night, Preston was shocked and horrified.
- CF 111 It was inconceivable to him that she wouldn't have asked.
- CF 111 It didn't seem to occur to them, and it certainly didn't to Preston's dad, that it might have a rather more drastic effect on the men below decks.
- CF 113 It was unthinkable, of course, that he could have come straight out with it and asked them.
- CF 114 It was possible that he never had.
- CF 152 Preston didn't normally fancy bald men, but it struck him that Maurice Wagstaff was extremely sexy, in an authoritative kind of way.
- CF 153 It was possible this was why he had gone bald in the first place.
- CF 160 ('I'd have told her eventually,' he assured Edward. 'When it was obvious that Miranda wasn't pregnant.'
- CF 172 Or that it had been made patently obvious to everyone in the department that Preston Moody was *persona naon grata*, a failure, bad news fitted only for the God slot.

CF 173 It's possible they won't have me,' he said.

In the course of setting up this programme, Preston had walked along a beach in North Wales with the researcher and a zoologist from Bangor University, turning over stones in the hope of finding a pair of these creatures during the mating act, and it had occurred to Preston that it must be one of the most poignant and tragic aspects of a Soft-Shelled Crab's life that the precise moment of reproduction, when it is at its most vulnerable, is also the precise moment when it is worth eating.

CF 176

CF 182 Carla thought it was amazing they had called her Carla instead of Susan or Cindy or Mandy or Sharon.

CF 185 It was apparent from early adolescence that Cristobel could have any boy she liked for the asking.

CF 186 It was clear to Carla that Cristobel very much resented Carla's new popularity with the boys.

It was possible that she would have to rescue the situation by treating Preston as a bit of a joke, a not very serious problem she could talk to Cristobel about, the way she'd talked to her about Lol, as if he was something of an embarrassment.

CF 188

CF 188 For the first time it began to dawn on Carla that the Lols had had their time.

CF 189 It was only then that it occurred to her that Felixstowe was a very curious place for Preston to go to because he wanted to think.

CF 192 And so they retired, cross and grumpy, to their bedrooms for a nap, it having occurred to both of them, more or less simultaneously, that there was very little else for them to do.

CF 202 It's a bit lonely, that's all. Pity you and the twins aren't here.'

CF 218 It occurred to him that she might have been a doctor before she became a professional feminist.

CF 219 It was only then, despite what he'd said, that it really dawned on him that she wasn't.

Cf 219 It came as a surprise to Preston that it was Spring.

CF 221 Was it possible, then, that Eva Eichler shaved her legs?

CF 224 Nor had it escaped his notice that she was almost certainly five foot two and a half.

RD 8 "It's great you got married."

RD 36 "Too bad he got the Leedses when old Parsons was right down the street convenient," Lewis observed.

RD 55 "It was a coincidence that I had seen it. A piece of luck."

Parson's description of the man in the alley and the information on the cat and the dog were possible indications of the killer's methods: it seemed likely that he scouted as a meter reader and felt compelled to hurt the victims' pets before he came to kill the family.

RD 56

RD 89 It was possible that someone might remember a white stranger in the parking lot late at night.

RD 135 The kid said it was okay that he had been in the rubber Ramada.

RD 184 "If you start with the idea that the *Tattler* set him off, does it strike you that he set this up in a hell of a hurry?"

RD 190 With Lounds dead, it seemed likely that he was next and all day Chester had watched his back; while he was in Lound's garage, while he stood in the rain on the scorched pavement where Lounds was burned.

RD 198 When she told him to go away, he observed that it was her fault the marriage failed and the child was stillborn.

RD 207 It was true that Grandmother had enjoyed a season as a belle in 1907 and was invited to some of the better balls across the river in St. Louis.

RD 207 She distrusted doctors, she explained at length, but when it became clear that gum problems would cost her her teeth, she sought one of the most renowned dentists in the Midwest, Dr. Felix Bertl, a Swiss.

RD 239 It was true that he had a sort of smile which exposed his handsome public teeth.

RD 272 Odd that Valerie Leeds saved money on panty hose.

RD 283 It occurred to him that he had never really found out about that, and now he was curious.

RD 305 It bothered him that he had thought of the Jacobis as chalk marks on a bloody floor.

The Danish research vessel *Galathea* brought up living animals in dredges operated at great depths, where only recently it was supposed life would be too scanty to permit such sampling.

SAU 10

SAU 11 It is known that plants and animals of the sea pick up and concentrate radiochemicals, but only vague information now exists as to details of the process.

SAU 12 It is a curious situation that the sea, from which life first arose, should now be threatened by the activities of one form of that life.

SAU 19 Many people have debated how and when the earth got its ocean, and it is not surprising that their explanations do not always agree.

SAU 20 The outer shell of the young earth must have been a good many millions of years changing from the liquid to the solid state, and it is believed that, before this change was completed, an event of the greatest importance took place - the formation of the moon.

SAU 22 It seems probable that, within the warm saltiness of the primeval sea, certain organic substances were fashioned from carbon dioxide, sulphur, nitrogen, phosphorus, potassium, and calcium.

- SAU 23 It is doubtful that this first life possessed the substance chlorophyll, with which plants in sunlight transform lifeless chemicals into the living stuff of their tissues.
- SAU 25 It is very doubtful that the animals alone would have succeeded in colonizing the land, for only the plants had the power to bring about the first amelioration of its harsh conditions.
- SAU 32 It was my own definite impression that the marine life in general went deeper down in the daytime than during the nights, and that the darker the night was, the more life we had around us.
- SAU 35 It is true that the remains of ancient coral reefs have been discovered in arctic waters, but this means that in some past ages the climate of these northern seas was tropical.
- SAU 36 For a good many years it has been said categorically that the total productivity of the colder temperate and polar seas is far greater than the tropical.
- SAU 36 Now it is becoming plain that there are important exceptions to this statement.
- SAU 50 It was reported that several scientists, working with sonic equipment in deep water off the California coast, had discovered a widespread 'layer' of some sort, which gave back an answering echo to the sound waves.
- SAU 51 With widespread use of echo-sounding instruments, it has become clear that the phenomenon is not something peculiar to the coast of California alone.
- SAU 52 It is true that men who have worked close to the sea surface at night have received vivid impressions of the abundance and activity of squids in the surface waters in darkness.
- SAU 56 At first thought it seems a paradox that creatures of such great fragility as the glass sponge and the jellyfish can live under the conditions of immense pressure that prevail in deep water.
- SAU 59 In their world of darkness, it would seem likely that some of the animals might have become blind, as happened to some cave fauna.
- SAU 60 Eventually it was discovered that the sound were the voices of fish known as croakers, which in the spring move into Chesapeake bay from their offshore wintering grounds.
- SAU 62 The single specimen of Latimeria, as the fish was christened, is so far the only one that has been captured, and it seems a reasonable guess that it may inhabit depths below those ordinarily fished, and that the South African specimen was a stray from its usual habitat.
- SAU 67 It is generally agreed that the sea level was lowered during the existence of the great glaciers, for water was withdrawn from the sea and frozen in the ice sheet.
- SAU 74 Yet it is probable that they will be standing unchanged in the deep sea when these, too, shall have crumbled away to dust.
- SAU 81 It is one of the curious paradoxes of the ocean that the bulk of the organic remains that reach the great depths intact belong to unicellular creatures seemingly of the most delicate construction.
- SAU 84 It is one of the paradoxes in the ways of earth and sea that a process seemingly so destructive, so catastrophic in nature, can result in an act of creation.
- SAU 88 In the short history of modern navigation in this region it has often happened that a new island has been reported but perhaps only the following year could not be found.
- SAU 97 This evidence of a rising sea is an interesting and even an exciting thing because it is rare that, in the short span of human life, we can actually observe and measure the progress of one of the great earth rhythms.
- SAU 99 But each time the pattern of invasion was a little different, and it is doubtful that there is any part of the continent that at some time has not lain at the bottom of one of these shallow seas.
- SAU 102 It might be thought that the sea level would have been rising continuously, but the matter is not so simple.
- SAU 102 Perhaps it is more than coincidence that this chain arose in Cretaceous time, when the greatest flood the world has ever seen advanced upon the continents.
- SAU 105 Perhaps it is not surprising that there should be such radical disagreement.
- SAU 110 And it is fortunate that this is so, for if the huge masses of water that comprise a wave actually moved across the sea, navigation would be impossible.
- SAU 115 But it seems unlikely that any coast is visited more wrathfully by the sea's waves than the Shetlands and Orkneys, in the path of the cyclonic storms that pass eastward between Iceland and the British Isles.
- SAU 116 Five years later it became clear that this feat had been a mere dress rehearsal, for the new pier, weighing about 2600 tons, was then carried away in a storm.
- SAU 121 If it is found that the epicenter of the quake is under the ocean and so might produce seismic sea waves, a warning is sent to observers at selected tide stations to watch their gauges for evidence of the passage of the racing tsunamis.
- SAU 123 For many years it was known that the vessels of Arctic expeditions often became almost trapped and made headway only with difficulty in what is called 'dead water' - now recognized as internal waves at the boundary between a thin surface layer of fresh water and the underlying salt water.
- SAU 126 So far as the brief period of human history is concerned, however, it is most unlikely that there has been any important change in the major patterns of oceanic circulation, and the first thing that impresses us about the currents is their permanence.
- SAU 128 Franklin, thinking 'it was a pity no notice was taken of the current upon the charts,' asked Folger to mark it out for him.

