Part IV

Systemic means of functional sentence perspective in contextually dependent sentences

Firbas refers to the FSP of a sentence as the outcome of an interplay of means. These means are semantic and contextual. Other means are the use of special constructions which cooperate with the semantic and contextual means in putting the utterance in the desired perspective. They may be a means of effecting the basic distribution of communicative dynamism or of indicating a conscious departure from it. It is in the context of certain basic patterns or procedures that the function of other patterns or procedures can best be assessed as variants of or as departures from these patterns or procedures.

The basic procedures in the thematic organization of sentences may be seen most clearly in (relatively) contextually independent utterances. Consider the sentence

(1) A young man was writing a letter in his study.

The sentence expresses no presuppositions; it is contextually independent and could be the opening sentence of a narrative. The thematic structure is determined by the semantic structure and, in English, is manifest in accent placement. The element a letter receives the primary or rhematic accent. The adverb of place in his study outlines the spatial context in which the action took place; it contributes less to the development of the communication than the action itself. In German equivalents the adverb of place, being thematic, will move towards the front of the sentence, e.g.
(2) Ein junger Mann schrieb in seinem Arbeitszimmer einen Brief
(2a) Ein junger Mann hat in seinem Arbeitszimmer einen Brief geschrieben.

Compare Further
(3) He is giving a lecture next week
(4) He is giving the lecture next week
(5) Er hält nächste Woche einen Vortrag
(6) Er hält den Vortrag nächste Woche

The placement of the primary (rhematic) accent in English and the placement of the primary accent and the sequence of elements in German suggest that in both languages, where the action and the object of the action are contextually independent, the object of the action will carry a higher degree of CD and express the rheme of the sentence.

Chomsky (1971: 200) suggests that the sentence
(7) Does John write poetry in his study
with the intonation centre on study expresses the presupposition 'John writes poetry'. Hence this part of the sentence is thematic and the rheme is in his study. This is a departure from the basic type where in a relatively context-free situation the thematic structure is determined by the semantic structure and the primary (rhematic) accent would fall on the object of the verb. In such a case the sentence would express fewer presuppositions than with the accent on the adjunct. We saw in the case of there sentences that the existing thing, though indefinite, may be contextually dependent, e.g. in the context of
interest, and that in this case the primary accent falls on the locative. We may say then that

(8) Does John write poetry in his study

relates to

(9) Does John write poetry in his study

in the same way as

(10) Is there any milk in the fridge

relates to

(11) Is there any milk in the fridge

(8) and (10) represent the basic type of which (9) and (11) are contextual variants.

Hence it appears that on a very basic level there is a relationship between the semantic structure of the sentence and its thematic structure in terms of CD. The two types of semantic pattern discussed so far, i.e. the existential pattern and the agent-action-goal pattern suggest further that the thematic structure on the basic level is reflected in the actual sequence of sentence elements, producing the sequence Adv (loc) + V_exist + N^1 in the existential pattern and the sequence N^1 + V + N^2 in the agent-action-goal pattern as basic types in both languages. Similarly, in patterns involving a particular and a general term, the general term will normally express the rheme and receive the primary accent. However, as has been shown, the general term, if contextually dependent, will be the theme, and in German this will lead to a reversal of the 'basic' sequence particular - general. We shall see in this section that predicative adjectives and related
constructions may be thematic if the notions they convey are derivable, directly or indirectly, from the preceding context, and in German they will tend to open the sentence as thematic basis. In English, where the initial position of predicative adjectives is not usual, special constructions will be used to achieve the same perspective. The term thematic basis was introduced as denoting the element (e.g. locative, agent) which forms the 'natural' point of departure, in a cognitional sense, of the communication. We have seen that in English the have construction is a means whereby a thematic locative element may be foregrounded. In this section, I shall discuss other constructions in English, as alternatives to the basic types established, in which elements which in the basic type are rhematic, e.g. object of the verb, predicative element, may, if thematic by way of contextual dependence, be foregrounded. Other constructions will indicate means by which elements may be singled out for special attention, e.g. constructions such as

(12) It was John who wrote the play
(13) It was the play John wrote

Note that in such constructions the rheme is 'introduced' in a way similar in some respects to the procedure in there constructions: the it, anticipating the thematic noun phrase, is a means by which the rheme may be moved from initial position. Compare further

(14) The one who wrote the play was John
(15) What John did was write the play

In identifying clauses of the type

1 Note the possible ambiguity of (13).
(16) This is the book he gave me for Christmas. Different kinds of reference items are used, and at this point it may be appropriate to discuss briefly the different kinds of reference involved. The different kinds of reference distinguished are anaphoric, cataphoric, and exophoric. Anaphoric reference is textual reference where the referent is identified in the preceding text. Cataphoric means referring forward in the text, and in exophoric reference the referent is identifiable in the context of situation. The demonstrative that as in

(17) That must have cost a lot of money may be anaphoric or exophoric (never cataphoric). This may be anaphoric, cataphoric or exophoric. The definite article the may be anaphoric, cataphoric or exophoric: "The cataphoric use of the is limited to structural phenomena: unlike this, it can never refer forward across a sentence boundary. Thus, in the code of the language, the signals that the specification of what code is meant is to be sought in the rest of the noun phrase beyond its head. This is a structural relation, it is not post-information" (cf. the discussion in Chatman, 1971: 236f.).

Compare

(18) The problem is this where this refers beyond the sentence boundary: the speaker proceeds to explain what is meant by this.

It would not be correct to assume that the non-generic indefinite article (marking a contextually independent noun) and the anaphoric
definite article (marking a contextually dependent noun) will render
the elements they accompany rhematic and thematic respectively in all
cases. Firbas (1970:743) has pointed out that FSP arises through the
cooperation of means, none of which can be studied in isolation, but
in relation to the others. As we have seen in the discussion of
existential sentences, in collocation with a verb of existence or
emergence an indefinite noun will function as the theme proper of the
sentence. However, in other semantic sentence patterns, where the
sentence is in its entirety contextually independent, an indefinite
noun may be thematic in terms of CD, e.g.

(1) A young man was writing a letter in his study
where the agent of the action carries a lower degree of CD than the
action itself, the object of the action carrying the highest degree
of CD. Hence the theme of a sentence in terms of CD may convey new
information (cf. Firbas, 1966). The definite article has a textual
function in that it serves to identify or reidentify an element in the
text or situation: it requires the listener/reader to recover
'preinformation' (cf. Weinrich, 226) anaphorically in the text or
exophorically in the situation. In its anaphoric and exophoric use
the definite article may, however, accompany the communicatively most
dynamic element in the sentence, depending on the degree of 'familiarity'
or 'givenness' of the communicative unit it accompanies. Firbas writes
(1966:246): "The degrees of familiarity, however, vary. Roughly
speaking, there are basically two of them. Thus (i) in regard to the
common knowledge shared by the speaker/writer (the author of the
message) and the listener/reader (the receiver of the message), the
notion conveyed by the noun accompanied by a definite article may be known, well determined, familiar, and yet in regard to the narrow, ad hoc scene, it may appear as unknown, new, contextually independent. This is due to the fact that on the narrow scene familiarity is judged by a far more rigid criterion ... On the other hand, (ii) substantives with definite articles convey actions that may be considered familiar in the fullest sense of the word, i.e. both in regard to the common knowledge of the speaker and the listener and in regard to the narrow scene. It is this type of familiarity that renders the substantive contextually dependent, the definite article referring back to the previous context. The more evident this reference, the more manifest the thematizing effect of the definite article." The example he gives for (i)

(19) The word 'fisherman' came into his head

is actually an instance of the intra-sentential cataphoric use of the definite article, the article indicating the member of the general class named by the head which is specified by the modifier. Similar examples of this use of the definite article were adduced in the previous part, e.g.

(20) Lange Zeit herrschte die Meinung, dass sich die Betonung nach den Wortklassen zu richten habe

(21) Gegenwärtig liegen dem Parlament die Initiativanträge zweier Abgeordnete vor

where the noun phrase conveys new information. The example Firbas gives for (ii) is

(22) In the passage was standing the girl with the veil

where the subject expressing the existing person conveys relatively
new information from the point of view of the ad hoc, narrow context. In the terms used in the previous part we may say that the locative element is 'in focus', and the element 'the girl with the veil' is recalled into the focus of attention. A similar example would be

(23) On the table lay the book
(24) Auf dem Tisch lag das Buch
as opposed to

(25) On the table lay a book
(26) Auf dem Tisch lag ein Buch.

The elements the book and das Buch being new in a relative sense, the elements a book and ein Buch being new in an absolute sense. These sentences contrast with other sentences with the same lexical 'filling', i.e.

(27) The book lay on the table
(28) Das Buch lag auf dem Tisch
expressing a different communicative sense, i.e. the location of a given object in a place. They have the emphatic variants

(29) It was on the table the book was lying
(30) Auf dem Tisch lag das Buch
which have foregrounded rhemes.

In its exophoric use, the definite article may accompany nouns which convey new information, the definite article being used where there is only one possible referent as in

(31) The postman is there/at the door
(32) Der Briefträger ist da/an der Tür

Compare the line from the poem
(33) Der Mond ist aufgegangen
which is a case of unique reference, the important thing being the existing or emerging person or thing.

In the anaphoric use of the definite article the element it accompanies is recoverable from the preceding context; it may refer to the immediate context, in which case it is sufficiently identified and will function as theme. On the other hand, it may be being re-identified or recalled into the focus of attention and in collocation with, for example, a verb of existence or emergence be the communicatively most dynamic element in the sentence. A further situation that frequently arises is the exophoric use of the demonstrative this which may refer to an element being introduced for the first time into the context of interest. Compare

(34) The letter arrived this morning
(35) The letter has arrived
(36) This letter arrived this morning

A common use of the demonstrative this in this function is found in the opening sentence of a story or joke:

(37) There was this man...

On this point I disagree with Weinrich (1971: 234f) who suggests that the use of the demonstrative article as an introductory element in jokes is related to the fact that jokes are often made about well-known types (by pre-information) (1971: 235). I would suggest that its use is related to the use exemplified by (36) and in other situations, e.g. Did anything come in this morning's post? Well,
there's this letter. In these examples, of course, the demonstrative article refers exophorically to an item in the context of situation. In the joke-telling situation a situational context is being created by the use of strong deictics in an attempt to create situational proximity. One might refer to the function of this as a context or situation creating function.

Jespersen (1929:155) points out that 'indefiniteness' is not always formally indicated and quotes the sentences

(38) In Brown's room there was the greatest disorder
(39) The greatest disorder was in Brown's room.

In (39) the greatest disorder means 'a very great disorder,' i.e. the is cataphoric indicating a member of the general class named by the head which is further specified, cf. 'a disorder greater than you have ever seen'. The accent is on the rhematic element disorder.

(39) presupposes that there were other 'disorders', the disorder in Brown's room being greater than any other. disorder in (39) is thematic by contextual dependence. In German, the difference in thematic organization is correlated with a difference in the sequence of elements, i.e.

(40) In B's Zimmer herrschte die große Unordnung
(41) Die größte Unordnung herrschte in B's Zimmer allowing for the emphatic or contrastive variant
(42) In B's Zimmer herrschte die grösste Unordnung

The definite article is usual in such contexts with a superlative, cf.

(43) Not far from here there is the most beautiful lake you have ever seen.
A further aspect of the question of textual or situational reference is suggested by Bolinger (1954). He distinguishes between relatively to-be-expected elements and relatively not-to-be-expected elements. As possible answers to the question: 'Why didn't she come to work today?' we may have

(44) Her husband is responsible
(45) Her husband is irresponsible
to which we might add
(46) Her husband is to blame
(47) Her husband is not to blame

With reference to the examples he gives, Bolinger (1954: 152) remarks: "prosodic stress ... marks the 'point' of the sentence, where there is the greatest concentration of information, - that which the hearer would be least likely to infer without being told". Sentences (44) and (46) could be abbreviated: It's her husband (i.e. who is responsible/to blame), and the sense of (47) is 'It is not her husband (who is to blame)'. Note that the thematic elements in these sentences are not directly inferable from the preceding context, but indirectly by means of an implication which might be formulated as a presupposed 'linking statement' (cf. Kirkwood, 1970), e.g. 'Someone was responsible/to blame', or perhaps by an implied question 'Who was responsible/to blame? 'A further example would be

(48) I won't be able to bring my car today

The brakes are broken

the implication being, possibly, 'there is something wrong. It's the brakes'.
Compare the following sentences

(49) John fell into the water
The bridge was broken

(50) John fell into the water
The bridge was broken

These sentences illustrate a meaningful and systematic contrast. (49) suggests that something was wrong causing John to fall into the river—it was the bridge. The predicate expresses the particular kind of thing that might be expected to go wrong with a bridge, cf. The bridge had collapsed. Following an accident, one might say His leg is broken, some kind of injury being within the context of expectancy. (50) may suggest that John’s fall caused the bridge to break. That something was wrong is not presupposed. The bridge was broken would then be interpreted as a processual passive (as opposed to the statal passive in (49), the event being a consequence of John’s fall and not the cause as in (49).

This kind of indirect inference from the preceding context will prove useful in explaining certain thematic options in English and German relating to textual cohesion, i.e. the use of special constructions in English of the type What is meant is..., What is envisaged is..., What is important is... and in German the initial positioning of a predicative element, e.g. Gemeint ist..., Vorgesehen ist..., Wichtig ist... to be discussed in this section.

The placement of accent in English or the use of special constructions, and the positioning of elements in German will thus in
many cases prove to be 'functional' rather than 'mechanical', to use Bolinger's terms, relating to the communicative function of elements in a discourse or text.

A similar thematic organization to the sentences discussed is found in sentences where there is no context from which information may be inferred, but where a communicative unit is introduced for the first time in collocation with a verb of emergence or with a verb which is collocationally highly predictable. Compare

(51) Suddenly the rain started to fall/came on
(52) Suddenly the rain **stopped**.

In (51) the rain emerges on the scene for the first time. In (52) it may be assumed that rain has been previously mentioned. Similarly,

(53) Suddenly the telephone rang
(54) The door opens, and a young man walks in.

Nouns accompanied by the generic indefinite article or its zero variant (or the generic definite article in German) will normally be thematic, cf.

(55) A dog barks
(56) Dogs bark
(57) Ein Hund bellt
(58) Der Hund bellt
(59) Hunde bellan

where the predicate characterizes the behaviour of dogs. If accompanied by the non-generic indefinite article (or the definite article where there is only one possible referent) the noun will normally be rhematic, cf.
(60) A **dog** (barked outside
{was barking outside

(61) Draussen bellte ein **Hund**.

Instances with the definite article are

(62) Suddenly the **dog** barked

(63) Plötzlich bellte der **Hund**

the **dog** and der **Hund** representing what Bolinger would call the 'information point', i.e. the rheme, barking being the kind of behaviour associated with dogs and in the context of expectancy. Attention is drawn to the dog, not to its barking, or, in other instances, to the telephone, not to its ringing, to the door, not to its opening. This is a possible, and to me most plausible interpretation. Another interpretation would be that what is first apperceived is, for instance, the barking, the ringing, and the causer or source of the event is being identified in the predication, i.e.

Suddenly there was a barking. It was a dog (that was barking)

Suddenly there was a ringing. It was a telephone (that was ringing).

This is, however, more in keeping with the interpretation to be suggested presently for constructions of the type

**The letter gave him away.** It was the **letter** that gave him away.

Consider the sentences

(64) This **letter** arrived this morning

(65) This **letter** gave him away

(66) **Dieser Brief** ist heute früh angekommen

(67) **Dieser Brief** hat ihn verraten

where the word underlined indicates the placement of the primary accent.
(64) and (66) represent the basic type with verbs of emergence. They presuppose no context. *This* and *dieser* have exophoric reference. They accompany the emerging thing - the thing being brought into the focus of attention (cf. There was this man...). The themes proper of (64) and (66) in terms of communicative dynamism are the temporal expressions *this morning* and *heute früh*, indicating no more than the temporal setting in which the event occurs. *arrived* and *ist...angekommen* are transitional elements, carrying a higher degree of CD than the themes of the respective sentences, but a lower degree of CD than the rhemes. In (64) the section *arrived this morning* could be thematized in its entirety by way of a nominalization, i.e. 

(68) This *letter* is what arrived this morning

where the sentence presupposes on the part of the listener the knowledge that something arrived this morning. Similarly, by way of a 'predicating' construction

(69) It was this *letter* that arrived this morning.

When I say that (66) and (69) presuppose a knowledge on the part of the listener that 'something arrived this morning' I wish to indicate that it is not necessary that the sentence (the words) 'Something arrived this morning' have been previously mentioned. This information may have been conveyed in a different way. It represents a reasonable assumption on the part of the speaker that the listener is able to recover this information from some context, which may not be verbally explicit. The speaker's assumption may be confirmed directly by way of a question such as 'What was it that arrived this morning?' It is necessary to emphasize this point here since the speaker may use
as a thematic basis or foundation an element that the hearer is expected to infer indirectly, e.g. by way of inference from the preceding context. I shall discuss other situations in this section where this is more obviously relevant. Cf.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
T \\
X \rightarrow R
\end{array}
\]

\textit{X is of no relevance}

\[
T
\]

\textit{What is important is Y}

important is thematized in (71) by means of a nominalization and is related indirectly to the theme of the preceding sentence of no relevance, a quality negated of X is affirmed of Y. It may be said that whereas in (70) a quality is assigned to its bearer, in (71) the bearer is assigned to a certain quality. The implication involved may be made more explicit in the following way

\[
(T0) \quad X \text{ is of no relevance}
\]

\[
(T0a) \quad X \text{ is not important}
\]

\[
(T0b) \quad \text{What is important?}
\]

\[
(T1) \quad \text{What is important is Y.}
\]

This question will be taken up in greater detail subsequently in this section.

Assuming as a presupposition for (68) and (69) 'Something arrived this morning' the derivation of the two resultant constructions could be described in simple terms as follows:

\begin{align*}
\text{presupposition:} & \quad \text{Something arrived this morning} \\
\text{statement} & \quad \text{That which arrived this morning is this letter} \\
& \quad \text{What arrived this morning is this letter} \\
& \quad \text{This letter is what arrived this morning}
\end{align*}
It (that arrived this morning) was this letter
It was this letter that arrived this morning
(by extraposition of the theme)

Considering (65) and (67) we note that, unlike (64) and (66),
which presuppose no context and could be the opening sentences of a
discourse, these sentences do presuppose a context: 'that something
gave him away' is presupposed as being given. Whereas in (64) and (66)
the verb is non-thematic (i.e. transitional) on account of its semantic
class, in (65) and (67) it is thematic because of its contextual
dependence. Note that in a relatively context-free situation, semantic-
ally 'fuller' verbs such as give away will express the theme of the
sentence, e.g.

(72) This letter gave him away
(73) Dieser Brief hat ihm verraten.

In (72), too, the element this letter may be predicted by means of an
it is... that construction, i.e.

(74) It was this letter that gave him away.

Here, this letter identifies 'what gave him away' as in (65), but
whereas in (65) the speaker presupposes on the part of the listener the
knowledge that 'something gave him away', in (74) this information is
presented as relatively new information. Hence, as we shall see
presently, this particular means of prediction may be used not only to
single out for special attention and foreground a rhematic element, but
also to give prominence to a thematic element. In (74) the thematic
foundation is this letter, this is what the sentence is about; in (68)
the sentence is about what gave him away.
Hence we shall find

(75) What gave him away was this letter
(corresponding to (66) with the thematic foundation - the communicative
unit on which the communication is built - being made thematic basis -
the point of departure of the clause),
but not normally

(76) What gave him away was this letter
(which, if possible, would correspond to (74)).

In a similar way we may compare sentences where the noun is
accompanied by the definite article, e.g.

(77) The doctor came today
(78) The doctor prescribed massage
(79) The \textbf{doctor} prescribed massage

(77) presupposes no context (verbal or situational). (78) is relatively
context-free; it represents the basic type of thematic structure
associated with the semantic structure agent-action-goal. (79)
represents a contextual variant of (78), a departure from the basic
type, cf.

(80) \textbf{It was the doctor} who prescribed massage
(81) The one (person) who prescribed massage was the doctor,
(80) and (81) being equivalents in thematic structure to (79).
Of course, (78) could have heavy, contrastive stress on massage, this
being a stress in addition to the one it carries as rheme of the
sentence, in which case it would have as a thematic equivalent

(82) \textbf{It was massage the doctor prescribed} (and not....)
Compare German equivalents of (77) - (80)

(83) Der \textbf{Arzt ist heute gekommen}
As alternatives to (68) we may have

(87) This letter is what gave him away
(88) It was this letter that gave him away
(89) What gave him away was this letter
(90) The thing that gave him away was this letter.

(88) represents what I shall refer to as a 'predicated rheme' (as opposed to a predicated theme), (89) and (90) foregrounded themes, (89) and (90) permitting a theme-rheme sequence.

These sentences illustrate different means available in English of organizing the surface structure of sentences in conformity with the desired communicative perspective. Such special constructions in English, it will be suggested, are means that the language has evolved of positioning thematic and rhematic elements in keeping with the basic distribution of CD or of signalling a conscious departure from it.

In German, the use of such special constructions is far less common, since communicative units are permutable to a relatively high degree, equivalents of (87) - (90) being either

(91) Was ihn verraten hat, war dieser Brief
or
(92) Dieser Brief war es, der ihn verraten hat
or
(93) Verraten hat ihn dieser Brief.
In German, predicative elements, e.g. infinitives, past participles, predicative adjectives and related prepositional constructions are found quite commonly in initial position if thematic by contextual dependence. The motivation behind the use of special constructions in English and the permutation of elements in German is, it will be shown, to a large part related to the choice of thematic basis, derived directly or indirectly from the preceding context and from which the utterance can evolve. The thematic element in initial position in German has a higher degree of CD than other thematic elements with the lowest degree of CD (e.g. elements derived from hyperthemes), which are referred to a position immediately following the finite part of the verb, preceding the rhematic section. The element in initial position has therefore an important communicative or textual function: it links the utterance with the preceding context and establishes a basis from which the utterance may develop. An examination of sentence openings will indicate the different means available of establishing textual cohesion and of developing the discourse. The different options available in advancing the discourse include connection with the preceding context directly by semantic implication, or indirectly by semantic contrast, or, particularly in literary style, of avoiding a possible connection by means of what Brinkmann (1962:491) refers to as 'harter Einsatz'.

Of the constructions available in English for organizing a sentence into the desired perspective I shall deal firstly with what has come to be known as 'predicated theme' (cf. Halliday, 1967:236). I shall attempt to show that in terms of CD the element predicated may in fact be theme or rheme, but that in both cases an element is singled out for special attention and 'thrown into relief' by means
of the construction. The construction is used to a more limited extent in German. Examples of this kind of predication are

(94) It was the letter that gave him away
(95) It was a girl who broke the vase
(96) It is John who is a painter
(97) It was in the theatre that we met
(97a) It was the theatre that we met in
(98) It was in the evening that we met
(98a) It was the evening that we met in
(99) It was to England that he wanted to go
(99a) It was England that he wanted to go to
(100) It was for his friend he was waiting
(100a) It was his friend he was waiting for
(101) It was on your support I was relying
(101a) It was your support I was relying on
(102) It was in the box I put it
(102a) It was the box I put it in.

From the point of view of their thematic organization, the interesting point about such constructions is not so much that an element (frequently an element that is fully recoverable from the context) has been 'extraposed', but that the extraposition of the thematic section of the sentence allows the rheme to be foregrounded and thrown into distinct relief by means of the expletive it. This applies to other constructions commonly found in colloquial English (and German) where the theme of the sentence is put at the end, e.g.

(103) It's a long time coming the bus
(104) It was really remarkable John's paper
compared with

(103a) The bus is a long time coming
(104a) John's paper was really remarkable.

The elements predicated in (94) - (102) would, with the exception of the grammatical subject, in other constructions occur later in the sentence, e.g.

(105) This letter gave him away
(106) A girl broke the vase
(107) We met in the theatre
(108) We met in the evening
(109) He wanted to go to England
(110) He was waiting for his friend
(111) I was relying on your support

It will be observed that certain restrictions seem to apply to this kind of foregrounding for distinct relief of prepositional phrases. From these examples it appears that in the case of adjuncts of place and time the preposition may not be dissociated from the noun in surface structure. In the case of prepositional objects (optional and obligatory complements of the verb) dissociation of the preposition from the noun is possible. Dissociation is also possible with directional adverbs. What seems to be involved is a difference in syntactic cohesion. In the case of adjuncts of time and place the preposition is determined by the noun (on the table, in the street, on Monday, in the evening). These elements tend to stay together in the linear sequence of elements forming a syntactic group. In the case of prepositional objects (optional and obligatory complements of the verb) and directional adverbs the preposition is determined by
(in the former case) or closely related to (in the latter case) the verb. Hence the sentence

(112) It was a good reason he was waiting for

will be interpreted as verb + prepositional object and not verb + adverbial of reason. This aspect of these constructions requires further investigation, but since its relevance to the questions under consideration is peripheral, I shall not go into it any further here.

As for the underlying deep structure of such sentences I shall assume that it is something like that proposed by Chomsky (1971) for sentences such as

(113) Is it John who writes poetry

for which he suggests as a possible deep structure

(114) (the one who writes poetry) is John.

I see no plausible reason for including the expletive it in the deep structure representation: it is only introduced if the rule of extraposition is applied. Furthermore, even (114) would appear to be a concrete manifestation in terms of surface elements of a more abstract deep structure 'who writes poetry is John'; such a sentence as (114) does in fact occur. In any case, the assumption that (113) and (114) have a common deep structure which is something like (114) helps to explain the obvious relations holding between identifying constructions of the type under consideration and throw light on certain transformational differences between sentences such as

(115) It was yesterday that he came

(116) It was significant that he came.

The assumption that the underlying structures of (115) and (116) are
(117) It (that he came) was yesterday
(118) It (that he came) was significant

is surely incorrect, since if the rule of extraposition is not applied, and the it is deleted, we would arrive at
(119) That he came was yesterday
(120) That he came was significant

and fail to explain other possible surface realizations such as
(121) The time of his coming was yesterday
(122) The fact of his coming was significant.

Such sentences express a presupposition which is contained in the extraposed thematic section. This information is backgrounded, if fully recoverable it may even be deleted, the theme being foregrounded. The presupposition accompanying such sentences contains an element which is to be specified or identified, and it is the purpose of the communication to specify or identify this element. Hence the presuppositions and resultant surface structures may be formulated as follows:

(124) Presupposition: Something gave him away

(124a) (It) [That which gave him away] was this letter
[The thing that gave him away]

(124b) It was this letter that gave him away
(124c) What gave him away was this letter
(124d) The thing that gave him away was this letter

(125) Presupposition: Someone broke the vase

(125a) (It) [the one who broke the vase] was a girl

(125b) It was a girl who broke the vase
(125c) The one ) who broke the vase was a girl
[The person ]
(126) Presupposition: Someone is a painter
    (126a) (It) /the one who is a painter/ is John
    (126b) It is John who is a painter
    (126c) The one who is a painter is John

(127) Presupposition: We met somewhere
    (127a) (It) /the place where we met/ was in the theatre
    (127b) It was in the theatre that we met
    (127c) The place where we met was in the theatre etc.

(128) Presupposition: We met sometime
    (128a) (It) /the time when we met/ was in the evening
    (128b) It was in the evening (when) (that) we met
    (128c) The time when we met was in the evening etc.

(129) Presupposition: He wanted to go somewhere
    (129a) (It) /the place he wanted to go to/ was England
    (129b) It was to England he wanted to go
    (129d) The place he wanted to go to was England.

A similar analysis applied to (100) - (102). The noun phrase in the square brackets contains as a post-head modifier the presupposition accompanying the sentence; the head of the noun phrase is a general noun with the definite article (the thing, the person, the place, the time). The element is further specified by the rheme of the sentence which may be foregrounded in the predicating construction or moved to the end of the sentence in the identifying construction.

With regard to German, Motsch (1970) consider the construction
(130) Es war sein Mut, der allen imponierte
a paraphrase of the 'emphatic' sentence
(131) Sein Mut imponierte allen.

He remarks on the different extent to which this construction is used in German and English. In German, only noun phrases may be predicated in this way. Thus, whereas
(132) It was yesterday that we met
is quite possible in English
the sentence
(133)+ Es war gestern, dass wir uns trafen
cannot be considered a grammatically correct sentence in German. In German, even with noun phrases there are certain restrictions, i.e. where the predicated noun phrase corresponds with the 'subject' of what Motsch refers to as the 'relative clause', i.e. the extraposed modifier, e.g.

(134)+ Es ist Peter, der Maler ist
is not possible in German
whereas
(135) It is Peter who is a painter
is quite possible in English.

The construction is possible in German with prepositional objects, but whereas in English the preposition may be placed in front of the noun it governs, e.g.

(136) It is with the problems of education that we shall have to deal in greater detail
or else placed next to the verb by which it is determined
It is the problems of education that we shall have to deal with in greater detail, in German, it is only the noun of the prepositional phrase that is predicated, this being followed by a relative clause, e.g.

Es sind die Probleme der Erziehung, mit denen wir uns noch näher beschäftigen müssen.

In German, the construction is not possible with prepositional phrases functioning as adverbials, e.g.

Es war das Theater, in dem wir uns trafen
Es war der Abend, an dem wir uns trafen,
whereas in English this is quite possible, e.g.

It was in the theatre that we met
It was in the evening that we met

A parallel construction to the German sentences (139) and (140) is not possible, i.e.

It was the theatre in which we met
It was the evening in which we met

Nor is it possible in English to say

It was the evening we met in.

The sentence

It was the theatre we met in

is of questionable acceptability.

Motsch also notes that indefinite pronouns, which cannot be explained as a reduction of an NP, are also excluded from this construction, e.g.

Es war niemand, der uns sah
Es war jemand, der uns glaubte.
This is equally true of English, e.g.
It was no one who saw us.
It was somebody who believed us.

I would suggest that the reason for this is that since the
predicated element specifies or identifies 'the one who saw us'
'the one who believed us', it cannot be a negative element (no one)
or an indefinite pronoun (somebody), unless it has contrastive meaning,
e.g.
It was somebody else who saw us
It was somebody else we saw
or specific by implication
It was somebody in particular I meant

Note the indefinite pronouns generally have a low degree of CD
and in other constructions do not carry the primary accent, e.g. in
existential sentences
There is somebody next door
Nebenan ist jemand
as opposed to
There is a student next door
Nebenan ist ein Student

nobody/niemand may carry information focus, since there is always
implicit contrast with somebody/jemand, e.g.
There is nobody next door
Nebenan ist niemand.

Compare further
Nobody saw us
Uns hat niemand gesehen
as possible answers to the questions 'Did anyone see you?'
'Hat euch jemand gesehen?'

and

(162) I saw something just now
(163) Eben habe ich etwas gesehen

as opposed to

(164) I saw nothing
(165) Ich habe nichts gesehen.

Motsch (1970: 95) refers to variants of this type of construction

in German, e.g.

(166) Es war sein Mut, der allen imponierte
(167) Sein Mut war es, der allen imponierte
(168) Sein Mut war das, was allen imponierte
(169) Das, was allen imponierte, war sein Mut
(170) Was allen imponierte, war sein Mut
(171) Was allen imponierte, das war sein Mut

Motsch comes to the conclusion that the sentence
(168) Sein Mut war das, was allen imponierte

is closest to the deep structure, which he assumes is common to all the
variants. This conclusion is motivated by his assumption that sein Mut
is the subject of the sentence, since in other examples he adduces it is
this element that agrees in number with the copular verb, and not es or
das which, he correctly argues, refers to the 'relative clause'. I
would prefer to say that es or das acts as the 'supporting' head of a
noun phrase in which what he calls the relative clause is a post-head
modifier; it may indeed be dropped in German as illustrated by (170).

This also applies to equivalent sentences in English. The concord between the predicated noun and the copular verb as illustrated in (172) Klaus und Peter waren es, die uns zuerst verliessen
(173) Die Kinder waren es, die die Mutter zuerst vermissten seems to be his main argument for assuming that the predicated element is the 'subject' of the sentence, the rest being the 'predication'. The same argument does not hold for English, cf.
(174) It was the children who first missed their mother
where we would have to assign the function of concord subject to it.
Further complications relating to the surface structure are illustrated by the German sentence
(175) Es war sein Mut, der allen imponierte
where, arguing along the same lines, we would have to say that there is concord between the subject and a relative pronoun belonging to the predicate. I would prefer to argue that the grammatical congruence illustrated by these sentences is a purely surface phenomenon with no 'deeper' implications and that sein Mut is predicate and rheme, the grammatical and thematic structure being
(176)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>predicate</th>
<th>subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sein Mut war das, was allen imponierte</strong></td>
<td>rheme</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and that the sentence
(177) Das, was allen imponierte, war sein Mut
is closer to the deep structure than the sentence suggested by Motsch.

Motsch observes that the particular kind of construction discussed is used to a lesser extent in German than in English. Beneš (1971:173)
writes: "Die Konstruktion vom Typ 'Schiller war es, der ...' wird im
Französischen und Englischen als stilistisch neutrales, im Deutschen
als stilistisch markiertes Mittel zur Realisierung der Mitteilungs-
perspektive verwendet. Im Deutschen dient sie meist zur Aussonderung
und Hervorhebung des Rh." The reason for this would seem to be that
there are more options available in German, if a rhematic element is to
be foregrounded. The other option simply involves a permutation of
elements, i.e. initial positioning of the rheme. This procedure is not
always available in English since the sequence of elements cannot simply
be manipulated to conform to a particular communicative perspective, other
criteria being relevant to their position in the sentence. I have
indicated elsewhere the relevance of syntactic cohesion (ultimately
determined by the semantic properties of the verb) to the positioning
of elements. With regard to prepositional phrases I distinguished between
obligatory and optional complements of the verb. Both kinds of complement
are determined by the verb and relevant to its subcategorization. They
are therefore always present in the deep structure, but whereas optional
elements may be deleted in surface structure, obligatory elements may not.
Deletability or non-deletability in surface structure is only a surface
manifestation of something of deeper significance, an observable symptom
of a cause. Hence, by examining a large number of instances of
deletability as opposed to non-deletability certain hypotheses concerning
the semantic relation of verb and complement might be evolved which could
be tested in the light of further empirical research. It is, for instance,
observable that with many verbs the indirect object may be omitted,
whereas the direct object may not, which brings further empirical evidence
to the notion of a hierarchy of verb-dependent elements in terms of syntactic cohesion (cf. Kirkwood, 1969: 85%). With regard to verb-dependent prepositional phrases there seems to be a difference in cohesion or 'fusion' between verb and prepositional phrase. Many, if not all, prepositional phrases seem to be derived from locatives, and the locative character of such phrases is more or less distinctly felt. It is less distinctly felt where verb and prepositional phrase have entered into a close relation (cf. decide on, worry about). In such cases the complement is an amplification or extension of the meaning of the verb, and it is not insignificant that in German prepositions in close construction with the verb frequently combine with an accusative (as opposed to a dative) object. In such cases there is a strong cohesion between verb and prepositional phrase, and the greater the extent to which verb and prepositional phrase have merged, the less distinctly is the basic locative character of the prepositional phrase felt. In a sentence such as

(178) It has freed itself from this tradition

it is not easy to decide whether what is involved is a prepositional object or a locative phrase. In any case, the prepositional phrase is an optional complement of the verb and may, in English, be preposed, e.g.

(179) From this tradition it has freed itself.

The motivation behind preposing the prepositional phrase will be 'thematic foregrounding', the desire to establish a direct link with the preceding context. This kind of foregrounding is stylistically more marked in English than it is in German, where preposing is quite neutral and unmarked e.g.
(180) Von dieser Tradition hat es sich befreit.

The difference in fusion and permutability in the case of prepositional phrases may be seen by comparing prepositional phrases functioning as directional locatives and prepositional phrases which have entered into a close construction and more 'abstract' relation with the verb, becoming part of a 'semantic unit'. Compare for instance
(181) He came into the room
(182) He flew into the room

In certain contexts the directional locative may be thematic and preposed, e.g.

(183) (And) into the room he came/came John
(184) (And) into the room he flew/flew John

These sentences contrast with superficially similar sentences

(185) He came into a large fortune
(186) He flew into a rage

Here preposing of the prepositional phrase is not possible, e.g.

(187) + (And) into a large fortune he came/came John
(188) + (And) into a rage he flew/flew John

Other instances of fusion between verb and prepositional phrase are

(189) On this point they agreed
(190) On that issue we decided last week

both of which would be instances of thematic foregrounding, the foregrounding being more marked in English than in equivalent German sentences

(191) Über diesen Punkt haben wir uns geeinigt
(192) Über diese Frage haben wir letzte Woche entschieden.

Hence, in English, preposing of what may be referred to as a locative
phrase or what may be termed more appropriately optional prepositional object for the purpose of thematic foregrounding would seem to be a marked option. This option is excluded in the case of obligatory prepositional phrases, e.g.

(193) I was relying on your support
(194) ? On your support I was relying.

Whereas in the case of (189)-(190) the prepositional phrase is deletable without affecting the grammaticality of the sentence, in (193) it is not deletable.

An explanation of this restriction in English on the positioning of prepositional phrases is possibly that in the case of strong cohesion between verb and prepositional phrase the 'tension' created by dissociating the two in surface structure is not normally tolerable in English.