- SAU 141 From our knowledge of the source of the currents, it seems significant that some of the same species of deep-water invertebrates and fishes have been collected off the coast of South Africa and off Greenland.
- SAU 147 If the history of the earth's tides should one day be written by some observer of the universe, it would no doubt be said that they reached their greatest grandeur and power in the younger days of Earth, and that they slowly grew feebler and less imposing until one day they ceased to be.
- SAU 148 All this, of course, will require time on a scale the mind finds it difficult to conceive, and before it happens it is quite probable that the human race will have vanished from the earth.
- SAU 152 In Europe it has been well established that the spawning activities of oysters reach their peak on the spring tides, which are about two days after the full or the new moon.
- SAU 168 It is now established beyond question that a definite change in the arctic climate set in about 1900, that it became astonishingly marked about 1930, and that it is now spreading into sub-arctic and temperate regions.
- SAU 171 For one thing, it is almost certainly true that we are still in the warming-up stage following the last Pleistocene glaciation - that the world's climate, over the next thousands of years, will grow considerably warmer before beginning a downward swing into another Ice Age.
- SAU 173 It has been assumed that the first seas were only faintly saline and that their saltiness has been growing over the eons of time.
- SAU 173 It is a curious fact that there is little similarity between the chemical composition of river water and that of sea water.
- SAU 182 It seems probable that on the continental shelf, also, the salt domes may mark large oil deposits.
- SAU 195 It is surprising, but pleasant, that sailing directions of one and the same vintage should contain instructions for obtaining position by the use of loran, and should also counsel the navigator to be guided, like the Norsemen a millennium ago, by the flight of birds and the behavior of whales in making land in foggy weather.
- SAU 195 It is said that there was once an island there...'
- SAU 199 It was formerly supposed that a strong echo implied a very dense concentration of whatever creatures were returning the echo.
- SAU 199 Now it is realized that the tracings recorded by the echo sounder do not necessarily indicate the density of the animals in the scattering layer, so that actually a dark tracing on the record may be produced by only a few strong scatters passing through the beam in any particular instant of time.
- SAU 199 All entanglements involved sperm whales and it is possible the concentration of reports off the coasts of Ecuador and Peru may be related to a seasonal migration of these whales.
- SAU 200 It has been known for at least 20 years that the bat finds its way about in lightless caves and on dark nights by means of a physiological equivalent of radar, emitting a stream of high-frequency sound, which returns to it as echoes from any obstruction in its path.
- SAU 201 In the ten years that have elapsed since this account of the canyons was written much more has been learned about them, but it may still be said that there is no general agreement about their origin.
- SAU 201 As a result of these studies it is now known that there are at least five types of canyons, so different in their characteristics that almost certainly they have different origins.
- SAU 202 Indeed, it is now suggested by some geologists that the whole mid-Atlantic ridge is part of a continuous range of mountains that runs for 40,000 miles across the bottom of the Atlantic, the Arctic, the Pacific, and the Indian Oceans (see preface).
- SAU 203 It is now clear, from the work of the nuclear submarines and from other, more conventional explorations, that the bottom topography of the Arctic Ocean is for the most part that of a normal oceanic basin, with flat abyssal plains, scattered sea mounts, and rugged mountains.
- SAU 203 From samplings by coring tubes and dredges and from deep-sea photography it was discovered during the International Geophysical Year that the bottom is widely covered with rocks, pebbles, and shells, the latter chiefly of shallow-water forms.
- C 4 It is a sign of her extraordinary skill that she has introduced change without losing the large popular audience which the genre attracts and has established herself as an important practitioner of the art.
- C 6 It is true that in the classical detective story the disposal of the corpse is usually cleansing, but to a feminist reader the violent eradication of any woman is disturbing.
- C 12 It is clear that Carolyn Heilbrun herself continues to grow in making fictions of female destiny.
- C 17 While McCoy's primary objective was to satisfy his desire to write a psychological thriller, it is almost certain that his subject matter was influenced by the unexpected acclaim he was receiving in France.
- C 24 So it is only natural that this man with his battery of identities can feel most comfortable with false ones.
- C 26 It is significant, once again, that the past intrudes on the present only in snatches.
- C 28 Consistent with the outrageous sexuality in his novel, it is interesting that, in Oedipal fashion, the self-immolation of Cotter-Murphy is almost voluntary.
- C 33 Although I think it's interesting that in some of Agatha Christie's books she has this Ariadne Oliver, a woman crime writer, with a Swedish detective.
- C 35 It struck me that the dangers were that one would create a rather stereotyped, rather dull character.
- C 35 It astounds me that in nearly all police forces, the upper ranks of the detective force are predominantly male.

- C 37 It's obvious that you enjoy your work.
- C 39 Isn't it true that many children go through a period in their lives when they wonder whether or not they really belong to their parents?
- C 44 It's interesting that one of the reviewers said that it was difficult to see this as a first novel.
- C 47 In the mysteries written in the 1930s you always called the Yard, but now it's very rare in real detection that the Yard is called in.
- C 49 It's interesting that I read her when I was very young, because people say that Jane Austen is not a young person's writer.
- C 52 It was said that by the time of the Ming dynasty there had been ten volumes recording Judge Bao's cases including sixty-three cases of detection.
- C 57 It has been surmised that Holmes would have solved the mysteries of Dracula, Jack the Ripper, Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, and Edwin Drood.
- C 57 Given the detective's far-reaching knowledge of Shakespeare's works, is it conceivable that he would not have indulged in deciphering the identity of the famous dedicatee to the Bard's *Sonnets*, Mr. W. H.?
- C 59 Although it is true enough that William Holmes was engaged in the bookselling trade, a much more likely candidate emerges, namely Mr. William Hall.
- C 61 "My dear Watson," he chuckled, "it is inconceivable that an author's life is not somehow manifest in his work."
- C 63 "What is more interesting, to me, is that our William (Hall that is) was married nine months prior to the publication of the *Sonnets*."
- C 68 Confident of her ability, she wrote: "It is not possible that a mystery story should be 'great but badly written' ", and Sayers wanted nothing less than greatness.
- C 92 Haskell, who tells all these stories, makes the point that although there is no evidence on the point, it is assumed by the hotel staff that there is some kind of sex life between Chambrun and Miss Ruysdale, but Haskell emphasises the fact that Chambrun, for whatever reason he might have, always "neuters" Miss Ruysdale by calling her simply "Ruysdale."
- C 95 In this later book it is important that some investigation be carried out in Colorado and Mark Haskell is sent to do it, though he will only be carrying out Chambrun's plan and organization.
- C 95 It is perhaps significant that Pentecost develops the motivation of this enemy of society in precisely the same way that he does that of Peter Styles, who after his baptism in the fire of mutilation turns out to be a champion, not an enemy, of people, but because Conclin is evil, mutilation has an evil and alienating effect.
- C 116 Although he itemizes seven different reasons why he has to turn Brigid O'Shaughnessy over to the police for having killed his partner Miles Archer, it is clear from the way he obsessively repeats a certain phrase that one reason predominates over all the others.
- C 116 Where the Op, in an almost monk-like way, withholds himself from intimate sexual relationships and Spade's involvements with women are purely exploitative (and neither character seems to have a close friend of the same sex), from the beginning of *The Glass Key*, it is clear that Ned Beaumont is capable of human commitments.
- C 119 It is just as likely, for instance, that Ned tells Paul about Janet because it seems to him the honorable thing to do.
- C 125 It was always his great hope that, by ensuring his enormous collection of first editions would not be broken up, it would serve for future research in the field he loved and enjoyed so much.
- C 125 It is true he did not read all the books he collected; it would take him a better part of the century to do that, he would say, even if he read a book a night.
- C 129 We knew also that he was a man of vast financial resources; it was frequently said of Ned that he owned a ranch out West called San Diego.
- C 131 It was Miss Rice's idea that she be married surrounded by the life's work of her distinguished peers and Ned was delighted to grant her request.
- C 132 It is very doubtful that anyone, regardless of his financial resources, could ever assemble another collection to rival the one that Ned Guymon built.
- C 133 None the worse, perhaps, that an almost stranger should write about him - uninhibited, unprejudiced, knowing nothing of his family, his back-ground, his life-history - judging him simply as a man one has met and from that moment respected, admired and loved.
- C 152 And you know doggone well, and it worked out that way, in recent years particularly, that I would ask for a certain book from ascertain dealer and I knew doggone well that if he had it at all, it was up on a shelf maybe at \$2 or \$2.50... but if he did have it he would quote it to me at \$5 or \$6.
- P 6 It is, of course, possible that this long introduction and the time taken to identify the cast of characters may be a way of capturing the attention of the audience.
- P 9 Although it is clear that plans at higher levels influence plans at lower levels, all levels must be considered simultaneously, even though it may be impossible for us to research more than one level at a time.
- P 12 Although it is true that we hear speech as a stream of sound, it is also the case that we can divide that stream of sound into segments.
- P 13 It could be argued that we are so influenced by spelling that we hear the stream of speech as as the number of letters in each word.

- P 16 It's unlikely then that an English speaker would ever make a speech error substituting a velar /n/ for some other sound at the beginning of a word.
- P 20 What is especially interesting about this is that it shows an "awareness" of an historical difference in the evolution of German and Dutch.
- P 22 It is clear that transfer/interference is an important source of error, but where and when it occurs, physiologically, is not clear.
- P 25 It is also more "natural" that languages have voiceless than voiced stops, for it takes extra glottis control for the vocal cords to vibrate when the air is stopped in the oral tract.
- P 25 So, for languages with voiceless but no voiced stops, it is quite common that these voiceless stops become voiced between vowels.
- P 27 It has been suggested that all languages share a basic open syllable structure.
- P 27 It has also been shown that, in addition to simplification of syllable structure due to speed, the speech of English speakers while under stress or when tired also moves toward this basic CV syllable structure.
- P 31 It is not clear, however, that formality of the speech situation will invariably cause the learner to use more accurate forms.
- P 32 In this model one searches for a scale (the gradual move from incorrect to correct) and then tests the scale to discover the systematicity of the progression; so it is important that research also describe precisely how "scalable" the data actually are.
- P 34 It isn't clear from the Stanford Archive data display that the order is statistically similar to those of child language, misperceptions orders, or to this second language data.
- P 37 It is surprising (and happy), in one sense, that Gasser found as much agreement as he did, since Bolinger (1961) and others have pointed out that the signals are seldom clear or unambiguous.
- P 38 While it seems more plausible that intonation depends both on discourse and on syntactic plans, whatever the order of plans within the hierarchy, differences in meaning signaled by stress, juncture and intonation are important in second language learning.
- P 40 It is unlikely that our mental dictionaries would have entries for each of the following as separate words: write, written, writes, writing, wrote.
- P 40 It seems much more likely that we have one form and a set of rules to produce the others.
- P 42 It should not be surprising, then, that Hungarian students try to transfer this productivity to English morphology.
- P 48 It has been clear from the outset that we need to know whether accuracy orders are necessarily evidence of acquisition orders.
- P 53 In most first language acquisition literature, it is assumed that the acquisition of function precedes the acquisition of form.
- P 53 It is not clear that this occurs in second language acquisition.
- P 56 While very young children in the early stages of second language learning misapply affixes of one language to lexicon of the other language, it seems more likely that this is a temporary transfer until the affixes of the new language are found and rules internalized for their formation.
- P 58 How is it possible that monkeys and computers can recognize scores of isolated words, and humans recognize thousands of words which appear in the stream of speech?
- P 64 Although we may agree with Baker's conclusions, it is also clear that the stress and final sounds must be part of the retrieval system.
- P 70 It is quite likely that different types of association training (e.g., visual association, sound of word association, word spelling association) may have different degrees of effectiveness for different students.
- P 72 How likely would it be that *high* would have these same translations in: This fence is six feet high...
- P 105 Given a list of pronunciation errors, most teachers could identify the learner's first language. Given a list of syntactic errors (excluding frequency of article errors), it is less likely that the first language of the learner could be deduced.
- P 108 It is probably true, however, that the learner who is best able to change an interview into a conversation - a learning opportunity - probably *is* the best learner and deserves the higher Index figure.
- P 108 Just as it is clear that lexicon puts constraints on syntax (and vice versa), so it is also clear that discourse puts constraints on syntactic choice as well.
- P 108 Just as it is clear that lexicon puts constraints on syntax (and vice versa), so it is also clear that discourse puts constraints on syntactic choice as well.
- P 112 It's true that we often caution students against using the historical present, because we associate it with sports broadcasting (...) or travelogues (...).
- P 120 It is clear from the discourse that the sentences are linked, but the relationship need not be specified when the context of the discourse can supply the link.
- P 120 It is clear, though, that one is not just a faulty version of the other.
- P 124 When a doctor says "Let's give him one tablet before bedtime for the next three days and see how that works," it's highly unlikely that the doctor plans to show up at the child's bedside for the next three days around 9:00p.m.