It was pointed out earlier that 'Distanzstellung' (dissociation in surface structure of cohesive elements) is characteristic of German, whereas 'Kontaktstellung' (association in surface structure of cohesive elements) is more characteristic of English. This distinction helps to explain many characteristic features of the sequence of sentence elements in German and English.

The motivation behind foregrounding an element may be twofold: either the element is thematic by contextual dependence and it is for this reason chosen as the point of departure of the sentence (i.e. as thematic basis), or it may be to single out for special attention and give additional prominence to a rhematic element by creating a rheme-theme sequence. Preposing of optional and obligatory prepositional
phrases is quite possible in German for the purpose of thematic or rhematic foregrounding. In English, preposing is only possible (with certain reservations) with optional prepositional phrases, and this is always for the purpose of thematic foregrounding; if a rhematic prepositional phrase is to be foregrounded the form of structural predication discussed will be used. This type of predication is also used in English for foregrounding nouns in oblique cases; in German, the element in question (accusative or dative object) is simply permuted to first position. Further examples of optional prepositional phrases are

thematic foregrounding

(195) Auf Bücher gibt er sein ganzes Geld aus
(196) On books he spends all his money

rhematic foregrounding

(197) Auf Bücher gibt er sein ganzes Geld aus
(198) + On books he spends all his money
(199) It is on books he spends all his money

thematic foregrounding

(200) Über den letzten Punkt sind wir uns einig
(201) On the last point we are agreed

rhematic foregrounding

(202) Über den letzten Punkt sind wir uns einig
(203) It is on the last point that we are agreed

Instances with an obligatory prepositional phrase

(204) An dir liegt die Entscheidung
(205) + For *you* it is to decide
(206) It is for *you* to decide
(207) Auf deine Unterstätzung habe ich mich verlassen
(208) + On *your* support I was relying
(209) It was on *your* support I was relying
(210) Auf *dich* habe ich gerechnet
(211) + On *you* I was counting
(212) It was on *you* I was counting

Instances with an oblique case which is rhematic and foregrounded
(213) *Dich* habe ich gemeint
(214) + *You* I meant
(215) It was *you* I meant
(216) *Rosen* hat er ihr geschenkt
(217) + *Roses* he gave her
(218) It was *roses* he gave her
(219) *Mir* hat er es erzählt
(220) It was *me* he told

Halliday (1967: 236) states that "structurally predication maps the function of identifier on to that of theme, giving explicit prominence to the theme by exclusion". Now, there are two criteria relevant to Halliday's definition of the theme: (i) the theme is the initial element of the sentence or point of departure of the message (ii) the theme is what I am talking about now (as opposed to what I was talking about before). Hence the dissociation in certain cases of the notions of 'theme' and 'given'. The concept of the theme
I am developing here is related to the amount of CD carried by an element, which in turn is related to the degree of contextual dependence. A second criterion used within the framework of the Prague tradition is that the theme is the element or elements about which I am making the communication. This relates to Halliday's conception of the theme as 'the peg on which the message is hung'. In both conceptions of the theme, the theme is the element to which the rheme is related, the communication being a dynamic and purposeful act, its dynamism and purpose consisting in the establishment of this relation. The linguistic means used in defining the theme point to the intuitive feeling about the locational, and relatively static character of thematic elements: the theme is the foundation on which the communication is built, the peg on which the message is hung, the element in focus, and to the dynamic character of the rheme, the element brought or recalled into focus by being related to the theme. The rheme may convey new information or it may recall into the focus of attention information that is to be recovered from a remoter context. We have seen that the locative character of thematic elements is manifest in their linguistic expression: in existential sentences it is the location in which a person or thing exists or from which a person or thing emerges; elements expressing spatio-temporal deixis (a local or temporal setting) are very often thematic; the agent of an action may be regarded as the source of an action directed towards a goal; in the case of intransitive verbs expressing a state or change of state it is the location of the state or change of state. These are basic situations yielding the basic types discussed so far. The operation of the context may rearrange the distribution of communicative dynamism
yielding contextual variants of the basic types which are realized linguistically by a permutation of the neutral sequence of elements or by the use of the kind of special construction under consideration. Hence, in the sentences quoted by Halliday (1967:236)

(221) It was John who broke the window
(222) John was the one who broke the window
(223) John broke the window

the element John is in all three cases the communicatively most dynamic element of the utterance, and in the conception of the thematic structure being developed here it is the rheme of the sentence. That someone broke the window is presupposed as given. This is the element the sentence is 'about', which is identified as John. The element John (rheme) is being related to the element already in focus 'the one who broke the window' (theme). These are all cases of a foregrounded rheme, the alternative being, for instance

(224) The one who broke the window was John

Otherwise, the presupposed element may be deleted as in

(225) It was John.

We must, however, distinguish between foregrounded theme and foregrounded rheme. The useful distinction introduced by Firbas between the ad hoc, narrow scene and a wider or more remote context will help to distinguish instances of foregrounded or prominent rheme from foregrounded or prominent theme. The criteria I shall use are that of the conveyance of relatively new or relatively given information and that of what the sentence is about, and I shall suggest that it is the relatively given, in the sense of textually more immediately recoverable information, that establishes the foundation on which
the communication is built. In the case of existential sentences we saw that a basic type may be distinguished in which the indefinite noun existing or emerging in a spatio-temporal context is the theme of the sentence. However, the indefinite noun may be contextually dependent (verbal or situational context, context of interest or expectancy) in which case it becomes thematic, being presented as given in the \textit{ad hoc}, narrow context and the element about which the communication is being made, \textit{e.g.}

(226) There is some milk in the \textit{fridge}

The type of predication under consideration is in all cases used to highlight an element, to single it out for special attention. The element is rhematic in that it is the communicatively most dynamic element if it conveys relatively new information, the rest of the sentence being given or presupposed. This is the case in sentence (221). Frequently, however, the predicated element is immediately recoverable from the preceding context, as the examples below will show, and the rest of the sentence conveys relatively new information.

Halliday (1967: 237) gives as an instance of marked focus "where the discourse yields an incongruence between the new and thematically prominent" the context

(227) (Have you told John that the window got broken)

\begin{quote}
It was John who \textit{broke} the window
\end{quote}

We might compare this context with another context, \textit{e.g.}

(228) (Have you found out who broke the window)

\begin{quote}
It was \textit{John} who broke it
\end{quote}
In (226) 'the one who broke the window' is the element in focus, the element the communication is about and theme in the sense being proposed here. In (227) 'the one who broke the window' is being introduced as relatively new information, and it is this element of information that is being related to the theme John. (227) is about John, (228) about the one who broke the window.

Compare contexts such as
(229) Did you tell John that the window got broken?
(230) It was the fender of my car that broke it.
Here, that someone or something broke the window may be inferred from the preceding context, but this information is communicatively less dynamic than the element 'the fender of my car' which is not recoverable from the preceding context.

Similarly
(231) Did you hear that the window got broken
(232) It was I who broke the window
but not
(233) It was I who broke the window
The subject of (232) is coreferential with the subject of (231), the implication being perhaps: 'I should know: I broke it!' I is the theme of (232) as opposed to
(234) Do you know who broke the window
(235) It was I who broke it (but not It was I who broke it).
Here, too, the subject of (235) is coreferential with the subject of (234), but it is the element 'the one who broke the window' that is
in focus and which is to be identified.

In the course of a conversation, a name, e.g. 'John' may be mentioned, eliciting the question 'Who is John?', a possible answer being 'John is the man I sold the house to'. Both elements 'John' and 'the man I sold the house to' are given as being possible points of reference for both speaker and listener, but different degrees of givenness or proximity must be distinguished. The type of predication chosen gives the listener an indication of the identity of 'John'; it gives information about him. Of course, at the same time it gives information about the identity of 'the man I sold the house to'. It may not be easy to decide which identifies which, but since 'John' is the element in the focus of attention and his identity with 'the man I sold the house to' is the information related to the element in the ad hoc, narrow context, 'John' is theme and the nominalization is the rheme.

The term 'descriptor' used by Searle (1969: 61) may be appropriate here. 'John' is identified only in the sense that some particular person is being talked about; the descriptor serves to identify for the listener which particular person the speaker is referring to. We must distinguish between instances where an element is identified from instances where an element is characterized, e.g.

(236) John is someone I met at a party last week
(237) John is a student of English at the university

John is not identified here, but characterized. In this case the theme-rheme structure is quite straightforward: John is theme and
the characterization is the rheme. Significantly, the sequence of noun phrases in (236) and (237) cannot be reversed as in
(238) London is a large city
as opposed to
(239) London is the capital of Great Britain
(240) The capital of Great Britain is London
where reversing the sequence of noun phrases changes the thematic structure.

Consider further the sentences
(241) It was John who **arranged** the meeting
(242) It was **John** who arranged the meeting
(241) is related to 'John is the one who **arranged** the meeting', but not to 'The one who **arranged** the meeting is John. (242) is related to 'The one who arranged the meeting was **John**' or '**John** is the one who arranged the meeting' or 'John arranged the meeting'. The sentences differ in their thematic structure and in their contextual applicability. (241) is applicable to a context such as
(243) I think it unreasonable of John to call off the meeting at such short notice
Here, **John** is the theme of the communicative subfield 'John called off the meeting'. **John** is taken up again in the following sentence (241) where **arrange** is the rheme, contrasting with **call off**. (242) is applicable to a context such as
(244) I would like to get my hands on the person who arranged the meeting at such short notice
'the person who arranged the meeting' is theme of the following sentence (242) by contextual dependence (rheme-theme conversion). This is the thematic foundation of the sentence to which the element John is related.

In both (241) and (242) John identifies 'the one who arranged the meeting'. In (241) this element is fully recoverable from the immediately preceding context. In (242) this element introduces new information. In (241) arranged conveys new information by contrast with call off. In (242) arranged conveys information that is recoverable from the preceding context. (241) is an instance of thematic prominence, (242) of rhematic prominence. In both cases the predicated element is thrown into distinct relief by means of the it is...who (that) construction. It would seem therefore that sentences such as

(245) It's that that I don't understand
(246) That's what I don't understand

are 'synonymous' in a broad sense of the term, including not only 'cognitive meaning', but also thematic organization, whereas

(247) It's that that I don't understand
(248) That's what I don't understand

may be cognitively synonymous with (245) and (246) but differ in thematic organization: that being thematic in (245) and (246), and rhematic in (247) and (248). Halliday's statement (1967: 237) that "the focus does not normally fall on anaphoric demonstratives" requires some qualification. This will be discussed later in this section.
Two views have been expressed on the thematic structure of the construction under consideration, each using a different conception of the theme. Halliday (1967: 236) regards it as a means of mapping the function of identifier on to that of theme, giving explicit prominence to the theme by exclusion. In a sentence

(249) It was John who broke the window

related to

(250) John was the one who broke the window

related to

(251) John broke the window

he suggests that 'John and nobody else' is under consideration. He admits that 'thematic prominence' is a form of 'new information'; the predicated element carries the unmarked information focus. Hence, in the above sentence 'John' is new, and 'the one who broke the window,' presupposing that 'someone broke the window', is given. Elsewhere Halliday defines the theme as 'what I am talking about now'. Applying this criterion to the examples he adduces, I would suggest that the sentences are 'about' 'the one who broke the window' to which is related the new information 'It (the one who broke the window) was John'. This differs in thematic structure from the other example he adduces, where the element 'John' is given, i.e.

(252) It was John who broke it

where, I would argue, the communication is about 'John' and the purpose of the communication is to relate 'the one who broke it' to the given element 'John'. In the same context Halliday contrasts the sentences
His earlier novels I've read

and

It's his earlier novels I've read and states that the difference between the two is one of the type of prominence (i.e. given to the theme in his sense of the term). He states further: "the former implies the contrast 'but his later ones I know nothing about'... whereas the latter is not cognitively contrastive and means simply 'these are the ones I'm talking about'." Here, too, a difference emerges between the conception of the theme proposed by Halliday and the one being developed here. As I have suggested elsewhere, initial position of the object of the verb as in

That I know

is marked for contrast, as opposed to the German

Das weiss ich

which is quite neutral and not marked for contrast. In (255) and (256) that and das are thematic by the criterion of contextual dependence and that of what the sentence is about. In this case there is some agreement between Halliday's conception of the theme and the one being proposed here. I cannot, however, agree with his interpretation of (254) even on his own terms. I would argue that in (254) what I am talking about is the novels of his that I have read which are identified as his earlier ones, the presupposition being 'I've read some of his novels' and the assertion on the basis of the presupposition being 'It (the ones I have read) is his earlier novels'.

Applying a different conception of the thematic structure of the sentence, Firbas devotes a short paper to an analysis of this kind of
construction on the basis of a single sentence 'It was yesterday that George flew to Prague'. He states (1967: 141): "The communicative purpose of the sentence is fully attained through the communicatively most important element, i.e. the one contributing most to the further development of the communication, and in consequence carrying the highest degree of CD. It is in fact chiefly this element - the rheme of the sentence - on account of which the sentence is being uttered. As to the rheme of 'It was yesterday that George flew to Prague', the most natural interpretation will certainly place it on 'yesterday'.' And further: "This construction is to be regarded as a means of signalling a conspicuous deviation from the basic distribution of CD which ... places the rheme proper in end position". Pirbas regards this construction solely as a means of giving prominence to, of throwing into distinct relief, the rheme of the sentence. This is true of instances where the that-clause is given, establishing a foundation on which the new information is built, the only new information being conveyed by the predicated element. Very frequently, however, in a discourse, the predicated element is fully recoverable from the immediately preceding context and could quite conceivably be regarded as the theme of the utterance, in Pirbas' use of the term.

I shall distinguish presently between three situations that may arise in which the construction serves to highlight either a thematic or a rhematic element. Firstly, however, I should like to refer to a significant statement made by Sgall concerning the operation of the context on the theme-rheme structure of the sentence.
Sgall states (1972: 2): "What is perhaps most decisive as an argument for the autonomy of the TCA (= topic/comment articulation) is that the preceding context does not always determine uniquely the choice of topic and comment in a sentence." For instance, the statement (257) can be followed in a quite natural way either by (258) or by (259).

(257) Yesterday was the last day of the Davis Cup match between Australia and the U.S.

(258) Australia won the match

(259) The match was won by Australia

For a similar German example compare

(260) Im ersten heutigen Match der Hockey-Weltmeisterschaft spielte Schweden gegen Finnland

(261) Den Match hat Finnland gewonnen

(262) Den Match hat Finnland gewonnen

The interesting point here it would seem to me is that *match/der Match* represents the hypertheme of the text and does not stand in opposition to any other element. Hence, this element will remain thematic throughout the text. On the other hand, Australia is in opposition to U.S. (Schweden to Finnland) and win to lose (gewinnen to verlieren). It is from these opposing pairs of elements that the rheme of the following sentence is chosen (with implicit contrast with the other member of the pair). The important thing is that the speaker is free to choose in such situations which element is to be presented as thematic and which as rhematic (*match/der Match* remaining thematic throughout. Or, to put it differently, in (258) Australia won the match

one element of the two sets of variables win/lose, Australia/U.S. is
chosen as thematic basis. Match, being the hypertheme of the whole text, remains thematic. One element of the remaining set of variables is made rhematic, i.e. won, and in (259) The match was won by Australia
the hypertheme is chosen as thematic basis. The rest of the sentence is an extended rheme including one element from each set of variables win/lose, Australia/U.S.. Within the rhematic section won is determined ('determinandum') by

Australia

\[
\begin{array}{c}
T_1 \\
R_1
\end{array}
\]

which is in keeping with the basic distribution of communicative dynamism. This is the most neutral of the two possibilities.

Similarly, Sgall states, after the statement (263) it is possible to choose either (264) or (265)

(263) On Christmas Eve we expected our relatives
(264) Uncle Fred came first
(265) First came Uncle Fred

Here one either speaks about the uncle and states when he came, or one speaks about the one who came first, and states who he was. For similar German examples cf.

(266) Am Weihnachtsabend erwarteten wir die Verwandten
(267) Onkel Ernst ist als erster gekommen
(268) Als erster ist Onkel Ernst gekommen

Sgall's formulation is cautious: "the preceding context does not
always determine uniquely the choice of topic and comment in a sentence". Halliday's statement is less cautious: "and the significant fact about it is that the speaker is free to select whatever theme he likes". It is doubtful, as Daneš has stated "in the light of the fact that the choice of the theme of particular utterances can be hardly fortuitous, unmotivated, and without any structural connexion to the text" (1970). A study of texts (particularly in German and very probably in languages with a relatively free word order) shows that the choice and distribution of themes in a text reveal a certain patterning. By theme here I mean in particular the choice of thematic basis, i.e. the thematic element chosen as the point of departure in the sentence. In English the patterning will be less obvious, since on account of other criteria influencing the sequence of elements, the initial element may in fact be rhematic and have no connection with the preceding context. In German, as we shall see subsequently in this section, the choice of sentence opening will very often have a direct or indirect (e.g. by semantic inference (implication)) connection with the preceding text. It is significant that the notion of theme proposed by linguists of the Prague tradition has been evolved on the basis of a study of material drawn from languages such as Czech, German, Russian, in which the sequence of elements is in an obvious way susceptible to the requirements of ESP, and that Halliday's notion of theme is based solely on English. Indeed, applying the concept of theme developed by linguists of the Prague tradition to English, Mathesius concluded that English was "so little susceptible
to the requirements of FSP as to frequently disregard them altogether" (cf. Firbas, 1966:239). Firbas then proceeded to illustrate that English has at its disposal sufficient means other than positional means, i.e. semantic and contextual means, of signalling the degrees of CD in a sentence (cf. Firbas, 1966). Returning to the examples adduced by Sgall, we see that the theme is indeed selected from the 'mass' of information accumulated in the preceding text, whether by explicit mention or by way of semantic inference (or semantic implication if viewed from the opposite point): if 'relatives' are mentioned then a member of the set 'Uncle Fred' (as opposed to 'my friend John') is inferable: if a number of people were expected to come, then it may reasonably be inferred that one of them came first (or even did not come at all).

The following text may serve to illustrate the relevance of what has just been said to the particular kind of construction under consideration. It is taken from Firbas (1959:39-40).

"As to Czech word-order, FSP operates as the chief principle, predominantly determining both the non-emotive and the emotive (emphatic) word-orders. On the other hand, the grammatical principle and the principle of coherence of certain sentence elements (both being responsible for patterning the words according to their grammatical function in the sentence) and the rhythmical principle appear in Czech as secondary factors. As to English word-order, it is the grammatical principle and the principle of coherence of certain sentence elements that rank first, whereas the principle of FSP, the principle of emphasis, and the rhythmical principle come second."

The passage is about the hierarchy of principles governing word order, and the particular principles involved are specified. Since a hierarchy of principles is concerned we may infer that some principle is of primary importance, others of secondary importance etc. At the beginning of the text the author chooses to specify the principle and
say something about its rank in the hierarchy, e.g. 'ESP operates as the chief principle', 'the grammatical principle and the principle of coherence of certain sentence elements...appear in Czech as secondary factors'. Here the particular principle involved functions as theme and its rank as rheme. The author then switches (perhaps for stylistic reasons) to a different theme-rheme structure: 'As to English word order, it is the grammatical principle and the principle of coherence of certain sentence elements that rank first'. Both the principles involved and the question of rank are 'given', but the type of predication serves to highlight or single out for special attention the one rather than the other (alternatively, the question of rank could have been thematized by a nominalization, placed in first position: 'As to English, what ranks first is the grammatical principle...'). In another context, speaking of the hierarchy of attributes that count or matter for a specific purpose one might say

(269) Research ability counts most (theme-rheme)

(270) What counts most is research ability (theme-rheme)

(271) It is research ability that counts most (rHEME-theme)

The sentences are cognitively synonymous, but differ in their thematic structure.

What I am arguing is that in such cases, if both elements are inferable from the preceding context, this particular construction serves to give particular prominence and rhematize one of them. There is an option, but the 'range' of the option is determined by what has gone before. This is the first, and perhaps most complex of the three types of thematic organization involved in the use of this particular construction. The following examples may serve to illustrate this type further:

(272) A and B were working at a solution of the problem concurrently

(273) It was A who first solved it
which is related to

(274) The first to solve it was A

Compare possible German equivalents

(275) A und B arbeiteten gleichzeitig an einer Lösung des Problems
(276) A war es, der es zuerst gelöst hat
(277) Gelöst hat es zuerst A

Compare further

(278) We want to talk to the employers
(279) It is with the employers that we want to settle this claim
In this text example employers has explicit previous mention;
settle this claim is inferable from talk to and from the context of
text. The element employers is given prominence and rhematized
in (279).

(280) It is usually said that the nineteenth century saw the birth
of the scientific study of language in the western world.
And this statement is true, if we give to the term 'scientific' the
sense that it generally bears today: it was in the course of the
nineteenth century that facts of language came to be carefully and
objectively investigated and then explained in terms of inductive
hypothesis.

In the last sentence of (280) we have explicit mention of the element
nineteenth century and a definition of 'scientific', both of which
are mentioned in the preceding context. The author has highlighted
the temporal specification. It could, of course, be argued that the
second communicative unit in the last sentence has more information
content than the first highlighted element and this is a case of a 'highlighted theme'. This and the following example are perhaps borderline cases linking the first type with both elements 'given' and the second type to be mentioned where the second element is in no way recoverable. The next example is similar in this respect to (280).

(281) But the present rapprochement has come about as a consequence of the development of 'autonomous' linguistics; and it is linguistics (and more particularly the work of Chomsky) that has provided the inspiration for the alliance of the three disciplines.

Here, linguistics is explicitly mentioned in the preceding context; the present rapprochement has come about is semantically related to provided the inspiration for the alliance of the three disciplines.

In the following examples the predicated element links up directly with the preceding context, containing in most cases an anaphoric demonstrative. The rest of the sentence is in no way recoverable from the preceding context; the predicated element is a highlighted or prominent theme, the rest of the sentence an extensive rheme.

(282) ... and it is this which distinguishes 'thought' from a mere chain of associations. (The use of the relative which rather than that may be relevant)

(283) It is this assumption... which forms the basis of most theories accounting for the subordinating multivocal sentence and its syntactic form.
(284) The most comprehensive treatment of English grammar from the early generative-transformational viewpoint is to be found in Robert B. Lees ..., and it is this viewpoint which has been represented to the world of education by the many works of Paul Roberts (alternatively: this viewpoint is the one which ...).

(285) ... that means that they are stored up in memory. It is here that they are transformed in a special way.

(286) ... it is on these facts that are based the mechanism of transposition and that of analytical paraphrasis.

(287) ... it is on these assumptions that we can reconstruct a nominal origin for the much-discussed impersonal verbs of the type 'pluit'.

(288) ... it is in these opinions that the modern methodological crisis is best reflected.

(289) ... and it is from this position that the intricate problems they represent are likely to be approached in a satisfactory way.

(290) It is the second of these assumptions that Chomsky regards as the more important.

(291) It is at this point that Chomsky makes contact with the rationalist tradition in philosophy (alternatively: this is the point at which ...)

Note the alternative means of foregrounding or giving prominence to the theme:

(292) This is the viewpoint which has been represented to the world of education by the many works of Paul Roberts.
(293) This is the point at which Chomsky makes contact with the rationalist tradition in philosophy, this being 'identifier' and theme as is the predicated element in the alternative construction. These and related constructions in English will be discussed presently.

The third type illustrates the type of thematic organization which Firbas, not quite correctly, assumes to be the principal motivation behind the use of these constructions, that of highlighting a rhematic element. In this case the element is rhematic in the sense that it is the communicatively most dynamic element on account of the new information it conveys. The construction serves to give it further prominence by foregrounding it, thereby achieving a rheme-theme sequence. The predicated element carries the only new information, the rest of the sentence, being contextually dependent or presupposed, represents an extensive theme.

Examples are
(294) It was a girl who broke the vase
(295) It was to London he went for his interview
(296) It was for a friend he was waiting
(297) It was in the evening that I met him
(298) Was it the book on linguistics you took back?
as opposed to
(299) Was it the book on linguistics you took back?

In (298) 'that you took a book back' is in the forefront of the speaker's attention; cf. Paul's notion of the 'psychological subject' as 'was zuerst im Bewusstsein auftritt' . The book on linguistics is introduced into the
focus of attention as relatively new information. In (299) the book on linguistics is in the forefront of the speaker's attention (immediately recoverable from the context), the meaning being 'Was that the one you took back?'

(300) Novelist A was a convert to the Catholic Church. It was B who received him into it
('the person who received him into it' is less dynamic than the identity of the person, i.e. the new information 'B').

(301) The qualities he displayed were quite impressive.
It was his courage that impressed us most.
(alternatively, thematization of impressed by way of a nominalization: What impressed us most was his courage / The thing that impressed us most was his courage.

(302) What should I be reading?
   It's a book on language acquisition you ought to have
Alternatively, ought to have may be made thematic basis by way of a nominalization: 'What you ought to have is a book on language acquisition'.
Note the ambiguity of 'It's a book on language acquisition you ought to have'.

(303) It took some time for it to dawn on me that I had failed to make contact with him.
Indeed it was only last week that I remembered that I had not rung him up.

(304) I think I ought to write to him
It's only last week that you wrote
(Note the use of the 'intensifying element' only in (303) and (304))
corresponding to the German erst, cf.

(304a) Du hast ihm doch erst letzte Woche geschrieben
(unmarked order)

(304b) Erst letzte Woche hast du ihm doch geschrieben
(marked order with the rheme in initial position).

(305) Even when later the Greek grammarians abandoned the
classification established by Plato, they did not replace it with the
tripartite system into nouns, verbs and adjectives... Little attention
was given at first to words which were not members of the major classes.
It was not until medieval times that the division of words into nouns,
verbs and adjectives was made.

In a later section of the same book the author choses a different
structure achieving the same thematic organization by a different sequence
of elements and by the use of the intensifying element not... until (cf.
German erst):

(306) ... adjectives were regarded as a subclass of verbs by Plato
and Aristotle, but as a subclass of 'nouns' by the Alexandrians and
their successors: the tripartite distinction of nouns, verbs and
adjectives ... was not established until the medieval period.

Finally, a complex example from German representing a modification of
the basic type Sein Mut war es, der...

(307) Bezeichnend sind überhaupt jene Fälle, wo die Sprachen einer
festen Wortfolge huldigen oder doch eine solche bevorzugen, - und das
Eine oder das Andere mag wohl überall stattfinden. Denn was anderes
war es, was der Willkür Schranken setzte, als eine nationale Denk-
gewohnheit.
This is a modification of Das, was..., war....
der Willkür Schranken setzte is semantically related to einer festen
Wortfolge huldigen, which precedes it, and hence thematic.

We have seen that the theme in the sense being proposed here
is not tied to a particular position, i.e. first position, in the
sentence in English and German. We have also seen that the two
languages may avail themselves of systemic means of foregrounding a
thematic element and establishing a thematic basis (or indeed of
foregrounding a rhematic element and establishing a rhematic basis).
In German, where the sequence of elements is relatively free and to
a higher degree than English susceptible to the requirements of ESP,
the means usually resorted to in order to achieve the desired
communicative perspective will be a permutation of elements; as
thematic basis an element will frequently be selected which establishes
a link with the preceding context, the theme proper, the element with
the lowest degree of CD, which is often the 'hypertheme' of the text,
being referred to a position immediately following the finite part of
the verb, e.g.
(308) Diesen Ort hatten die Studenten zum Ziel ihres Ausflugs bestimmt.

In English, different kinds of restrictions apply to the positioning of
elements. The question of the preposing of prepositional phrases has
been discussed. The grammatical order SV(0) is the dominant order,
and departures from this order are marked, requiring positive
specification by motivated choice. Hence the order OSV as in
(309) This book he gave me for Christmas
is marked for contrast, a possible implication being

(310) That book he gave me for Easter

In German, the accusative object, if accompanied by a definite determiner, i.e. if contextually dependent, may be placed in initial position as in

(311) Dieses Buch hat er mir zu Weihnachten geschenkt

where the sequence OVS is quite neutral or unmarked (or marked only for contextual dependence), the secondary or thematic accent being placed on the initial element, and no contrast being implied. Where the object is contextually independent and thematic, the order OVS in German is marked for emphasis, e.g.

(312) Ein Buch hat er mir zu Weihnachten geschenkt.

This kind of thematic foregrounding by initial positioning of an element is not normally possible in English. In English a different construction will be used of the type discussed earlier in this section, e.g.

(313) It was a book he gave me for Christmas.

Otherwise, a neutral sequence will be chosen, the thematic element receiving heavy emphasis (or possibly contrastive accent), e.g.

(314) He gave me a book for Christmas

High probability equivalents of (308) and (311) will illustrate the kind of construction that may be used in English to foreground a thematic element, thereby giving it prominence:

(315) This was the spot the students had chosen for their picnic

(316) This is the book he gave me for Christmas.

The relationship established between the two noun phrases is that of
identification or equation. The demonstrative has anaphoric or exophoric reference, referring to something specific 'in context' or 'in focus': the in the following noun phrase is cataphoric referring to the general class, e.g. book, which is further specified by the relative clause. This kind of construction contrasts with other constructions in which the demonstrative is characterized by the following noun phrase, the relationship being not one of identification, but of inclusion, cf.

(317) John is a person you ought to get to know
(318) This is something you ought to have
In both cases the second noun phrase adds further information about the element in focus, i.e. it is the theme.

The identifier in such identifying clauses refers to something specific with reference to the context about which further information is given; it is frequently a demonstrative with anaphoric, cataphoric or exophoric reference, a proper name, or an element expressing spatio-temporal deixis. An important aspect of these constructions is that the theme is also the subject of the sentence; in cognitively related constructions it would have the function of object, adverbial, prepositional object, etc., e.g.

object

(319) This is the job I've always wanted
(320) This is the book I got from John
(321) These are the times I do find useful
(322) This is the line the Social Democrats have taken
prepositional object
(323) John is the one you can always depend on
(324) That's the one I didn't get to

adverbial
(325) This is the suit I went to the wedding in
(326) This is the way we came
(327) Friday is the day he comes home

The function of this construction is to foreground and highlight an element arising from the immediate context (verbal or situational). The distinct relief achieved of the thematic and the rhematic section is a characteristic feature of nominal style. In other, cognitively synonymous, constructions, the thematic element would be backgrounded by the rheme, and the two sections would not be in the same distinct relief, e.g.
(328) I've always wanted this job
(329) I do find these times useful
(330) You can always depend on John
(331) I didn't get to that one
(332) I went to the wedding in this suit
(333) We came this way
(334) He comes home on Friday

In the following examples the logical relation between the two parts of the sentence is that between 'identifier' and 'to be identified'. The identifier is the element that links up with the preceding context and is the theme, the element to be identified gives information about
the theme, is rhematic. This situation may, as we shall see, be reversed, depending on contextual considerations. In these instances the element to be identified is a nominalization introduced by a WH-element. Here again, the thematic subject corresponds to an object, adverbial, prepositional object in cognitively synonymous constructions not involving identification:

(335) That's what's wrong
(336) That's what he'll think
(337) That's what I mean
(338) That is what one of them said
(339) That's what I want
(340) That's where you're wrong
(341) This is where we get out
(342) This is where his strength lies
(343) This is where I live
(344) That's where I wanted to put it
(345) That's where he went
(346) That's where he took his suit to be cleaned
(347) That's what I was thinking about
(348) That's what it leads to
(349) That's what I asked for
(350) That's what it came to
(351) That's what I came for
(352) That's how women behave
(353) That's the way I like it
(354) That's what it looks like
(355) This is not how it appeared to me

Examples where the head of the second noun phrase is indefinite:

(356) That's something I've never done
(357) That's a thing I've never done
(358) This is something he'll appreciate
(359) This is something I've got a fair amount of documentation on
(360) This is something I don't agree with
(361) This is a thing I don't agree with
(362) This is something I'm looking into at the moment
(363) This is a thing I'm looking into at the moment

In equivalent German sentences the element in focus, object, adverbial, prepositional object, is moved to initial position, e.g.:

(319a) Diese Stelle habe ich mir immer gewünscht
(321a) Diese Zeiten finde ich immer nützlich
(322a) Diesen Weg haben die Sozialdemokraten eingeschlagen
(323a) Auf Hans kann man sich immer verlassen
(324a) Dazu bin ich nicht gekommen
(325a) In diesem Anzug bin ich zur Hochzeit gegangen
(326a) Diesen Weg sind wir gekommen
(327a) Am Freitag kommt er nach Hause
(335a) Daran liegt es eben
(336a) Das wird er sich auch denken
(337a) Das meine ich auch
(338a) Das hat auch einer von ihnen gesagt
(339a) Das will ich auch
(340a) Da irrst du dich
(341a) Hier steigen wir aus
(342a) Dort liegt seine Stärke
(343a) Dort wohne ich
(344a) Dorthin wollte ich es auch legen
(345a) Dorthin ist er auch gegangen
(346a) Dorthin hat er seinen Anzug zum Reinigen gebracht
(347a) Daran habe ich gedacht
(348a) Dazu führt es
(349a) Danach hat er gefragt
(350a) Dazu ist es auch gekommen
(351a) Deswegen bin ich gekommen
(352a) So verhalten sich die Frauen
(353a) So habe ich es gern
(354a) So sieht es aus
(355a) So ist es mir keineswegs erschienen
(356a) So was habe ich nie getan
(357a) Das wird er schon zu schätzen wissen
(360a) Damit bin ich nicht einverstanden

Note the difference between

(364) That's the job I've always wanted
(364a) Diese Stelle habe ich mir immer gewünscht

and

(365) This is a job (= the kind of job) I've always wanted
(365a) Eine solche Stelle habe ich mir immer gewünscht

Here we see a remarkably high probability equivalence between thematic foregrounding by a permutation of elements (object, adverbial, prepositional object) in German and this type of identifying clause in English. The identifying clause allows a communicative unit, which
in a different grammatical function would not normally be placed in initial position, to be moved to the front of the sentence and, what is also significant, made subject. The restrictions applying to the positioning of elements in English have already been mentioned. Initial positioning of the object is marked for contrast. Initial position of other grammatical elements is either unusual or not possible, e.g. (366) ? To that one I didn't get (367) In this suit I went to the wedding (marked for contrast?) (368) ? This way we came (369) + That he'll think (370) + That I mean (371) ? That one of them said (372) That I want (marked for contrast?) (373) ? There you are wrong (374) ? Here we get out (375) ? Here lies his strength (376) ? Here I live (377) + There I want you to put it (378) + There he went (379) + About that I was thinking (380) + To that it leads (381) + For that he asked (382) + For that I came

In the case of many verbs, initial position of the object, if thematic, is possible in English if contrast is to be implied, e.g.
That I know
That I realise
That I understand
That I appreciate

or with the 'prepositional object' of 'transitive adjectives'

Of that I am aware.

On the other hand, with mean (in the sense of 'refer to') and think, feel (in the sense of 'think'), preposing of the object is not possible, e.g.

That I mean
That I think
That I feel

However, it is significant that the type of identification discussed cannot be used in (383)-(385), e.g.

That's what I know
That's what I realize
That's what I understand (in one sense of 'understand')

whereas the construction is usual with verbs of the type mean, think and feel, e.g.

That's what I mean
That's what I think
That's what I feel

where a theme-rheme sequence with a prominent theme is made possible by the use of an identifying clause.

Other characteristics of these verbs are worthy of note. For
instance, in That's what I mean and I mean that we have two different meanings of the verb mean ((i) 'refer to', (ii) 'say what I intend to say'). That's what I felt and I felt that will also tend to be interpreted as different uses of the verb feel, although they could (just) mean the same thing. On the other hand, That's what I thought and I thought that would be interpreted as being (cognitively) synonymous: similarly, That's what I was thinking and I was thinking that. In the negative, the situation is not quite the same. In the context

(391) People don't work hard enough

one could say

(392) That's what I mean (= am referring to)

but not

(393) + I mean that (in the sense of 'refer to')

The negative is possible with both constructions, e.g.

(394) That's not what I meant (= was not referring to)

(395) I didn't mean that (= was not referring to)

With the verbs, know, realize, understand, whether the verb is in the negative or affirmative affects the constructions into which they may enter. We can say

(396) That I can understand

where the sentence is marked for contrast, but not

(397) That's what I can understand

Similarly

(398) That I know

but not

(399) That's what I know
or
(400) Of that I am aware

but not
(401) That's what I am aware of.