- P 125 It is clear that lack of language proficiency is at the bottom of Johnston's comment that her directness hurt others, that she needed less direct (more mitigated) ways of speaking with people.
- P 125 At this point it may be evident that there is some overlap between speech *act* and speech *event*.
- P 127 The goals are different, so it is not surprising that the categorization is also somewhat different.
- P 133 While the turn-taking system (as to who selects the next speaker, etc.) may be universal, it seems clear that that pause length which frequently marks the place for turn-taking does vary across language groups.
- P 142 However, even from this brief review of conversation as a speech event, it is clear that such researchers have shown that conversation does have an abstract system which can be described.
- P 142 It is also clear that the abstract system can be used to predict the form of new conversations.
- P 147 Clearly, complaints should be problematic for second language learners since it is assumed that there are shared cultural presuppositions between speaker and hearer about what is good (what should be) and what is bad (what actually happened).
- P 150 While second language learners may have directives, commissives, representatives, expressives, and declaratives, while they may have compliments, invitations, complaints, jokes, and information/giving exchanges in their first languages, it is unlikely that speech acts or speech events are carried out in exactly the same way in the second language.
- P 152 Since language is extremely complex, and since performance errors appeared to be ubiquitous, it was assumed that the child learner must have some special Language Acquisition Device (LAD), some sort of template of language universals, which does most of the acquiring for the learner.
- P 153 It soon became clear that language used in communicating with young children (and others with less verbal ability or less facility with a particular language) is modified in specific ways.
- P 154 It has been suggested that these pitch and volume features help to cue the learner that *this*, of all the speech noise, is language to be attended to.
- P 162 It has been suggested that use of "sentence frames" also assists syntactic development by making the subject-verb rule more apparent.
- P 163 It seems more likely that the match of language between mother and child is due to the process of negotiation of conversation.
- P 166 It is possible that such two-word utterances (or two one-word utterances which follow each other) are propositions ("there exists a pencil").
- P 167 It appears quite clear that the adult takes the child's first utterance as a topic nomination and then asks the child to clarify it or comment on it.
- P 172 It is quite possible that other studies of early acquisition, if input data (rather than only learner production data) were available, would show the same thing.
- P 179 Even in segments of the data where the foreign student solicits and is given vocabulary items (even in cases where the words are spelled out for them on request), it seems unlikely that those vocabulary items are always learned.
- P 180 It's clear that foreigner talk does contain more high frequency vocabulary, vocabulary that is more clearly referential.
- P 181 It seems clear that the function of foreigner talk in the data could not be used to support the notion that foreigner talk has an explicit or implicit teaching function for the learner.
- P 186 It's clear that second language learners, as well as children learning their first languages, do comprehend language they themselves cannot produce.
- P 206 It is clear that areas other than the cortex are also involved in language development and language performance.
- P 209 There is a fairly high incidence of left-handedness in epileptic patients, and it is thought that more bilateral representation of language exists for persons who are left-handed than for those who are right-handed.
- P 209 It is interesting that information from the right ear does not go to the right hemisphere, and that left ear input is not to the left hemisphere.
- P 212 It is clear that the right hemisphere is not "silent" or "dormant" in any way.
- P 213 It is true that we have not "localized" each of these parts of language.
- P 213 It is also clear that in trying to locate functions, we have made no mention, for example, of discourse.
- P 217 It has been suggested that users of Sign are more right hemisphere in their language use.
- P 222 While it is true that cognitive development and language development may grow side by side in early childhood, and interrelational model that sees cognition as the basis (or causal factor) for language development does not seem to be without pitfalls.
- P 224 It has also been suggested that eye movement is a reliable predictor of hemispheric preference in problem solving.
- P 225 Researchers working on cognitive style emphasize that neither style is superior to the other, but it is clear that instruction emphasizes analytic over holistic approaches.
- P 227 Language ability has always correlated highly with I.Q. measures, and it has often been assumed that language tests, in fact, measure the same thing intelligence tests measure.
- P 227 However, it seems unlikely that one general factor can underlie all of language learning and all of intelligence.

- P 227 It is clear from the literature, however, that memory (Guilford's second operation) may be as important to second language learning as cognitive style.
- P 228 Is it the case, then, that that children who once knew but have since forgotten a language actually have it permanently stored in memory?
- P 229 In tasks that ask for recall of digits or words, it has often been noted that the last numbers or last words may be recalled while earlier ones are not.
- P 234 We might hope to achieve the same richness in writing poetry, but it is not likely that we would allow such associations to escape during normal conversation.
- P 235 From the research reports presented in the preceding chapters, it should be clear that there are two major strands flowing through all levels for the researcher interested in second language behavior: first, a tradition of looking at language contrasts as being either between first and second language or among language typologies.
- L 0 While it is true that the developing tradition of language education which these volumes represent does, as I have noted, take up some of the concerns of the older rhetorical studies, it nonetheless also looks forward, pointing to ways of examining language which were not available in earlier times.
- L 0 While it is true that a great deal of linguistic research of the past, where it did not interpret language in terms of interactive, social processes, or where it was not grounded in a concern for meaning, has had little of relevance to offer education, socially relevant traditions of linguistics like that from which systemics is derived, do have a lot to contribute.
- L 5 It could be argued, in fact, that there was a theory of context before there was a theory of text.
- L 11 On the other hand, it is also necessary to describe the system of the language in such a way that it is conceivable that people could use it.
- L 23 It has often been assumed that that each sentence has just one, or at least one primary, function; or, even if the sentence is recognized to be multifunctional, that it ought to be possible to point to each separate part of the sentence and to say this part has this function, that part has that function, and the other part has the other function.
- L 25 It is a general feature of lyric poetry that it is strongly person-oriented in its themes, so that typically the poet and the person spoken to are thematic - 'I' and 'you' come first.
- L 26 But once again it should not be implied that the experiential meaning is carried solely by the vocabulary.
- L 39 It is a characteristic of a closed register, one in which the total number of possible messages is fixed and finite, that it is not necessary to send the message; all you need to transmit is an index number.
- L 42 But at the same time it is also true that every text is in some sense like other texts; and for any given text there will be some that it resembles more closely.
- L 55 It is true, as he suggested, that 'the situation in which linguistic interaction takes place gives the participants a great deal of information about the meanings that are being exchanged, and ... that are likely to be exchanged', then it is equally true that the meanings that are being made by the language will give the participants a great deal of information about the kind of situation they are in.
- L 56 So, it is not surprising that the features of CC can be used for making certain kinds of predictions about text structure.
- L 58 In fact, it is very likely that medium is a historical product of process sharing; and, in as much as process sharing itself is related to channel variation, we could claim that variation in medium - spoken versus written - is a product of variation in channel - phonic versus graphic.
- L 62 It is not surprising that optional elements can be seen as having wider applicability,
- L 66 While it is not binding on the customer that, in response, he or she - let's say she - make a sale request, this strategy forces her to come clean.
- L 67 Nor does one structural element correspond to one speaker turn; it is not the case that one turn by one speaker will necessarily contain just one element of text structure.
- L 68 But if they are, it is highly likely that the participants as well as the onlookers will regard them not as a part of the buying - selling text, but rather as a separate one.
- L 71 Now, even if we were to accept that a foreign language teaching exercise represents a genre, it appears undeniable that such a genre would not possess structure in quite the same sense as that discussed in the preceding chapter.
- L 73 It would be untrue to claim that Text 5.2 is entirely incoherent or that it possesses no texture, though it is equally obvious that the text is less coherent than is Text 5.1
- L 74 It is not the case that they can be established randomly between any two types of language units; instead there are very strong tendencies for a specific relation to be realised by a clearly definable set of items.
- L 76 It is highly probable that she might say to the child: (Stop doing that here. I'm trying to work.)

- L 78 However, in describing the attributes of a class of phenomena we need to start with typical members; and it cannot be denied that discourse whether spoken or written is typically productive of much larger - non-minimal - texts, which display the full range of possibilities open to texts in general.
- L 79 As in the case of this Tomlinson's stanza, so here it can hardly be denied that the perception of continuity presupposes the perception of a relation of co-reference between the pronominals/
- L 88 However, it is doubtful that the absence of an answer to this question will make the reader perceive Text 5.2 as less coherent, especially since the co-referential link between *the sailor* of line 1 and *the sailor* of line 10 does not appear to be in question.
- L 89 It is quite possible that such ambiguity and relative lack of coherence are the product of the same factors, and that there is no logical direct relationship between ambiguity and relative lack of coherence.
- L 95 For example, it is said (Morgan, 1978; de Beaugrande, 1980) that coherence is ultimately based on the assumption that when speakers speak they say things that cohere with each other.
- L 95 It is the experience of teachers at all levels - universities not excepted - that the early discourse of students in a new field is relatively less coherent than their later discourse.
- L 103 This by no means exhausts the possibilities, but it is obvious that each example realises in some form a demand for some quantity and some commodity of some perishable food.
- L 104 Now, it would be difficult to substantiate a claim of uniqueness for what we have called CC3, since it is highly unlikely that, with everything else being equal, the GSP associated with CC1 will undergo any change in its obligatory elements as a result of a noisy channel.
- L 104 It is true that the definition is circular, since the GSP itself was defined as the verbal expression of a CC; but the circularity lies in the nature of the relationship between language and reality.
- L 106 As an example of the first outcome, it is highly unlikely that the actual structure of an application text would vary in correlation with whether the application is for leave of absence or for travel assistance.
- L 107 Whenever there are commonalities between two (or more) CCs, it is possible that their structure potential too will display some commonality.
- L 107 Obviously, a good deal is in common to the field of the two CCs; it is also possible that the social distance may be the same.
- L 111 By contrast, what is common to texts 6.2, 6.3, and 6.4 is that their actual structures contain the obligatory parts of the same GSP.
- L 115 It has been said, apropos of dialogues, that as soon as the other person has opened their mouth and said a few words, the possibilities of what you may go on to say become fairly limited.
- L 116 If Jinny is so close to the writer that she can recommend a beauty treatment and be the recipient of such intimate bits of information as offered in the last sentence of the fragment, it is highly unlikely (1) that the letter would continue without some kind of greeting or other indication of sociability after the address; and (2) that the writer would spell out everything so carefully and (3) so precipitately.
- L 117 Nothing makes us see the shortcomings of this approach so effectively as the study of text, for nowhere in the study of language is it so imperative that we clarify our ideas of the relationship between language and the so-called extra-linguistic reality.
- WT 699/3 It is understood that no redundancies will be announced among journalists but job losses are expected in news and other departments next March.
- WT 699/7 It is hoped that the review will help to establish the true scale of murder and violence against women from a range of ethnic minorities deemed to have brought shame on their family.
- WT 699/7 It is estimated that up to a dozen murders each year are "honour-related".
- WT 699/7 However, the true extent is probably greater because it is believed that some young women are smuggled out of the country and never seen again.
- WT 699/7 It is suspected that she had caused family "shame" because a friend dedicated a love ballad to her on an Asian radio station.
- WT 699/9 What made the independent school advantage even more striking was that Britain has a smaller proportion of fee-paying pupils than all but four OECD countries.
- WT 699/9 It is understood he was sacked by the board of governors after a boy was hit on the head with his own school bag.
- WT 699/11 "I mean, it is clear that politically appointed people carry great weight in the Government and there is nothing necessarily wrong with that, but if it's done to the exclusion of advice from civil servants, you tend to get into error, you make mistakes."
- WT 699/12 It was once thought that only humans used tools but now researchers know other creatures, such as crows and chimpanzees, do the same.
- WT 699/17 But during an earlier trial it was shown that the money had come originally from a Swiss account that Sgr Berlusconi kept for his personal use.
- WT 699/20 "It is a particularly British trait that murder cases are never forgotten," he said.
- WT 699/23 The UN said it was "almost certain" that Rwandan troops had crossed the border and deployed in Congo.

WT 699/23 Stephen Irwin, chairman of the Bar of England and Wales, who visited Zimbabwe to draw up the report, said it was clear that Zimbabwe's corruption of the legal system was "directly linked" to the election results in 2000 and the intention of President Robert Mugabe "to keep a grip on power".

WT 699/24 It says a good deal about the quality of churchmen and politicians in Britain that the most prominent opponent of the Bill is Mr Bean.

WT 699/25 What is unusual about this case is that it has become public knowledge.

WT 699/25 But it seems strange to the man in the street that judges need to be exempt from the cap of £ 1.5 million on an individual pension fund applied to everyone else (Issue 697).

WT 699/25 Sir - In an age when precise definitions in art and objectivity have been rejected by subjectivism and a desire for the unearned, it should come as no surprise that Duchamp's *Fountain* was voted as the most influential work of art.

WT 699/26 If it is now felt that Muslims need stronger protection, that must be weighed, but we should not be drawn towards sharia law, which in some parts of the world makes insulting Islamic beliefs a serious, indeed a capital, offence.

WT 699/26 It is now alleged that Mrs Quinn, when she was still Mr Blunkett's lover, presented him with a letter from the Immigration Directorate, which warned her nanny, Leoncia Casalme, that she faced a wait of around nine months.

WT 699/26 It is not disputed that on August 13, at her lawyer's office, Mrs Quinn met Mr Blunkett's private secretary, Jonathan Sedgwick, and the Home Office's head of news, John Toker.

WT 699/27 It is good news that he is "considering" raising personal allowances to the point where somebody working as few as 20 hours a week on the minimum wage would be freed from all income tax and national insurance.

WT 699/27 It is good news, too, that he is thinking about lifting the threshold for the top rate of income tax.

WT 699/27 But can he not see that it is an absolute scandal that people earning as little as £4,745 a year are having to pay income tax at all under Mr Brown's regime?

WT 699/27 Does he not realise how monstrous it is that poorly paid professionals, such as deputy headteachers and senior nurses, are now having to pay tax at the top rate of 40 per cent?

WT 699/27 It is encouraging that Mr Letwin is "considering" putting right the manifest wrongs.

WT 699/28 "It seems incredible that Christianity, particularly Christmas, is displayed in a way that is so tasteless, whether it is Posh or Becks in Madame Tussauds, which I thought was extremely tasteless, or the Last Supper advertising programmes."

WT 699/28 The cardinal said he did not think that the Tussauds nativity was a deliberate attack on Christianity but it did show a lack of sensitivity towards Christians and it was "very sad" that Christian values were being eroded.

WT 699/28 "It was frustrating that someone had done this without their knowledge as David and Victoria do not want to offend anyone or be involved in it at all," she said.

WT 699/29 Darren Topp, the manager of the Meadowhall store, said: "It is generally agreed that most men don't enjoy shopping as much as women, or at least for the same length of time."

WT 699/33 It's no wonder the prisoners call them 'banana visits', looked on as they are like monkeys caged in zoo.

WT 699/34 Following the sinking of the City of Benares, which the press described as a war crime, it was decided that convoys should sail with rescue ships in attendance; the Allies were spurred to close the mid-Atlantic gap; and the CORB-inspired evacuations of children were suspended.

WT 699/35 It has been alleged that the Monarch "looked out".

WT 699/35 It was no brighter than usual and it is mere supposition that the snow, which undoubtedly lay all about, was deep and crisp, let alone even.

WT 699/35 We know that he has a habit of being yonder and it is likely that by now he is even more than a good league hence.

WT 699/39 Neither side would comment but it is understood that Mr Osmond has been working on plans for a life insurance acquisition for three months.

WT 699/39 It is understood that under the deal Mr Malone would swap most of his shares for a company created by News Corporation containing 85pc - 90pc cash and some of its assets.

WT 699/43 It is estimated that 250,000 Britons have bought homes in France.

WT 699/43 "It is essential that everyone buying property abroad has confidence that their affairs are in order and that their wishes will be carried out after they die."

WT 699/47 "It is arguable that there was no decision taken, just a list of results - so you're not challenging a decision."

WT 699/48 In fact, it was Northampton who scored first through a Shane Drahm penalty but as the half went on it was increasingly obvious that theirs was a lost cause.

WT 699/49 When all the sound and fury had died down at Welford Road it was clear that Wasps, the champions, are down on the canvas, groggy and close to knockout.

WT 699/49 For three days in Tiger Wood's charity tournament Monty came up with one-liners - "It's obviously a big mistake he invited me in the first place" - and one-putts, 16 of them in 54 holes.

T 6 It is irksome enough that George W. Bush's team is running around using "recession" to describe the state of the economy without TIME's jumping on the bandwagon.

T 10 Although it is probably true that the Mediterranean diet worked better under conditions of poverty, many people in the region still eat a lot of fresh fish and vegetables.

T 16 The government announced over a week ago that Joseph Kabila would succeed his father, although it is believed he does not draw widespread support in a country that has suffered years of war and instability.

T 17 The new President did, however, take an aggressive stance toward the whispers that she might be overthrown: during a formal press briefing, she confronted one prospective coup leader by cellular phone, asking him "Is it true that you are staging a coup against me?"

T 22 It's no wonder some Atlanticists despair of the next four years.

T 28 Annoyed, Barak turned to his campaign manager, Tal Silberstein. "It's impossible that this guy shows himself with cows and wheat fields and playing with little girls," he said.

T 32 It's no wonder, then, that in the fall of 1999, when Quinn contacted the U.S. Attorney's office in New York about making a deal, he got, as he says, "the back of the hand" from U.S. Attorney Mary Jo White.

T 39 But it has now been proved, by billions of dollars in squandered fortunes, that while brilliance may ignite a start-up, it won't necessarily sustain it.