In the negative, however, the identification type of construction is possible, e.g.
(402) That's what I can't understand
(403) That's what I don't know
(404) That's what I was not aware of

Similarly, with see in the sense of realize
(405) + That's what I see
(406) That's what I fail to see

We are not concerned with the uses of these verbs as illustrated by
(407) That's what I mean by A
(408) That's what I understand by A

A further aspect is that whereas we cannot normally say
(409) That's what I know

we can say
(410) That's all I know

or
(411) That's something I do know

An explanation of this can only be approached here. With stative verbs such as know, realize, understand, be aware of the object of the verb refers to something included in the extent of one's knowledge, understanding, awareness, encompasses more than the particular object referred to. For this reason, it may seem inappropriate to ask
someone the question 'What do you know?', 'What do you understand?', etc. unless this is specified, for example, 'What do you know about...?', 'What do you understand by...?' The possibility of an explicit or implicit WH-question of this kind seems to be related to the possibility of the verb entering into this particular construction. With verbs like mean the object denotes a specific thing that is being referred to, and a WH-question is quite appropriate and natural: 'What do you mean?' The meaning of identifying clauses of the type 'That's what I mean' is that 'I mean that to the exclusion of other things I might mean'. Hence the frequent reinforcement of such statements, e.g. 'That's precisely what I mean', but hardly 'That's precisely what I know'. In negative statements of the type 'That's what I don't know', 'That's what I don't understand', there is an implied correspondence between 'that' and 'what I don't know'; 'that' and 'what I don't know' are presented as being coextensive and equivalent, and this coextensiveness and equivalence of the two elements is at least part of the meaning of identifying or equative clauses. A further point is that we can say

(412) That's what I don't know
but not
(413) That's not what I know
and
(414) That's not what I mean
but not
(415) ? That's what I don't mean

In the examples given so far the element in initial position is a foregrounded theme; it takes up an element from the immediately
preceding context, and it is the referent of this element that the
communication is about. In a discourse, the sentence
(416) People don't work hard enough
could be followed by either
(417) That's what I can't understand
or
(418) That's what I can't understand
In (417) understand has conclusive intonation. In (418) understand
has inconclusive intonation, conclusive intonation being on the element
that. In both (417) and (418) that refers to an element in the
immediately preceding context. The placement of the primary, rhematic
accent in these sentences would, however suggest that in (417) that
is communicatively less dynamic than the following communicative
unit, and that in (418) it is more dynamic. It will be recalled that
the degree of communicative dynamism is related to the degree of
contextual dependence, and that it is the communicatively least dynamic
elements that provide the foundation on which the communication is
built or about which the communication is. Now, contextual dependence
or givenness is a graded property; different degrees of givenness
should be distinguished. We have seen examples of sentences containing
two communicative units, both of which are given, but one of which is
presented as relatively new. In sentence (417) the speaker is telling
the listener in the course of the communicative act that there is
something he cannot understand. This information is being presented
to the listener as (relatively) new and is being related to that which
in turn refers to the content of the preceding sentence. In (418) the
speaker now relates the presupposed knowledge to that or to the content of the preceding sentence. The identification of 'what I can't understand' is presented as relatively new information. Hence (417) is a communication about that and sentence (418) a communication about what I can't understand. The dynamism of the communicative act consists primarily in the linking of a relatively unknown rheme to a relatively known foundation. What is important is the speaker's assessment of the extent of shared knowledge, i.e. the degree of given-ness of a communicative unit. Halliday (1967: 205) suggests that 'focus' falls on what is represented by the speaker as being new, textually (and situationally) non-derivable information. However, in (418) that is textually and situationally fully derivable and it carries information focus for the reasons just given; what is 'new' is the association of that and what I don't understand, the latter referring to a presupposition preceding the utterance of the sentence. Furthermore, Halliday would argue that that is theme in both (417) and (418) on the basis of two criteria: (i) it is the initial element in the clause, and (ii) it is what I am talking about now. The first of these two criteria is not a distinctive feature of the theme as it is being defined here; the second is relevant to the concept of the theme being developed here, but surely fails when applied to that in (418). Other examples may be adduced to support the view I am arguing:

(419) I thought you were writing an article
(420) That's what I'm doing
(421) What are you doing?
(422) I'm writing an article
(423) That's what I'm doing
(424) I can't see you on Friday
(425) Friday is the day John comes home
(426) When is John coming home?
(427) Friday is the day John comes home
(428) What is the bus stopping here for?
(429) This is where we get out
(430) Where do we get out?
(431) This is where we get out
(432) I would like to see London again
(433) London is where we are going
(434) Do you know where we are going?
(435) London is where we are going

Note further
(436) He said we were going to Munich
(437) And to Munich we went
(437a) And that's where we went

If a different town is introduced contrasting with the theme of the preceding sentence, a different construction is used:
(436) He said we were going to Munich
(438) + And to Berlin we went
(439) And it was to Berlin we went

of.
(440) Und nach Berlin sind wir gefahren

It is significant that in an identifying clause, the nominalization, if
if in rhematic function, must follow the other noun phrase, e.g.
(441) That is what I need
but not
(442) What I need is that
(443) This is what I want to know
but not
(444) What I want to know is this

Where there are two nominalizations, the thematic section may follow
the rhematic section:
(445) What I want to know is what this is

In cases where the theme is a proper name or a noun the theme may follow
the rheme in such constructions, e.g.
(446) (Was John the one who put forward the proposal?)
    No. The one who implemented it was John
(447) Equality is what women want
(448) What women want is equality

If the demonstrative (with anaphoric, cataphoric, or exophoric reference)
is in rhematic function, it may follow the nominalization, e.g.
(451) What I want is this (cataphoric or exophoric)
(452) What I need is that (anaphoric or exophoric).

It is notable that in German equivalents of identifying clauses
in English the particle auch is very frequently used, e.g. 'He said
he was going to Munich. And that's where he went'
'Er sagte, er wollte nach München fahren. Und dorthin ist er auch gefahren'.
Compare
You'll have to go to London for a job
That's what I want to do
Das will ich auch
People think he's intelligent
So he is (That's what he is)
Das ist er auch
He has decided to leave
That's what I thought
Das habe ich mir auch gedacht.

It seems that the particle *auch* accompanies the verb as a kind of 'reinforcer'. Evidence that it accompanies the verb and not the noun is seen in the difference between

Das ist er auch
and

Das ist er auch

In (459) meaning 'So he is' or 'That's what he is', *auch* accompanies the verb. In (460) meaning 'He is that too' (i.e. besides being other things) *auch* accompanies the demonstrative *that*. In both cases the particle accompanies the rheme.

Consider further the sentences

In Sibirien spricht man auch Russisch
Auch Russisch spricht man in Sibirien
Russisch spricht man auch in Sibirien
Russisch spricht man auch in Sibirien
In Sibirien spricht man auch Russisch
Auch in Sibirien spricht man Russisch
The difference in the meanings of these sentences is obvious; (461), (462) and (463) are equivalents, (464), (465), and (466) are equivalents. The two sets of sentences differ in the presuppositions that accompany them and consequently in their thematic structure. (461), (462) and (463) presuppose that there are a number of languages spoken in Siberia; the assertion made is that Russian is one of them. In (461), (462) and (463) the thematic section includes In Sibirien spricht man X (an unspecified element), Russisch is the rheme. In (464), (465) and (466) the thematic section includes Russisch spricht man in X (an unspecified element) in Sibirien is the rheme. In each case the particle auch accompanies the rheme. It is interesting to note what appears to be a rule of accent placement: if such precedes the rheme as in (461), (462), (464) and (466) it is unstressed and the rheme carries the rhematic accent; if auch follows the rheme as in (463) and (465) there is an accent shift, and it is auch that carries the rhematic accent.

The function of auch (and in English of also, too) is to mark the rheme of a sentence, the corresponding theme being contained in the presuppositions accompanying the sentence. It may be an element the sentence has in common with a preceding sentence. Compare the different contextual applicability of

\[
\begin{align*}
R2 & \quad T2 \; (= \; R1) \\
(467) \; & \text{ John is also intelligent} \\
& \text{T2} \; (= \; T1) \quad R2 \; \text{(contrasting with R1)} \\
(468) \; & \text{ John is also intelligent} \\
R & \quad T \\
(469) \; & \text{ Hans ist auch intelligent} \\
& \text{T} \quad R \\
(470) \; & \text{ Intelligent ist auch Hans}
\end{align*}
\]
Hans ist auch intelligent
Intelligent ist Hans auch

The accent shift rule applies here also. The meaning of auch/also, too is that of 'addition' ('and what is more...'). It presupposes a preceding context from which is recoverable a theme (derived from a rhyme-theme conversion) with which is associated a further rhyme. Further examples illustrating the accent shift are

He also painted the shed
He painted the shed too
He also painted the shed
He painted the shed, too (as well)

In (476) painted also receives a primary rhematic accent, since otherwise the noun to the immediate left of too (as well) might be interpreted as theme. Compare further

Er hat auch den Schuppen bemalt
Den Schuppen hat er auch bemalt
Auch den Schuppen hat er bemalt
Er hat den Schuppen auch bemalt
Bemalt hat er den Schuppen auch
He didn't like that either
That he didn't like either
Auch das gefiel ihm nicht
Das gefiel ihm auch nicht
R

(494) I mean that too
R

(494a) Das meine ich auch

where the verb is thematic and the demonstrative is rheme.

The 'what is more' implication of such sentences is explicitly stated in German by the particle auch; in identifying clauses (or semantically related sentences) this is left implicit. The rhematic verb often contrasts with an element in the preceding context, e.g.

(495) I want to go to London
(496) And so you shall
(497) That's what you shall do

where shall contrasts with want in the preceding sentence.

Compare further

(498) He said he would come
(499) And so he did
(500) And that's what he did (do)

where would (come) is contrasted with did (come)

The 'what is more' implication can, of course, be made explicit in English, e.g.

(501) And what's more you shall
(502) And what's more he did

The use of so in these sentences is interesting; it replaces the thematic predicative element. This element may be repeated, e.g.

(503) And accepted it was
(504) And go to London you shall
(505) And come he did
This brings us to the further question of initial positioning of predicative elements in thematic function in English and German. In isolation from a particular context predicative elements (referring to qualities, states, actions, etc.) will normally be interpreted as being rhematic, the theme being identified with the grammatical subject. Predicative elements are universals (cf. Lyons, 1968: 336) which say something about a particular term. Hence, in isolation from a particular context we will probably interpret the following sentences as representing a theme-rheme sequence:

(506) John ran away
(507) I need further information
(508) The second question seems more important

the themes being expressed by the subjects John, I, the second question.

In particular contexts the rhematic sections, or parts of them may become thematic by contextual dependence, by reference, direct or indirect (e.g. by implication) to what has gone before, the sentence being a contextual variant of what might be referred to as a basic type where, in isolation from context the semantic structure operates as a means of PSP, e.g.

(509) John ran away
(510) The one who ran away was John
(511) Run away was what John did
(512) What I need is further information
(513) Further information is what I need
(514) More important seems to be the second question
(515) What seems more important is the second question.
In the following I shall indicate different ways in which a predicative element can become contextually dependent and thematic and the implications this may have for the surface organization of the utterance. Contextual dependence or givenness is a complex phenomenon. Danes (1970) has suggested that "as 'contextually given' may be regarded such semantic information that has been somehow mentioned in a qualified portion (interval) of the preceding text". The semantic information may be mentioned directly or indirectly. Direct mention concerns not only identical wording, but also the use of synonymous expressions or of a paraphrase. Indirect mention is concerned with semantic inference (or implication). I shall extend the notion of semantic inference (or implication) to include contrast and comparison.

(1) Thematic cohesion by direct mention. This has already been discussed in connection with the use of the particle **auch**. In the text

\[
\text{T} \quad \text{R} \\
(516) \quad \text{John is very intelligent} \\
\text{R} \quad \text{T} \\
(517) \quad \text{Peter is also intelligent}
\]

the rheme of (516) is converted in (517) to theme; **intelligence** is a notion referred to in (516) which in (517) becomes the foundation of the communication to which is related the rheme **Peter**. It is possible in English, by resorting to special constructions, to make the theme of (517) also thematic basis, e.g.

(518) A person who is also intelligent is Peter
(519) Another person who is intelligent is Peter

In German, the same perspective may be achieved by moving the thematic predicative adjective to initial position, e.g.
Different kinds of predicative elements are concerned: cf.

He said he was going to Munich. And to Munich he went (and that is where he went) where the directional adverb to Munich is rhematic in the first sentence and thematic in the second. Possible is also And it was to Munich he went where a different structural means is used to foreground the theme. We shall not, however find But to Berlin he went (which is possible in German: Aber nach Berlin ist er gefahren) with a foregrounded rheme. In such cases English would resort to a construction of the kind But it was to Berlin he went or even Berlin is where he went to, the sentence opening in such cases with the grammatical subject (surface subject). Note, of course, the difference in accent placement between the instance of a prominent theme And it was to Munich he went and a prominent rheme But it was to Berlin he went, and the impossibility in such contexts of But it was to Berlin he went.

Further examples of thematic cohesion by direct mention are

(523) The subjects of 15. and 16. are rhematic. Rhematic could also be the subject in 'The young girl came in'.

(524) The verbs therefore rank above the theme are transitional. Transitional are also the verbs of 18., 19., 20.

(525) Mr A was accused of gunrunning

Accused with Mr A were X, Y and Z

(526) He said the proposal would be accepted

And accepted it was.
(527) The eldest son has always gone to the army
    And go to the army you shall
(528) He said that prices would go down
    And go down is what they did.
(529) Das Vordringen der kurzen Sätze habe ich schon erwähnt.
    Erwähnt habe ich auch die Zunahme der Ausnahmen.
(530) Er sagte, der Aufenthalt sei schön gewesen
    Und schön war er auch
(531) ... ist diese Einheit keine Einfachheit, sondern eine Vereinigung.
    Vereinigt werden wiederum keine einfachen Teile... sondern
    komplizierere Ausdrücke.
(532) Zweitens war seinerzeit die unilateralen Abrüstung in breiten
    Kreisen der Bevölkerung unpopular. Unpopular ist heute in
    breiten Volkskreisen der Beitritt zur EWG.

In such instances the thematic structure of the text may be
formalized as follows

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
T & R \\
A & is & X \\
T & R \\
X & is & also & B \\
\end{array}
\]

The theme of the second sentence is derived directly from the rheme of
the first sentence by means of a rheme-theme conversion. Where predicative
adjectives are concerned we may say that in the first sentence to a
bearer is assigned a quality. In the following sentence to the same
quality is assigned a different bearer: hence the rheme of the first
sentence is identical with the theme of the second sentence and the rheme
of the second sentence contrasts, in a way, with the theme of the first
sentence. In such cases, in English, the adjective expressing a quality found in both 'objects' is very often thematized by way of a nominalization, e.g.

A is X
What is also X is B

A is important
What is also important is B

In German, the thematic predicative adjective is thematized by moving it to first position where it receives the secondary accent

A ist wichtig
Wichtig ist auch B

Examples (523) and (524) illustrate that in English this procedure is also possible, though less usual than in German, where, on the other hand, the nominalization of predicative adjectives is far less usual than in English. (526), (527), (528) and (530) represent different types. Here again, the predicative element is thematic by a rhyme-theme conversion, but the subjects of the sentences have the same referent and are in no way in contrast with each other. They are also thematic elements, representing hyperthemes of the texts in which they occur. The element selected as thematic basis in the second sentence is communicatively more dynamic than the hypertheme, since the former does serve to contribute to the further development of the communication. It is the verb, or part of it, in these sentences that assumes rhematic function, i.e. the auxiliary in (526), (527), (528) and (530), was in (526) contrasting with would be, shall go contrasting with has gone in (527), did go contrasting with would go in (528) and war contrasting with sei in (530). In the examples given previously
a similar contrast between verbs was implied (Du willst.../Du sollst auch), the meaning of auch being, as stated earlier, 'and what is more' ('You want to.../And what is more you shall').

I cannot agree with Firbas' interpretation of the thematic status of predicative adjectives in English as opposed to Czech. The textual example he gives is not unsimilar to the examples I have just quoted. (533) There was a cold bitter taste in the air, and the new lighted lamps looked sad. Sad were the lights in the houses opposite (533a) ... Smutná byla i světla v protějších domech ('Sad were even lights in opposite houses')

He writes (1961: 93): 'Whereas in English it is the adjective sad that constitutes the theme, in Czech this function is performed by the group i světla v protějších domech. The aforesaid group is marked out as rhematic owing to the presence of a special means of FSP, the element 'i', 'too', 'even'. In English, on the other hand, the definite articles before the words 'lights' and 'houses' ... seem to mark out these words as thematic. Under the circumstances they seem to refer to them as the names of components of 'the winter afternoon scene'... In this way the above-mentioned definite articles help to build up what may be called the thematic layer of the English version of the discussed extract. As for the adjective sad, its thematic character is further supported by the unusual position of the adjective at the beginning of the sentence. This unusualness of position will certainly be felt as more marked in English with its grammatically fixed word-order pattern than in Czech, where word-order patterns are far less determined by the
It is true that the English sentence lacks the rhematizing particle also or even, but either of these particles could be inserted, indeed they are implied, without changing the thematic structure of the sentence, e.g.

(534) Sad were also the lights in the houses opposite.

In this version of the sentence also rhematizes the noun phrase, which carries the primary, rhematic accent. If we now reverse the sequence of elements, as in

(535) The lights in the houses opposite were also sad

In accordance with the rule for accent shift proposed earlier, the rhematic accent moves to also, i.e. when also follows the rhematic element it accompanies. In a sentence such as

(536) The lights in the house opposite were also sad

in terms of contextual applicability, the noun phrase would refer to an element recoverable from the preceding context and sad would be a non-recoverable quality assigned to the thematic noun phrase. The example is similar in thematic structure to the examples (523) and (524) which include the rhematizing particle also. It is true that initial position of predicative adjectives is unusual or marked in English as opposed to German (and apparently also Czech) where initial position is quite neutral or unmarked. The reason for that sequence of elements in English is relatively fixed by the grammatical principle and departures from this relatively fixed order are in some way marked, requiring positive specification by motivated choice. The positive specification is given, however, in that sad is thematic by contextual dependence: to a given
quality is assigned a new bearer of this quality, this bearer being recoverable in a very indirect way from a remoter context. We have seen further that departures from the order SVO are also possible if the object of thematic by contextual dependence, e.g. That I know, the implication being frequently one of contrast (this implication being related possibly to the juxtaposition of two thematic elements in initial position. Compare also the kind of enumerative contrast, implicit or explicit, in sentences such as Yesterday I went to the theatre. Today I'm going to stay at home.) The option frequently used in English is to nominalize the predicative element (adjective, verb) and make it subject of the sentence, this being related to the thematic conception of the grammatical subject in English.

(ii) The second type of thematic cohesion to be discussed is cohesion by semantic implication. If we consider the pairs hit/affect, fling/throw we see that hit implies affect and fling implies throw, but that the reverse is not necessarily true, e.g.

(537) If A is hit then A is affected
(538) ? If A is affected then A is hit
(539) If A is flung then A is thrown
(540) ? If A is thrown then A is flung

The direction of the implication affects the sequence of the terms in a thematic progression. Hence we can say

(541) The whole of the north east was hit by the storm
(542) Also affected were some areas in the south
(543) The crowd flung stones at the soldiers
(544) Also thrown were broken bottles
The sequence of the terms in (541) and (542), and in (543) and (544) cannot normally be reversed, unless some ad hoc relationship of implication is established, e.g. if a speaker chooses to make affect imply hit. This is less likely with the verbs fling and throw or toss/chuck/throw, e.g.

(545) The rioters tossed a number of hand-made bombs through the windows

(546) Also thrown were stones and other objects since the former have distinctive features over and above what might be regarded as the basic meaning that they all have in common, i.e. throw. Further examples of thematic cohesion by semantic implication are

(547) ... and criticism of such a style does not necessarily mean that the critic has found more nouns per sentence than he likes. Rather otherwise, perhaps: what is objected to is more likely to be the use of nominalizations, since it is the nominalizations for which alternative devices could be found.

(548) Wir übergehen hier die Argumente, die Chomsky zur Annahme einer Ebenentrennung in erzeugende Tiefenstruktur und interpretative Oberflächenstruktur führten. Er forderte für die Postulierung einer tiefenstrukturellen Syntax ... Vorbilder in der Historie sprachtheoretischer Bemühungen. Ebenso unbetrücksichtigt bleiben Begründungen für den konversen Modelltyp, in dem der Semantik die Tiefenstruktur und damit die erzeugende Funktion zugeteilt wird.

(übergehen and unbetrücksichtigt bleiben are related semantically)

In a German equivalent of (547) a predicative element might open the
sentence What is objected to... e.g. Bemängelt wird vielmehr...
Kritisiert wird vielmehr.... In the English equivalent of (548)
a nominalization might open the sentence Ebenso unberücksichtigt bleiben...
e.g. What is also being left out of account.... These high probability
equivalents illustrate the different means used in the two languages
to achieve thematic cohesion with the preceding context.

(iii) The third type of thematic cohesion concerns predicative
adjectives and adverbs. A quality is explicitly or implicitly mentioned
in a sentence (1). The quality is assigned to the bearer of this
quality. In sentence (2) the quality is mentioned explicitly by means
of an adjective or adverb, but here it is raised by a degree, e.g.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
X \text{ is important} \\
T \quad R
\end{array}
\]

What is more important is \(Y\)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
X \text{ is good} \\
T \quad R
\end{array}
\]

Better still is \(Y\)

The quality which in sentence (2) is mentioned explicitly may only
be implied in sentence (1). If we read a sentence beginning What is
more important is... we may infer that the quality of importance has
been implied in the preceding context. Similarly, if we read a
sentence beginning Particularly interesting are his remarks on...
we may reasonably conclude that this quality has been implicitly
assigned to communicative units in the preceding context. An
interesting aspect to this question is that in English whereas initial
position of predicative adjectives is stylistically marked, even when
motivated by their thematic status, initial position of comparative adjectives is quite neutral, e.g.

(549) Even more puzzling is the effect of television on viewers as opposed to

(550) Puzzling is also the effect of television on viewers

We shall see that in contrastive situations initial position of predicative adjectives in English is not usual, e.g.

(551) His reason for wanting to leave is quite understandable

(552) What is puzzling is the way he went about it but not

(553) Puzzling is the way he went about it.

Further examples of this type of cohesion are

(554) As could be expected, the pronominal form, especially that of a personal pronoun ... is a most efficient signal of the contextual dependence of the object. Not much less efficient in this respect are pronominal objects that have been explicitly repeated or imply with sufficient clearness notions that have been mentioned in the more or less immediately preceding context

(555) Far more important than any system of councils or elections is respect for other people's rights, interests and views

(556) Of prime importance for the subject here under discussion is the head.

(557) Worst hit were the central regions of Scotland

(558) In der schönen Literatur tritt der Genitiv solten auf. Noch geringer ist der Anteil des Genitivs an der Gesamtzahl der Substantive in Dialog in der schönen Literatur.
(559) Wird in diesen Sätzen das Adjektiv durch die Permutation isoliert, so ist es oft durch ein AA-Element verstärkt. Häufiger ist eine Trennung der Partikeln vom Adjektiv. 

(560) Ganz besonders wichtig aber ist nun die tiefergehende Veränderung der Zuckermoleküle durch die Atmung. 

(561) Von besonderer Bedeutung in diesen bilateralen Bestandspakten der letzten einkhalb Jahre sind die neu aufgenommenen Artikel über die wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit dieser Staaten. 

(562) Ist die Maschine je hundertfünfzig gefahren? 

(563) So schnell ist sie nie gefahren. 

(563) has the meaning 'So schnell, wie hundertfünfzig schnell ist, ist sie nie gefahren', the rheme being nie. In the reply to such a question, the thematic section could be deleted giving the answer nie, consisting of the rheme only. 

(564) Weniger entschieden kann die Frage beantwortet werden, ob das Wörterbuch die typischen Wortverbindungen ... immer in ausreichendem Masse berücksichtigt hat. 

In these examples the quality which is realized linguistically by a predicative adjective or related construction (cf. is interesting, is of interest) is to be found explicitly or implicitly in the preceding context where it is in rhematic function. The adjective or related construction is chosen as thematic basis establishing a direct link with the preceding context and providing a foundation from which the communication can be further developed. The sentences are all contextually dependent and are applicable to a context in which the notion conveyed by the element establishing the thematic basis is to be found explicitly or implicitly.
It would seem that Firbas has not fully appreciated the implications of this kind of semantic inference and the function of the rhematizing particles _also, even, auch_. In the following examples he suggests that the English translation of the Czech original shows "another kind of FSP than the original" (Firbas, 1966: 249):

(565) Of course, the mammoths and inguanoda are also very fine:

(likewise the fish, the butterflies, the antelopes and the other beasts of the field;) but the sea-shells and conches are the prettiest,...

(565a) Ovšem i mamuti a praještěří jsou velmi krásní; (rovněž ryby, motýli, antilopy a jiná zvěř polní;) ale nejhezčí jsou mušle a škleba, ... (Of-course even mammoths and inguanoda are very fine; (likewise fish, butterflies, antelopes and other beasts of-the-field;) but prettiest are sea-shells and conches,...)

He suggests that the Czech original and the English translation show different rhemes and hence different kinds of FSP: "whereas in Czech it is the subjects i mamuti a praještěří, mušle a škleba... that are rhematic, English presents as rhematic the predicate elements _also, very, fine, the prettiest._" He suggests that the first Czech element becomes rhematic on account of the rhematizing _i_ (even), which efficiently acts counter to the basic distribution of _CD_, and that the rhematizing _also_ in English operates in the same direction as the basic distribution of _CD_. He assumes therefore that _also_ accompanies and rhematizes _very fine_, but the context makes it clear that it accompanies the subjects of (565), _very fine_ representing a notion recoverable from the preceding context. The rhematic accent will fall on _also_ in keeping with the rule for...
accent shift proposed earlier. The FSP of the Czech original and of the English translation are therefore the same. It is particularly remarkable that this misconception should have arisen, since Firbas elsewhere in the same article argues the importance of the narrow, ad hoc scene for deciding degrees of givenness. In these instances, and in the instances given earlier, the notion conveyed by the predicative element is recoverable from the immediately preceding context; it denotes a quality to which is assigned a new bearer, this being derived from a remoter context. Furthermore, it could be argued that in (565) the element prettiest (implying in this context very fine) is thematic. This is obviously its status in the Czech original which accounts for the sequence of elements in the Czech sentence. Note further that in the bracketed section likewise referring to very fine in the preceding sentence is also thematic. German equivalents would tend to open with the predicative elements as thematic basis: Schön sind auch die...

The situation may be formalized as follows

\[
\begin{align*}
T & \quad R & \quad R & \quad T \\
X & \text{is A.} & Y & \text{is also A}
\end{align*}
\]

where the sentences have the element A in common, which is theme in the first and theme in the second sentence, as opposed to

\[
\begin{align*}
T & \quad R & \quad T & \quad R \\
X & \text{is A.} & X & \text{is also B}
\end{align*}
\]

where the sentences have the element X in common. X is theme in both sentences.

Note that with comparative adjectives it is the notional content of the adjective that is given, the comparative element more, etc. contributing to the further development of the communication. Hence
in a sequence

\[ X \text{ is important} \]

(but) What is more important is \( Y \)

it is the element more that receives the secondary accent, the given element important being unstressed. If now we consider two possible situations

(566) I think the question is interesting, but what is more important is the question of how to integrate the two functions.

(567) I think the question is interesting, but what is more important is the question of how to integrate the two functions.

We see that the accent placement indicates a difference in the semantic relationship implied between interesting and important. Whereas it is obvious that more important implies important, it is not necessarily true that more important implies interesting or that important implies interesting. In (566) the accent placement indicates that here a relationship of semantic implication is being established between important and interesting. In (567) the accent placement indicates that here important does not imply interesting. In (567) we have an instance of thematic cohesion by contrast, which will be discussed presently.

An interesting situation arises with antonyms, e.g. happy/sad, good/bad, etc., and this brings us to the question of thematic cohesion by contrast. Compare the sentences

(568) 'John is happy, but Mary is sad

(569) 'Mary is sad, but John is happy

(570) The wine is good, but the food is terrible

(571) The food is terrible, but the wine is good
The accent placement suggests the thematic structure

(568) and (570)  \[ \text{T1} \leftarrow \text{R1} \quad \text{T2} \rightarrow \text{R2} \]

(569) and (571)  \[ \text{T1} \leftarrow \text{R1} \quad \text{R2} \rightarrow \text{T2} \]

The placement of accent in surface structure is an expression of a thematic relation between the two sentences. In (569) and (570), John and Mary, and wine/food carry secondary accents and the predicative adjectives happy/sad, good/terrible the primary, rhematic accents.

In (569) and (571), Mary and food carry a secondary thematic accent, and sad and terrible carry a primary accent. In the second section of the two sentences it is John and wine that carry the primary accent; happy and good have a rising (inconclusive) intonation, marking them as thematic.

Compare

\[ \text{T} \quad \text{R} \]
(572) 'That's what I don't understand

\[ \text{R} \quad \text{T} \]
(573) 'That's what I don't understand

The question arises why should happy and good in (569) and (571) be thematic, to what context do they refer? It would seem that they refer to what might be called the context of expected values (relating to the context of expectancy referred to earlier): we normally expect things we eat and drink to be good. The expected value may be implied in a preceding question, e.g. (How did you enjoy your holiday?)

(574) The weather was terrible, but the hotel was pleasant but hardly

(575) The hotel was pleasant, but the weather was terrible unless terrible is within the context of expected values.
The contrast implied might be made explicit by the following analysis:

(576) The food is terrible
(576a) What is terrible is not good
(576b) What is good?
(577) The wine is good
What is good is the wine

The implicit contrast establishes the thematic link between the two utterances and constitutes textual cohesion. The sequence of the utterances is relevant: good becomes the thematic basis of (577) presupposing a context (576b) in which it is implied in the rhematic element, or more exactly, in which it is implied in the converse of the rhematic element, the converse being within the context of expected values. Consider the sentences

(578) The food is terrible
(579) The wine is good

---

1 In connection with contrast and semantic implication it is significant that on the assumption that buy and sell have the same underlying semantic representation (cf. Anderson, 1968, Lyons, 1970: 138) and differ only in the assignment of the function 'agentive'. buy, for instance, will tend to be thematic in a sentence if preceded by a sentence containing sell, providing that only the agent differs in each sentence, e.g.

R    R    T
(1) John is selling his car. Bill is buying it
i.e. if X is selling Y, it may (though not necessarily) be presupposed that someone is buying Y. Such pairs of sentences differ from other pairs where the verbs are not semantically related

T    R    T
(2) John is selling his car. Bill is repairing it.
in which the themes are food and wine, and the rhemes terrible and good. These sentences are thematically less cohesive than (576) and (577), and the sequence in which they occur could be reversed. (576) and (579) are relatively context-free. The thematic element of (577) by implicit reference by contrast to (576) renders it context-bound: it implies a preceding context and will not normally occur as the initial element of a discourse.

The thematic function of predicative adjectives and related constructions has a bearing on their position in the sentence. Consider the following text:


The thematic cohesion of the first and third sentences of this text may be made explicit as follows:

(580a) Es ist fraglich, ob X überhaupt von Interesse ist
(580b) Es ist fraglich, ob X überhaupt wichtig ist
(580c) Was ist wichtig?
(580d) Y erscheint wichtig
(580e) Wichtig erscheint Y

Wichtig erscheint Y in (580e) implies contrast with Es ist fraglich, ob X überhaupt von Interesse ist by way of an implicit statement (580b) in which the thematic element wichtig of (580e) is introduced in thematic
function. In this way, wichti{ in (580e) refers anaphorically to the preceding context and provides a thematic basis for the new communication in which the rheme Y is introduced.

The contrast here is relatively obvious. Consider the following text in which the contrast is less obvious:

(581) Für diese Struktur führt der Gesichtspunkt der linearen Zusammengehörigkeit, unter dem das genannte Problem zumeist gesehen worden ist, im Deutschen mit seiner erörterten Permutationsfreiheit zu relativ wenig Einsichten. Von ausschlaggebender Bedeutung ist das Verhalten der einzelnen Konstituenten unter verschiedenen Transformationen. The thematic cohesion may again be illustrated by presupposing 'linking sentences':

(581a) X führt zu relativ wenig Einsichten
(581b) Was zu relativ wenig Einsichten führt, ist nicht von ausschlaggebender Bedeutung
(581c) Was zu vielen Einsichten führt ist von ausschlaggebender Bedeutung
(581d) Was führt zu vielen Einsichten
(581e) Y führt zu vielen Einsichten
(581f) Y ist von ausschlaggebender Bedeutung
(581g) Von ausschlaggebender Bedeutung ist Y

It may then be said that thematic function of a predicative adjective or related construction in a sentence S₂ presupposes thematic function of this element in an implicit or explicit sentence S₁. In German, a transformation may be applied in which the predicative
in which the predicative adjective or related construction in S2 is moved to initial position. Perhaps more common in English, certainly in spoken English, than the initial position of a non-comparative form of the predicative adjective is the type of thematic option referred to as 'identifying clause'. By means of the nominalization the predicative adjective, which expresses the theme of the sentence, is brought into initial position.

The following examples of thematic cohesion by contrast include both adjectives, verbs and adverbs in thematic function. With verbs and adverbs, too, contrast may be implied with a preceding rhematic element. In English, the adjective or verb is usually nominalized and enters into an identifying construction:

(582) For people to talk about higher wages is meaningless. Far more important is the establishment of a stable economy.
(Note the accent on important, since important does not imply meaningless, in contrast with instances with examples of thematic cohesion by comparison discussed earlier)

(583) The orthodoxies that have served the party for seventeen years were no longer valid. What was important was the primacy of the 'Wirtschaftswunder' at home and, in foreign policy, integration with the West
(alternatively, the notion of 'importance' could be nominalized in a different way, e.g. The important things were...)

(584) I am not sure when it will be published. The important thing is that it has been accepted.

(585) The situation that arose was quite normal to all of them. What was extraordinary was the reaction of the public.
(586) In 'Peter's love of John' the determination relationship between 'Peter' and 'love' is the same as between 'Peter and 'love(s)' in the sentence 'Peter loves John', but what is different is the subordination of 'Peter' to 'love' in the former construction and the subordination of the verb 'love(s)' to 'Peter' in the latter.

(587) It is obvious that 'sedimentation', representing an essential part of the new information of sentence (2), is fully recoverable from the preceding sentence. What is new is the connexion of 'sediment' into which it has been put.

(588) The fact that it is, in certain respects, unique is beside the point... What is more significant is its non-uniqueness.

Examples of thematized verbs

(589) Money is of no importance. What interests us more is happiness.

(590) Admittedly, such a working relationship has been secured. What is still lacking is understanding.

(591) In the second member of each pair the verb + object expresses very much the same meaning as the verb in the first member... What distinguishes the 6 examples from ordinary transitive constructions is that they have a greater amount of syntactic cohesion between verb and object.

(592) Figure 16. does not occur, since its postulated subtree, namely figure 17., does not occur. What does occur is the isolated noun phrase.

(593) What exact institutional framework will best suit a more closely united Europe at some future date is a question which
can safely be left open at this time. What matters is that a start should be made in those areas where closer coordination, collaboration, or call it what you will, would bring tangible benefits in the medium term.

(594) Für diese Ordnung scheint die Art der zur Praedikatssphäre zusammengeschlossenen Elemente ohne besondere Bedeutung zu sein. Entscheidend ist vielmehr die engere oder fernere Zugehörigkeit zu dem verbalen Kern.

(595) Die gesamte Problematik, die nur diachronisch zu erhellen ist, ist für die Wortstellung nicht weiter von Belang: wichtig ist nur, dass in diesem einen Fall nicht die Regel 'rechts determiniert links' gilt.

(596) ... spielt sie bei den Ausdrucksstellungen topologisch nur eine geringe Rolle. Ausschlaggebend für das Nach-vorn-Stossen der Akkusativglieder ist in erster Linie der emotional bestimmte Drang nach besonderer Hervorhebung.

Examples with a thematized verb

(597) Dass die Auffindung von Thema und Rhema dem Grammatiker des öfteren Schwierigkeiten bereitet ... wird keineswegs bestritten. Nicht konzidiert wird jedoch, dass solche Schwierigkeiten die Inadäquatheit oder die Einfachheit der Theorie C beweisen.

(598) Wir sind nicht der Ansicht, dass dieser Vorstoss im ganzen die Forscher sehr viel weiter gebracht hat. Ernster zu nehmen ist Fillmores Versuch, semantische Satzstrukturen zu ermitteln (The implication being that since this attempt has not brought the researcher much further it is not to be taken so seriously. What is to be taken more seriously is...)
Note the following instance where the notion derived by contrast with the preceding sentence has the form of a noun in a verbo-nominal complex:

(599) Gäbe es im Deutschen nur obligatorische Folgeregeln, so wäre die deutsche Wortstellung leicht zu beschreiben (und zu lehren). Schwierigkeiten bereiten erst die fakultativen Folgeregeln (cf. English: What does present difficulties are..., or the thematically related construction: It is...that present difficulties).

The thematic element in initial position has anaphoric reference in that it refers to a notion indirectly derivable from the preceding context and cataphoric reference in that it is to this notion that the following rhematic element is being related. In this way textual cohesion is established in both directions. In the examples discussed so far the predicative element was thematic in an explicable way by some kind of reference to the preceding context. In other situations the speaker/writer might anticipate a question in the part of the listener/reader with reference to what he means by what he has just said, and it is significant that in English and German sentence openings of the type What is meant (by this) is, Gemeint ist, are frequent. This may be seen as a rhetorical device: the speaker/writer anticipates a question and then proceeds to identify for the speaker 'what is meant'. In the first two examples of this type of sentence opening the cohesion is more explicit, e.g.

(600) This does not mean of course that all speakers will necessarily agree that one sentence implies another. As we have already seen, what is meant by 'understanding' utterances can be quite
well accounted for without making the assumption that all
speakers of a language will draw from a given utterance
exactly the same set of implications.

(601) If competence just means freedom to make a selection, this
is right, but trivial. What Chomsky (1964) means by it comes
out fairly clearly when he talks about 'levels of adequacy'.

In the following German examples the author selects as thematic
basis what he may presuppose to be contained in an implicit question
question on the part of the listener

(602) Neben den vorgenannten Spitzengliedern bedürfen noch besonderer
Hervorhebung die Belege mit dem syntaktischen Nullstück es.
Gemeint sind die zahlreichen Sätze, in denen das Vorfeld
nur durch ein formales, den Satplan ausfüllendes es besetzt ist.

The sentence Gemeint sind die zahlreichen Sätze... explains what is
meant by die Belege in the preceding sentence. The presupposed
question is Was ist damit gemeint? where gemeint expresses the theme.
The sentence serves to identify the unspecified was of the presupposed
question. A high probability English equivalent might indeed begin
What is meant (by these) is where the nominalization preserves the
form of the implied question What is meant (by these)? and brings
forward into initial thematic position the element meant. A similar
situation is found in the following examples:

(603) Einen größeren Einfluss auf die Ordnung im Satz haben die
syntaktischen Beziehungen. Gemeint sind die Beziehungen
zwischen Verb und regierten Gliedern.

(604) Am deutlichsten hebt sich die Gruppe der nur-pronominalen Casualia
ab. In Frage kommen hier nur Personalpronomina sowie das
Indefinitum man
(cf. English: What is concerned is)

(605) Der deutsche Bundestag muss bauen. Vorgesehen ist ein Bürohochhaus mit 30 Stockwerken

(cf. English: What is envisaged is. Initial position of the participle Envisaged is is unusual.

(606) Dessen Laute liegen so gut wie vollständig herkömmlich fest und besagen nichts über das Bedeutungserlebnis. Notwendig ist eine Schall-Lehre des Satzes

(The implication here is: the sounds tell us nothing about the semantic experience. Something (else) is needed. What is needed is...) Compare

(607) I shall argue that valid insights on case relationships are missed in all these studies and that what is needed is a conception of base structure in which case relationships are primitive terms of the theory...

In the following example the author wishes to isolate from a question an aspect that he thinks is of interest. In the form of predication he choses the rheme of the sentence serves to identify what is of interest to the exclusion of other things that are not of immediate interest:

(608) I have discussed this aspect of English more fully elsewhere: here what is of interest is its significance for the understanding of nominality

Compare a German equivalent of (608):

(609) Diesen Aspekt des Englischen habe ich an anderer Stelle ausführlich behandelt: interessant ist hier seine Bedeutung für das Verständnis des Nominalstils
Other instances of initial position of predicative elements in German may be adduced where the main function of the initial element seems to be to refer the rheme of the sentence to end position, e.g.

(610) Hier anzuschliessen sind die sog. Objektspädikativa, die...

(611) Närer zu erörtern bleibt unter den Anschlussstellungen eine Gruppe von Fällen, die...

(612) Sehr bemerkenswert ist in diesem Zusammenhang die zeitliche Verteilung der Belage

(613) Hervorzuheben sind auch die Untersuchungen der generativen Grammatik

Halliday has stated that "given the clause as domain... theme is the grammar of discourse" (1967). We have seen that the relevance of the distinction between theme and rheme in the sense being proposed here goes beyond the domain of the clause. In a relatively context-free situation the thematic structure of a sentence is determined by its semantic structure. If embedded in a particular context, the operation of the context will determine to a large extent the theme-rheme structure of an utterance, and the selection of the thematic basis will in both English and German very often be influenced by contextual considerations. The choice of the initial element is meaningful.

Consider, for example, the following text

(614) Ich kam über die Treppe zur Tür

(615) An der Tür stand ein Mann

(616) Ein Mann stand an der Tür

Either the speaker/writer selects as point of departure an element
recoverable from the preceding context (thematic basis) as in (615) or he chose to open the sentence with an element conveying new information (rhetic basis) as in (616), referring information recoverable from the preceding context, i.e. thematic elements, to a later position in the sentence and thereby backgrounding it. If there is an option, the neutral sequence will be to move the thematic element to the front of the sentence. In English, the effect of rhetic foregrounding may be achieved by the it is...that construction discussed earlier. Like the there construction in existential sentences the it is...that construction may throw into distinct relief a rhetic element without making it the sentence opening. The initial element is a 'copy' of the theme which it anticipates. Both it and there serve to fill the position normally occupied by the grammatical subject in other patterns. The question whether it or there should be regarded as the grammatical subject or 'concord subject' is difficult to decide; with it in English there is concord between it and the following verb (It was the children who...); in German there is no concord between es and the following-verb (Es waren die Kinder, die...). This would suggest that the criterion of concord is a very superficial and language-specific means of deciding what is the subject. Distinct relief of the thematic and rhetic sections of the sentence may also be achieved by the different types of identifying clauses discussed. The construction serves to foreground a thematic element which in other constructions would occur in a position following the rheme. In German, a similar distribution of communicative dynamism is achieved by moving the thematic element to initial position. In both languages a theme-rheme sequence is achieved, there being two peaks of prominence, the thematic element
in initial position carrying the secondary accent, the rhematic element, which is referred to the end of the sentence, carrying the primary accent. Predicative elements (adjectives, verbs), which in the basic types, i.e. where the semantic structure operates as the principle means of FSP, are rhematic, may, if thematic by contextual dependence, be moved to initial position, in English by means of a nominalization, in German by a permutation of elements. Contextual dependence or givenness was seen to be a complex phenomenon, including reference to the preceding context by previous mention in the form of identical wording, semantic implication, comparison or contrast. The thematic basis has an important function in establishing cohesion between sentences: it links up (directly or indirectly) with the preceding context and establishes a foundation from which the communication can be further developed by the relation of a rheme to a theme.
Part V

Theme and semantic structure

In the previous sections some indication has been given of the distinct tendency in English to express the theme of the sentence by means of the grammatical subject. The characteristic tendency for the thematic conception of the subject was pointed out by Mathesius who refers to different kinds of passive construction allowing a theme-rheme perspective, the theme being expressed by the subject. The different kinds of passive construction he mentions were discussed briefly in the second part. In connection with existential sentences we noticed that have constructions allow foregrounding of a thematic element expressing the case category Locative or of Experiencer, which may be considered a subcategory of Locative. The following sentences may serve to illustrate this option

(1) The garden has trees in it

(2) He has friends coming next week

Related to have constructions are sentences of the type

(3) She suffered an injury to her leg

In such cases an element in focus, expressing the case categories

---

1 The case categories referred to here are derived basically from the work of Fillmore (1968) and his revised version (1971). The case functions include Agent (A), Object (O), Instrument (I), Source (S), Experiencer (E). I shall use the category Source in the sense proposed by Babcock (1972) for Source or Cause. The category Locative will be used to include Fillmore's more recent category Goal. The locative implications of some of the case categories has been observed throughout and have been discussed in Anderson (1970).
Locative or Experiencer, is made subject and thematic basis; it is to this element that the actual communication, i.e. the rheme is related. In the previous section we saw how different kinds of identifying clauses allow foregrounding and subjectivization of thematic elements, expressing in addition to case categories proper, i.e. noun phrases within the constituent 'proposition', elements expressing spatio-temporal deixis, which in other constructions would be realised by adverbials of place and time, e.g.

(4) This is the job I have always wanted
(4a) I have always wanted this job
(5) John is a person you can depend on
(5a) You can depend on John
(6) This is where I live
(6a) I live here
(7) Friday is the day he comes home
(7a) He comes home on Friday

In German, as we noted, the thematic object, prepositional object, adverbial of place or time, is simply moved to initial position, e.g.

(8) Diese Stelle habe ich mir immer gewünscht
(9) Auf Hans kann man sich verlassen
(10) Hier wohne ich
(11) Am Freitag kommt er nach Haus

It is significant that English has evolved these options to a far greater extent than German, and this, as I have suggested, is linked with the tendency to avoid placing thematic elements (objects, adverbials, and, in particular, certain kinds of prepositional phrase) in front of the grammatical subject. This is in certain cases a possible option,
but is felt to be marked in different ways (contrast, enumerative contrast, whether explicit or implicit). The difference in the resultant surface organization of the sentence in English and German is obvious and relevant: in German the subject is moved to a position following the finite part of the verb; in English the thematic element in initial position and the subject are juxtaposed as in

(12) That I know
(13) His earlier novels I've read

Situations do arise where in English the order SV is reversed, e.g. in existential sentences with there or in sentences of the type

(14) On top of the hill stood an old Gothic castle

A further fact of relevance here is that whereas in the question form

(15) To what do you attribute your success?

with reversal of the order SV, preposing of a prepositional object (in this case an obligatory complement of the verb) is quite usual and acceptable, such preposing is not (or less) acceptable where the sentence has the form of a statement, e.g.

(16) ? To hard work I attribute my success

in which case, to achieve rhematic foregrounding, the prepositional object is predicated as in

(17) It is to hard work that I attribute my success

where the expletive it, anticipating the thematic section of the sentence, functions as the grammatical subject and opens the sentence. Alternatively, an identifying clause may be used, which also allows rhematic foregrounding and initial position of the grammatical subject, e.g.

(18) Hard work is what I attribute my success to.
In a discussion of verbal/adjectival forms designating psychological states, processes, or attributes, Postal (1971) refers to a rule of psych-movement which moves the experiencer of a state or process from grammatical subject position into the predicate. Postal argues that in a sentence of the type (19) The meat tastes funny to me the NP after the preposition to is the 'logical subject', the preposition to being the surface structure marker of underlying logical subjects that have been "stuffed into predicates by psych-movement" (40).

Since the term 'logical subject' is open to different interpretations (cf. Steinthal, who in determining the logical subject of a sentence is obviously influenced by its thematic structure, as pointed out earlier) I decided earlier to dispense with the term 'logical subject' and suggested that different levels of analysis be distinguished: the grammatical, the semantic level, and the level of thematic organization.

Postal points out a special semantic property in all the cases taken to be instances of psych-movement, namely that "the NP moved into the predicate by psych-movement designates the individual who experiences the psychological event, state and so on described by the sentence" (49). It would appear from this statement that he is defining the logical subject on the semantic level, i.e. as the Experiencer. On the other hand, he states (53) "it is true for sensation predicates too that the 'experiencer' is denoted by the logical subject", which would suggest that he is defining the logical subject in terms of thematic structure, i.e. as the theme proper. As we shall see, the Experiencer very often does express the theme proper; this also applies to the Agent in other sentence patterns: both represent the element from which the communication
proceeds and to which it is related. In the case of have sentences in English I suggested that the grammatical predicate expressed a state or a process related to a person or thing. In the case of animate subjects one might speak of the Experiencer of a state or a process; in the case of things, a locative interpretation seems particularly appropriate. Thus the sentence

(20) The table has a book on it

has the case structure (L + O)

and the sentence

(21) I have a book on the table

the case structure (E + O + L)

Similarly, in German, but to a far lesser extent we have

(22) Dort oben ist die Ostsee (L + O)

(23) Sie haben die Ostsee dort oben (E + O + L).

Sentences such as (21) and (23) involve a state related to a location in which a person is implicated. In a similar way, I would suggest that the sentences adduced by Postal involve a state or process (‘taste funny’) related to or associated with a location (‘the meat’) and experienced by a person. Postal points out that the ‘perception examples’ are related to ‘nominal versions’ like

(24) The meat has a funny taste

which in some dialects would be

(25) The meat has a funny taste to it

which brings out the locative character of the subject of have.

In the English sentence (19) the Experiencer is backgrounded. In equivalent German sentences the Experiencer may be foregrounded
or moved to the position immediately following the finite part of the verb, the two thematic elements characteristically occupying positions preceding and following the finite part of the verb, e.g.

(26) Mir schmeckt das Fleisch komisch
(27) Das Fleisch schmeckt mir komisch

(27) would correspond in terms of thematic organization to (19), (26) to a sentence such as

(29) As far as I am concerned the meat tastes funny

Otherwise, it will be suggested presently, the verb find as a verb of perception offers a way of foregrounding the thematic element expressing the category Experiencer, e.g.

(29) I find the meat tastes funny

Postal refers to a class of verbal/adjectival stems that refer to "psychological features of animate beings" which occur in various adjectival and verbal forms. He lists: amuse, amaze, bore, confuse, disgust, excite, frighten, gratify, horrify, irritate, nauseate, puzzle, rile, surprise, terrify, threaten, worry. Postal's examples include

(30a) I am amused with (at) (by) Harry
(30b) Harry is amusing to me
(31a) I am excited about that
(31b) That is exciting to me

Postal argues that the (b) forms of such sentences are derived by rules that include psych-movement, while the rule plays no role in the derivation of the (a) forms. He does not claim that the forms are
are synonymous, but suggests that there is a close meaning relation. He does not enter into a discussion of 'topicalization', i.e. what is referred to in this work as the selection of thematic basis, which would seem to provide at least some motivation for the choice of the one or the other form. Postal does not claim that the paired forms have identical deep structures, but it would seem that in terms of semantic structure in the sense in which it is being used here the same configuration of semantic categories is involved, arranged differently in surface structure. Thus (30), (30a), (31), (31a) express a state related to what might be called a Source or Cause, the inanimate force causally involved in a state or process, and experienced by an animate being. Earlier, I discussed sentences of the type

(32) The grass is wet with dew

where a state is related to a location and referred to a Source or Cause.

The significant thing about sentences like (32) is the actual sequence of semantic categories which would reflect the manner in which the situation is apperceived, i.e. it represents a cognitional order which relates to the thematic organization

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
T & \circ & R \\
\text{location of state} & \text{state} & \text{source or cause of state} \\
T_1 & R_1 & \\
\end{array}
\]

or in terms of determination

\[
\begin{array}{cc}
\text{determinandum 1} & \text{determinans 1} \\
\text{determinandum 2} & \text{determinans 2} \\
\end{array}
\]

i.e. a state determined by a Source or Cause is related to a location.
Sentences (30) and (31) show a similar linear arrangement of semantic categories with the difference that in (30) and (31) the Source phrase would normally be interpreted as thematic, but in these cases the state and its determining cause is related to the sphere of the personal subject, which expresses the case category Experiencer. An interesting aspect of these sentences is the choice of the preposition associated with Source or Cause: in (30) with/at/by, in (31) about. This would suggest that the category Source or Cause has locative implications, and I shall return to this presently. Postal does not mention a further possibility, which is related in an obvious way to the thematic organisation of the sentence: in each case the verb find could be introduced as in

(33) I find Harry amusing
(34) I find that exciting

Here, find is a 'perception verb' and has an exact counterpart in the German finden, e.g.

(35) Wie finden Sie den Wein?
(36) Wie gefällt Ihnen der Wein?
(37) Wie schmeckt Ihnen der Wein?
(38) Ich finde ihn gut
(39) Mir gefällt er sehr
(40) Mir schmeckt er gut

In this sense the verbs find and finden combine with an Experiencer and an Object. The verbs allow subjectivization of the theme, expressing the Experiencer, and move the rheme of the sentence to end position. The German sentences (35) - (40) have the same array of
case categories and the same thematic organization, but the use of
the verb finden permits subjectivization of the theme.

I have suggested elsewhere (Kirkwood, 1970) a relationship
between the categories Locative and Cause (or Source). But then,
of course, it could be argued that the category Experiencer is a kind
of Locative. Sentences such as
(41) I was excited at the news
(42) I was delighted at the news
designate a state deriving from a Source or Cause and related to an
Experiencer, in (41) and (42) to the sphere of the subject. The
relationship between the categories Source and Locative is suggested
by the surface realization of these case categories in German, in
particular by the selection of the preposition accompanying the noun
phrase. The sentences I chose to illustrate this relationship were
(43) An dieser Frage entzündete sich eine lebhafte Diskussion
(44) An diesen Sätzen zeigt sich, wie oberflächlich der Begriff
'subjekt' ist

The predominant function of the German preposition an is to express
spatial relations. On the basis of this, it might be assumed that
the prepositional phrases in (43) and (44) realize the case category
Locative. However, examples may be adduced to show that the meaning
of basically locative prepositions has been extended to include causal
relations, cf.
(45) Die Verhandlungen scheiterten an der Haltung Frankreichs
(46) Die Verhandlungen scheiterten wegen der Haltung Frankreichs
and their English equivalents

(47) The negotiations failed because of the attitude of France

(48) The attitude of France caused the negotiations to fail

The English equivalents of (43) and (44)

(43a) This question aroused a lively discussion

(44a) These sentences show how superficial the notion 'subject' is

which have causative verbs **arouse** ('cause to arise') and **show** ('cause to see') also suggest that what is involved is a causal relationship.

The relationship between Locative and Source or Cause is further brought out by the paraphrases of (43a) and (44a)

(43b) A lively discussion arose over this question

(43c) A lively discussion arose because of this question

(44b) The superficiality of the notion subject is manifest in these sentences

(44c) The superficiality of the notion 'subject' is manifested by these sentences

Taking a similar sentence to (43)

(49) Über diese Frage entstand ein Streit

and on the assumption that the category Source is a subcategory of Locative, the underlying structure of (49) may in a tentative way be represented as follows
At some stage in the derivation of the surface form the NP expressing the category Object is subjectivized, but because of the semantic category of the verb, which expresses the notion of emergence, and the feature (-given) of the subject, the subject is marked as rhyme of the sentence and moved to the right. The NP expressing the category Locative or Source, which has the feature (+given) is marked as theme and moved to the left of the sentence. The subject may, on the other hand be marked as theme if contextually dependent, resulting in a surface form such as

(50) Der Streit entstand über eine strittige Frage

über die Frage der Wiedervereinigung

Applying the same procedures to a similar configuration of case categories in English we would arrive at sentences

(51) Over this question a controversy arose

(with thematic foregrounding)

(52) A controversy arose over this question

(with thematic backgrounding)

However, on account of the distinct tendency in English to express the theme by means of the grammatical subject, the category Source, if thematic, will often be subjectivized and the feature 'causative' introduced into the verb, giving

(53) This question aroused (caused to arise) a controversy

Compare further

(54) The state of the nation has given rise to concern among the people

(55) There is concern among the people about the state of the nation
and possible German equivalents

(56) Die Lage der Nation hat unter der Bevölkerung Beunruhigung ausgelöst

(57) Über die Lage der Nation herrscht unter der Bevölkerung Beunruhigung

In (54) the causative verb give rise to allows the Source element to be subjectivized and made thematic basis. In (55) the causative element is attached to the noun concern.

It would appear that the verb show enters into two case frames: one involving the categories Agent, Object, Experiencer, the other the categories Locative or Source and Object, e.g.

(58) He showed me his new book (A + O + E)

(59) His face showed his disapproval (L (or S) + O)

The locative implications of (59) are made explicit in the paraphrase

(60) His disapproval could be seen on his face

The 'source' implications are manifest in

(61) His disapproval could be seen from his face

The two possible interpretations are explicit in the German renderings

(60a) In seinem Gesicht spiegelte sich seine Missbilligung

(61a) An seinem Gesicht erkannte man seine Missbilligung

German zeigen also enters into both case frames, but zeigen is perhaps more agent-orientated than show, and in equivalent German sentences a more explicitly locative expression may be chosen, cf.

(62) In dieser Nachlässigkeit der Formulierung spiegelt sich der Zwiespalt wieder, dem man bei dem Versuch einer Definition von Subjekt und Prädikat ausgesetzt ist
In beiden Sprachen zeigt sich die Tendenz zum analytischen Sprachbau

Both languages show (manifest) a tendency towards an analytic structure

The verbs illustrate, indicate, reveal, enter into the same case structure. Compare also the use of reflect in

His eyes reflected the light of the fire

In seinen Augen spiegelte sich der Schein des Feuers

The surface structure realization of underlying case categories provides further evidence for our intuitions about the semantic relationships involved. In the case of the verb please there is evidence that the categories involved are Experiencer and Source. It may be observed, however, that if the Experiencer is selected as thematic basis the prepositional marker of Source may be either with or at. The distinction is meaningful, although the underlying category Source remains the same. Compare

I am pleased with my results

I am pleased with your results

I am pleased at your results

I am pleased at the news

It would seem that with 'psychological predicates' (e.g. please, delight) with is used in the Source phrase where there is a personal involvement of the Experiencer in or association with the source or cause of the state. The Experiencer may be directly or indirectly
responsible for the Source or Cause of the state, e.g. (66) might be said by a teacher to his pupil. (69) may sound unusual since one is not normally responsible for 'news'. Such manifestations are surface reflexes of a difference in meaning which is less 'deep' than the level of semantic structure in terms of participant roles or semantic categories: the category concerned is in both cases Source. I tend to agree with Daneš (1968: 61) that please and like enter into different semantic structures. He suggests that the semantic sentence pattern associated with like is bearer of attitude - object, and that associated with please source of affection - recipient of affection, or, in terms of case grammar, like enters into the case frame (E + 0) and please into the frame (E + S): the relationship of the animate being involved remains the same, i.e. that of Experiencer or 'affected'. Hence the underlying structure of

(70) The work pleases John

(71) John is pleased with the work

would be

from which could be derived

(72) John derives pleasure from the work

(73) The work gives John pleasure
In (72) the notional role of Source is made more explicit by the prepositional phrase from the work, combining with the verb derive, and in (73) by the verb give (‘cause to have’). In the case of like it may be argued that what is concerned is an attitude directed from an Experiencer to an Object. Hence we will not find

(74) * He derived a liking from the work

but rather

(75) He took a liking to the work

(76) He had a liking for the work

where the Object to which the attitude is directed is made more explicit by the use of the prepositions to and for. Further evidence of the different case structures involved from the surface realization of the underlying case categories associated with the verbs please, like, and also love would be

(77) He is the object of their love/affection

(78) * He is the object of their pleasure/enjoyment

(79) * He is the source of their love/affection

(80) He is the source of their pleasure/enjoyment

Compare the German sentences

(81) Er gefällt mir (S + E)

(82) Ich habe an ihm Gefallen gefunden (S + E)

(83) Ich mag ihn (E + 0)

(84) Ich habe ihm liebgewonnen (= Liebe zu ihm gewonnen) (E + 0)

Compare further the prepositions associated with Freude (an), Gefallen (an), joy (at/in), pleasure (at/in), as opposed to Liebe (zu),
Verständnis (für), Bedürfnis (nach), Hass (wegen) - the latter nouns combine with haben, e.g. Verständnis haben für where the subject of haben denotes the location of the state (Experiencer) and the noun in the prepositional phrase denotes the object of love, hate, etc. Furthermore, in

(85) I liked the play immensely.
I would suggest that the adverb immensely refers to the manner in which I reacted to the play, as opposed to

(86) The play pleased me immensely
which refers to the manner in which the play affected me, cf.

(87) My liking for the play was immense
(88) My pleasure in/at the play was immense
(89) The pleasure the play gave me was immense

Anderson (1971: 104) suggests that in the sentence

(90) The play pleased some of the audience
we "find 'abstract' '(dative) objective locatives '(parallel to
A statue occupies the plinth)'". The clause in (90) would then have the structure
Anderson's nominative (like Fillmore's Object) is the notionally most neutral case with regard to locative implications would seem to be found in existential sentences which merely assert the existence of a person or thing in a place, and in semantically related sentences. Anderson (101) suggests that clauses such as

(91) Many people know part of the truth
(92) Part of the truth is known to many people

have an underlying structure of the form

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Non} & \quad \text{Subject} \\
\text{Know} & \quad \text{(E + 0)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\emptyset \text{ Part of the truth (to)} & \quad \text{Know}(n) \\
\text{to} & \quad \text{many people}
\end{align*}
\]

which he regards as like the underlying structure of clauses with verbs such as contain in terms of the semantic representation governed by the \( V \): "(knowledge of) part of the truth is associated with ('located with respect to') many people". This seems quite plausible since I know X means that X is included in (but not necessarily coextensive with) the sphere of my knowledge. The categories concerned are then, in Fillmore's terms know \((E + 0)\), and contain \((L + 0)\), and in Anderson's terms \((\text{Loc} + \text{Nom})\) in both cases. However, Anderson is suggesting that in

(93) The play pleased some of the audience

the play is also 'nominative' and hence notionally neutral. The sentences

A statue occupies the plinth and Many people know part of the truth/
Part of the truth is known to many people signify the location of X
with respect to Y, X being notionally neutral. However, the play in [93] is not notionally neutral in terms of locative and other, i.e. causative implications. I would suggest then that please (like other 'psychological predicates' such as delight, amuse) involve the case category Source or Cause (cf. give pleasure to, cause delight among, provide amusement for, etc). Compare the German equivalents of (93) (94) Ein Teil des Publikums fand Gefallen an dem Stück (95) Das Stück hat einem Teil des Publikums Freude/Vergnügen bereitet

It would seem appropriate to regard please and like as cases of partial suppletion (cf. Beneš, 1966). Perhaps there are reasons for assuming that the change from Old English lician + dative and Sync an + dative to Modern English like and think with what Anderson refers to as a 'subjectivized locative' was the result of a change in perspective: what in Old English was the person affected by a process, expressed by the dative, deriving from a source, expressed by the nominative, came to be seen as the source from which the activity or process emanated, which was directed towards a person or thing in keeping with other SVO patterns expressing the semantic pattern Agent (source of action) - action - Object (goal of action).

In general, it may be said that Source represents the external or internal force independently responsible for the state or process expressed by the verb. As was suggested previously, the locative implications of the category Source or Cause are manifest in some of the surface realizations of this category. Consider further the sentences
(96) An mir soll die Koalition nicht scheitern
(97) Meinetwegen soll die Koalition nicht scheitern
(98) Wegen mir soll die Koalition nicht scheitern (regional form)

(Note that historically \textit{wegen} itself is derived from a locative phrase \textit{auf Wegen} + \textit{gen}.

The causative implications of the prepositional phrases in the sentences (96)-(98) is brought out clearly in their English equivalents, e.g.

(99) The coalition will not collapse because of me
(100) I shall not be responsible for the collapse of the coalition
(101) I shall not bring about the collapse of the coalition
(102) I shall do nothing to bring about the collapse of the coalition

Note that here the source of the activity is an animate being and may be conceived as representing the category Agent. Sentence (96) is similar in form to a sentence with an inanimate noun as Source or Cause, e.g.

(103) (Dies ist die Sachfrage). An dieser ist die Koalition zerbröchen

Here, too, in English the category Source may be subjectivized to establish the thematic basis

(104) This is what caused the coalition to collapse
(105) This is what was responsible for the collapse of the coalition
(106) This is what brought about the collapse of the coalition

Because of the general 'intolerance' in English of preposed locative, causative, etc. prepositional phrases English will tend to resort to a lexicalized causative in cases where the Source element is to be made thematic basis, in which case the Source element is
subjectivized, e.g. the example given earlier

(107) An dieser Frage entzündete sich eine lebhafte Diskussion

(108) This question aroused a lively discussion

German does have available causative verbs such as *bewirken* ('effect'), *zustandebringen* ('bring about'), etc. But their use is almost confined to very formal styles (where they effect a less complex sentence structure), and their use by native speakers is less ‘spontaneous’ than that of a prepositional phrase. Other causative verbs commonly found in English are *show* ('cause to see'), *indicate, give* ('cause to have'), *save* ('cause of save'), *lose* ('cause to lose'), *raise, give rise to* ('cause to be'), e.g.

(109) An diesen Sätzen zeigt sich besonders deutlich, wie

uberflächlich der Begriff ‘Subjekt’ ist

(109a) These sentences show particularly clearly how superficial

the notion 'subject' is

(110) An zahlreichen Beispielen kann man sich jedoch verdeutlichen, dass auch die Möglichkeit einer Emphatisierung gewissen Determinationen unterliegen muss

(110a) Numerous examples can be adduced to show (indicate, make clear) that the possibility of achieving emphasis is subject to certain determining factors

(111) An ihnen wird im Gegensatz zu den nur wiederaufnehmenden Stellungen eine deutlich Entwicklung fassbar

(111a) Unlike the purely resumptive positions they indicate (give evidence of) a definite development

(112) Davon bekommst du starke Muskeln
That will give you strong muscles

The reduction of 37,000 in services manpower by April 1971 is expected to save £200m a year

Es wird erwartet, dass durch die Reduzierung der Stärke der drei Teilstreitkräfte um 37 000 Mann bis April 1971 jährlich 200 Millionen Pfund eingespart werden können

The strike has lost 100 m tons of coal

Durch den Streik gingen 100 Millionen Tonnen Kohlen verloren

The bet won me £10

Mit der Wette gewann ich 10 Pfund

Damit erhöht sich die Zahl der zum Tode Verurteilten auf acht

This raises the number of those condemned to death to eight

The state of the nation has given rise to concern among the people

Wegen der Lage der Nation herrscht unter der Bevölkerung Beunruhigung

A possible paraphrase of (117) is

There is concern among the people about the state of the nation where the Source phrase is attached to the noun concern (derived from the verb concern), but has the status of a major constituent. The co-occurrence of this phrase with the locative phrase among the people indicate that it is not a 'pure' locative, though it may have locative implications.

Verbs implying 'injury' or 'destruction' are associated with the category Source. In English, if the Source element is to establish the thematic basis, it may be subjectivized; in German it is expressed
by a prepositional phrase in initial position, e.g. with Source as thematic basis

(119) The disease has killed many people
(119a) An der Krankheit sind viele Leute gestorben

with the Experiencer as thematic basis

(120) Many people have died of the disease
(120a) Viele Leute sind an der Krankheit gestorben

with the Source as thematic basis

(121) The earthquake destroyed (damaged) many houses
(121a) Durch das Erdbeben wurden viele Häuser zerstört (beschädigt)

with the Object as thematic basis

(122) Many houses were destroyed (damaged) in/by the earthquake
(122a) Viele Häuser wurden durch das Erdbeben zerstört (beschädigt)

Some residual problems relating to Source

Babcock (1972) considers the prepositional phrase in

(123) John trembled with fear
to be an expression of the category Cause (or Source). She makes the important distinction between the category of Instrument and the category of Cause that Instrumentals are at the service of Agents, whether or not the sentence contains one, but Cause phrases are independent sources of activity. Hence Cause and Instrumental can co-

occur, as the examples to be given presently in connection with the category Instrument will indicate. Babcock gives as an alternant of the sentence with a simple verb the periphrastic causative
(124) Fear made John tremble
It would perhaps be more appropriate to refer to these 'paraphrases' as alternants in specific contexts or as contextual variants; if the Experiencer (Babcock interprets the experiencing participant as a Locative rather than a Dative) is chosen as thematic basis it is made subject and the Source or Cause element becomes rheme (with normal intonation). If the Source element is made thematic basis it is subjectivized, and the causative marker is registered in the verb. In this case the process or state expressed by the verb becomes rheme. The motivation behind the choice of the one or the other construction is related to the desired communicative perspective. Babcock notes that whereas 'causative actives' appear in the passive, as in

(125) John was made to do his homework
'causative inactives' do not freely appear in the passive. We cannot say

(126) John was made to tremble by fear
The motivation for the passive in (125) is the foregrounding of the Agent of do; if the Agent of make is mentioned it has information focus. Hence in (125) the information focus may fall on made or homework, e.g.

(125a) John was made to do his homework
(125b) John was made to do his homework
A sentence such as (123) itself permits foregrounding of the Experiencer and information focus to be moved to the internal or external Cause or Source from which the state arises. Hence there is no motivation from the point of view of thematic organization for constructions such as (126).
The sentence

(127) John was frightened at the thought (Babcock, 38)

allows foregrounding of the Experiencer. The Source phrase, if thematic by contextual dependence, is backgrounded. The rhyme is expressed by the verb frightened. The sentences

(128) The thought frightened me
(129) The thought of it made me frightened

allow the Source element to be foregrounded and information focus to be placed on the state. Hence there would seem to be no motivation in terms of thematic organization for constructions like

(130) John was made frightened by the thought

since this kind of thematic organization is achieved by sentences of the type (127). The insertion of the causative marker make in the verb is used in cases where the Source is to be foregrounded. Since with frighten there is an alternative with a lexicalized causative frighten illustrated by (128) there is perhaps less motivation here for the periphrastic causative (except for the possibility of moving the rhyme to end position) than in cases where there is no lexicalized causative with equivalent meaning as in

(131) The thought of it made him ashamed

except perhaps for

(132) The thought of it shamed him

which is not an exact paraphrase of (131).

Babcock refers to (133) and (134) as an accident of contemporary English

(133) The news saddened John
(134) * The news happened John
In both cases a periphrastic causative may be used allowing the Source element to become thematic basis and information focus to move to the state, e.g.
(135) The news made John sad
(136) The news made John happy
Periphrastic causatives of this type may appear in the passive, e.g.
(137) John was made sad by the news
(138) John was made happy by the news
there being perhaps more motivation for (138) than for (137), since for (137) there is the alternant with the lexicalized causative *sadden.*
German has both *bedröcken* and *beglücken,* e.g.
(139) Die Nachricht hat Hans bedröckt
(140) Die Nachricht hat Hans beglückt
In German, there is less motivation for the passive, since foregrounding of the Experiencer can be achieved simply by permuting it (as direct object) to initial position, e.g.
(141) Hans hat die Nachricht bedröckt
(142) Hans hat die Nachricht beglückt
In connection with the category Source we may consider further the difference in semantic structure between
(143) His ears were ringing with the sound of music
(144) He was bursting with energy
(145) The room resounded with applause
(146) The classroom echoed with laughter
(147) His hand was dripping (with) blood
(148) The building was crawling with police
(149) The room was screaming with children
(150) The sky was rolling with thunder
(151) He gushed (with) enthusiasm
(152) He was oozing encouragement
(153) Her arm came out in a rash

Sentences (147)-(153) allow a Locative (which we shall take, for the present, to extend to animate nouns as in (144), (151), (152)), to be thematic basis. The tendency to make Locatives, to which states or events relate, the thematic basis has been observed throughout the present work and exemplified by the sentence
(184) The grass is wet with dew

In all of the sentences the thematic notion in initial position is modified in linear fashion by the rhematic elements that follow it: in terms of determination the structure is:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\text{determinandum} & \text{determinans} \\
\hline
\text{determinandum} & \text{determinans}
\end{array}
\]

The rheme proper is moved to end position. However, it would appear that the rhematic noun phrase in (143) and (144) admit a causative interpretation, e.g. 'The sound of music (S) made his ears (L) ring; Energy (S) almost caused him to burst.' The sentences are therefore similar in semantic structure to sentences of the type

John trembled with fear. In (147)-(153) the existence of persons or things is being stated with respect to a location (e.g. Blood was
dripping from his hand / * Blood caused his hand to drip; * Police made the house crawl; A rash came out on her arm / * A rash made her hand come out. (145) and (146) suggest a locative interpretation in view of the possible paraphrases Applause resounded through the room; Laughter echoed through the classroom. The realization of the same configuration of semantic categories in German makes a locative interpretation (as opposed to a causative interpretation) of (145) and (146) seem plausible, e.g. Das Schulzimmer hallte von/ vor Gelächter wider. The case frame of (143) and (144) would then be \((L + S)\), and that of (145)-(153) \((L + O)\). Despite the difference in semantic structure, the sentences show a remarkable similarity in thematic structure, i.e. structural means whereby an element expressing the location of a state or process may be selected as thematic basis referring the theme, expressing the category Source or Object, to end position. The resultant sequence is in keeping with 'the basic distribution of communicative dynamism'. For similar German sentences of:

(155) Er zerplatzte vor Energie \((L + S)\)

(156) In dem Haus wimmelte es von Polizisten \((L + O)\)

(157) Das Haus wimmelte von Polizisten \((L + O)\)

The category Instrument

In general it may be said that Source represents the external or internal force independently responsible for the state or process identified by the verb: Instrument, on the other hand, represents the means by which an action initiated by an Agent is carried out.
Hence the subjects of the following sentences are in different case relationships to the verb:

(158) The boy opened the door (A + 0)
(159) The key opened the door (I + 0)
(160) The wind opened the door (S + 0)

The difference in case relationship is not expressed in the surface structure, but compare

(161) The door was opened by (*with) the boy
(162) The door was opened with (*by) the key
(163) The door was opened by (*with) the wind

This may be accounted for by the fact that the Agent (typically an animate noun) and the Source (typically an inanimate noun) are themselves responsible for carrying out the action identified by the verb, whereas the Instrument is in a means relationship with the Agent (specified or unspecified). Both Agent and Instrument, and Source and Instrument may co-occur, cf.

(164) The boy opened the door with a key (A + 0 + I)
(164a) The door was opened by the boy with a key (A + 0 + I)
(165) My external account enabled me to use a cheque book to draw money
(165a) My external account enabled me to draw money with a cheque book (by cheque)
(166) His glove enabled him to break the window with his hand
(166a) He was able to break the window with his hand because of his glove
(166b) He was able to break the window with his hand because he was wearing a glove
Note the use of *enable* in these sentences. In the discussion of the category Source we saw that a sentence such as *John trembled with fear* has an alternant in which the Source phrase *with fear* is made subject and the Source marker is registered in the verb by the insertion of *make* or *cause*. In a similar way, *enable, make possible,* or in German *ermöglichen* may be inserted if the Source phrase is subjectivized and loses its Source marker. Cf.