T 40 It occurred to Kopelman - a twenty-something University of Pennsylvania grad and high-tech entrepreneur - that online auctions had a flaw.

T 49 "It's pretty clear that if you follow a healthy diet and don't smoke but don't exercise, you are still at high risk [of chronic illness]," says Steve Blair, an author of the study and director for research at the Cooper Institute in Dallas.

GW 5 So much of Lenny Henry's set was about the perfection of his marriage to Dawn French that it is not surprising that he cancelled his tour - after excising the uxorious bits, there'd have been about 10 minutes left.

GW 7 It is well known that we have far more divorces and far more teenage mothers than any other country in western Europe, but I'm still puzzled why this is so.

GW 7 Divorce is usually a traumatic, nerve-racking and fiercely confrontational business, so it seems odd that people such as the British - known for their tolerance, passivity and reluctance to argue with waiters - should be so eager to enter into it.

GW 7 According to John Gray (The 20th century, June 12), it is a "common belief" that Soviet communism owed little to Marxism.

GW 22 Considering Dallas, Texas, played host to JFK's last ride and leant (*sic*) its name to TV's ultimate concept of the metropolis as Babylon - two mythic archetypes of contemporary American culture - it's surprising that the city's pulse is that of a dull, dusty cow town.

GW 65 If the reports are to be believed, then, it's a fair bet that I wouldn't like Glastonbury - the thought of a weekend (or more) spent pitched in a field, surrounded by mud, pungent body odour and camping stoves, is akin to someone holding a gun to my head and forcing me to eat baked beans: a hideous thought.

GW 66 Neither does it matter that "house plant" covers a huge variety of species.

GW 66 Given that interior plants are identified so closely with that era (Martin's gloom-inducing prose aside) is it any wonder that today's minimalism-minded style leaders will have no truck with them?

GW 68 "No wonder they often rot."

GW 78 Nor, in 1900, was it foreseeable that, 100 years on, women and men would be joining the legal profession in equal numbers.

G 1 At the time it was revealed that Mr Cunningham was staying at some of Europe's most expensive hotels.

G 3 A crowd of young men, arms folded, said it was inconceivable that they or any other Serbs could have killed their neighbours.

G 4 "It's very important we are there because Balkan reconstruction will cost £5bn a year for the next five years - but only when there are changes in Serbia."

G 4 But it is recognised that much will be put out to open competition.

G 4 During the first world war, for example, it was generally believed the Germans were boiling down the bodies of British soldiers to use as soap.

G 7 The report adds: "It is clear that the Law Society has been unable to develop a clear grasp on what the actual performance of the OSS in resolving its complaints has been."

G 15 The director of the Poetry Society, Chris Mead - who had read the wedding poem in advance - said: "I think it's important that these poems speak for themselves," and declined to comment further.

G 18 It is striking that the tributes from both the prime minister and the Archbishop of Canterbury mentioned the cardinal's appeal to both non-Catholics and even many non-believers.

G 18 In fact, from the moment at which we were told things could only get better, it was apparent that Labour's attacks on the Conservatives while in opposition had been a way of passing the time.

G 18 Indeed, if you look at the way the immigration department reviews asylum claims, it is alarming how people are disbelieved if they had fled regimes with whom ours enjoy cordial relations.

G 18 It is also unsurprising that although most applications to the home office are unsuccessful - rendering the applicant "bogus" in government parlance - some rejected applications are subsequently allowed.

G 19 It was true they were not beaten on the field, but as a corporate body they were only able to exert their physical dominance over Kosovo through appalling tactics of cruelty.

G 19 If globalisation is to mean anything at all, it is vital that such documentaries are made and such stories are written.

G 20 But is interesting that some ideas can employ chimps for their propagation.

G 22 It is understood that Mr Burt did hold talks with Barclays over the chief executive's position but those discussions ended a considerable time ago.

- G 23 But by the end of the week it was clear that none of this was adequate and Coca-Cola's problems had fed into a European-wide food sensitivity.
- G 23 Moreover, it was made clear that it would not put Tylenol back on the shelves until the product was more securely protected.
- G 25 It is well understood that the full effect of rate movement lags behind policy changes by a year or more.
- G 25 Put these together and it is clear that the next meeting of the Fed's committee will be discussing the merits of a rate rise to pre-empt inflation.
- G 26 It is hardly surprising, then, that when the board found out about his little chat, they were none too pleased.
- GS 2 Surely it's good that the none-of-the-above-sentiments of many traditional Labour voters that were highlighted by the recent Euroelections are now being headcounted and argued about, rather than being compulsorily disguised as support for something else?
- GS 3 It is remarkable how much of a sleepy backwater English Catholicism seems to be, viewed against the dramatic battles on the continent.
- GS 6 It's an apt paradox that, at 61, the Delhi novelist, who has only recently found freedom in the life of an itinerant academic, should be escaping India - and rushing to embrace it.
- GS 6 It might be held against her by feminists that her characters are constrained.
- GS 7 Desai is more than glad of the company: "It's been wonderful that my daughter understands the writer's life, and we share it."
- GS 9 It is not surprising that he is Downing Street's public enemy number one.
- GS 9 "I believe that Eric and I had an instant empathy with one another," Hillary writes; it is also clear that Shipton quickly developed a high regard for Hillary's determination and ambition.
- GS 9 Even then, it was no foregone conclusion that it would be Hillary.
- GS 10 It's little wonder that most of the characters seek shelter.
- M 9 Too bad she didn't want to go the rest of the way with you - you wouldn't be here now if she'd kept her mouth shut, would you?
- M 92 That they could make incalculable fortunes at the same time was not unattractive.
- SAU 143 That the sun, with a mass 27 million times that of the moon, should have less influence over the tides than a small satellite of the earth is at first surprising.
- C 17 That McCoy ventured on this project with the utmost seriousness is asserted by Thomas Sturak when he reports in his essay, "Horace McCoy's Objective Lyricism," that *Kiss Tomorrow Goodbye* was to be the "acid test of his creative genius and artistic talents."
- C 96 That they all sprang from the same mind is rather obvious in the parallel - though at times not close - development.
- P 230 That memory is a cognitive process related to language learning is clear in this summary of Neisser's position:
- WT699/49 (If Ross Lavery, a 22-year old history and German undergraduate, manages to make as much impact in his finals as he did in the 123rd Varsity Match at Twickenham, then he can start toasting a first-class degree right now.) That all others of a Dark Blue persuasion will be piecing together the remnants of their brain cells this morning after suitably heavy celebrations owed much to the 77th-minute try scored by the red-haired Oxford wing just seconds after coming on as a substitute.
- GW 15 But in India, the very idea was dynamite. That farmers should not be able to replant seeds was inconceivable and offensive.
- GW 26 That they entered their 40s with this aura still intact made them now internationally popular and supremely attractive to young bands.
- GW 26 That five high-school dropouts who set out searching for cheap thrills are now part of America's iconography, the Mount Rushmore of Yankee rock bands, is, I guess, some kind of validation of the American Dream.
- GW 26 That these palookas ended up healthy, wealthy and wise reinforces it, surely.
- C 99 Among the things that we know about him are that he has an Argentine passport, that he used a soporific drug and has previously suffered a nervous breakdown, that he has spied for a variety of unnamed nations, that he participated in the Spanish Civil War on the Loyalist side, that he has killed ruthlessly, that he has few loyalties of any conventional sort, that he plays the cello, and that he is now feeling the emptiness of his life and hoping to change it.
- T 48 Among the more surprising findings of the past decade is that weight training can reverse some effects of aging.