(167) Brechende Medien ermöglichen dem Auge das See

(168) Vermöge brechender Medien sieht das Auge

(169) Das Stipendium hat ihm das Studium ermöglicht

(170) Auf Grund des Stipendiums konnte er studieren

(169a) The scholarship enabled him to study

(170a) Because of the scholarship he was able to study

Sentences (166a) and (166b) illustrate the recursive nature of the category Source. The implication of an underlying sentence in the category Source was observed by Steinthal (1855: 196) who recognized as a paraphrase of (167) and (168)

(171) Weil das Auge brechende Medien hat, kann es sehen

Steinthal, in discussing these examples argues that the 'logical subject' of (167), (168) and (171) is *brechende Medien haben* for reasons I have given earlier. Against this I have argued that the 'logical subject' (in the traditional sense of the term) is *das Auge,*
which combines the functions of Experiencer and theme proper, and that **brechende Medien haben**, expressing the category Source, is a thematic element which may be chosen as the point of departure or thematic basis, the theme proper remaining **des Aues** regardless of position. In Part I, I suggested in a preliminary way that **Vennäse brechender Medien** expresses the category Instrument. In the light of the present distinction being made between the categories Source and Instrument I would now prefer to call it Source. What is of primary interest here, however, is the subjectivization of the two categories Instrument and Source in sentences where they express the theme, and the more explicit expression by a prepositional phrase of these categories in German, the prepositional phrase occupying the same position, i.e. initial position, in the sentence as in English the subject and establishing the thematic basis. Lakoff (1968) has suggested that sentences of the type

(172) You can use the knife to cut the salami
(173) You can cut the salami with the knife

have a common deep structure: in (172) the marker for Instrument is expressed by the auxiliary *use*, which combines with an infinitive of purpose, and in (173) it is expressed by the preposition *with* in the noun phrase. The sentences may be interpreted in a way in which the rhyme is expressed by **cut the salami**, salami being the rhyme proper. Both *you* and the *knife* are in this interpretation thematic in the sense being proposed here. The difference in the arrangement of thematic elements is significant: in (172) the thematic element the *knife*, in the function of direct object of *use*, is moved towards the front of the sentence; in (173) it is moved to the end and
backgrounded. I have already discussed the question of the preposing of prepositional phrases in English. As I have shown, preposing of prepositional phrases (where they are 'complements' as opposed to 'adjuncts') is much less common in English than in German. The sequence (174) With the knife you can cut the salami is possible, but less usual than the other sequence with end position of the prepositional phrase. Foregrounding of the Instrument phrase can be achieved in the passive with use, e.g. (175) The knife can be used to cut the salami (with) Preposing of the thematic Instrument prepositional phrase is quite normal in German, e.g. (176) Mit dem Messer kannst du die Wurst schneiden or, with positioning of the thematic Instrument phrase immediately following the finite part of the verb, (177) Du kannst mit dem Messer die Wurst schneiden Compare
(178) Mit dem Messer hat Peter die Wurst geschnitten
(179) Peter hat mit dem Messer die Wurst geschnitten
(180) Peter hat die Wurst mit dem Messer geschnitten
(181) Die Wurst hat Peter mit dem Messer geschnitten If in German the Instrument is rhematic as in (180) and (181), the rest of the sentence being contextually dependent and thematic, it moves towards end position, the thematic nominal elements moving towards
the front of the sentence, occupying positions preceding (thematic basis) or following the finite part of the verb. In the expression of a similar thematic organization English will resort to accent placement, e.g.

\[(182) \text{Peter used the \textbf{knife} to cut the salami}\]

In terms of presuppositions such sentences may be analyzed as follows (Peter wollte die Wurst schneiden)

\[(183) \text{Peter (er) hat die Wurst (sie) mit dem Messer geschnitten}\]
\[(184) \text{Peter (er) hat mit dem Messer (damit) die Wurst geschnitten}\]

It has been observed that initial position of a thematic instrumental prepositional phrase is possible in English, e.g.

\[(185) \text{With the knife he cut the salami}\]

Note, however, that initial position of a rhematic instrumental prepositional phrase for the purpose of special emphasis is not normal in English, e.g.

\[(186) \text{? With the \textbf{knife} he cut the salami}\]

Instead, a construction with a predicated rheme will be used, e.g.

\[(187) \text{It was with a knife that he cut the salami}\]
\[(188) \text{It was a knife he used to cut the salami}\]

It was noted earlier that initial position of prepositional phrases is quite normal in questions in English with, significantly, a reversal of the sequence SV. Hence in answer to the question \textbf{With what shall I mend it?} we shall not normally find
(189) With straw you should mend it
but rather
(190) You should mend it with straw
(191) You should use straw to mend it
or, with subjectivization of the Instrument phrase,
(192) Straw is what you should use to mend it
(193) Straw is what you should mend it with
each of which allows the sentence to open with the grammatical subject.
In German, however, initial position of rhematic prepositional phrases
is quite usual in such circumstances, i.e. in the answer to a question,
the information sought by the question (the rheme of the answer), being
foregrounded, e.g.
R
(194) Mit Stroh sollst du ihn flicken
Further instances of foregrounding of the thematic instrumental
prepositional phrase in German and of subjectivization of the Instrument
element in English are
(Was kann man mit Speck machen?)
(195) Mit Speck fängt man Mäuse
(What can bacon be used for?)
(196) Bacon can be used for catching mice
(197) Bacon is what you catch mice with
but less usually
(198) With bacon you catch mice

It was noted earlier that the case relationship Instrument is frequently
not explicit in surface structure, i.e. when the Instrument phrase is
subjectivized. This is particularly the case where the instrumental meaning is inherent in the noun. Nouns like key, knife, gun represent instruments as opposed, for example to apple. Hence we can say

(199) Guns are for shooting (with)
(199a) Mit Gewehren schiesst man

(200) Knives are for cutting things (with)
(200a) Mit Messern schneidet man Dinge

the Instrument marker with being in such cases optional. On the other hand, there is no ambiguity in the sentence

(201) The apples are (there) for eating
(201a) Die Apfel sind zum Essen da

since we do not associate with the noun apple the function Instrument, but rather that of Object. The infinitive of purpose indicates the purpose to which the thing is put (‘shooting’, ‘cutting’, ‘eating’). It does not indicate the case relationship between the noun and the verb. This is determined by the semantic properties of the noun. Hence there is no ambiguity in the sentence Guns are for shooting

(Cf. He shot the gun).

Note further the example

(202) The new cooker is easy to cook with
(202a) Mit dem neuen Kochapparat kann man gut kochen

which is in some respects similar to

(203) John is easy to get on with
(203a) Mit Hans ist leicht auszukommen

Other auxiliaries besides use may be used in English to convey the instrumental meaning, e.g.
(204) Mit dieser Vorstellung aber ist der Bau des deutschen Satzes nicht zu begreifen

(204a) This notion cannot be adduced to explain the structure of the German sentence

The following examples illustrate further the difference between English and German discussed: in German a thematic instrumental prepositional phrase with durch or mit is moved to the front of the sentence; in English the category Instrument is subjectivized:

(205) Er ist sich der Tatsache bewusst, dass damit der Bereich der Bezeichnungen unveräußerlichen Besitzes erst zu einem kleinen Teil erfasst ist

(205a) He is aware that this covers only a small part of the range of designations for inalienable possession

(206) Damit soll der Lage Abhilfe geschaffen werden

(206a) This is intended to remedy the situation

(207) Damit soll eine Lücke gefüllt werden

(207a) This is intended to fill a gap

(208) Ich kann einfach keinen Verstoss gegen die Masshaltepolitik sehen, wenn durch diese Gebührenerhöhung nicht einmal ein volliger Kostenausgleich erzielt wird

(208a) ... if this increase in tariffs does not even achieve a balance of costs

(209) Er studiert Lexikologie in der Hoffnung, dass er damit seinen Wortschatz erweitern wird

(209a) He is studying lexicology in the hope that this will increase his vocabulary
The category Locative

Rohdenburg (quoted by Zydatiss, 1972) points out that grammars of English written by German speaking authors claim that English in contrast to German prefers animate subjects. Rohdenburg sets out to modify these claims. Elsewhere (Kirkwood, 1970) I have attempted to show that the categories Locative and Instrument (involving inanimate nouns) expressed by the subject in English are given more explicit expression in German by means of a locative or instrumental prepositional phrase. In the discussion of the categories Source and Instrument it became evident that whereas in English verbs like save, lose, close, etc. may take inanimate subjects expressing the categories Source or Instrument, verbs like sparen, verlieren, schliessen, etc. in German take only animate subjects expressing the categories Agent or Experiencer. It is just possible that the claim made by grammars of English refers to the observation that, for instance, the category Experiencer, often expressed in English by the grammatical subject, is in German expressed by the surface dative, and that what is meant by the claim is that English prefers animate subjects, i.e. the person affected by or implicated in a state or process is expressed by the subject, as opposed to animate subjects, i.e. the association of the function subject with animate nouns. Throughout the present part on theme and semantic structure I am giving support to the counter-claim that the subject in English is capable of expressing a variety of case relationships (involving inanimate nouns), and I am suggesting that subjectivization of these categories is related to the choice in terms of grammatical elements of thematic basis. German, as I have pointed out, has a greater
'tolerance' for prepositional phrases in initial position than English. In connection with the category Source I have suggested (Kirkwood, 1970) that *schliessen* in German may take an agentive subject, but not a subject expressing the category Source or Cause. Hence, we will not find

(210) *Die Anordnung schliesst die Gaststätten

but rather

(211) Auf Grund der Anordnung werden die Gaststätten geschlossen

As opposed to *schliessen* in German, *close* in English may take a Source element as subject, e.g.

(212) The order closes public houses

Compare now

(213) Edinburgh is drinking hock these days

(214) German would put the subject in end position

The subjects of *drink* and *put* in these sentences have locative implications.

German would prefer explicit expression of the Locative by means of a prepositional phrase and the introduction of an Agent *man*, unless the passive is used, e.g.,

(215) In Edinburgh trinkt man heute Rheinwein

(216) Im Deutschen würde man das Subjekt an das Ende setzen

In a similar way, a verb like *review* in English may have as subject an Agent or a Locative, e.g.

(217) The author reviews two books

(218) The article reviews two books

whereas the German equivalent *besprechen* allows only an agentive subject, e.g.,

(219) Der Verfasser bespricht zwei Bücher

(220) In dem Aufsatz werden zwei Bücher besprochen
There is, however, a sentence type in German in which the grammatical subject expresses the case category Locative. Cf.

(221) Die Leine hängt voll Wäsche
(222) Der Saal sitzt voller Menschen
(223) Das Kissen steckt voller Nadeln

It would appear that what is involved here is a kind of 'verb replacement', i.e. the conversion of two sentences into one, e.g.

Die Leine ist voll Wasche. Wasche hängt an der Leine

Der Saal ist voller Leute. Die Leute sitzen in dem Saal

These sentences are similar in some respects to the English sentences quoted earlier

(224) His hand was dripping with blood
(225) The building was crawling with police

the motivation in terms of thematic structure being the same, i.e. 'fronting' of the thematic locative element and end position of the rheme.

The German verb *sitzen* has a lexicalized causative *setzen* in the sense of *put*, but unlike the English verb *seat* it cannot be used in the sense of 'to cause another person to sit' (but cf. *Satz dich* (Cause yourself to) be seated). Hence

(226) He sat him in the corner

has as a German equivalent a sentence with the causative auxiliary *lassen*, e.g.

(226a) Er liess ihn in der Ecke sitzen

However, *seat* and a number of other verbs have developed an extended
meaning denoting the capacity of a thing to contain or hold a number of persons. They combine with a Locative in the function of subject and thematic basis, e.g.

(227) The aircraft seats a hundred people
(228) The tent sleeps eight people
(229) The table dines six

In German equivalents the Locative is expressed explicitly and the modal implications of 'capacity to contain or hold' are expressed by the modal können, e.g.

(227a) In dem Flugzeug können hundert Personen Platz finden
(228a) In dem Zelt können acht Leute schlafen
(229a) An dem Tisch können sechs Leute essen

The verb contain itself is more frequently used in English than its German counterpart enthalten. Both allow subjectivization of the thematic locative phrase, but, as was indicated, the process is less common in German than in English, e.g.

(230) The box contains two apples
(230a) In der Schachtel sind zwei Äpfel

German does, however, have a verb fassen in the sense of 'to hold', which is frequently used and combines with a locative subject, e.g.

(231) Der Saal fasst hundert Menschen

Even with enthalten in German the thematic locative phrase may be given explicit expression, e.g.

(232) In jedem Aspekt sind besonders Beziehungen und ein besonderer Sinn enthalten
The noun phrase realizing the category Object with a verb like include in English may have the feature concrete, abstract or animate. For an example of an animate noun of:

(233) The conference included ten delegates from Britain.

In a corresponding German sentence enthalten could not be used, since it does not allow animate nouns as the object of the verb. Instead a locative prepositional phrase will be used with an appropriate verb, the category Object being expressed by the grammatical subject, e.g.

(233a) An der Konferenz nahmen zehn Delegierte aus Grossbritannien teil

In collocation with nouns like conference English may of course resort to other verbs with a subjectivized Locative, e.g.

(234) The conference was attended by ten delegates from Britain

or with a locative prepositional phrase, e.g.

(235) Taking part in the conference were ten delegates from Britain both of which achieve foregrounding of the thematic locative expression and end position of the rHEME. Note that in (235) the sequence SV is reversed, and the thematic locative phrase is moved from initial position. This sequence is more acceptable than

(236) In the conference ten delegates from Britain took part

In a similar way

(237) Lying on the table was a book

is more acceptable than

(238) On the table a book was lying

In the following example, an abstract noun expresses the category Object

(239) The agenda of the annual conference includes questions of education policy
In expressing the same configuration of semantic categories, German would normally resort to an existential-locative sentence, e.g.

(239a) Auf der Tagesordnung der Jahreskonferenz stehen unter anderem
Fragen der Bildungspolitik

A further way of expressing 'inclusion' in German is with the verbs gehören + zu, zählen + zu. The expression of the category Locative with these verbs involves a prepositional phrase which, if thematic, may be moved to initial position, e.g.

(240) Zu den interessantesten Werken, die in den letzten Jahren erschienen sind, gehört (zählt) ... English will not normally resort to the verb belong in such cases since this would involve initial position of an obligatory prepositional phrase. Here again the verb include may be used, but other means of expressing the notion of 'inclusion' are available, e.g.

(241) Among the most interesting books to appear in recent years is...

(242) One of the most interesting books to appear in recent years is...

(241) showing the inversion of the SV order characteristic of certain types of existential-locative sentences.

The verbs involve, entail also enter into the case frame (L + 0) and may render the German gehören + zu in certain contexts, e.g.

(243) Zur inneren Emigration gehören Einsamkeit und Unmöglichkeit des Dialogs

(243a) Inner emigration involves (entails) loneliness and the impossibility of dialogue

In the case of the verb show I suggested that the categories
involved were Source or Cause and Object *(show meaning 'cause to see'). The preposition in the Source phrase of equivalent German sentences was normally *an*, e.g. *Daran sieht man...*, *This shows...*. The locative implications of the Source or Cause element are obvious. In the case of *reflect* there are intuitive and to some extent explicable reasons for regarding the case structure to include a Locative and an Object, although a causative interpretation of the Locative is not ruled out, e.g.

(244) His eyes reflected the light of the fire

In a German equivalent the locative phrase includes the preposition *in* rather than *an*, e.g.

(244a) In seinen Augen spiegelte sich der Schein des Feuers

Consider further the verb *sich spiegeln* in collocation with an abstract noun expressing the category Object:

(245) In der Veränderung dieser Positionen spiegelt sich das politische Marschziel jeder Regierung zwangsläufig wider

(246) In dieser Nachlässigkeit der Formulierung spiegelt sich der Zwiespalt wider, den man bei dem Versuch einer Definition von Subjekt und Prädikat ausgenutzt hat

In English equivalents of (245) and (246) the verb *reflect* may be used with a locative subject as thematic basis.

The verb *approach*, like *reach*, combines with a directional locative which, if thematic, is made the subject of a passive sentence. In German equivalents of English sentences with the verb *approach* a prepositional

\footnote{Cf. the inchoative meaning of *an* in many German verbs, e.g. *anbrechen* 'to dawn'.}
phrase is used to express the Locative, e.g. herantreten + an + accusative or a verb like bekommen + dative in which the locative preposition is attached to the verb, e.g.

(247) An die Wiedergabe eines konkreten Satinhalts kann der Sprechende von verschiedenen Seiten berantreten

(247a) The representation of a concrete sentence content may be approached by the speaker from different aspects

(248) Der Lösung dieses Problems hat man hauptsächlich auf zwei Wegen beizukommen versucht

(248a) The solution to this problem has been approached mainly in two ways

The verb concern enters into two different case frames, one involving the category Source, the other the category Locative. Cf.

(249) His health concerns me
(250) His health is causing me concern
(251) His health is giving rise to concern among his friends
(252) His friends are concerned about his health

The categories involved in (249)-(253) are Source and Experiencer: the sentences convey the notion of a state deriving from a Source and relating to or affecting a person or persons. If the category Source is made subject and thematic basis, the verb concern expresses the rheme (cf. 249) and carries the primary rhematic accent. If the Experiencer is rhematic by contextual independence a periphrastic causative will be used give rise to concern to avoid confusion with the semantically weaker use of the verb concern as in

(254) Racial unrest concerns us all

Concern in the use exemplified by (254) is not used in the progressive
aspect, this being only possible with the use of the verb in the sense of 'to be a source of care, trouble, distress to'. This is related to the case structure associated with the different uses of the verb. In the semantically weaker sense concern has the meaning 'have relevance for, relate to'. Like the verbs contain and know, which also do not allow the progressive aspect, concern in this sense expresses the location of X with respect to Y, the person or thing located expressing the notionally most neutral case of Object (Fillmore) or nominative (Anderson). In the case of a causative subject, the verb concern has a more dynamic meaning: X brings about a state Y. Hence the possibility of the progressive aspect in this use of the verb. In the use of concern associated with the case structure (L + 0), the category Locative is typically thematic, the Object phrase expressing the rheme. Cf. (255) The negotiations are concerned merely with the theoretical principle of admitting Britain (with the Locative element as thematic basis) (256) Merely the theoretical principle of admitting Britain is concerned in the negotiations (with the Object phrase as thematic basis, the Locative phrase being backgrounded) (257) The power struggle is concerned with the position of the Deputy Party Leader (with the Locative phrase as thematic basis) (258) The position of the Deputy Party Leader is concerned in the power struggle (with the Object phrase as thematic basis, the Locative phrase being backgrounded)
Comparing (255) and (257) with their high probability German equivalents

(255a) Bei den Verhandlungen geht es lediglich um das theoretische
       Prinzip der Zulassung Grossbritanniens
(257a) Bei dem Machtkampf geht es um die Stellung des
       Stellvertretenden Parteiführers

we see that the thematic locative phrase is given more explicit
expression in German by means of a locative prepositional phrase:

es geht um, (cf. es handelt sich um) merely denotes an activity which
is located with respect to a place and directed towards an object.

The evidence suggests that there are two main uses of concern in
English: in one use the categories concerned are Source and Experiencer;
either of these categories may be thematic and, in the function of
grammatical subject, establish the thematic basis. In the other use
of categories Locative and Object are concerned (cf. also involve).
The locative phrase is generally thematic and, in the function of
grammatical subject established the thematic basis. In German equi-
valents of the latter use, the thematic locative phrase in initial
position is given more explicit expression by means of a locative
prepositional phrase.

The category Locative as direct object

Fillmore (1971: 386) suggests that the word smear has been
extended to take on the syntax and semantics of cover, the 'original'
and extended use of smear being exemplified in

(259) He smeared mud on the fender
(260) He smeared the fender with mud

He states that the extended use of smear "takes (as does cover) the
Goal rather than the Object as its direct object, setting the latter aside in a preposition-phrase with \textit{with}'. In a similar way, he suggests, the verb \textit{load} has taken on the additional syntactic and semantic functions of \textit{fill}. Cf.

(261) He loaded bricks into the truck
(262) He loaded the truck with bricks
(263) He filled the truck with bricks

Fillmore's Goal ('the place to which something moves') is included in what is being referred to here as Locative. In German, there is a prefix \textit{be-} (related to the preposition \textit{bei}), which has directional and transitivizing force (cf. Becker 1971: 134). It has the effect of objectivalizing the locative noun phrase. Cf.

(264) Er malte Blumen an die Wand
(265) Er bemalte die Wand mit Blumen
(266) Er lud Kohlen auf den Lastwagen
(267) Er belud den Lastwagen mit Kohlen

There is a slight change in meaning involved: the sentence with the prefixed verb implies that, for instance, the wall is covered with flowers, the truck is filled with coal. The notion of 'intensity' or 'thoroughness' in the activity directed towards a person or thing is common to many verbs with the prefix \textit{be-} in German, cf. \textit{bedenken/denken über}, \textit{bedrohen/drohen}, \textit{beantworten/antworten}, \textit{befragen/fragen} \textit{bedecken/decken}. This is a semantic difference which will motivate the use of the one rather than the other form. I would like to suggest here that motivation for their use may also derive from the thematic status of the noun phrases involved. Consider the sentences
He staffed the case with papers
He stuffed the papers into a case
He stuffed a case with the papers
He supplies the firm with stationery
He supplies the stationery to a firm in London
He supplies a firm in London with the stationery
He presented the children with toys
He presented the toys to some children
He presented some children with the toys and their German equivalents
(268a) Er stopfte den Koffer mit Papieren
(269a) Er stopfte die Papiere in einen Koffer
(270a) Er stopfte einen Koffer mit den Papieren
(271a) Er beliefert die Firma mit Schreibwaren
(272a) Er liefert die Schreibwaren an eine Firma in London
(273a) Er beliefert eine Firma in London mit den Schreibwaren
(274a) Er beschenkte die Kinder mit Spielzeug
(275a) Er schenkte das Spielzeug einigen Kindern
(276a) Er beschenkte einige Kinder mit dem Spielzeug

I have suggested elsewhere (Kirkwood, 1969) that the neutral sequence of objects in German is dative + accusative + verb. I have explained this partly in terms of 'syntactic cohesion', i.e. the closeness of the relation of an element to the verb, the
hierarchy in terms of cohesion being dative + (accusative + verb). There are a number of reasons for this assumption which I shall not set forth here. This is the sequence when both noun phrases are 'equally determined', i.e. when both are accompanied by a definite determiner or an indefinite determiner as in

(277) Er schenkte dem Kind das Buch
(278) Er schenkte einem Kind ein Buch

If, however, the accusative object is accompanied by a definite determiner (and thematic by contextual dependence) and the dative object is accompanied by an indefinite determiner (and thematic by contextual independence), the sequence of the objects is reversed, the thematic accusative object moving to or towards the front of the sentence as in

(279) Das Buch hat er einem Kind geschenkt
(280) Er hat das Buch einem Kind geschenkt

Similarly

(281) Er schreibt einem Mädchen einen Brief
(282) Er schreibt dem Mädchen einen Brief
(283) Er schreibt den Brief an ein Mädchen

In the light of the permutations carried out on the noun phrases expressing the categories Dative (Locative) and Object in the examples (279), (280), (283) on account of the thematic structure, there is some reason to assume that the thematic structure is also a determining factor in the choice of the prefixed verb as opposed to the simple verb in the examples (268a) - (276a) and in the choice of construction illustrated in (268) - (276). If the Locative phrase
is thematic it may be made direct object and moved to a position immediately following the finite part of the verb. The thematic noun phrase expressing the Object is then moved in the form of a prepositional phrase to end position where it carries information focus (not quite 'set aside' as Fillmore puts it). If the Object is thematic, the simple verb allows it to be made direct object and to be moved towards the front of the sentence, the thematic locative phrase occupying end position. The different uses of these verbs may therefore also be seen as a means of achieving a theme-rheme sequence in keeping with the basic distribution of communicative dynamism.

The category Experiencer

The category Experiencer (or Dative) 'the entity which receives or accepts or experiences or undergoes the effect of an action' (Fillmore, 1971: 378) has already been discussed in some detail in connection with certain semantic sentence patterns, e.g. have constructions. In this part I have referred to it in connection with what have been called 'psychological predicates' (Postal, 1971: 41). In general, it may be said that the Experiencer refers to the animate being to which a state or process is related: its locative implications are obvious. With reference to psychological predicates Postal refers to the Experiencer as the 'logical subject', without giving reasons for the use of this term. His use of the term logical subject recalls the way in which Steinthal distinguishes between the logical subject and the logical predicate "denn der letzte Begriff wird an den ersten geknüpft", the logical subject being "das Vorausgesetzte", the logical predicate "das Anzu-knüpfende". It is true that the person implicated in or affected by
a state or process may often be seen as a point 'in focus' from which an action proceeds (in the case of the category Agent) or to which a state or process relates (in the case of the category Experiencer). In all of Postal's examples of logical subjects the elements in question combine the functions of Experiencer and theme (in the sense of the bearer of the lowest degree of communicative dynamism). However, whereas on the level of semantic structure the Experiencer is always the person to whom a state or process relates and the Agent the person from whom an action proceeds, on the level of thematic organization it is not necessarily the point of departure, the foundation on which the communication is built or what the communication is 'about', i.e. 'das Vorausgesetzte' (theme) as opposed to 'das Anzuknüpfende' (rheme). Both Experiencer and Agent may be in rhematic function. However, it is the characteristically thematic function of the Experiencer (as a kind of Locative) that I have tried to demonstrate throughout the present work. The type of have construction discussed was seen as a structural means, available in English to a greater extent than in German, of making the thematic Experiencer subject and thematic basis of the sentence. German readily allows initial position of oblique cases in thematic (neutral sequence) and rhematic (non-neutral sequence) function. Initial position of oblique cases in German means something different from initial position of oblique cases in English: in German it means the position immediately preceding the finite part of the verb, whereas in English it normally means pre-subject position. This has the effect of setting off the initial element from the rest of the sentence, which may account for the contrastive meaning it may acquire, e.g. That I know. To me he gave a book for Christmas.
In the discussion of have constructions we saw that

(284) He had his watch stolen

where the theme, expressing the category Experiencer, is made subject, has as a German equivalent

(285) Ihm wurde die Uhr gestohlen

German does, however, have a means of subjectivizing the Experiencer, that is, with the use of the verb bekommen. The use of bekommen is subject to restrictions which still have to be defined. It is not possible to use as an alternant to (285)

(286) * Er bekam die Uhr gestohlen

The use of bekommen is possible with other verbs, e.g.

(287) Er hat eine Uhr geschenkt bekommen

as an alternant to

(288) Ihm ist eine Uhr geschenkt worden

Cf. Er bekam etwas geschickt, geliehen, zugewiesen, gesagt, Er bekam das Geld ausgezahlt, Er bekam die Arbeit aufgeladen, Wir bekamen ein ausgezeichnetes Essen vorgesetzt). Common to all these possible uses of bekommen is the notion that 'someone (the Experiencer) is receiving something'. In formal styles the verb erhalten may be used, e.g.

(289) Der General erhielt weitere Militärhilfe zugesagt

(289a) The general was promised further military aid

The notion of 'receiving' seems to be a common feature present in the use of bekommen. However, in colloquial speech, a sentence such as

(290) Er bekam einen Zahn gezogen

is quite common and perhaps more usual than the alternant

(291) Ihm wurde ein Zahn gezogen
It is difficult to explain why (290) should be quite usual and acceptable and (286) should be unacceptable, since it would appear that the sentences are very similar in semantic structure. One difference is that whereas in the case of (290) the question could appropriately be asked 'What did they do to him?', this question is hardly appropriate in connection with (285). It is interesting to note such a development in Modern German, allowing subjectivization of the element expressing the Experiencer. The transitivizing force of the verbs with the prefix be- may also be seen as a means of subjectivizing the thematic Experiencer or Locative in a passive construction, e.g.

(292) Die Firma ist erst letzte Woche beliefert worden

compared with

(293) Der Firma wurden die Waren erst letzte Woche geliefert

Compare the English equivalent

(294) The firm was supplied only last week

Returning to what Postal calls 'psychological predicates' referring to 'psychological features of animate beings' it may be observed that English will often use a stative (non-active) sentence in which the Experiencer is made subject and thematic basis, e.g.

(295) I am amused at his behaviour

(296) I am bored with his attitude

(297) I am confused about that

(298) I am excited about that

(299) I am amazed at that

(300) I am not surprised at that

(301) I was worried about that
where in German an active sentence may be used with the Experiencer expressed by the accusative or dative object, e.g.

(295a) Ich amüsiert sein Benehmen
(296a) Mich langweilt seine Einstellung
(297a) Mich verwirrt das
(298a) Mich regt das auf
(299a) Mich ärgert das

(300a) Mich hat das nicht überrascht
(301) Mir hat das Sorgen gemacht

Alternatively, the pronominal das may be made thematic basis, e.g.

(300b) Das hat mich nicht überrascht
e.tc.

Compare further

(302) Uns interessiert in erster Linie die Verschiebbarkeit der Glieder
(302a) We are primarily interested in the permutability of elements

Interessieren like concern combines with the categories Experiencer (or Locative) and Object. Cf.

(303) Fillmore geht es um die Aufstellung eines universalsprachlich gültigen Systems
(303a) Fillmore is concerned with setting up a system universally valid for languages

Consider the following examples in which the 'psychological predicate' is expressed in German by an adjective, the Experiencer expressed by the dative, whereas in English the state is expressed by a verb, the Experiencer by the subject
Mir ist klar, dass er Schwierigkeiten hat  
I realize that he has difficulties

Mir ist die grüne Jacke lieber  
I prefer the green jacket

As was mentioned previously, the use of find or finden with psychological predicates is a further means whereby the Experiencer may be made subject and thematic basis, e.g.

Ich finde ihn amüsant  
I find him amusing

Er fand darin eine Beruhigung  
He found reassurance in this

Ich finde die Bemerkung angebracht  
I find the remark appropriate

A significant feature of the use of find or finden is that the predicate, expressing the rheme, is referred to end position. The Experiencer is made subject and thematic basis. This is also achieved by the use of find or finden. Postal suggests that 'psych-movement' is also involved in what he calls 'sensation predicates' (Postal, 1971: 48), which also refer to psychological experiences, e.g.

My arm hurts  
My foot itches

in which a body part is concerned. He suggests that a sentence like

has an 'ancestor structure' like

My foot itches  
To me itches in my foot
The application of the psych-movement rule yields

(313) My foot itches to me

which is reduced to the correct (311) by a special deletion.

This is quite compatible with our intuitions about the semantic structure of such sentences, which involves an Experiencer and a Locative (as opposed to the case structure Experiencer and Source associated with psychological predicates of the type I am concerned about that). The logical subject, in Postal's terms, is then to me, to John, which must be coreferential with the possessive NP. Perhaps there is a still simpler explanation of this in terms of case grammar, namely that my foot incorporates that Fillmore (1968: 66) has called an 'adnominal dative', which in German is given the status of a primary constituent and, consequently, separate thematic status, e.g.

(314) Mir tut der Arm weh
(315) Mich juckt der Fuss

The locative implications of the body part involved are brought out in English by sentences such as

(316) I am sore all over (my body)
(317) I am itching all over (my body)

Compare the German equivalents

(318) Ich habe Schmerzen am ganzen Körper
(319) Mich juckt es am ganzen Körper

In terms of thematic structure it is interesting to note that in German sentences of the type Mir schmerzen die Fisse, Mir tut der Arm weh (compared with My arm hurts) it is the Experiencer that is made
thematic basis and the locative element expressing the rheme proper is moved to or towards the end of the sentence, allowing the thematic and rhematic sections to appear in distinct relief. In terms of determination such sentences may be analyzed as follows

\[ \text{determinandum} \quad \text{determinans} \]
\[ \underline{\text{Mir}} \quad \underline{\text{schmerzen die Füsse}} \]

corresponding to the thematic structure

To \quad Ro
\[ \underline{\text{Mir}} \quad \underline{\text{schmerzen die Füsse}} \]
\[ T_1 \quad R_1 \]

For a similar instance of distinct relief of the thematic and rhematic sections of the sentence compare the example discussed earlier (320) She suffered an injury to her leg which in terms of thematic structure may be analyzed as follows

To \quad Ro
\[ \underline{\text{She}} \quad \underline{\text{suffered an injury to her leg}} \]
\[ T_1 \quad R_1 \]
\[ T_2 \quad R_2 \]

as opposed to

(321) Her leg was injured where there is less distinct relief of the thematic and rhematic sections.

It would seem evident that the Experiencer denoting the animate being to whom a state or process is related will generally be thematic, and that certain constructions evolved by languages will enable it to establish the thematic basis of the sentence. In terms of determination it represents the determinandum to which is related a determinans; in terms of thematic structure it is the theme to which is related a rheme.
Assignment of the function of thematic basis to the Experiencer will allow the thematic and rhematic sections to appear in distinct relief.

Consider once again the following pairs of sentences:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(322) The grass is wet with dew</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(323) Dew made the grass wet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(324) John trembled with fear</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(325) Fear made John tremble</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In (322) and (324) the state and the source of the state constitute the rhematic section, the source being the rheme proper (it 'determines' the state). In (323) and (325) the source of the state is made thematic basis, the rheme being expressed by the resultant state itself. The location of the state, the grass or John is always thematic (excluding special contextual conditions in which the rest of the sentence is thematic by contextual dependence as in The grass is wet with dew, John trembled with fear). The source of the state may be presented as rhematic as in (322) and (324) or as thematic as in (323) and (325). The resultant state is rhematic (unless, of course, this element is contained in a preceding question, e.g. Why was the grass wet?, Why did John tremble? which may be regarded as a special contextual condition affecting the ESP of the sentence). This would seem to be the case since the location of a state or process is a 'deictic element' or 'point of reference' which is already in focus, and it is from this element that the communication proceeds and to which it is related. The meaning of (322) and (323) may be paraphrased as

(326) There was dew on the grass causing it to be wet
and of (324) and (325) as

(327) There was fear in John causing him to tremble

The Source element appears to be more dynamic than the Locative with which it is associated. The Locative element, to which the state or process is related tends to be thematic. This would help to explain the typically thematic function of other semantic categories, e.g. Agent, Experiencer. They represent typically the 'peg on which the message is hung' or 'what the sentence is about', and this typically thematic function is reflected in the surface realization of these categories, i.e. in the processes of subjectivization and fronting, or, in other words their function as what I have called 'thematic basis'.

A Note on Fillmore's Mysteries

Fillmore (1970) has remarked that "the occurrence of quantifying expressions of various types seems to be constrained in fairly mysterious ways according to the surface arrangements of the NPs in a sentence". With reference to the verbs develop into and develop out of, make into and make out of he establishes certain paraphrasability facts illustrated by the following sentences:

(1) Every acorn developed into an oak
(2) An oak developed out of every acorn (a paraphrase of (1))
(3) Every oak developed out of an acorn
(4) * An acorn developed into every oak (not a paraphrase of (3))
(5) I made every log into a canoe
(6) I made a canoe out of every log (a paraphrase of (5))
(7) I made every canoe out of a log
(8) * I made a log into every canoe (not a paraphrase of (7))

I do not propose to explain fully the constraints involved, but will try to relate them to certain relations holding between the thematic and semantic structures of the sentences. The constraints also apply if we substitute for every the definite article the, and I shall assume that every, like the, is a definite determiner, which in certain circumstances accompanies a thematic noun phrase. The definiteness of every (= 'each of the') is suggested by the fact that like the it does not normally occur in existential sentences with there, e.g.

(9) Every student was standing outside the university
(10) * There was every student standing outside the university

I have shown earlier that the usually accompanies thematic noun phrases, but in certain circumstances may accompany a thematic noun, e.g., where there is only one possible referent and where the noun is in the environment of an existential verb. Cf.

(11) The doctor came this morning
where the doctor is brought into focus. Otherwise, the in such an environment will accompany a thematic noun, e.g.

(12) The letter arrived this morning
This, on the other hand, in an identical environment may accompany a thematic noun. The reference is exophoric as in

(13) This letter arrived this morning
Hence the will often accompany an element in focus, whereas this can
accompany an element being brought into focus. The two may co-occur in the same sentence, the accompanying the thematic noun phrase, this accompanying the rhematic noun phrase. Hence, whereas we will not normally find

(14) ? An acorn developed into the oak
it is possible to say

(15) The acorn (I planted) developed into this oak (here)
The criterion of the degree of givenness or proximity is involved: having sufficiently identified the acorn, which is now in focus and becomes the theme of the communication, I relate to it this oak, the rheme, the element being brought into focus. Note that some and every may cooccur as in

(16) Every boy loves some girl
(17) Some girl is loved by every boy

Here, position is relevant to the interpretation of the articles. In

(16) some girl is indefinite, i.e. 'For every boy there is some girl that he loves'; in (17) some girl refers to a particular girl, i.e. 'There is some girl whom every boy loves'. Compare further

(18) Everyone knows some songs
(19) Some songs are known by everyone

In (19) some songs refers to some particular songs known to everyone.

I shall assume that the underlying structure of the sentences quoted by Fillmore is something like the following
where S stands for the category Source and R the category Result.

Note the restrictions illustrated by the following sentences:

(20) He made a canoe out of a log
(21) He made a canoe (by deleting the Source element)
(22) He made a log into a canoe
(23) *He made a log

*Develop, make, form* are resultative verbs involving as participant roles an obligatory complement expressing the category Result and an optional complement expressing the category Source. A further participant role may be introduced, that of Agent. If the Result element is made direct object, the Source element becomes a prepositional phrase, which in the presence of an Agent is deletable. If the Source element is made direct object, the Result becomes a prepositional phrase which is not deletable. Hence the category Result is always present. In the case of *develop*, the Result may be the only category present. Cf.

(24) An oak developed

This would suggest a hierarchy of elements in terms of cohesion with the verb, there being a closer relation between verb and Result than between verb and Source.

In the case of three-place predicates with a verb such as *make*, where the case structure involves the roles of Agent, Source and Result, either the Source or the Result may be thematic in terms of 'givenness' or 'proximity', in which case different options are available as illustrated in

(25) He made a canoe out of the log

(26) He made the canoe out of a log
If the Source is thematic, a theme-rheme sequence may be achieved by
the sentence structure
\[ \text{T} \quad \text{R} \]
(27) He made the log into a canoe

The sequence shown by
\[ \text{T} \quad \text{R} \]
(28) He made out of the log a canoe

is possible, but less usual than in German. The sequence of grammatical
elements shown in (28) illustrates 'Distanzstellung' (dissociation in
surface structure of strongly cohesive elements), make and the direct
object canoe forming the kind of predicative bracket which is more
characteristic of German sentence structure. 'Kontaktstellung' between
verb and direct object could be achieved by preposing the prepositional
phrase, i.e.

(29) Out of the log he made a canoe

a sequence of grammatical elements which in English would be a marked
variant, but in German quite neutral or unmarked, as pointed out earlier.

The sequence shown by
\[ \text{R} \quad \text{T} \]
(30) *He made a log into the canoe

where the Result is thematic, is not possible.

If thematic, the element expressing the Source is made direct object
and moved to the left of the sentence towards the verb, e.g.
\[ \text{T} \quad \text{R} \]
(31) He made the log into a canoe

the alternative being to make the result, expressing the rheme, direct
object, creating what might be referred to as a marked sequence as in
\[ \text{R} \quad \text{T} \]
(32) He made a canoe out of the log

where the rheme is foregrounded and the theme is backgrounded.
It would appear, therefore, that the sentence structure illustrated by (31) is only used if the result is rhematic, this producing a theme-rheme sequence, an alternative being available, illustrated by (25), where a theme-rheme sequence is achieved, the rheme being foregrounded, and the sequence marked. In a sentence structure of the type illustrated by (31) it is possible for the noun phrases expressing Source and Result to be accompanied by a definite determiner, providing the Result is rhematic, c.f.

\[ T \quad R \]

(33) He made the log into this/that canoe

where this/that have exophoric reference

but not, if the result is thematic, e.g.

\[ R \quad T \]

(34) *He made the \underline{log} into that canoe

where that has anaphoric reference

Specific problems relating to the directionality or the perspective suggested by the semantic process identified by the verb and the participant roles would seem to have a bearing on the occurrence or non-occurrence of the sequences involving such verbs of 'physical transformation'. We have seen that with sentences with the semantic structure Agent - action - Goal the direction from Source (Agent) to Goal through the action is relevant to the basic distribution of communicative dynamism, and that the sequence SVO is found as a 'basic type' in many languages as a manifestation of the basic distribution of communicative dynamism where this is determined by semantic structure. It seems plausible to assume that the sequences illustrated by sentences such as

(35) He made a \underline{log} into a canoe

(36) He made the \underline{log} into a canoe
An acorn developed into an oak.

The acorn developed into an oak are only possible providing the Result is rhematic on account of the direction from Source to Result indicated by the semantic structure. The sequence of semantic elements corresponds to the movement of focus from the element in focus to the element brought into focus. Hence, a sentence such as

He made a canoe out of the log

is marked (i) because there is an unmarked option available, and (ii) because the thematic element to which the rheme is being related follows the rheme in the actual sequence of elements.

In an article on case grammar and its application to German sentence structure, Becker (1971) observes sentences of the type

Daedalus formte Flügel aus dem Wachs

'Daedalus formed wings out of the wax'

Daedalus formte das Wachs zu Flügeln

'Daedalus formed the wax into wings'

Der Feldherr entwickelte aus dieser Taktik eine neue Strategie

'The general developed a new strategy out of this tactic'

Der Feldherr entwickelte diese Taktik zu einer neuen Strategie

'The general developed this tactic into a new strategy'

which he considers to be pairs of synonymous sentences. He suggests that they have a base representation like the following
where he used O (Objective) and P (Factitive) for what I have called Source and Result respectively. He writes: "Transformational rules would convert the NP of A into the surface-structure subject by moving it out of the proposition (P), subjoining it to S to the left of the modality constituent (M), and deleting its characteristic preposition. Other transformations would convert either of the remaining NPs into the surface-structure object by attaching it directly to the category P and deleting its preposition". Becker is concerned to show that the synonymy of the sentences testifies to the superficial nature of the concept direct object. He makes no reference to the thematic structure of the sentences, and, following on from what I have just said about similar sentences in English, I shall try to show briefly how the desired communicative perspective may provide the motivation for the one rather than the other sequence. Sentence (40) and its English equivalent (40a) illustrate a marked sequence (R → T). The unmarked option (T ← R) is illustrated by (41) and (41a). Sentence (42) shows a permutation of direct object and prepositional phrase to achieve the unmarked sequence (T ← R). This kind of permutation is quite usual in German, providing the direct object, expressing the Result, is rhematic; the thematic prepositional phrase is moved to the left.
of the sentence, occupying the position immediately following the finite part of the verb, which in German is characteristically filled by thematic elements. The linear sequence of grammatical elements shows the 'Distanzstellung' characteristic of German sentence structure. A further option would be to open the sentence with the thematic prepositional phrase, expressing the Source, thereby referring the thematic subject to a position immediately following the finite part of the verb, e.g.

(44) Aus dieser Taktik entwickelte der Feldherr eine neue Strategie.
These options are quite usual in German with this particular distribution of communicative dynamism, but less usual in English. 'Medial' position of the thematic prepositional phrase would dissociate syntactically cohesive elements. The sequence of grammatical elements found in (42) shows the 'Kontaktstellung' which is a characteristic feature of English sentence structure. Initial position of the thematic prepositional phrase would also be a marked option in English (cf. the discussion of the position of prepositional phrases in the present part). Hence the sentence

(45) Der Feldherr entwickelte eine neue Strategie aus dieser Taktik
has an unmarked alternant in which the thematic Result element is moved to end position, whereas the sentence

(46) The general developed a new strategy out of this tactic
is 'syntactically neutral', the alternant with end position of the Result element being less usual than in German.

Thus we see that different criteria, are relevant to the sequence of elements in such sentences, but that the thematic structure is one
of the relevant criteria, and is more relevant in German than in English. Using as a basis the sentences quoted by Becker, we see once again that the construction illustrated by (41) cannot be used if the result is thematic, e.g.

(47) * Đăđalus formte Wachs zu den Flügeln
(47a) * Daedalus formed wax into the wings

(48) * Der Feldherr entwickelte eine Taktik zu dieser neuen Strategie
(48a) * The general developed a tactic into this new strategy

Fillmore quotes two further quadruples of sentences involving the verbs follow and precede, i.e.

(49) Every Sunday follows a Saturday
(50) Every Saturday is followed by a Sunday

(51) A Sunday follows every Saturday (a paraphrase of (50))
(52) * A Saturday is followed by every Sunday (not a paraphrase of (49))

(53) Every Saturday precedes a Sunday
(54) Every Sunday is preceded by a Saturday

(55) A Saturday precedes every Sunday (a paraphrase of (54))
(56) *A Sunday is preceded by every Saturday (not a paraphrase of (53))

The verbs follow and precede are related semantically. If it is true that 'X follows Y!', then it is true that 'Y precedes X!'. The difference lies in the choice of subject and thematic basis from the two terms, or 'actants', involved in the state. If we alter Fillmore's examples and assign to each noun an indefinite generic article we have

(51) A Sunday follows a Saturday

where Sunday is theme, excluding emphatic stress on Sunday, or
A Saturday precedes a Sunday

where Saturday is theme, excluding emphatic stress on Saturday.

Either element, Sunday or Saturday may be 'in focus', and it is the item 'in focus', the item the sentence is 'about' that on a basic level (i.e. in a relatively context-free situation) determines the choice of verb and the resultant sequence of elements. Compare

There is a house behind the clump of trees

There is a clump of trees in front of the house

where spatial relations are concerned.

In discussing Fillmore's examples, I shall again assume that every, like the, is a definite determiner and will normally accompany a thematic element, unless the element it accompanies has contrastive meaning as in

A Sunday follows every Saturday

A Saturday precedes every Sunday

Otherwise, in terms of thematic structure, Fillmore's examples may be analysed as follows:

Every Sunday follows a Saturday

Every Saturday is followed by a Sunday

A Sunday follows every Saturday

*A Saturday is followed by every Sunday

Every Saturday precedes a Sunday

Every Sunday is preceded by a Saturday
(55) A Saturday precedes every Sunday

(56) * A Sunday is preceded by every Saturday

Note that with both verbs the passive is used if the element which in the active occurs to the right of the verb is chosen as thematic basis. The motivation for the use of the passive in these instances is to achieve a theme-rheme sequence. In the active construction the opening element may be rhematic, as in (51) and (55), which could form answers to the questions 'Which day follows every Saturday?' and 'Which day precedes every Sunday?', respectively. This may be regarded as a marked variant with rhematic foregrounding contrasting with the unmarked variants (50) and (54). In a somewhat similar way, we may regard

(63) An oak developed out of every acorn

and

(64) I made a canoe out of every log

as instances of a kind of rhematic foregrounding, the 'neutral' sequence being

(65) Every acorn developed into an oak

(66) I made every log into a canoe

This also applies to the German examples quoted. It should be noted that explicit questions frequently elicit marked variants as answers, with the information sought by the question (the rheme of the answer) being foregrounded, where this is possible.

The motivation behind the use of the passive in these instances is then the foregrounding of a thematic element. Hence, with a different
choice of articles, we will find

(67) The lecture was followed by a discussion

but not

(68) * A lecture was followed by the discussion

possible being

(69) A discussion followed the lecture

Similarly, we will find

(70) The discussion was preceded by a lecture

but not

(71) * A discussion was preceded by the lecture

possible being

(72) A lecture preceded the discussion

Hence, we see that in the non-occurring passive sentences quoted by Fillmore the use of the passive is unmotivated from the point of view of thematic structure. This would seem to be at least part of the reason for the non-occurrence of these forms.

It would seem that with follow and precede the passive is reserved for cases where the subject of the passive sentence is to be made thematic basis. In the active construction, the subject may be thematic, this being an instance of thematic foregrounding, the resultant sequence being marked. With develop out of and make out of the element expressing the category Result may be thematic or thematic. On the other hand,
develop into and make into are normally reserved for cases where the element expressing the category Source is thematic and the Result rhematic.

Part of the complexity of the problems posed by the verbs develop out of/into, make out of/into, follow, precede, is perhaps that they themselves convey a particular perspective contrasting with that conveyed by the other member of the pair. In this respect they differ from other verbs like write, which is not part of a pair of contrasting verbs in this sense. In an attempt to solve the 'mysteries' presented by Fillmore, Sgall has added a fifth quadruple of sentences involving the verb write, i.e.

(73) Every poet wrote a poem
(74) Every poem was written by a poet
(75) A poet wrote every poem
(76) *A poem was written by every poet (the asterisk is provided by Sgall)

(74) and (75) are paraphrases, differing only in their thematic organization: (75) is an instance of a foregrounded rheme similar to the other examples of foregrounded rhemes discussed in this connection. (73) and (76) are also paraphrases, but the asterisk accompanying (76) suggests that Sgall considers it to be a non-occurring form. It may indeed sound unusual, but in certain circumstances it is a possible sequence. Hence, what was said of the verbs follow and precede does not necessarily apply to other verbs. We might add a fifth sentence, i.e.

(77) A poem was written by every poet

in which poem is contextually dependent and every poet has contrastive meaning. In any case, the unusualness, though not ungrammaticality of (76) is further evidence for the assumption I am making regarding
the motivation for the use of the passive.

A few further remarks seem relevant to the thematic structure of sentences with *precede* and *follow*. In a sentence

(78) X precedes Y ¹

an object X is given as in the focus of attention and is located with respect to a point of reference Y, which may refer to a definite location, but conveys relatively new information, or perhaps better, is communicatively more dynamic than the object, since it is brought into focus by being related to the element X. Similarly, in

(79) Y follows X ¹

an object Y is given and located with respect to a point of reference X, which, like Y in (78) is a point of reference brought into focus by being related to the object Y. Hence the semantic and thematic structure of (78) and (79) may be represented as follows:

T ← R

Thus, (78) and (79) are similar in semantic and thematic structure to

(80) The book is on the table

The situation becomes different if the passive is used. Consider the sentences

(81) X is followed by Y

(82) Y is preceded by X

In (81) and (82) the existence of an object, Y in (81), and X in (82), is established in relation to a given location, X in (81), and Y in (82).

¹ Cf. the more explicit expression of the locative meaning in German of Y in (78) and X in (79)

(78a) X geht Y (dat.) voran

(79a) Y folgt auf X
In (81) and (82) the Object elements Y and X respectively convey relatively new information or are communicatively more dynamic than X and Y respectively, i.e. they express the rhemes of the sentences in which they occur. Hence the semantic and thematic structure of (81) and (82) may be represented as follows

\[ T \leftarrow R \]

\[ L \quad O \]

Hence, (81) and (82) are similar in semantic and thematic structure to (83) There is a book on the table

Since in (81), (82) and (83) the existence of an object is being established with respect to a given location, the object cannot be more 'given' or more definite than the location itself. Hence we will not normally find

(84) * A meeting was followed by the discussion
(85) * A discussion was preceded by the meeting

This may help to explain why we will not find

(86) * A Saturday is followed by every Sunday
(87) * A Sunday is preceded by every Saturday

Similarly, in

(88) X developed into Y
the 'coming into existence' of an object Y is asserted in relation to the location X, and in

(89) A made X into Y
the 'bringing into existence' of an object Y in relation to a location X by an agent A is asserted. The emerging object will not be more given or definite than the location from which it emerges.
CONCLUSION

The initial task of this part will be to review some of the notions of theme or related notions that have been proposed, to find out what they have in common and where they differ, and further, to see whether some of the apparent differences can be reconciled as different aspects or approaches to the same phenomenon.

Earlier approaches to questions of theme were characterized by a strongly psychologistic approach. The intuitive reasoning of earlier researchers is in many cases essentially sound, but a clear distinction is not made between different levels of analysis, e.g. the levels of grammatical, semantic and thematic structure. Notions such as 'logical subject', 'point of departure', 'initial notion' are used in a somewhat ambivalent way; for example, the latter two terms are used to refer to the initial element in the linear sequence or to the element first present in the mind. As has been shown, these need not coincide. Of the earlier writers on the subject, Paul's distinction between the grammatical and the psychological subject as "die zuerst in dem Bewusstsein des Sprechenden, Denkenden vorhandene Vorstellungsmasse, an die sich eine zweite, das psychologische Prädikat anschliesst" is perhaps the most explicit. Paul's formulation emphasizes the relational character of the theme-rheme bipartition of the sentence: to a theme is related a rheme, this constituting the purpose of the communicative act. The theme, in the sense being proposed here, is an element in the focus of attention or interest, which may be an element conveying information
which is recoverable from the verbal or situational context, or an element whose referent is sufficiently identifiable for the hearer, and which may serve as a foundation or point of departure from which the communication may develop. The further development of the communication consists in the relation to the theme of a rheme, a communicative unit which is brought or recalled into focus by being related to the theme. It is on the rheme that information focus lies. The theme, as the foundation on which the communication is built, is characteristically expressed by elements that are identified or identifiable, elements expressing some kind of deixis (cf. the locative character of certain typically thematic elements). In Sandmann's terms (1954: 113), the extension of the subject (by which he means the cognitional subject) is relatively stable, that of the (cognitional) predicate relatively 'labile'. The relatively dynamic nature of the rheme is explicit in the concept of communicative dynamism, the extent to which an element contributes to the further development of the communication. The distinction between theme and rheme is not simply a distinction between 'given' and 'new'. The theme may convey new information, the rheme given information. What is important is the relative degree of communicative dynamism. Different degrees of givenness in terms of contextual proximity or recoverability may be distinguished. Consider the sentences

(1) On the table lay the book
(1a) Auf dem Tisch lag das Buch

The distinction between what is in the (immediate) focus of attention or what is derivable from the ad hoc narrow context, and what is
brought or recalled into focus from a remoter context by being related to the element in focus, is an important one. With reference to the subject in passive sentences, Johnson-Laird (1968) uses the misleading terms 'importance' and 'emphasis' which tend to obscure this distinction. An earlier instance of a failure to distinguish clearly such notions is found in Wundt (1900), and a brief analysis of Wundt's position may serve to illustrate the consequences of not distinguishing between what I have called focus of attention and information focus. Wundt's distinction between subject and predicate is based on Aristotelian logic: the subject is 'der Gegenstand der Aussage', 'das zu Grunde Liegende', the predicate 'der Inhalt der Aussage' (1900: 257f.). His analysis of the two sentences

(2) Cäsar überschritt den Rubico

(3) Der Rubico wurde von Cäsar überschritten

indicates what he means by logical subject and predicate:

"Jenes enthält eine Aussage über Cäsar, dieses eine solche über den Rubico". This, he claims, is "ein wesentlicher logischer Unterschied" (260): 'das zu Grunde Liegende', 'die Grundlage der Aussage' is what the statement is about; the logical predicate, 'der Inhalt der Aussage' contains a statement made about the logical subject. Wundt is in fact using what have come to be traditional criteria for distinguishing between topic and comment (cf. Lyons, 1968: 334ff.) and one of the criteria for distinguishing between theme and rheme in the Prague tradition (cf. Sgall, 1972: 2). However, Wundt claims that grammatical and logical subject, grammatical and logical predicate always coincide (261): "Das grammatische Subject des Satzes ist
imper auch im logischen Sinne "Grundlage der Aussage". This happens to be the case in the sentences (2) and (3) quoted by Wundt. It is also true of a number of what I have referred to as basic thematic types, which are relatively contextually independent and in which the semantic structure determines the thematic structure. Such basic types will be discussed later. With reference to sentences whose nuclei are composed of a nominal and a verb, Lyons (1968: 339) writes: "What this means, in effect, is that the traditional grammarian or logician, like 'the man in the street', when confronted with John ran away and asked the topic-comment question 'What is being said about what?' will assume (in default of any contextual indications to the contrary) that the individual person, John, is more likely to be the focus of the speaker's interest, rather than the running away". This also applies to sentences composed of two universal terms, one being more specific than the other, or of a particular and a universal term. In the discussion of contextually dependent sentences in Part IV, we saw, however, that a universal term may be thematic by contextual dependence, the particular term or more specific universal term expressing the rheme, and that the sequence of elements, e.g. particular - universal, may be reversed in such situations. Wundt's adherence to the opinion that logical and grammatical subject always coincide causes him to claim that in a sentence (4) Heute ist mein Geburtstag "das der Aussage zu Grunde Liegende kann hier auch im psychologischen Sinne nur dasselbe sein wie es im logischen ist, der Geburtstag" (262). If, however, the sentence is relatively contextually
independent, i.e. the initial sentence of a discourse, the primary accent will naturally fall on Geburtstag, and heute will be interpreted as 'der Gegenstand der Aussage' or what the sentence is about: to heute is related the information that it is mein Geburtstag. This sentence contrasts with other possible sentences, e.g.

(5) Heute ist mein Geburtstag
(6) Mein Geburtstag ist heute

where the reference item heute is rhematic, and the sentences are marked for contextual dependence. It is difficult to see how Wundt would analyze in his terms a sentence such as (7)

(7) Den deutschen Ländern stehen umfangreiche Gesetzgebungs-
    befugnisse zu
(7a) The German Länder have extensive legislative powers

where a statement is being made about die deutschen Länder.

Similarly, in

(8) Im Garten sind Bäume
(8a) There are trees in the garden
(8b) The garden has trees in it

I assert of the garden that there are trees in it. In (7), (7a), (8),
(8a) and (8b) the locative element is 'die Grundlage der Aussage' in
the sense that it is what the statement is about, and the grammatical subject expresses the information which is related to the foundation of the communication. In German, the thematic locative phrase is typically given explicit expression by means of a dative or a locative prepositional phrase; in English, it may be subjectivized by means of have or other verbs taking locative subjects. There is in English
more correspondence than in German between 'die Grundlage der Aussage', theme and grammatical subject, which has been observed throughout.

Having defined the subject in logical terms, Wundt refers to Paul's definition of the psychological subject and predicate: "die zuerst in dem Bewusstsein vorhandene Vorstellungsmasse, an die sich eine zweite, das psychologische Prädikat anschliesst", and to that of von der Gabelentz: "das, worüber der Sprechende den Hörer denken lassen, worauf er seine Aufmerksamkeit hinleiten will, das psychologische Prädikat dasjenige, was er darüber denken soll".

Wundt claims that the psychological subject and predicate are indicated by the sequence of elements (260): "Denn das, worauf der Redende zuerst die Aufmerksamkeit zu leiten wünscht, steht naturgemäss im Satze voran". This is not actually what Paul asserts: in the cognitional act, the psychological subject is always first to emerge in the speaker's mind, but in the actual presentation of the cognitional act, the speaker may, for emotive reasons, put the psychological predicate first in the sequence of elements. This recalls the ambiguity of the term 'point of departure': it may refer to the initial element of a sentence or to the element carrying the lowest degree of CD irrespective of its position in the linear sequence (cf. Firbas, 1966: 279). In the latter sense, A precedes B means that A has a lower degree of CD than B. Travníček conflates the two when he says that the theme in a sentence is the element that links up directly with the object of thought, proceeds from it and opens the sentence thereby (quoted by Firbas, 1966: 269). Halliday's notion of theme is closest to that of Travníček (cf.
Halliday, 1970: 353f.), but if we disregard his positional criteria for defining the theme in English, his reference to the theme as "the peg on which the message is hung", the theme being the body of the message (1970: 161) is in keeping with the notion of theme that is being proposed here. Positional criteria run into difficulties when we compare a sentence with the communicative sense 'location of a person or thing in a place' and an existential-locative sentence with the communicative sense 'existence of a person or thing in a place', e.g. in

(9) The book is on the table
I assert of the book that it is on the table as opposed to
(10) There is a book on the table
where I assert of the table that there is a book on it.

Compare further

(11) In Mähren leben Tschechen
which may be paraphrased as
(12) Tschechen leben in Mähren
but not as
(13) Tschechen leben in Mähren

(13) asserts the true proposition that Czechs live in Moravia (which is asserted by (12)), but it also implies or presupposes that Czechs do not live elsewhere, and this is false, since Czechs also live in Bohemia.

We may add to (11) and (12)
(14) Tschechen sind es, die in Mähren leben

In (11), (12) and (14) living in Moravia implies being a Czech, as
opposed to (13) which would suggest that being a Czech implies living in Moravia. The point of departure in terms of CD, or in a sognitional sense, in (11), (12) and (14) is the locative in Mähren, which may occupy first position (the neutral situation) or otherwise a non-neutral position as in (12) and (14). The communicative sense of 'existence of persons in a (given) place' remains the same, regardless of the position of the elements, the thematic structure being indicated by other means, either by stress on the element referring to the existing persons as in (12), or by means of a special construction as in (14). Similarly,

(15) In Sibirien spricht man Russisch

may be paraphrased as

(16) Russisch spricht man in Sibirien

but not as

(17) Russisch spricht man in Sibirien

I shall pursue Wundt's analysis a little further, since his assignment of a special importance to the initial element is found in recent writings, e.g. in Johnson-Laird (1968), who suggests that the function of the passive is to emphasize the importance of the grammatical subject, or more precisely, the importance of the entity to which the subject refers. Reference will be made to statements by Jespersen and Frege, whose terms are more precise than the term 'importance'.

Since Wundt wishes to reserve the terms subject and predicate for grammatical, and what he refers to as logical, relations, he introduces a new term 'dominierende Vorstellung' for the element in
first position. This is "diejenige Vorstellung des Satzes, die
beim Sprechen desselben im Blickpunkt der Aufmerksamkeit steht" (262),
determined by "der grösseren oder geringeren Herrschaft der Vorstellungen
im Bewusstsein". This statement would seem to be in keeping with the
notion of focus of interest or attention I suggested earlier. The
initial element for Wundt is the element of the 'Gesamtvorstellung'
which impresses itself most strongly on the speaker's attention and is
first to enter his mind. The sequence of elements is, according to
Wundt, 'dominierende Vorstellung' followed by 'zurücktretende Vorstellung'.
But Wundt goes on to say that the initial element is the element "auf
die der Redende hauptsächlich Werth legt'; it is "ein psychologisch
betonder Satztheil" (262). According to him, a possible interpretation
of the sentence Heute ist mein Geburtstag is that it falls into
"ein stärker und ein schwächer gehobenes Glied" (heute and mein
Geburtstag respectively). This conflation of the notion of focus of
interest or attention and that of importance or 'psychological emphasis'
leads Wundt to what would seem to be an inadequate analysis of sentences
he adduces in support of his views. The issue is confused further by
his statement that where word order is free, not determined by a
traditional, fixed norm or by other criteria "da folgen sich die Wörter
nach dem Grad der Betonung der Begriffe. Nun ruht die stärkste Betonung
naturgemäss stets auf derjenigen Vorstellung, die den Hauptinhalt der
Aussage macht: sie steht auch im Satze voran" (350). The Latin
sentences adduced by Wundt were discussed earlier, but for the sake
of emphasizing the point I wish to make here, it may be appropriate to
review them again briefly. Considering the sentences
Romulus condidit Roman

Condidit Roman Romulus

Romam condidit Romulus

which Wundt regards as primary types and to which he adds a further three secondary types

Romulus Romam condidit

Condidit Romulus Roman

Romam Romulus condidit

Wundt suggests that the different 'meaning' of these sequences can be accounted for if we look for the questions to which they represent appropriate answers. Hence, (18) is an appropriate answer to the question 'Wer war Romulus?'. (19), he claims, is an appropriate answer to the question 'Was geschah damals?'. (20) an appropriate answer to the question 'Was wurde gegründet?'. Wundt is again apparently confusing criteria. (18) is an appropriate answer to the question 'Who was Romulus', as Wundt states. The object ('Gegenstand') of the question is not, as Wundt suggests Romulus, but the identity of Romulus; it could also be held to answer the question 'What did Romulus do'. In the terms being proposed here, Romulus is in the focus of interest or attention and theme, and the information given about the identity of Romulus has information focus. The theme of the answer is the element corresponding to the WH-element of the question. But it could hardly be said that 'Romulus' is the 'dominierende Vorstellung' or the element to which the speaker attaches the greatest importance. Further, the form of the question 'Was geschah damals' does not elicit a particular, contextually determined form of answer. The only thing recoverable from the question, but not necessarily so, is that something
happened then, and this information could provide a thematic basis for the answer, e.g.

\[ \text{T} \quad \text{R} \]

(24) What happened then was that Romulus founded Rome

\[ \text{T} \quad \text{R} \]

(25) Es erfolgte die Gründung Roms durch Romulus

(25) then corresponds to (19). A further, thematically neutral sequence would be

\[ \text{T} \quad \text{R} \]

(26) Romulus condidit Roman

since *condidit* is not predictable from the predicate of the question 'Was geschah damals'. We would not expect as an answer to such a general question a sequence such as Roman Romulus condidit which is marked for contextual dependence in a specific way, e.g. in answer to a question 'Who was it that founded Rome?' We may conceive other questions eliciting other sequences, e.g. 'What was it that Romulus founded?', where both *Romulus* and *founded* will be thematic elements in the answer, which could have the neutral form

\[ \text{T} \quad \text{T} \quad \text{R} \]

(27) Condidit Romulus Roman

or

\[ \text{T} \quad \text{T} \quad \text{R} \]

(28) Romulus condidit Roman

as opposed to the non-neutral or marked sequence

\[ \text{R} \quad \text{T} \quad \text{T} \]

(29) Roman Romulus condidit

Compare

(30) Rome was what Romulus founded

The difficulty with the diagnostic question as a means of eliciting
the theme-rheme structure of a given sentence is that questions often elicit marked sequences as answers, which should be recognized as such, cf. (29) and (30), the information being sought by the question, i.e. the rheme of the answer, not uncommonly being placed first in the answer, recoverable information being backgrounded, or, where possible, deleted.

It cannot be maintained then that the initial element represents the 'Hauptinhalt' (cf. Wundt: 350), or 'psychologisch betonter Satztheil'. Wundt has failed to distinguish between the element or elements in the focus of attention or interest and what is brought into focus by being related to the former. It is the latter that carries information focus and constitutes what Wundt refers to as "der Hauptinhalt der Aussage", or as Halliday puts it "the body of the message". In terms of communicative dynamism this is the element that contributes most to the further development of the communication. Consequently, Wundt is unable to distinguish between neutral, unmarked sequences and non-neutral, marked sequences. His distinction between the logical subject and predicate (apart from the claim of identity with the grammatical subject and predicate) corresponds in essence with the notions of logical subject and predicate proposed by Steinthal, and indeed with the notions of psychological subject and predicate proposed by Paul. The logical or psychological subject is then not only what the statement is about, the foundation to which is related the content or body of the message, it is also the element in the focus of attention, this focus shifting from this element to the actual communicative core.
I shall illustrate the distinction between focus of attention or interest and information focus by referring to the motivation for the use of the passive in English.

In general, it may be said that the passive is used in English with transitive verbs (with the exceptions noted earlier) if the goal of the action is to be made thematic basis and a theme-rheme perspective achieved. The passive may also be a means of foregrounding a thematic element expressing the semantic category Dative or Experiencer, e.g. I was given a book, John was injured in the leg (cf. John suffered an injury to his leg). The element in initial position is in the focus of attention; information focus lies on the agent, if expressed, otherwise it lies on the process. Have constructions of the type He had his watch stolen are also a means of foregrounding a locative element, cf. A watch was stolen from him. In cases where the goal of the action is an indefinite noun the passive will be used if the agent is to be left unspecified, e.g. A book was found, A man was injured. In such cases, in English, if a temporal or local specification is mentioned in the form of an adverbial, it will usually follow the verb, or more specifically, the nucleus of the sentence, though thematic. In German, this element will tend to be selected as thematic basis, since a thematic sentence opening leads to a marked order of elements, particularly if a thematic opening element is available, e.g.

(31) A book was found on the floor
(32) Auf dem Boden wurde ein Buch gefunden

As has been observed, in German it is quite possible to foreground the object of the verb, if thematic, simply by putting it in first position, e.g.
These sentences are identical in semantic and thematic structure.

Initial position of the object in English leads to a marked order of elements, and an unmarked sequence can be achieved by resorting to the passive. Hence, the motivation for the use of the passive in German will be different from the motivation for its use in English. It may simply be a means of leaving the agent unspecified, as in *Ihnh wird geholfen*. This also applies to passive constructions with *bekommen*, which allow the Experiencer to be expressed by the subject: *Mir wurde (von ihm) ein Buch geschenkt, Ich bekam ein Buch geschenkt.*

Consider also other variants of the passive in German with a function verb in combination with a nomen actionis: *Der Brief kommt zur Verlesung* (less usual being *Der Brief kommt durch ihn zur Verlesung*), *Das Buch kommt (gelangt) zur Ausgabe (zum Verkauf)*, (cf. Erben, 1965: 43).

Although Halliday's notion of theme is different in significant respects from the concept of the theme being developed here, his use of the term 'information focus' suggests a distinction between what is in the focus of attention or interest (i.e. what is introduced as theme or what is recovered as theme) and what carries information focus.

He states: "In the unmarked case the focus of information will fall on something other than the theme: it will fall at least within the rheme" (1967: 205). And further (210): "It seems appropriate to interpret the feature 'receptive' in the grammar as that option which maps goal on to subject because this is the reason for selecting the option: since the subject is the unmarked theme, the receptive
allows the goal to be thematic which remains, qua theme, unmarked — and the actor either to be absent or, if present, to carry the unmarked focus". He writes (216) in reference to the sentence (35) These houses were built by my grandfather
"The actor is focal and the goal thematic, and the effect is to 'emphasize' the actor as the point of new information and also to 'emphasize' the goal as what the message is about". It could be argued that if the active is used as in
(36) My grandfather built these houses
the sentence is still about these houses regardless of the position of this element. In (36) the rheme is foregrounded and the theme backgrounded, but the theme-rheme structure, in the sense being proposed here, remains the same. It is interesting to note that Halliday states that both goal and actor are emphasized, but in different ways. I would suggest that the initial element in the passive sentence is not 'emphasized' as what the message is about, since this element remains what the message is about whether in initial position in a passive sentence or in end position in an active sentence. The terms foregrounding and backgrounding which I have used throughout might help to explain this kind of 'emphasis': a thematic element may be given prominence by being made thematic basis or backgrounded by being placed in a position following the finite part of the verb and preceding the element carrying the primary accent and information focus, the position frequently occupied by the theme proper in German, or placed in a position following the element carrying primary accent and information focus as in English. Hence the thematic locative element in
(37) The garden has trees in it
is foregrounded, whereas in
(38) There are trees in the garden
it is backgrounded. Compare
(39) Im Garten sind Bäume
(40) Es sind Bäume im Garten

The notions of focus of attention and of foregrounding are implied in what Paul, Wundt and von der Gabelentz say about the function of the initial element in German. Wundt's notion of 'dominierende Vorstellung' as opposed to 'zurücktretende Vorstellung' (Wundt: 1900: 263) gives too much prominence or importance to the initial element in relation to the following elements.

What Jespersen (1929: 167) says about the use of the passive also relates to the notion of focus: "As a rule the person or thing that is the centre of interest of the moment is made the subject of the passive". This statement would appear to relate very well to what I have said about the element in the focus of attention. However, he goes on to say (168): "Even if the active subject is indicated ('converted subject') the passive turn is preferred if one takes naturally a greater interest in the passive than in the active subject: the house was struck by lightning/his son was run over by a car. The notion of greater or lesser interest is perhaps misleading, since this would imply that the actor, if present, is backgrounded. The notion of backgrounding is also implicit in what Jespersen says about the use of the expletive there (154): "By putting the weak there in the place usually occupied by the subject we as it were hide away the subject and reduce it to an inferior position, because it is indefinite".

As I have argued earlier, the function of there is to prepare the way
for or signal the presence of the indefinite noun functioning as subject and to place it in distinct relief (cf. in this connection the use of the expletive it as a means of throwing an element into distinct relief). I would suggest, in agreement with Halliday, that in a passive sentence the actor, if present, carries information focus, and the goal in initial position is the element in the focus of attention, or as Jespersen puts it "is the centre of interest at the moment".

Note that in the examples given by Jespersen

(41) The house was struck by lightning
(42) His son was run over by a motor car
the 'passive subject' is a definite noun and the 'active subject' an indefinite noun. This is a characteristic situation in passive sentences: an element that is derivable from the verbal or situational context is in the immediate focus of attention or is "first available as a response" (Morton, 1966: 15) and is made thematic basis. Focus shifts from this element to the element which is brought into focus by being related to the thematic basis. We can construct contexts in which an active sentence would be preferred, the agent or source of the action being contextually dependent, e.g.
(43) There was thunder and lightning last night. The lightning struck a neighbouring house. (less usual as a following sentence would be: A neighbouring house was struck by the lightning)
(44) The police followed the runaway car in hot pursuit. During the chase the car ran over a pedestrian (less usual as a following sentence would be: A pedestrian was run over by the car)
In a relatively context-free situation the passive may be used where, for example, the person affected by an action is readily available as a point of reference from which the communication can be evolved and to which it can be related, e.g.

(45) I've just been stung by a bee
as opposed to the less normal, marked form

(46) A bee has just stung me

In an equivalent German sentence the Experiencer, expressed by the accusative object, will be moved to initial position giving the neutral sequence

(47) Mich hat eben eine Biene gestochen
less usual being the passive as in

(48) Ich bin eben von einer Biene gestochen worden
and (49) being marked for emphasis

(49) Eine Biene hat mich eben gestochen

Frege (1964: 3), discussing subject and predicate of a proposition states: "Subject ist der Begriff, von dem hauptsächlich das Urthcil handelt. Die Stelle des Subjects in der Wortreihe hat für die Sprache die Bedeutung einer auszeichneten Stelle, an die man dasjenige bringt, worauf man die Aufmerksamkeit des Hörers besonders hinlenken will", and further (18): "Das Subject ist in dem Sinne des Sprechenden gewöhnlich das hauptsächliche Argument: das nächst wichtige erscheint oft als Object. Die Sprache hat durch die Wahl zwischen Formen und Wörtern wie

Activum - Passivum
schwerer - leichter
gaben - empfangen
die Freiheit, nach Belieben dieses oder jenes Bestandteil des Satzes als hauptsächliches Argument erscheinen zu lassen".