Dependent interrogative clauses

- C 122 In essence he is saying that it doesn't matter to him whether she is motivated by love or hysteria - he still wants her.
- C 140 One I had obtained ... and it's quite an interesting story how I got that one, the other one came when I bought Stone's and I misspoke a minute ago, I didn't buy his R. Austin Freeman collection, I bought his Sherlock Holmes collection, which included the *Beeton's Christmas Annual*.
- CF 125 Preston didn't know why it was so important to look over a woman's head.
- CF 70 It doesn't matter how small they are.'
- G 2 Torture equipment was found in the building but K-For said last night it was not clear whether it had been used by the KLA during their two-day occupation or left by the Serb police.
- G 2 There was gunfire but in the confusion it was unclear who was firing at who as the KLA rushed in to take advantage of the British soldiers' deployment.
- L 114 So when it comes to the actual unfolding of a text, both the speaker and the addressee must attend precisely to these opportunistically selected meanings, for at the level of a text it matters a great deal whether one got a litre of milk when one went out to get it or a kilo of beans.
- L 18 Then there is the *kiss*, which is presumably some kind of a thing, although it is not very clear just what kind of a thing it is, and is the domain or sphere of influence of the action.
- L 28 It does not matter what it is.
- L 7 As far as the subject-matter was concerned, it was irrelevant whether they were being told in the morning or in the evening, outside or inside, or what the particular surroundings were.
- L 71 It is, however, doubtful if Example 5.2 will be seen as representative of a genre quite so readily, though many of us who have taught a foreign language might not be surprised to find that the four sentences of Example 5.2 have been lifted from a foreign language teaching exercise.
- L 78 Now, since the status of a text as text is functionally defined, in principle, it is irrelevant what number of messages a text contains.
- L 85 So far as appointment making is concerned, it matters little whether the patient is Smith or Wilson, whether the receptionist is Glen or Anderson.
- M 149 It wasn't immediately apparent to any crew member what the hijacker intended to do to them.
- M 456 "What difference does it make to you where my husband goes?"
- P 102 However, at this point, their findings show that it is still not clear whether or not patterns can be discerned for all learners, regardless of their source language.
- P 163 This may, indeed, be the case, but at this point it is not clear whether that step or so ahead consists of utterance length, syntactic complexity, lexical choice, or what.
- P 195 They found it made no difference whether one began French in elementary school (and continued it in high school) or whether one began such study in high school.
- P 208 If the symptoms of impairment can be matched to a brain lesion, then it should be obvious what function the area once performed; that is the language function that is impaired.
- P 57 It is not clear, however, whether this is the best interpretation of the psycholinguistic research on morphology.
- P 57 It is not clear whether this is truly due to age and the automaticity of inflectional morphology (as compared with derivational morphology) or to differences of frequency of input to adult and child learner.
- P 8 At first it's not clear what a /pek*/ is except that it's a *he* and has a mother.
- P 83 It is not clear, from the following example, why "What is one flight time?" would not be acceptable and have a smaller metric.
- P 89 After rules had been written and acquisition stages described, it wasn't clear whether growth in syntactic systems reflected development of a truly independent language system or whether it was tied to (and thus perhaps reflective of) general cognitive growth.
- SAU 188 They had neither compass, nor astronomical instruments, nor any of the appliances of our time for finding their position at sea; they could only sail by the sun, moon, and stars, and it seems incomprehensible how for days and weeks, when these were invisible, they were able to find their course through fog and bad weather; but they found it, and in the open craft of the Norwegian Vikings, with their square sails, fared north and west over the whole ocean, from Novaya Zemlya and Spitsbergen to Greenland, Baffin Bay, Newfoundland, and North America...
- SAU 193 The *portolano* were harbor-finding charts, designed to accompany the coast pilots or *peripli*, and it is not known which of the two was developed first.
- SAU 93 In all the world of living things, it is doubtful whether there is a more delicately balanced relationship than that of island life to its environment.
- SAU 98 Because of the scarcity of world records, it is not known whether the rise observed in the United States since 1930 is being duplicated on all other continents.
- WT 699/22 It is unclear if Mr Bush will also visit France, as relations with President Jacques Chirac remain tetchy.
- WT 699/22 The magazine said that it was not known if the warrant had ever been served on Mr Kerik, who won widespread recognition for his role in the aftermath of the attacks in September 11, 2001, and has become multi-millionaire since entering the private sector in 2002.

- WT 699/36 Alexander Forbes, the independent trustees appointed to the T&A scheme after asbestos-related lawsuits in the US pushed Federal Mogul into Chapter 11, said: "It is not clear at this stage what the outcome will be."
- WT 699/50 It has to be asked why this strategy is being questioned by some former South African players like Clive Rice who, as South Africa's first captain after readmission - albeit only in one-day cricket - experienced the strengths and limitations for himself.
- SAU 55 It has long been something of a mystery where, and on what, the northern fur seals of the eastern Pacific feed during the winter, which they spend off the coast of North America from California to Alaska.
- G 18 Whoever first had the idea of moving him from his monastery to Westminster in 1976 is revealed in retrospect as a genius of PR, a Vatican Mandelson.
- GS 3 Who succeeds Cardinal Hume is crucial to the direction English Catholics now take.
- GS 7 Whether this range is wide enough is a matter of running controversy.
- L 0 How that contribution should be articulated is quite properly a matter of development in partnership between educationists, teachers and linguists, and a great deal has yet to be done to achieve such articulation.
- L 85 So semantic groupings are logically related to specific contextual configurations, though how much of such a grouping will appear in the shape of similarity chains in a particular text of a given genre is open to variation.
- M 109 Sometimes you looked into another man's eyes and what you saw there was unknowable.
- M 139 How far it reached was a matter of ongoing rumor.
- M 2 Whatever connected Ruhr, with his enormous capacity for brutality, to the rest of the human race, wasn't immediately apparent to Pagan
- M 347 How long this transitory well-being would last was another matter.
- M 407 How Salgado knew where he was going to land mystified Pagan.
- M 434 "What Rafael told me or didn't tell me is none of your concern."
- M 470 Who these men were, and what their purposes might have been, were matters of no importance to Sandoval.
- P 198 Where messages go and what happens to them are two of our most intriguing unanswered questions.
- P 207 Obviously the hippocampus is very important in language learning, but what and why certain things are stored and others not is unclear.
- P 22 It is clear that transfer/interference is an important source of error, but where and when it occurs, physiologically, is not clear.
- P 28 Why this should be the case is not clear.
- P 39 We know that we must be using some system at the phonological level for part of our language processing, but how we do this is yet a mystery.
- P 39 However, just how important each level is to comprehension and production of language is not yet known.
- P 63 Why *chocolate* cake and *cherry pie* should still have stress on the second part is puzzling.
- P 69 Why bilinguals would remember in which language words have been presented is a puzzle.
- P 87 Whether it will be adequate to the task is yet to be seen.
- RD 13 What he did with Mrs Leeds was obvious.
- RD 38 He knew a fair amount about how they died. How they lived was on his mind today.
- SAU 111 How long it will live, how far it will travel, to what manner of end it will come are all determined, in large measure, by the conditions it meets in its progression across the face of the sea.
- SAU 160 Whether any place will know the harsh extremes of a continental climate or the moderating effect of the sea depends less on its nearness to the ocean than on the pattern of currents and winds and the relief of the continents.
- SAU 162 Whether this global balancing of a land pole against a water pole has a deep significance in the physics of the earth is uncertain; but the bearing of the fact on the climates of the two regions is plainly evident.
- SAU 55 How either whales or seals endure the tremendous pressure changes involved in dives of several hundred fathoms is not definitely known.
- T 50 Whether or not you notice depends on how often you do it.
- WT 699/26 What, precisely, was said there is still hotly contested.
- WT 699/27 Mr Blair promised to send a "clear signal" that the law is on the side of "victims, not the offender". Quite what that means is anyone's guess.
- WT 699/48 Quite what all this says about the nature of modern rugby is another matter.
- SAU 186 Whether these descriptive details are touches of Phoenician canniness or merely the old ideas reasserting themselves it is hard to say, but much the same conceptions appear again and again in later accounts, echoing down the centuries to the very threshold of modern times.