The first of these two statements would seem to be in some respects in agreement with what I have suggested with regard to the relative prominence of the initial element, and we will agree with Frege that the subject of a proposition is the concept with which the proposition is primarily concerned. In the English translation (Geach and Black, 1952) the expression "die Bedeutung einer ausgezeichneten Stelle" is rendered "the significance of a specially important place". This is not quite the meaning of "eine ausgezeichnete Stelle", which Frege further explains by adding "an die man dasjenige bringt, worauf man die Aufmerksamkeit des Hörers besonders hinlenken will". However, the notion of importance is explicit in Frege's second statement. We can perhaps reconcile this by recalling what Jespersen says about the subject of a passive sentence as the element that is the centre of interest at the moment. It is the element that first enters the focus of attention, and it is this element one wants to make a statement about. Since the cognitional act is a dynamic and purposeful act consisting, for example, of the relation of a concept B to a concept A, the element B will be brought into focus and may remain in focus as the theme of a subsequent sentence. This will often be the case in existential sentences of the type

(50) There is a lovely vase \((R_1)\) on the table \((T_1)\). It \((T_2=R_1)\) was given to me by John for Christmas

where I relate to table vase

Hence the thing whose existence is established remains in focus and becomes theme of the following sentence. The location of the existing
thing moves out of focus. This may also apply to sentences of a different type, e.g.

(51) I have a lovely vase to show you. The vase (it) is on the table over there. It was given to me by John for Christmas

The locative element in the second sentence is communicatively more dynamic than the thing located. Its communicative function, that of locating the thing to be located is fulfilled within the utterance in which it occurs, and, having been brought into focus by being related to the thing to be located, it moves out of focus. Focus remains on the thing located, and we will tend to interpret the it of the third sentence as being coreferential with the theme of the preceding sentence. It is notable that it is in both cases the locative element that moves out of focus.

Johnson-laird (1968) has attempted to prove experimentally the hypothesis that the function of the passive is to emphasize the importance of the logical object by placing it in the position of the surface subject, and some remarks about his findings may be appropriate here. Each subject in the experiment was presented with stimuli which were long narrow rectangles divided asymmetrically into two coloured areas, as shown below

```
\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{cc}
\includegraphics[width=0.2\textwidth]{a.png} & \includegraphics[width=0.2\textwidth]{b.png} \\
a & b
\end{tabular}
\end{center}
```

where the shaded area represents blue, the unshaded area represents red. The task was to rank-order four sentences in terms of their appropriateness as descriptions of one stimulus as opposed to the other. The sentences were:
There is a blue area that precedes a red area (normal active)

There is a red area that a blue area precedes (inverted active)

There is a red area that is preceded by a blue area (normal passive)

There is a blue area that a red area is preceded by (inverted passive)

In one task the asymmetrical stimulus was to be described and the larger area was denoted by the 'logical object' of a sentence 'A blue area precedes a red area'. The predicted rank order of choices for this task was (1) the normal passive (2) the inverted active (3) the normal active (4) the inverted passive.

In the semantic structure of a sentence with the verb *precede*, e.g., *X precedes Y*, X is located with respect to a point of reference Y, the sequence being \((0 \ L)\). In the passive, *Y is preceded by X*, the location of X is established in relation to a point of reference Y, and the sequence is \((L \ 0)\). These facts about the semantic structure of the sentences with *precede*, and also *follow*, are of relevance to the rank-ordering of the sentences in terms of appropriateness, and the problems involved are perhaps too complex to be discussed in detail here. A few remarks may serve to indicate what these problems are. Either the existing thing is identified from the context and is first to enter the focus of attention. The communicative purpose of the sentence is to locate the thing with respect to a point of reference, e.g. *X precedes Y*, *Y follows X* (as in *The book is on the table*), or the location is the first to enter the focus of attention, and the existence of a thing is established in relation to the location, e.g. *Y is preceded by X*, *X is followed by Y* (as in *There is a book on the table, The table has a book on it*). In German, to achieve the same
communicative perspective as is achieved by the passive in English, an active sentence may be used, e.g. Auf X folgt Y, Auf eine blaue Fläche folgt eine rote Fläche, or (Einem) Y geht (ein) X voraus. Einer roten Fläche geht eine blaue Fläche voraus. It is significant that in the task discussed, where the logical object 'a red area' was the larger area in the stimulus, the sentence rank-ordered first was (54) with the sequence L (T) - 0 (R). Further, we might expect that where the blue area is the larger area in the stimulus, and where the subjects have a choice between precede and follow, they will choose follow, allowing the locative element to move into initial position, where it acts as a point of reference with respect to which a red area is located, i.e. A blue area is followed by a red area, rather than A blue area precedes a red area. This is related to the tendency to choose a locative (deictic) element as thematic basis (cf. in other patterns the frequent initial positioning of locatives: John is trembling with fear rather than Fear is making John tremble, I am annoyed at John rather than John is annoying to me). As shown in the examples (50) and (51) the locative element will in the subsequent discourse tend to move out of focus, and focus will remain on the thing whose existence has been established in relation to the location. Compare the sentences (56) There is a house (0) which (0) is behind a group of lilac trees (L) which looks very pretty (57) There is a house (0) which (L) has a group of lilac trees (0) in front of it which looks very pretty The relative pronoun which in the last clause of (56) will tend to
be interpreted as referring to the referent of the objective element house. In (57) the relative pronoun will tend to be interpreted as referring to the objective element a group of lilac trees. In both cases, the locative element tends to move out of focus, and the pronoun in the following sentence tends to be interpreted as referring to the thing whose existence has been established, which remains in focus, despite, for instance, its relative 'distance' in the sequence of elements from its coreferent in (56).

Hence, in using the verbs precede and follow in such experiments, the semantic structure of the sentences in which they occur should be taken into account in the evaluation of the findings. A further difficulty with Johnson-Laird's interpretation of his findings is that he uses the terms 'importance' and 'emphasis'. What seems to be happening is that the stimulus of the larger area causes this to be the first to enter the focus of attention, and it is the element referring to this entity that is used as a point of departure of the utterance, which is structured in relation to the choice of thematic basis. This is reinforced by the fact that in the set of sentences used as material the element denoting the larger area is introduced in rhematic function by means of the existential there. It is, to use Wundt's expression, the element that impresses itself most strongly on the attention of the hearer, or to modify Halliday's metaphor, it is a relatively available peg on which to hang the message. The motivation for the use of the passive in English in many cases is that an element that in a corresponding active sentence would occur later in the sequence of elements is chosen as a point of departure because
it is first available as a response or is an element recoverable from the verbal or situational context. Since preposing of the grammatical object is a marked option, the passive is used to achieve an unmarked sequence of elements. In German, preposing of the accusative object is the unmarked option, and the tendency will be to permute the contextually dependent object to first position in an active sentence, unless the agent is to be left unspecified, in which case the speaker will resort to the passive or to a sentence with the non-specific man.

As we have seen, contextual dependence or givenness is a complex phenomenon, including reference to the preceding context by previous mention in the form of identical wording, semantic implication, comparison and contrast. Related to the question of contextual dependence is the question of what kinds of elements may function as theme. Although contextually dependent elements are always thematic, thematic elements are not necessarily contextually dependent in the sense that they are recoverable from the preceding context, directly or indirectly. But common to all thematic elements is the feature of identifiability, and, typically, thematic elements are definite descriptions where the "speaker of the utterance assumes that the hearer knows which object is referred to by the terms of the utterance (van Dijk, 1972:47). Discourse themes are often introduced in rhematic function, e.g. in the form of indefinite nouns, e.g.

(58) Hans hat mir gestern ein Buch geschenkt

The speaker is referring to a particular book, but introduces it in rhematic function as new information to the hearer. In doing so, he
situates the book in a context by relating it to referents which the speaker is able to identify, referents including the temporal specification given by the verb and the temporal adjunct. Subsequent reference may be made to "das Buch", and the speaker will reidentify "das Buch" as "das Buch, das mir Hans gestern schenkte". Once the referent is identified in this way, further predicative statements may be made about it. Similarly, in existential sentences such as

(59) There is a student living next door to us
(60) There was a meeting yesterday

student and meeting are related to a spatio-temporal context provided by the tense specification of the verb and by the locative or temporal adjunct. In English, the existential there in such sentences has two functions: it serves to move the indefinite noun from initial position to a position following the finite part of the verb and to anticipate or signal the locative or temporal thematic element, the context to which it is related and in which it is situated. In German, thematic elements usually occupy positions preceding and following the finite part of the verb, providing for the hearer in advance points of reference to which he may relate the new information. Definite noun phrases functioning as theme will often contain an attribute or descriptor with reference to an entity identifiable in the preceding context, e.g.

(61) Den sprachlichen Aufbau dieser Äusserung kommentieren wir mit Hilfe folgender Analyse

where dieser Äusserung provides a context from which to identify den
sprachlichen Aufbau. For an example with an indefinite noun cf.
Eine Besprechung dieser Ansichten findet man in X.

However, there may be no reference to the preceding context, and the hearer, in order to identify the entity expressed by the theme, has to draw on the presuppositions accompanying the sentence, e.g.

Seinen Arbeitsplatz am damaligen Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institut für physikalische Chemie in Berlin verlor er im Jahre 1937, als sich herausstellte, dass er Kommunist war

from which the speaker may infer 'Er hatte einen Arbeitsplatz am damaligen Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institut für physikalische Chemie in Berlin'.

Compare

Der Schrei eines Adlers weckte mich auf

Ein Adlerschrei weckte mich auf

(presupposition: Ein Adler schrie)

but

Mich weckte ein Schrei auf

One might adopt tentatively Sandmann's terms and say that indefinite nouns are usually too 'labile' to function as a substratum on which to build a predication, unless they are accompanied by an identifying description. This is particularly true of sentences in which a property is ascribed to an individual. If a predicative element is ascribed to a noun not identified in this way, the noun will be interpreted as being generic, and hence definite (cf. Postal, 1966), e.g.

If a box is empty you can lift it easily

A sentence such as

A box is empty

sounds unusual since it would be interpreted as referring to the whole
class of boxes rather than to a particular member of the class of boxes in the speaker's and hearer's universe of discourse. If the noun is specified in some way, e.g. by a definite article or quantifier, or by a descriptor of some kind relating it to a context from which it is identifiable, the ascription of a predicative element is possible, e.g.

(69) Every box is empty
(70) One box is empty
(71) One of the boxes is empty
(72) A box in the corner over there is empty

Compare

(73) ? A girl is loved by every boy
(74) A girl in our street is loved by every boy in town

The speaker may help the hearer to identify the thing he is referring to by supplying an identifying description, e.g. John's car, A girl in our street, or by introducing the discourse referent by means of the existential there, thereby situating it in a spatio-temporal context, e.g.

(75) There is a girl in our street who is loved by every boy in town
(76) There is a box over there which is empty

where the predicative element is now related to a definite noun phrase who, which, cf. There is a girl in our street. She.... There is a box over there. It.....

It would seem that it is especially true of sentences in which a property is ascribed to an individual that the theme has to be sufficiently identified for it to act as a point of departure from which the communication may be further developed and to which the rheme may be
related. In actional clauses, e.g. sentences with the semantic pattern agent-action-goal, this kind of identification is often not necessary, e.g.

(77) A boy loved a girl
In the case of (78)
(78) An old woman lived in a shoe
which expresses the location of a person with respect to a place, the person located may be introduced by the existential there and related to a spatio-temporal context as in
(79) There was once an old woman who lived in a shoe
The sequence
(80) A book is on the table
will tend to be interpreted as an existential rather than a locational sentence, the indefinite noun being rhematic rather than thematic and carrying the primary accent. However, as has been observed throughout, in such cases the rhematic indefinite noun will tend to be introduced by means of the existential there.
In German too
(81) Ein Buch liegt auf dem Tisch
is a marked variant of
(82) Auf dem Tisch liegt ein Buch
(81) as a marked variant of (82) is more acceptable in German than (80) in English.

The notions of 'foundation' or 'peg on which the message is hung' indicate that the theme should be something identifiable that can act as a point of reference to which to relate the rheme. The notion of focus of attention as opposed to information focus points in the same direction.
The conversion of a rheme into a theme means that an element conveying new information is brought into focus by being related to an element that is identifiable and in focus and in the subsequent discourse becomes a new focal point or point of reference from which the communication can be further developed \((T_1 \leftarrow R_1)\) \((T_2 = R_1)\leftarrow R_2\), etc.

With certain quantifiers we have to distinguish between reference to a particular subset of a given or identifiable set of entities and instances where the referent is non-specific. In the former case the quantifier has a secondary accent, the element quantified, being given, is unstressed¹.

¹ Perlmutter (1970: 238) has observed that with certain stative predicates it is not possible to use an indefinite noun phrase as the subject. He states that the fact that sentences such as
(i) + A boy is tall
are ungrammatical results from the fact that where the subject of such predicates has a numeral the stress goes on the numeral, e.g.
(ii) Six boys are tall
(iii) + Six boys are tall
It could be said that the indefinite subject of (i) is not sufficiently identifiable for it to act as a theme (foundation) to which to relate the rheme. In (ii) a particular subset of a given set is what the predicate is about; hence the element referring to the given subset of entities is unstressed and the communicatively more important quantifier receives the secondary accent. What Perlmutter regards as an indefinite noun phrase includes a definite partitive 'Six (of the) boys' (cf. also Kuno, 1972: 360f.). (iii) is possible, e.g. given a set of boys and girls - "Six boys are tall (but no girls)". Observe further the sentences
(iv) Six boys \((T)\) arrived this morning \((R)\)
(v) Six boys \((R)\) arrived this morning \((T)\)
In the latter case, the element quantified receives the secondary accent. *Ein* in German may correspond to English *a*, in which case it is unstressed, or to English *one (of the)*, which is definite, in which case it receives the secondary accent. Cf.

(83) ? Eine Schachtel ist leer

(84) Eine Schachtel (T) ist leer (R) (= one of the boxes)

(85) Ich (T) habe eine Sache (T) nicht verstanden (R)

(86) Eine Sache (T) habe ich (T) nicht verstanden (R)

Compare

(87) Some boxes (T) are empty (R)

(88) Some of the boxes are empty.

An instance of a non-specific noun phrase is

(89) I have brought some boxes, and John has brought some too as opposed to reference to a specific entity

(90) Some boxes I couldn't lift, and John couldn't lift them either

We will not find

(91) Some boxes I couldn't lift ...

Compare further

(92) I've read some novels, and John has read some too.

but not

(93) Some novels I've read ...

but rather

(94) Some novels I've read, and John has read them too

or

(95) Some of his novels I've read, and John has read them too

where *some* has the secondary, thematic accent, and *read* the primary, rhematic accent.
Compare further

(96) Many (of the) students (T) were standing in front of the university (R) (Others...)

where a specific entity is located as in

(97) The book is on the table

with

(98) There were many students (R) standing in front of the university (T)

where the existence of a non-specific entity is established with respect to a given location, as in

(99) There is a book on the table

In German, the distinction partitive/non-partitive, specific/non-specific is manifest in the sequence of elements, e.g.

(100) Viele Studenten(T) standen vor der Universität (R)

(Andere standen wonanders)

(101) Vor der Universität (T) standen viele Studenten (R)

Compare further

(102) Some girls (T) arrived this morning (R). (Other arrived yesterday)

(103) Some girls (R) arrived this morning (T)

Similarly in German

(104) Einige Mädchen (T) sind heute früh (R) angekommen. (Andere sind gestern angekommen)

(105) Heute früh (T) sind einige Mädchen (R) angekommen

In examples such as (102) and (104) the speaker predicates something of a specific entity which is identifiable for the hearer. The hearer focuses his attention on this entity and is able to relate
to it the information conveyed about it by the speaker.

In quoting well-known examples of the difference in specificness of quantifiers, many writers fail to indicate the different accent placement I have discussed, e.g.

(106) **Some** songs (T) are liked by **everybody** (R)
(107) **Some** songs (T) **everybody** (R) likes

as opposed to

(108) **Everybody** (T) likes **some** songs (R)

The use of the passive in English is significant here. A thematic element is moved to the front of the sentence. Cf.

(109) A **few** (of the) books (T) were bought by John. I bought the rest

(110) John bought a few books

The active is possible, allowing foregrounding of the rheme, e.g.

(111) John bought a few (of the) books

We saw in Part V that an active sentence of the type

(112) A **Saturday** (R) precedes every Sunday (T)

is possible as a paraphrase of

(113) Every Sunday is preceded by a **Saturday**

but that the motivation for the use of the passive is usually foregrounding of a thematic element, so that whereas we may have

(114) A **meeting** (R) followed the lecture (T)

with rhematic foregrounding of the objective phrase or

(115) The lecture (T) was followed by a **meeting** (R)
with thematic foregrounding of the locative phrase (this being the more neutral of the two), we will not normally find

(116) A meeting was preceded by the lecture

In German, as has been indicated, the use of the passive is not necessary: the thematic noun phrase functioning as object of the verb may be moved to front position in an active sentence, e.g.

(117) Einige Schlager (T) hat jeder (R) gern
(118) Jeder (T) hat einige Schlager (R) gern

In isolation from a particular context, we may interpret the noun in

(119) A dog barks

as being generic, hence definite, and thematic, and assign the thematic and rhematic accents to dog and barks respectively. Such indefinite nouns may refer to a particular member of the class, if accompanied by some element or elements (including the tense specification of the verb), relating the person or thing to a spatio-temporal situation, e.g.

(120) A dog outside barked

It may be said that such sentences contain two predications: one embedded (and presupposed) that there was a dog and the other (assertive) that it barked. However, with certain predicates, the indefinite noun, or definite noun in the case of unique reference, to which a predicative element is ascribed, may be in rhematic function, e.g.

(121) A dog barked (outside)
(122) Outside a voice shouted
The sun was shining
The rain came on
Snow was falling

In such cases, the predicative element carries a lower degree of CD than the noun: it expresses a characteristic feature of the referent expressed by the noun, is collocationally predictable, and serves to introduce the referent into the focus of attention (cf. Es schien die Sonne, Es begann der Krieg). Such verbs may express in addition to their specific semantic content the notions of existence or emergence, and the existing or emerging person or thing carries a higher degree of CD than the notion of existence or emergence. We may compare

Suddenly the rain came on

with

Suddenly the rain stopped

(The rain stopped presupposes that there was rain or that rain started).

The existing or emerging person or thing is typically expressed by an indefinite noun, e.g.

Suddenly a wind (R) rose
Suddenly the wind (T) dropped (R)
Plötzlich erhob sich ein Wind (R)
Plötzlich liess der Wind (T)nach (R)

In many such cases, the notion expressed by the predicative element is in no way recoverable from the context. In some cases, collocational predictability may lower the degree of CD carried by the verb; in
others the verb expresses the notion of existence or emergence in addition to other semantic features largely determined by the type of noun involved (cf. the examples of the verbs *liegen, sitzen, stehen, hängen, erschallen*, etc., discussed in Part III). In other instances, discussed in Part IV, a notion is implied in the preceding sentence, as in

(132) I can't bring my car today

(133) The *brakes* are broken

This seems to apply to an example given by van Dijk (1972: 46):

(134) John always has troubles with his car

(135) Today the motor broke down again

Van Dijk is concerned with conditions of definitivization and explains the definite article in *the motor* thus: "From these examples we may conclude that not only semantic or referential identity identifies discourse referents but also inclusion or membership relations, provided these are unique. In these cases, the relevant relations are stated in the meaning postulates of the lexicon, which serve as presuppositions establishing necessary coherence"

(1972: 46), i.e.

(136) For each X: if X is a car, then X has a (one) motor

This does not account for the fact that *motor*, though definite, may be interpreted as rhematic and receive the primary accent. A further possible following sentence would be

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1 This is perhaps too strong. It is of course very probably that for each X, if X is a car, then X has a (one) motor. But then we could not account in the same way for the definite article in 'Today the fog lamps were not working'.
Today he had to have the motor repaired.

What the hearer may infer from sentence (134) is that things are going wrong or likely to go wrong, and this information is more easily inferable than the particular part concerned. Cf.

Hans hat immer Ärger mit seinem Auto.

Heute ist schon wieder etwas kaputtgegangen, nämlich der Motor.

Heute war es der Motor (der kaputtging).

Observe in such cases that the implication 'something went wrong' may be expressed by the pronominal it or es, whereas the variable motor is not, e.g. Today it was the motor. The more readily available information establishes the theme, and the less readily inferable variable becomes rheme. This is further evidence of the fact that givenness is a graded property, and the distinction between what is in the (immediate) focus of attention or interest and what is brought into focus seems to be as relevant here as in more obvious cases such as

Auf dem Tisch lag das Buch.

The question of accent placement is discussed by Bresnan (1972), who writes: "Now it has been observed that, in simple declarative sentences ending in a predicative, primary stress is often most naturally placed on the subject". She gives the examples:

The sun was shining.

A proposal was made.

A new book has appeared.

An umbrella was lost.

Work must be done.

Guests arrived.
where (') marks the primary accent. Observe that in all of the examples, except (142) the subject is an indefinite noun; (142) is a case of unique reference, cf. Die Sonne scheint, Es scheint die Sonne, Der Mai ist gekommen, Es kam der Mai, and also The postman arrived; the verb expresses in addition to its specific semantic content the notion of existence or emergence. In (144) and (147) an indefinite noun is in collocation with a verb of emergence. In (143) and (146) an indefinite noun is in collocation with a verb expressing the notion of 'bringing into existence'.

The thematic structure of such sentences was discussed in Part III: the person or thing existing, emerging or brought into existence, if represented by an indefinite noun, expresses the rheme and carries the primary accent. Bresnan notes that if the subject is pronominal, primary stress shows up on the verb, as in

(148) It's shining
(149) They arrived

This is also in keeping with what has been proposed here. Bresnan refers to the stress pattern in (142)-(147) as 'topical stress', but makes the point that the use of the term topical should not be confused with others, e.g. in reference to the topic-comment distinction. She suggests that such stress patterns may depend on semantic factors as well as structural properties and gives as examples

(150) The sun is shining
(151) The sun is disappearing

This is in keeping with what was said in reference to the examples Suddenly the rain came on and Suddenly the rain stopped. Bresnan's
account would be more revealing if a discussion of the semantic factors, e.g. the semantic category of the verb, were entered into. Bresnan gives further examples to illustrate that what one chooses to take as the topic of the sentence (in the sense of topic which she is proposing) may be optional. She gives the sentences

(152) A proposal was made
(153) A proposal was defeated

The distinction here relates to the semantic properties of the verb: was made, expressing the notion of bringing into existence, is semantically weaker than was defeated. In connection with the position of noun complements in German and English of the type

(154) Research is being carried out into...
(155) A search is going on of...
(156) A suggestion was made to
(157) An inquiry is to be held into as opposed to

(154a) Research into...has been discontinued
(155a) A search of...was abandoned
(156a) A suggestion to...was rejected
(157a) An inquiry into...has been postponed indefinitely

where in the first set of examples the complement is detached from the noun in the sequence of elements, and in the second set the complement is attached to the noun in the sequence of elements I quoted (Kirkwood, 1970; 41f.) the following sentences

(158) Er hat einen Bericht über die neuesten Entwicklungen gegeben
(159) Er hat eine Erklärung über die neuesten Entwicklungen abgegeben
From these examples it will be seen that in the case of (158)
and (159) the prepositional phrase may be moved to positions in front
of and following the finite part of the verb, depending on its
communicative value. This kind of permutation is not possible in the
case of (160). The explanation for this may be found in the relation
of the verb to the noun phrase. Consider the following English
sentences

(158a) Er hat über die neuesten Entwicklungen einen Bericht gegeben
(158b) Über die neuesten Entwicklungen hat er einen Bericht gegeben
(158c) Er hat einen Bericht gegeben über die neuesten Entwicklungen
(159a) Er hat über die neuesten Entwicklungen eine Erklärung abgegeben
(159b) Über die neuesten Entwicklungen hat er eine Erklärung abgegeben
(159c) Er hat eine Erklärung abgegeben über die neuesten Entwicklungen
(160a) + Er hat über die neuesten Entwicklungen ein Buch besprochen
(160b) + Über die neuesten Entwicklungen hat er ein Buch besprochen
(160c) + Er hat ein Buch besprochen über die neuesten Entwicklungen

(161) He has given a report on recent developments
(162) He has made a statement on recent developments
(161a) A report on recent developments has been given by him
(161b) A report has been given by him on recent developments
(162a) A statement on recent developments has been made by him
(162b) A statement has been made by him on recent developments

(163) He has reviewed a report on recent developments
(164) He has discussed the statement on recent developments
(163a) A report on recent developments has been reviewed by him
(163b) + A report has been reviewed by him on recent developments
(164a) The statement on recent developments has been discussed by him.

(164b) + The statement has been discussed by him on recent developments. Extrapolation of the propositional phrase is possible with the verbs *give* and *make* in (161b) and (162b), but not in the case of *review* and *discuss* in (163b) and (164b). A similar restriction applies to the German sentences (160a), (160b) and (160c). It would appear that the verbs *give* and *make* and the verbs in (158) and (159) enter into a close syntactic relationship with the noun phrase they govern constituting a verbo-nominal structure consisting of a semantically weak verb (function verb) and a noun to which is attached a prepositional phrase. The selection of the preposition is determined by the noun. Examples are: *give a report on*, *make a statement on*, *reach agreement on*, *gain insight into*, *Anteil haben an*, *Anteil nehmen an*, *Bericht erstatten über*, *Einblick gewinnen in*, *Stellung nehmen zu*. The preposition is in certain cases the same as that selected by the associated verb, e.g. *report on*, *agree on*, *berichten über*, *sich stellen zu*. In the case of verbo-nominal structures of this type the prepositional phrase is 'promoted' to become a major constituent in the proposition. This does not apply to the combination V + NP illustrated by *review* a report, discuss a statement where the prepositional phrase remains inside the NP.

As has been indicated, the thematic structure of a sentence is the outcome of an interplay of means, the semantic category of the verb being one of these means. In considering the sentences

(165) An oak developed from an acorn (RS)
(166) An acorn developed into an oak (S R)
(167) A Saturday precedes a Sunday (O L)
(168) A Sunday is preceded by a Saturday (L O)

we saw in Part V that Object and Result have features in common: Object is the existing thing or the thing coming or brought into existence. Locative and Source have features in common: Locative is the place to which the existence of a thing is related; Source the place from which the thing emerges (Locative may be the thing or person (Experiencer) to which a state is related). (165) and (167) are in some respects similar: in (165) to an Object element in the focus of attention or interest is related a source from which it emerges; in (167) to the Object element is related its location in time. (166) and (168) have features in common: in (166) to a Source element is related an Object element emerging from this source; in (168) to a location is related an Object element existing in a temporal relation to this location. Cf.

(169) An oak developed from every acorn
(170) +An acorn developed into every oak
(171) A Saturday precedes every Sunday
(172) +A Sunday is preceded by every Saturday

(170) and (172) show that develop into in (170) and the passive in (172) are reserved for cases where the thing brought into existence or the existing thing is rhematic, as in

(173) Every acorn developed into an oak (S R)
(174) Every Sunday is preceded by a Saturday (L O)

the Source or Locative element establishing the thematic basis to which is related the rheme. The opposition definite/indefinite, specific/non-specific is of obvious relevance here as is manifest in
those English examples where definiteness/indefiniteness is clearly indicated by the article accompanying the noun. But there are languages (e.g. Czech) which dispense with articles in most cases and where the sequence of elements is a manifestation of the opposition definite/indefinite, theme/rheme. Hence in Czech the sentences

(175) Kniha je na stole
(176) Na stole je Kniha
differ in thematic structure and the communicative sense conveyed. As has been indicated, in the case of quantifiers, there is some correspondence between definite/thematic and indefinite/rhematic, but the FSP of a sentence is the outcome of an interplay of means, including semantic structure and contextual dependence. Hence in the sentence

(177) In the corner stood the girl with the veil
both criteria are operative. Here it is the semantic and contextual means of FSP that determine the thematic structure, not the articles, both of which are definite. The difference in the two noun phrases is one of identifiability or recoverability. Similarly, in the sentences quoted by van Dijk the notion that 'something has gone wrong' is perhaps more easily inferable than the particular thing involved. The different kinds of focus discussed and the communicative perspective are realized by the sequence of elements and by the placement of accent. The passive in English allows a sequencing of thematic and rhematic elements and the placement of secondary and primary accents in keeping with the desired communicative perspective. In German, as has been observed, a similar sequence of communicative elements and placement of accent may be achieved by permuting the elements in an active sentence,
as in
(178) Auf jeden Samstag folgt ein Sonntag
but not
(179) + Auf einen Samstag folgt jeder Sonntag
Thus the passive in English and the permutation of elements in German
are subject to certain contextual conditions. They are contextual
variants of what may be referred to as basic thematic types. In a
similar way, verbs like develop into, make into, (sich) entwickeln zu,
machen zu have as a condition of their use the rhematic function of
the noun expressing the category Result, whereas with develop out of,
make out of, (sich) entwickeln aus, machen aus, the Result element
may be thematic or rhematic.¹

Prior to further investigation into the criteria relevant to the
feature specific/non-specific, it may, for the present be said that the
theme of an utterance represents something more specific than the rheme.
It may be expressed by an element that is identifiable for the hearer
by way of an identifying description as in A girl in our street, A box
over there. Such specification may be achieved by introducing the

¹ As was mentioned in Part V (390) there seems to be a hierarchy
of elements in terms of cohesion with the verb, there being a closer
relation between verb and Result than between verb and Source. This
is manifest in the relative positions that prepositional phrases
expressing these categories may occupy in the sentence, e.g.

(i) Out of X there developed Y
(ii)* Into Y there developed X
discourse referent in rhematic function as in There is a girl in our street. There is a box over there. Specificness may also arise from reference to the preceding context, and here we must distinguish different degrees of givenness or recoverability: information more easily recoverable from the context, e.g. from the ad hoc narrow context will establish a foundation to which the relatively new information is related. Hence in the sentences quoted earlier
(180) I can't bring my car today/I'm having trouble with my car
(181) The brakes are broken
both the brakes and that something is wrong with the car (broken) are notions that are inferable from the preceding context, but the information that something is broken is presented by the speaker as being more readily recoverable from the context than the particular part of the given entity that is affected.

The theme-rheme structure of sentences may also be viewed in terms of the logico-semantic structure proposed by Bellert (1970). Bellert suggests that the function of logical subject should be assigned to that expression which serves as an index pointing to what the speaker is talking about, that is to the 'object' or 'quasi-object' in the universe of discourse which is referred to. Bellert (649) suggests that "the function of logical subject can only be assigned to an expression (or expressions) capable of functioning as an index, independently of whether such an expression actually occurs on the surface, or is signalled and implied by the utterance in question". Thus we may analyze
(182) John has arrived
as 'that one I am referring to by John has arrived here', and
(183) John has arrived
as 'that one who has arrived here is John'.

This would suggest a different ordering of elements in the logico-semantic structure, reflected in some languages (e.g. Czech) by the actual sequence of elements, and in others (e.g. English) by the placement of accent. The analysis proposed by Bellert of (182) and (183) is not incompatible with the analysis of the theme-rheme structure being proposed here: in (182) I assert of John that he has arrived; in (183) I assert of the one who has arrived that it is John: the theme is the foundation to which, once it has been sufficiently established, is related the core of the communication. Note that Bellert uses the term index, suggesting that what she calls the object in the universe of discourse is either known to the hearer or has been sufficiently identified. Bellert claims that indefinite descriptions cannot function as logical subject; e.g. in (184) A foreigner is holding a speech now the main stress, she claims, falls on foreigner. The sentence may then be paraphrased as 'The one who is holding a speech now is a foreigner', the function of logical subject being assigned to the index 'the one who is holding a speech now', the function of logical predicate to 'a foreigner'. It is possible that an analysis along these lines would help to explain certain linguistic phenomena, e.g. the nominalization of thematic predicative elements (verbs, adjectives) in English as in What is important is, The important thing is. However, more consideration would have to be given to semantic and contextual criteria than is given in Bellert's paper. In the case of thematic predicative elements the hearer is able to identify the notion conveyed by the predicative element because it is recoverable, directly or indirectly, from the
the preceding context. The examples (182) and (183) quoted by Bellert contain a verb of emergence, and the particular problems associated with verbs of existence and emergence, which were discussed in Part III, are not dealt with by Bellert. Cf.

(185) This letter has arrived (contextually independent)

(186) This letter gave him away (contextually dependent)

It would appear that in the ascription of a property to an individual, the individual must be identified or identifiable, but that in sentences expressing goal-directed action an indefinite noun may function as theme or what Bellert refers to as logical subject, e.g. *A boy had broken a window, A student one day travelled to a large city*. It is significant that in such a configuration of semantic categories the agent expresses the source from which the action proceeds, as opposed to sentences expressing the ascription of a property to an individual, where the individual is the location of the property. In the sentence quoted by Bellert the indefinite noun *a foreigner* need not carry the primary accent as she suggests: it is possible to say

(187) A foreigner is holding a *speech* now

which could form the answer to a question 'What is happening now?', the answer being relatively contextually independent. On the other hand, the sentence with the accent placement given by Bellert could be uttered in a situation where the holding of speeches was a characteristic feature of a situation (e.g. at a conference) or in answer to a question 'Who is holding a speech now?' In both cases the grammatical predicate conveys information that is derivable from the context, verbal or situational.

A further approach to the theme–rheme structure of sentences is
suggested by Dahl (1969). Dahl asks the question (19): "Are all predications then perhaps in reality implications?" and interprets the sentence

(188) Lions growl

as the implication: If X is a lion, then X growls. Dahl's hypothesis is that the topic of a sentence will be identical with the 'left-hand side' of an implication. Dahl shows that with certain modifications the hypothesis works quite well. We may illustrate this by referring to the sentences given earlier

(189) Moravia is inhabited by Czechs
(190) Czechs live in Moravia
(191) In Mähren leben Tschechen
(192) Tschechen leben in Mähren

(189) and (191) mean that if X lives in Moravia X is a Czech. (190) and (192) would imply that if X is a Czech X lives in Moravia. The element on the left-hand side of the implication precedes the element(s) on the right side in the sense that it has a lower degree of CD. We will tend to interpret Czechs and Tschechen in (190) and (192) respectively as generic and definite. (190) and (192) are not true statements since, for example, Czechs also live in Bohemia. What occurs to the left of the implication need not be first in the spatio-temporal sequence of elements. (189) and (191) correspond to (193) and (194) respectively:

(193) Czechs live in Moravia
(194) Tschechen leben in Mähren
where the element expressing the location precedes the element expressing the existing persons in the sense that it has a lower degree of CD, but not in the sense that it is first in the sequence of elements. The same order in terms of CD applies to

(195) It is Czechs who live in Moravia
(196) Moravia is where Czechs live

as opposed to

(197) It is in Moravia that Czechs live
(198) Moravia is where Czechs live

(189) and (191) are in fact existential sentences in which the locative element is thematic; (190) and (192) are locational sentences, in which the locative element is rhematic. In locational sentences the thing located refers qua theme to something relatively specific. We may compare these sentences with the sentences

(199) In Siberia Russian is spoken
(200) Russian is spoken in Siberia
(201) In Sibirien spricht man Russisch
(202) Russisch spricht man in Sibirien

(199) and (201) correspond to
(203) Russian is spoken in Siberia
(204) Russisch spricht man in Sibirien

respectively.

We may then, in agreement with Sgall (1970), refer to the theme-rheme structure of a sentence as "eine Hierarchie der semantischen Satzstruktur" and make a clear distinction between the order of
elements in terms of the relative degree of CD they carry and the actual spatio-temporal sequence of elements. Thematic elements are not tied to a particular position in the sentence, e.g. first position, although in many languages, e.g. German and, in particular Czech, they do tend to precede rhematic elements in the linear arrangement of sentence elements. In English the hierarchical order in terms of CD is often indicated by the placement of accent, as in

(205) Agreement was reached on this point

and in German by a combination of sentence position and accent, as in

(206) Über diesen Punkt wurde Einigkeit erzielt

English has, however, evolved special constructions allowing a theme-rheme sequence, which were discussed in Parts III and IV.

We may then distinguish marked and unmarked forms. In the unmarked form it will be the relations between elements on the level of semantic structure that determines the scale of communicative dynamism. In an agent-action-goal pattern the agent will precede the action, the action the goal in terms of the relative degree of CD, and it is significant that it is the sequence SVO as a realization of this configuration of categories that has become the grammaticalized core of the English word order system (for the situation in Russian referred to earlier cf. Slobin, 1966). Brinkmann (1962: 489ff.) makes a distinction between 'Vorgangssätze' (with intransitive verbs or reflexive verbs of the type sich entwickeln) and 'Handlungssätze' (with transitive verbs in which the semantic structure is agent-action-goal of action) and writes, with reference to the sequence of elements in German: "Der Vorgangssatz wird geneigt sein, das Geschehen aus den
Umständen zu entwickeln und darum mit ihnen beginnen: der Handlungs- satz dagegen kann jederzeit aus sich selbst, d. h. mit einem Subjekt beginnen". In existential sentences the location precedes the notion of existence or emergence which, in turn, precedes the existing person or thing in terms of CD, and the unmarked sequence in many languages is Adv(loc) + V existence + N. In English the locative emergence or temporal adverb follows the element expressing the existing person or thing, but is anticipated by the existential there. Otherwise, in Modern English, the sentence may open with a non-thematic subject as in (205), the anticipatory there being optional in such cases. The order in terms of CD is clearly marked by the placement of accent.