Nominal relative clauses

- C 27 When I was on the prison farm what I remembered of a lifetime ago was pleasant, not like this.
- CF 112 And what had evaded him in the flesh was not then readily available between the covers of a magazine.
- CF 17 Whatever they did eat went straight into their tiny mouths and any that didn't was promptly removed by a J-cloth.
- G 15 Their lawyer said yesterday that the case had been "frivolous", but a state attorney said "what they did was not good parenting."
- G 18 What happened in Derry on Bloody Sunday was a crime by the British state.
- G 23 Take Coca-Cola's market capitalisation, deduct the tangible assets in the shape of buildings, bottling plants and distribution centres, put a value on the other brands under the umbrella such as Fanta and Minute Maid, then what remains is the value of Coca-Cola.
- GW 16 Who controls a country's food security controls that country.
- GW 44 "Whoever tries the recipes out will be able, next time, to improvise."
- L 0 I want to argue, however, that what is offered here is more than merely a course in applied linguistics, legitimate though such a course might be.
- L 101 What is on the left has come into being to serve the needs set up by the perception of what is on the right; equally, what is on the right has come into being, has acquired a status, because of what is on the left.
- L 101 What is on the left has come into being to serve the needs set up by the perception of what is on the right; equally, what is on the right has come into being, has acquired a status, because of what is on the left.
- L 115 What is unique to the text forms the base also of what has to be cohesive.
- L 118 But what we consciously perceive ourselves as 'knowing' might be rather different from the deeper knowing with which we act with our language.
- L 45 We also noted that there is a third metafunctional component in language to which there is no corresponding function in the sense of 'use' - it is not a way of using language, but rather a resource for ensuring that what is said is relevant and relates to its context.
- L 48 At any point after the beginning, what has gone before provides the environment for what is coming next.
- L 48 Every sentence may be impeccable in itself; but if the preceding sequence of sentences does not provide a context with which what follows can cohere then the effect will be one of confusion:
- L 53 What had appeared as heartless forsaking now assumes heroic proportions, being seen in its true colour as an act of devotion and self-sacrifice.
- L 68 What is appropriate in one environment may not be quite so appropriate in another.
- L 76 Whatever implicit term is under focus may either follow or precede that linguistic unit by reference to which it is interpreted - i.e. its LINGUISTIC REFERENT.
- L 95 What I have said about written exercises, applies *mutatis mutandis* in the case of spoken discourse in the classroom.
- M 10 What had been nothing but slight menace and an unidentifiable anxiety before was suddenly changed.
- M 13 Whoever wanted Ruhr free wanted him with an extravagant sense of destruction Pagan had encountered only once or twice in his lifetime.
- M 143 What had once been wild adoration had dwindled during the course of their twenty-year marriage to the kind of mutual tolerance that communicates itself best in silence;
- M 161 But right now whatever troubled him was so vague it was like a faint scent blown on a haphazard breeze.
- M 167 What might have been loud was muted and discreet.
- M 192 Whoever had stashed it here between the trees had done so in haste, or else didn't give a damn about discovery.
- M 209 "And whoever has taken to attacking our little Society will be flushed out finally."
- M 229 What it came down to was this simple: the woman in Norwich had to be ... disposed of.
- M 335 In Bosanquet's scheme of things, whatever was sent down the pipeline from Harry had top priority.
- M 380 Whatever was going on, the quiet phonecalls, the late-night conferences, the mysterious comings and goings, the talk of ships and military movements, and the mention of this man Ruhr, whose name was whispered as though it were too evil to pronounce aloud, made her uneasy.
- M 388 After all, he had stolen from them; and what he had taken was more than just cash.
- M 396 "What you want is tricky," he said. "Also risky."
- M 4 What Ruhr did was done plain and simple, for money.
- M 463 What he'd seen of the ocean appalled him.
- M 66 What Freddie Kinnaird had called 'the holocaust in London' had already been assimilated by the members and subjugated to the prospect of profit, as if it were nothing more than a delayed cargo or an adverse stock market or a foreign currency plummeting, just another item of business.
- M 81 "Whoever employs Ruhr works in complete secrecy."
- P 126 Yet what goes on in that setting has a special structure which can be described.
- P 133 If our listeners continue to give us no back-shadowing, we frequently feel that what we are saying is not only incomprehensible but also just plain stupid or somehow morally wrong.

- P 138 What is a "clear message" between intimate friends or among family members is likely to be much less clear to outsiders.
- P 150 Thus, what may seem like forays into territories outside that of psycholinguistics are not forays at all.
- P 152 For example, since ducklings newly hatched must identify their mothers at some point in biological maturation the "look up" and whatever they see is "imprinted" as mother.
- P 17 We seem to "hear" what we have learned are permissible sequences of sounds in our language.
- P 213 What we have learned about the brain and how it handles input does give us, once again, some evidence for psycholinguistic claims about language.
- P 233 Repairs along the way sometimes do result in better planned messages, but sometimes what comes out shows us that something somehow got by the stop lights and the traffic director.
- P 62 What is included in that initial mapping - that the new word is a word, along with some of its syntactic and semantic properties - must allow the child to hold onto that fragile new entry in his lexicon and keep it separate from hundreds of other fragile new entries, and it must guide its further hypotheses about the word's meaning.
- RD 106 Besides, what particular body I currently occupy is trivia.
- RD 184 "Does what he said mean anything else to you, anything we can use?"
- RD 212 What Grandmother kindly had not cut off was still there like a prize when he washed the blood off his belly and legs.
- RD 50 "What I do in my own house is my business."
- RD 6 "What you did for Crawford was bad for you."
- SAU 111 What is true of the Atlantic wave we have followed is true, in general, of wind waves the world over.
- SAU 161 What happens when the Humboldt is temporarily displaced is nothing short of catastrophic.
- SAU 171 But what we are experiencing now is perhaps a climatic change of shorter duration, measurable only in decades or centuries.
- SAU 33 What happens to a diatom in the upper, sunlit strata of the sea may well determine what happens to a cod lying on a ledge of some rocky canyon a hundred fathoms below, or to a bed of multicolored, gorgeously plumed seaworms carpeting an underlying shoal, or to a prawn creeping over the soft oozes of the sea floor in the blackness of mile-deep water.
- SAU 51 Working aboard the vessel *E. W. Scripps*, Johnson found that whatever sent back the echoes moved upward and downward in rhythmic fashion, being found near the surface at night, in deep water during the day.
- SAU 52 Whatever composes it is apparently strongly repelled by sunlight.
- SAU 97 What is happening is nothing new.
- T 31 "What the President did was an absolute outrage."
- T 38 The lore among Internet strategists was that whoever nabbed Web space early would have commanding commercial lead.
- WT 699/11 "And whatever it likes is what will get the best headlines tomorrow."
- WT 699/13 "What will happen on the 19th will be a very clear message that what's been done by Parliament is completely ridiculous," he said.
- WT 699/13 "What will happen on the 19th will be a very clear message that what's been done by Parliament is completely ridiculous," he said.
- WT 699/25 At present, juries are directed, in cases of self-defence, (a) that a man defending himself cannot weigh too nicely the exact measure of his defensive action, and (b) that if, in a moment of unexpected anguish, the defendant had done only what he honestly and instinctively thought was necessary, that is potent evidence that what was done was reasonable.
- WT 699/46 What began as a soundbite from Mayor Livingstone following the street display in the capital ahead of the British Grand Prix in July, an event that attracted half a million people, has developed into *bona fide* proposal.
- GS 3 What various teams of garbageologists have found in many forays is not at all flattering.
- GS 8 What beats other news hands down in the steeplechase to the headlines is something different; messages which reassure the readers of their wisdom, confirming what they knew to be true all along - that the rich are corrupt and the famous morally rotten, that the streets are crowded with prowlers, stalkers and paedophiles waiting for the chance to creep out of their hideouts, and that the world is a wobbly and treacherous place to live in.
- GS 8 Or messages that say loud and clear what people dearly wish to be true, but have been hearing daily are not - that the future is bright and joyful and that what they currently do, with little choice and not much confidence and conviction, either, is precisely the right and proper way to make it brighter yet.
- GS 8 To tell them, in particular, that they may as well stop trying hard and stretching themselves, since all is for the best in this best of all possible worlds and what they daily do is exactly what makes it so good.
- GS 9 What he now regards as his illusions did not survive the first year of New Labour government.
- RD 49 "It was horrible, what happened to the Leedses."