Contextual variants may then be seen in relation to such unmarked situations, i.e. as departures from the unmarked sequence conditioned or motivated by the operation of context. Hence, for example, initial position of the accusative object in German and in English the passive are means of achieving a theme-rheme sequence where the underlying object of the verb is thematic. In sentences containing a particular and a universal term, or two universal terms, one of which is more specific than the other, the more specific term will precede the less specific term in terms of CD, and the actual sequence of elements will usually reflect this order. Situations will, however, arise where the less specific term is thematic by contextual dependence, and the different order in terms of CD may be realized by the actual sequence of elements, e.g.

(207) Katzen (T) sind Säugetiere (R)

(206) Cats (T) are mammals (R)
(209) Zu den Säugetieren (T) gehören auch Katzen (R)
(210) Mammals (T) also include cats(R)

As we shall see presently, there is a further possibility in German seen in

(211) Säugetiere (T) sind auch Katzen (R)

which may be interpreted in the sense of (209).

In conclusion I shall review briefly the different criteria relevant to the actual sequence of sentence elements in German with particular reference to certain sentence types. The criteria relevant to the sequence of elements in English will serve as a basis for comparison. I shall assume that there are basic, neutral or unmarked sequences of elements, which reflect the degree to which the sequence of elements in German is susceptible to the basic distribution of communicative dynamism. The amount of CD carried by an element in the unmarked types is related to the semantic categories expressed by these elements. Hence in the agent-action-goal pattern the agent precedes action and goal in the sense that it has the lowest degree of CD, representing the source from which the action directed towards a goal proceeds. This also applies to sentences expressing movement towards a goal. Hence, in the first of these two patterns the sequence of grammatical elements SVO will be regarded as the neutral sequence, e.g.

(212) Hans hält nächste Woche einen Vortrag
and in the latter the sequence SV Adv (dir) as in

(213) Hans fährt morgen nach London

On a basic level, the element expressing the goal of the action or
the goal to which the movement is directed will carry the highest degree of CD. If these elements are thematic by contextual dependence, the sequence is changed, e.g.

(214) Hans hält den Vortrag nächste Woche
(215) Den Vortrag hält Hans nächste Woche
(216) Nach London fährt Hans morgen

Other patterns will also be considered. I shall be primarily concerned with the thematic status of nuclear elements: extra-nuclear elements, e.g. adverbials of time and place are in the unmarked case thematic, outlining a temporal or local setting for the process or state expressed by the verb. In thematic function, such adjuncts in German occupy characteristically positions preceding or following the finite part of the verb, and together with the tense specification of the verb in second position serve to relate the process or state expressed by the verb to a spatio-temporal context. However, in certain contextual situations, e.g. where the nuclear elements are thematic by contextual dependence, the extra-nuclear adverbial may even be rhematic as in Den Vortrag hält Hans erst nächste Woche.

The sequence of elements in German is governed:

(i) by grammatical criteria: position is an indication of grammatical function: the sequence SVO has a grammatical function where subject and object are not clearly indicated as such by inflexion, e.g. in a sentence

(217) Das Mädchen fragte die Frau

the element das Mädchen will normally be interpreted as being the subject, although the other interpretation is also possible, i.e.
The girl was asked by the woman. A sentence with the primary accent on the initial element, e.g.

(218) Das Mädchen hat die Frau gefragt

is ambiguous; it may mean 'It was the girl who asked the woman' or 'It was the girl the woman asked'.

(ii) by syntactic criteria, by the place an element has in the hierarchical order of elements (cf. Fourquet, 1959: 234ff.), determined by the closeness of its relation to the verb. The notion of closeness is frequently referred to in the discussion of the order of elements in German sentences (cf. Fläming, 1964: 325ff.). It applies mainly to nuclear elements, elements relevant to the subcategorization of the verb, i.e. to verbal complements including objects, adverbs of direction, and, in the case of certain verb-classes, i.e. verbs of existence or location, adverbs of place.

The concept of valency according to which the verb opens up a restricted number of positions in the sentence that may or must be filled implies a syntactic hierarchy among its constituents by distinguishing optional and obligatory complements of the verb (valency-dependent elements) from other elements associated more loosely with the sentence nucleus, i.e. adverbials of time, place, manner reason. The verb, together with the valency-dependent or nuclear elements, constitute the valency model, a basic syntactic structure underlying actual utterances. This model recalls Daneš's (1966) grammatical sentence pattern, which he refers to as an 'utterance-making device'. The positions opened up by the verb may be determined quantitatively: we may speak of one-place, two-
place and three-place verbs. Hence the verb *give* is a three-place verb, which is associated with the grammatical elements subject, object, indirect object. This may be represented as follows:

```
V
/ \
/  \
N1  N2  N3
```

The positions opened up by the verb may be determined in terms of semantic or case categories. Hence *give* combines with the semantic categories Agent, Object, Beneficiary, and the valency of *give* may be formulated in the following way:

```
V
/ \
/  \
Agent  Objective  Beneficiary
```

The noun phrases entering into this nuclear syntactic structure may be further differentiated in terms of semantic features, such as animate, inanimate, abstract, concrete. Hence, the German verbs *schädigen* and *beschädigen* share the same grammatical pattern $N^1 + V + N^2$, but differ in the class of noun that may enter into this structure. The direct object of *schädigen* must have the feature (+ abstract), that of *beschädigen* the feature (+ concrete). Cf.

(219) Der Preissturz hat das Geschäft geschädiert *(Geschäft means business)*
(220) Der Sturm hat das Geschäft beschädigt *(Geschäft means shop)*

Valency-dependent elements are elements relevant to the subcategorization of the verb and include objects, directional adverbs and,
in the case of certain verb-classes adverbs of place or of duration. A distinction may be made between optional and obligatory complements. Both kinds of complement are present in the semantic structure and are relevant to the subcategorization of the verb, but whereas obligatory complements must be present in surface structure, optional complements may, in certain contextual circumstances, be deleted, e.g.

(221) Peter trinkt Milch
(222) Peter trinkt
(223) Peter schenkt seinem Freund Bücher
(224) Peter schenkt Bücher
(225) Ich habe auf meinen Freund gewartet
(226) Ich habe gewartet
(227) Ich habe mich auf deine Unterstützung verlassen
(228) + Ich habe mich verlassen
(229) Er hat das Buch auf den Tisch gelegt
(230) + Er hat das Buch gelegt
(231) + Er hat auf den Tisch gelegt

Adjuncts, on the other hand, which are valency-independent, are always deletable.

Valency-dependent elements are then more closely related to the verb than adjuncts. This hierarchical order in terms of cohesion with the verb is manifest in the actual sequence of elements. Hence, taking as the underlying order for German end-position of the verb we have
Similarly,

(233) (dass) ich\textsubscript{1}/gestern\textsubscript{2}/auf der Sitzung/mitt\textsubscript{1} deiner Unterstützung/gerchnet/habe

the superscript numbers 1, 2, 3... indicating the degree of closeness of the relation to the verb. If the finite part of the verb is moved to second position (as normally in declarative sentences) the 'Distanzstellung' characteristic of German sentences is produced, e.g.

(234) Er wollte\textsubscript{3}/gestern\textsubscript{2}/an der Sitzung/teilnehmen

(235) Ich habe\textsubscript{4}/gestern\textsubscript{2}/auf der Sitzung/mitt\textsubscript{1} deiner Unterstützung/gerchnet

Similarly with predicate nominals

(236) Hans ist\textsubscript{2}/schon seit meiner Kindheit/mein bester Freund

and with (some) predicative adjectives

(237) Er ist\textsubscript{3}/gegentürig\textsubscript{2}/zu keinen Zugeständnissen/bereit

where the adjective bereit itself opens up a position, a secondary constituent immediately dependent on the adjective. Compare sentences with a directional adverb, e.g.

(238) Er fährt\textsubscript{2}/morgen\textsubscript{1}/nach Hause

The sequence of elements in English is characterized by 'Kontaktstellung'. Hence the sequence of elements in English equivalents of sich sentences will be the reverse of that in German, e.g.
(239) He wanted to take part/in the meeting/yesterday

(240) I was relying/on your support/at the meeting/yesterday

(241) John has been/my best friend/since childhood

(242) He is going/home/tomorrow

There remains the question of a possible hierarchical order among valency-dependent elements themselves in terms of cohesion with the verb. Bierwisch (1966: 35ff) states that the accusative object is more closely related to the verb than the dative object "aus vielen intuitiven, aber explizierbaren Gründen". He does not go into the explicable reasons. However, a number of relevant facts support this view. Heidolph (1964: 10ff.) also argues that the order dative + (accusative + verb) is fundamental for German and supports this view by the observation that in nominalizations of verb phrases containing both objects the accusative object invariably becomes a genitive attribute immediately following the verbal noun, and the dative object is transformed into a prepositional phrase in which the selection of the preposition is not determined. The internal structure of (243) may be represented in the following way

(243) Die Akademie hat/im vergangenen Jahr/dem Schriftsteller A/

2 1

den Preis/verliehen

The hierarchical order is also explicit in the nominalization of (243)

(244) Die Verleihung/des Preises/an den Schriftsteller A/

4 3 2 1

im vergangenen Jahr/erfolgte im Festssaal des Schlosses B

where the elements progress in linear fashion, the determiner following the element to be determined.
There is other evidence in support of the assumption that the accusative object is more closely related to the verb than the dative object (or the genitive object). Whereas in certain contextual circumstances the dative or genitive object may be deleted, the accusative object may not be, e.g.

(245) Er schenkte seinem Freund ein Buch
(246) Er schenkte ein Buch
(247) + Er schenkte seinem Freund
(248) Das Gericht klagt ihn des Mordes an
(249) Das Gericht klagt ihn an
(250) + Das Gericht klagt des Mordes an

There is the further observation that where both objects are either indefinite or definite (i.e. equally determined) the neutral sequence is dative + accusative, e.g.

(251) Er gab einem Kind ein Buch
(252) Er gab dem Kind das Buch

the internal structure being more clearly manifest with end position of the verb

(253) dass er einem Kind ein Buch gab
(254) dass er dem Kind das Buch gab

Any departure from this neutral order is marked, e.g.

(255) Er gab das Buch dem Kind

where dem Kind has contrastive meaning as in

(256) He gave the book to the child
The sequence in accordance with syntactic cohesion represents a neutral ordering of elements. Flämig (1964: 340) refers to the positioning of elements according to their syntactic relation to the verb "eine grammatische Abstraktion, eine Vorallgemeinerung des Stellungsprinzips nach dem Mitteilungswort". This would suggest that the nuclear elements as 'essential amplifications' of the meaning of the verb are, without the operation of contextual criteria, communicatively more dynamic than extra-nuclear elements. It would suggest further that elements may be ordered on the level of semantic structure in terms of the degree of CD they carry, that is before the operation of contextual criteria, the degree of CD, in isolation from a particular context, being related to the semantic relation of an element to the verb. In isolation from a particular context then, thematic and semantic structures are 'in harmony'. Contextual considerations or specific motivation such as contrast will reorder elements in surface structure. Hence, if in the structure \( N^1 + V + N^2 + N^3 \) the accusative object is definite (i.e. thematic by contextual dependence) it will move to or towards the front of the sentence and the dative object, if indefinite (i.e. rhematic by contextual independence) will move to or towards the end, Cf.

(257) Er gab das Buch einem Kind
(258) Er hat das Buch einem Kind gegeben
(259) Das Buch gab er einem Kind
(260) Das Buch hat er einem Kind gegeben

Compare further

(261) Hans hat dem Mädchen Blumen geschenkt
(262) Hans hat die Blumen einem Mädchen geschenkt
(263) Die Blumen hat Hans einem Mädchen geschenkt
or, if the subject is indefinite, we may have

(264) Die Blumen hat dem Mädchen ein junger Mann geschenkt

The sentences (265) and (266) with front position of the thematic element are marked for emphasis

(265) Blumen hat Hans dem Mädchen geschenkt
(266) Ein junger Mann hat dem Mädchen die Blumen geschenkt.

(iii) by the thematic structure: the position of elements is determined by the relative amount of communicative dynamism they carry.

The interrelation between these different criteria and the extent to which the one or the other determines the actual sequence will be discussed in the light of illustrative examples of certain sentence types.

1. The combination verb + accusative object. If the object is contextually independent it expresses the rheme. In keeping with the characteristic feature of 'Distanzstellung' it moves to or towards the end of the sentence. In such cases the criteria of thematic structure and of syntactic cohesion operate in the same direction, are 'in harmony'. The element carrying the highest degree of CD is at the same time the element most closely linked to the verb. Boost's assertion of the untenability of the opinion put forward by Drach (1963) that the verb-object combination is 'klammerfähig' relates to objects in thematic function. The examples he gives (1955: 53) illustrate this, e.g., Wir fangen die Fische erst morgen, Wir fangen Fische nur mit
In such cases the rhematic adverbial moves outside the bracket: the criterion of the relative degree of CD predominates over that of the syntactic cohesion between elements. Otherwise, if the object is in rhematic function, it will create with the finite part of the verb a predicative bracket enclosing thematic adverbials. In English the adverbials follow the sentence nucleus, cf.

(267) Die Nordische Konferenz der internationalen Juristenkommission hat in ihrer Abhandlung über den Schutz der Privatsphäre ein sehr wichtiges und sehr heikles Thema aufgegriffen

(267a) The Nordic Conference of the international Commission of Jurists has seized on a very important and delicate topic in its paper on the right of privacy

(268) Er ist der Ansicht, dass Großbritannien während der Brüsseler Verhandlungen einen Fehler begangen habe

(268a) He believes Britain made a mistake during the Brussels negotiations

(269) Auf jeden Fall ist es für die beiden Grossmächte schwer, auf der Grundlage ihres gemeinsamen Interesses eine dauerhafte Allianz aufzubauen

(269a) In any case it is difficult for the two great powers to build a lasting alliance on the basis of their common interest

(270) Wenn die Königin heute das Parlament eröffnet, wird die Zeremonie vom Fernsehen übertragen
When the Queen opens Parliament today the ceremony will be televised

(270a) When the Queen opens Parliament today the ceremony will be televised

(The Parlament, parliament are instances of unique reference)

Frühere Schätzungen, dass die gesamte Nahrungsmittelrechnung um mindestens 400 Millionen Pfund ansteigen würde, haben durch die jüngsten EWG-Entscheidungen ihre Gültigkeit nicht verloren

Examples where verb and object have entered into close construction forming what is referred to as a 'feste Verbindung':

(281) Der Begriff des 'Modells' spielt gegenwärtig sowohl in der Linguistik als auch in der Sprachmethodik eine zentrale Rolle

(282) Heute würden immer noch 80 Prozent gegen die Kommunisten stimmen; aber die Sozialdemokraten würden bei den Wahlen einen klaren Vorsprung haben

(283) .... und wie sie in der modernen Phrasenstruktur- und Transformationsgrammatik amerikanischer Prägung ihren Ausdruck findet

(284) Das mag daran liegen, dass ihr Gefühlsgehalt in dieser intellektuellen Prosa keinen Raum hat

(285) Jede Sprache besitzt in dieser Hinsicht ihre eigenen Möglichkeiten. Die flexivisch-analytischen Sprachen wie die deutsche Sprache und die russische machen dabei in ergiebiger Weise von der Beweglichkeit ihrer Wortstellung Gebrauch

(In this instance the communicatively most dynamic element would seem to be the prepositional phrase von der Beweglichkeit ihrer Wortstellung, a
complement of the verbo-nominal structure *Gebrauch machen* (von). Hence there is what might be referred to as a 'conflict' between the sequence according to the closeness of the relation to the verb and the sequence according to the relative degree of CD: *machen* and *Gebrauch* enter syntactically into very close construction).

Extraposition, i.e. the positioning of an adverbial element outside the predicative bracket is possible where the object is thematic. Hence we may compare

(286) Die Auseinandersetzung behielt bis zum Schluss eine aussergewohnliche Schärfe

with

(287) Die Auseinandersetzung behielt diese Schärfe bis zum Schluss

Compare further

(288) Wenn es uns nählich nicht gelingt, heute im Inland möglichst moderne Anlagen zu bauen, sind wir auch noch in der Lage, solche Anlagen künftig zu exportieren

(In the first part of the sentence *moderne Anlagen* is contextually independent and rhematic. In the second part the element *solche Anlagen* is contextually dependent and thematic).

As has been observed, initial position of contextually dependent definite nouns in the function of object is quite usual in German, as in

(289) Das hat mir Hans geschenkt

In English, the use of the passive may achieve a similar distribution of communicative dynamism, e.g.

(289a) That was given to me by John

A few examples of initial position of contextually dependent definite
nouns will illustrate this:

(290) Diese Auffassung vertritt besonders stark Hans Glinz

(291) Diesen mühevollen Weg hat in den letzten Jahren P. Grebe eingeschlagen

(292) Das betonte der Bundesvorstand des DGB in einem gestern veröffentlichten Entschließungsentwurf

(293) Die Literaturübersicht stellte X zusammen

(294) Den Einband entwarf A

(295) Den Abschnitt 'Dreijahrhunderte Sprachpflege' verfasste A

In these examples the rheme is expressed by the grammatical subject. It is this element that is brought into focus and that carries information focus. In other cases the subject may also be thematic (e.g. the hypertheme of a text) in which case it will occupy the unstressed position immediately following the finite part of the verb and preceding the rheme of the sentence, e.g.

(296) Diese Lösung verdanke ich einem Hinweis von M. Bierwisch

(297) Diesen Ort hatten die Studenten zum Ziel ihres Ausflugs bestimmt

(298) Das teilte Heath am Donnerstag nach eine Anfrage aus dem Unterhaus mit

(299) Dieses Buch hat er mir zu Weihnachten geschenkt

(300) Mich hatte man vergessen

(301) Das Auto hatte er mit seinen letzten Ersparnissen gekauft

In the following examples the noun in the function of object is accompanied by an indefinite article. Different situations arise:

(i) the head of the noun phrase may be sufficiently identified by the
accompanying descriptor (ii) no identifying description is supplied, but the notion conveyed by the noun is inferable from the context (verbal or situational context, context of expectancy) (iii) the accompanying descriptor has reference to the preceding context.

An example of (i) is

(302) Einen internationalen Vertrag über die friedliche Erforschung und Nutzung des Mondes hat die Sowjetunion den Vereinten Nationen vorgeschlagen

(Here the elements in the noun group are determined progressively from left to right, the right-most element expressing the rhyme proper of the communicative subfield constituted by the noun phrase, i.e.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>To</th>
<th>Ro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Einen internationalen Vertrag <strong>über die friedliche Erforschung</strong></td>
<td><strong>T</strong>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>und Nutzung des Mondes</td>
<td><strong>R</strong>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly,

(303) Eine kostenneutrale Lösung des Problems der flexiblen Altergrenze in der Rentenversicherung empfahl die Bundesregierung den deutschen Arbeitgeberverbänden

An example of (ii) would be

(304) Ein Zimmer habe ich für dich gefunden

with the implication: 'You asked me to find you a room, and now I have found you one', as opposed to

(305) Ein Zimmer habe ich für dich gefunden

which is a marked sequence of elements, being a case of rhematic foregrounding.
auf diese Weise käme man allmählich zu einem wissenschaftspolitischen Konzept, zu einer Strategie. Eine solche wissenschaftspolitische und die Forschung umgreifende Strategie brauchen wir

(Compare possible English equivalents: We need such a... Such a... is what we need).

Examples of (iii) are

(307) Eine systematische Analyse der für (g) charakteristischen Beziehungen hat bisher nur Bech in Angriff genommen in Studien über das deutsche Verbum finitum

(308) Einen Überblick über diese Entwicklung vermittelt der kürzlich erschienene Sammelband 'Beiträge zur Valenztheorie'

(309) Eine wesentlich andere Struktur als die bisher beschriebenen Akkusativ-Belege haben solche Spitzenstellungen, die wir 'Ausdrucksstellungen' nennen können

We must distinguish initial positioning of such contextually dependent noun phrases from initial position of contextually independent, i.e. rhematic, noun phrases, e.g.

(310) Nur einen Brief erhielt er von ihm, auf den er jede Antwort verweigerte

which is marked for emphasis.

Initial positioning of clauses functioning as object of the verb is quite usual in German, e.g.

(311) Dass er kommt, weiss ich

(312) Ob er kommt, weiss ich nicht
In English the sequence may be marked for contrast as in *That I know, but..., The play I have seen, but...*. Cf.

(313) That he is coming I know, but whether he is going to stay I can't say.

The relative positions of dative and accusative objects were discussed earlier and need no further illustration. Initial position of the dative object is common where it expresses a location to which is related an existing person or thing, the sequence being L (theme) - O (rheme). Cf.

(314) Dem lebhaften Frage- und Antwortspiel folgte auf Antrag

Der FDP eine Aktuelle Stunde

(315) Ihm geht unmittelbar das Element voraus, das dem Verbum am nächsten steht

(316) Der Hauptsatzaussage liegt als Planschema die neutrale Kernform zugrunde

(317) Insbesondere die Durchführung des Schutzbauugesetzes erfordert, dass Bauherrn und Behörden vor Inkrafttreten des Gesetzes ausreichend Zeit verbleibt, sich mit ihren technischen und finanziellen Panungen auf die neue Rechtslage einzustellen

(Here the locative is expressed by an animate noun. In English the locative may be subjectivized by the use of *have*: 'have sufficient time to...')

Directional adverbs in collocation with a verb of motion carry a higher degree of CD than the subject and verb in the unmarked case.

Halliday (1970b: 335) distinguishes between unmarked and marked information structure: "In the unmarked instance, the new element
comes last in the information unit". He gives the examples:

(318) George takes his wife to the movies
(319) George takes his wife to the movies
(320) George takes his wife to the movies
(321) George takes his wife to the movies

Where an object is present, the object precedes the directional adverb in the sense that it carries a lower degree of CD. This is reflected in the actual sequence of elements and in the placement of the primary accent. Halliday states that (318) to (320) presupposes certain contexts, which he specifies. On the other hand (321) "presupposes nothing. It is not necessarily the 'answer' to anything at all: it may just be the beginning of a discourse. This is the sense in which it is unmarked. The unmarked form is unique in that it does not require that any element should be recoverable". In German, the unmarked form shows 'harmony' between the criterion of syntactic cohesion (the directional adverb being more closely related to the verb than the object) and the criterion of the relative degree of CD in determining the actual sequence of elements. Examples of end position of a rheumatic directional adverb in German are

(322) Der Aussenminister wollte in diesem Jahr drei Wochen lang ins Ausland reisen
(323) Er stieg aber fünf Minuten später an der Brücke aus dem Bus
(324) Das Sinnwort tritt ohne Rückicht auf seinen grammatischen Wort in die ihm aufgrund seines Mitteilungswertes zustehende Position
(325) Eine grammatisch bedingte Gliedfolge tritt daher im Deutschen selten in Erscheinung
(326) Er führte zu seiner Rechtfertigung alle möglichen Gründe ins Feld
Die jeweils doppelte Möglichkeit zwingt uns bei jedem Gebrauch eines Substantivs zur Entscheidung

(In this example the preposition is determined by the verb and the prepositional phrase is what is traditionally called a prepositional object).

Positioning of the object outside the bracket created by the verb and directional adverb is not normal. Bierwisch (1966: 51) considers the sentence

(328) + Du hast gestern dorthin gestellt die Maschine

as being deviant

However, if the nonfinite part of the verb is moved to end position, a directional adverb with a relatively low degree of CD may be moved towards the front of the sentence, e.g.

(329) Bei der Schaffung solcher Strukturen wird in den Vordergrund der Bedeutungsgehalt des Verbs... gestellt

As has been observed throughout, nuclear prepositional phrases, whether optional or obligatory complements of the verb, may in German, if thematic, occupy first position, e.g. Ich fahre morgen nach London, Nach London fahre ich erst morgen, the rheme being expressed by some other element, in this case an adverbial of time, which is put at the end of the sentence. Examples of initial position of thematic prepositional phrases as obligatory complements of the verb are

(330) Zu diesem Ergebnis gelangte der Forscher nach einer genauen Untersuchung des Materials

(331) Zu fast gleichen Überlegungen ist jetzt völlig unabhängig von uns auch Johannes Erben in seinem Abriss der deutschen Grammatik gekommen
(332) Zu diesen alten Wendungen, die alle die Richtung bezeichnen, gehört auch eigentlich das vielgebrauchte 'zu Hause'

In English, different constructions may be used to foreground the theme, e.g. This is the conclusion arrived at by..., The same conclusions are arrived at by... These archaic expressions include...

(333) Daran habe ich nicht gedacht

(cf. 'I didn't think of that', 'That didn't occur to me')

(334) Darauf weist auch Karl Boost hin

(335) Um die Klärung dieser Fragen hat sich seit langer Zeit und mit gutem Erfolg besonders die tschechoslowakische Forschung bemüht

(336) Über eine positive und baldige Antwort würde ich mich sehr freuen

(337) Mit konkreten Ergebnissen wird auch diesmal nicht gerechnet

(cf. Concrete results are not expected this time either)

Examples of a prepositional phrase as an optional complement of the verb

(338) Von dieser Tradition hat es sich noch nicht befreit

(Initial position of an optional prepositional phrase, if thematic, is possible in English, e.g. From this tradition it has not yet freed itself. The sequence is, however, stylistically marked, the neutral, unmarked sequence being it has not yet freed itself from this tradition. As pointed out earlier, front position of obligatory prepositional phrases, even if thematic, is not possible in English, e.g.

(339) Zu den gleichen Ergebnissen führt eine rein formale Betrachtung

(339a) To the same results a purely form approach leads

(340) Über diesen Punkt sind wir uns einig

(Possible being in English: 'On this point we are agreed')
In the establishment of a relationship between two noun phrases by means of a copular verb (e.g. be) different logical relations may hold between the roles concerned. The difference in logical relations has a bearing on the thematic structure of the resulting sentence and on the sequence of elements. In the sentences

(343) Bonn is the capital of west Germany
(344) The capital of west Germany is Bonn
(343a) Bonn ist die Hauptstadt der Bundesrepublik
(344a) Die Hauptstadt der Bundesrepublik ist Bonn

the two terms, which are definite descriptions, and which are "alike in generality but differ in abstraction" (cf. Halliday, 1970: 155), Bonn being of a lower order of abstraction than the property the capital of Germany, are involved in a relation which may be interpreted as 'A is to be identified as B'. In (343) a property (quality) is assigned to an individual (bearer): 'A realizes the function or role B'.
In (344) to a property (quality) is assigned an individual (bearer): 'The function or role B is realized by A'. In (343) Bonn is theme; in (344) Bonn is rheme. This may be formulated as follows

(343) \[
\text{individual} \quad \text{property} \\
T \leftarrow R
\]

(344) \[
\text{property} \quad \text{individual} \\
T \leftarrow R
\]
In English and German, the sequence of elements may be arranged in accordance with the desired communicative perspective, i.e. whether the intention is to assign to an individual a property or to assign to a property an individual realizing this property. The individual will be qua individual specific and will refer to definite persons, things or places. The property may be specific through anaphoric reference to context and hence establish the natural point of departure from which the communication evolves. Consider the specificity through contextual dependence of other predicative elements which may function as thematic basis, especially in German. In (344) the sequence of elements may be reversed without changing the meaning. The rheme is foregrounded and the sequence marked, e.g.

(345) **Bonn** (R) is the capital of west Germany (T)

If, however, the element expressing the property is rheme and is placed in initial position, a difference in meaning is involved, e.g.

(343) Bonn is the capital of west Germany
(346) The capital of west Germany is Bonn

This is perhaps brought out more clearly by comparing similar examples, e.g.

(347) John is the winner
(348) The winner is John

(347) means 'The person I am referring to as John represents the value winner', (348) 'The value winner is represented by John.

Compare now

(349) The **winner** is John
(350) **John** is the winner

(350) means the same as (348). (349) does not mean the same as (347),
i.e. 'John realizes the value (role) of winner'. (347) is a statement about what John did, i.e. 'John won'; (349) provides a recognition criterion (cf. Halliday, 1967: 228): it is a statement about who John is, but not about what John did.

There are certain problems connected with negative statements of this kind, which I shall deal with only very briefly here.

Consider

(351) John was not the winner
(352) John was not the winner
(353) The winner John was not
(351a) Hans war nicht der Sieger
(352a) Hans war nicht der Sieger
(353a) Der Sieger war Hans nicht

compared with

(354) John was not the winner
(355) The winner was not John
(354a) Hans war nicht der Sieger
(355a) Der Sieger war nicht Hans

In (351), (352), (353), (351a), (352a) and (353a) the negative element accompanies the predicate nominals winner and Sieger, i.e. 'I assert of John that he was not the winner' (351), as opposed to (354) and (355) 'I assert of the winner that it was not John' (cf. 'It was not John who won'). However, in (352) and (353), (352a) and (353a) the negated element is thematic by contextual dependence. The sentences are marked for this feature and could be interpreted, for example, as meaning 'I assert of John and the winner that they
are not identifiable' or 'I assert of John being the winner that this is not true', the negative element expressing the rheme, e.g. 'John said he would win the race, but he was not the winner', or 'but win he did not'. In (353) and (353a) the negated element occupies initial position. Initial position of a predicative element is marked in different ways: it may require positive specification such as that of contrast, particularly when a negative element is involved, e.g. 'The winner John was not, but he did get a silver medal', 'Der Sieger war Hans nicht (Gewonnen hat Hans nicht) aber...'. There is no contrast implied in a sentence 'He said he would win (be the winner). And the winner he was' (and win he did)', 'Er sagte er würde Sieger sein, une Sieger war er auch (und gewonnen hat er auch)'. Such sentences contain an affirmation of a preceding sentence. The affirmation is expressed by the verb, which carries the primary accent. Although the predicative element in initial position is thematic by contextual dependence, it carries a higher degree of CD than the hypertheme or theme proper. For this reason the sequence may be regarded as being marked in different ways as opposed to the unmarked form, e.g. 'He was not the winner', 'He did not win'. Further, a sentence such as

(356) Bonn is not the capital of Germany

is neutral and need not imply contrast, whereas initial position of the predicative element, as in

(357) The capital of Germany Bonn is not

(358) The capital of Germany Bonn is not
does imply contrast. Note that here only part of the predicative element is contextually recoverable, e.g.
(357) I assert of Bonn that it is the capital not of Germany
(358) I assert of Bonn that it is of Germany not the capital

Similarly, in German
(357a) Die Hauptstadt Deutschlands ist Bonn nicht
(358a) Die Hauptstadt Deutschlands ist Bonn nicht

The sequence
(359) Bonn ist nicht die Hauptstadt Deutschlands
is neutral like (356) and does not necessarily imply contrast, whereas the sequence
(360) Die Hauptstadt Deutschlands ist nicht Bonn, sondern...
does imply contrast

Consider
(361) Ich betrachte Bonn nicht als die Hauptstadt Deutschlands
(362) Ich betrachte nicht Bonn als die Hauptstadt Deutschlands

(361) corresponds to (359), and (362 corresponds to (360). (360) and (362) are marked for contrast. Note that the element Bonn, the more specific term, is the direct object of betrachten and theme and subject of the unmarked sentence (359). In the unmarked form the functions of more specific, theme and subject are associated: in the marked form these functions are dissociated, the less specific term functioning as theme.

Compare further example
(363) Smith is not the best judge of that (neutral)
(364) The best judge of that Smith is not (marked)
(365) The best judge of that is not Smith (marked)

(364) and (365) are marked in different ways: (364) means 'Smith may
not be the best judge of that, but he is...'; (365) means 'The best judge of that is not Smith, but (the best judge is) someone else'.
(363) represents the basic situation in which semantic and thematic structures are in harmony, i.e. more specific (theme), less specific (rheme).

In other instances it may also be observed that initial position of a predicative element is marked, e.g. for contrast. Compare the neutral sequence
(366) The case was heavy (so I couldn't lift it)
with the marked sequence
(367) Heavy the case was (but I could lift it)
(368) Heavy as the case was (I could lift it)
(367a) Schwer war auch der Koffer (aber ich konnte ihn heben)
(368a) Schwer wie der Koffer auch war (ich konnte ihn heben)
Here the predicative elements heavy and schwer are contextually dependent: an explicit or implicit preceding statement is affirmed: 'True, the case was heavy'. It is because the sentences are marked by the sequence of elements and accent placement as being contextually dependent that an indefinite non-generic article may not occur, e.g.
(369) ? Heavy a case was (but I could lift it)
(370) ? Heavy as a case was (I could lift it)
Compare
(369a) Schwer war auch ein Koffer (aber ich konnte ihn heben)
(370a) Schwer wie ein Koffer auch war (ich konnte ihn heben)
which are acceptable if ein Koffer refers to a particular member of
of a given set (i.e. einer der Koffer).

Compare further

(371) Power a politician had, but he didn't use it properly
with

(372) Power a politician may have, but he should use it properly

Where the article is partitive (*ein = einer der, in English one or one of the* the sequence is possible, e.g.

(373) Heavy one (of the) case(s) was (but I could lift it)

(373a) Schwer war auch ein (einer der) Koffer (aber ich konnte ihn heben)

In such sentences the rheme is expressed by the verb, which contains an affirmation of a preceding statement. The verb carries the primary accent, and in German, it may be accompanied by the reinforcing affirmative particle schon, e.g.

(374) Geld hat er schon, aber er hat keinen Geschäftssinn

With regard to negative elements and quantifiers, the negative element or quantifier may indeed express the rheme proper, the element negated or quantified contrasting with an element in a preceding sentence, e.g.

(375) Er hat viel Geld. Aber Geschäftssinn hat er keinen

(376) Er hat kein Geld. Aber Geschäftssinn hat er viel

Such discontinuous constituents appear to be characteristic of situations where the head of the noun group is contextually dependent
in some way and the quantifier conveys new information.¹

Compare further

(377) Ich hab allerley Bekanntschaft gemacht. Gesellschaft
    habe ich keine gefunden

   (Goethe)

   The relation established may be between two general terms, and

the predicative relation is one of implication, e.g.

(378) Cats are mammals

(379) Katzen sind Säugetiere

i.e. $A \Rightarrow B$

In such contextually independent situations the more specific general
term will be theme and the less specific term will be the rhyme. This
is the basic situation of which there are contextual variants. The
less specific general term may be thematic by contextual dependence, e.g.

(380) Cats are also mammals

(381) Katzen sind auch Säugetiere

the accent on auch marking the less specific term as rhematic, as
opposed to

(382) Cats are also mammals

(383) Katzen sind auch Säugetiere

¹ Paul (1909:290f) notes instances where the genitive attribute is
dissociated from the noun to which it is attached as a result of the
"Widerspruch zwischen grammatischer und logischer Gliederung": a contextu-
tually dependent element is moved to the front of the sentence and the
element to which it is attached is moved towards the end of the sentence.
This sequence of elements achieves distinct relief between thematic and
rhematic elements. The Grammatik der deutschen Gegenwartssprache (1959:
593) gives the examples
   (i) Gesellschaft könnte sie die allerbeste haben
   (ii) Beweise hat er äusserst triftige vorgebracht
with the comment: "Konstruktionen dieser Art gelten heute allerdings nicht
als schriftsprachlich". The dissociation from the head of the noun phrase
of quantifiers as in (375) and (376) would, however, seem to be not uncommon
in Modern German.
Cf.
(304) Cats are mammals too
(305) Katzen sind Säugetiere auch

However, whereas in English a reversal of the sequence more specific-less specific in this kind of sentence is not possible, e.g.
(386) + Mammals are also cats

in German, if the less specific general term is thematic by contextual dependence, the basic sequence may be reversed, e.g.
(387) Säugetiere sind Katzen auch
(388) Säugetiere sind auch Katzen

the meaning being B includes A

There may be some ambiguity in such sentences, although being contextually dependent the context should resolve this ambiguity, and this may be avoided by making the less specific general term explicitly locative, as in
(389) Zu den Säugetieren gehören auch Katzen

In English in such situations a verb requiring a locative subject may be selected, the preposing of an explicitly locative prepositional phrase (as an obligatory complement of the verb) being unusual, e.g.
(390) Mammals also include cats

A further relation that may be established is that between a particular term (expressed by a definite noun) and a general term (expressed by an indefinite noun), e.g.
(391) London is a large city
(391a) London ist eine grosse Stadt

(392) The man is a poet
(392a) Der Mann ist ein Dichter
Er ist ein Held
He is a hero

The sequence is not normally reversible in English, e.g.

?A large city is London
?A poet is the man
?A hero he is

In German, the rhematic general term may be moved to initial position, e.g.

Eine grosse Stadt ist London
Ein Dichter ist der Mann
Ein Held ist er

In certain dialects in English the general term may be foregrounded by means of a special construction, e.g.

It is a hero that he is

Compare also

It's a large city London
He's a poet that man

Here again, the less specific term, if thematic, may be preposed in both languages, the verb expressing the rheme, e.g.

A hero he is
Ein Held ist er schon

Huddleston (1970: 134) quotes the example

The result was a failure
which is ambiguous: it may mean
The result failed
or
A failure resulted
In accordance with what was said above about the preposing of rhematic general terms in English the sentence

(404) A failure was the result

can only mean

(405) A failure resulted

(result being a verb of emergence and the emerging thing being rhematic)

In German, preposing of a general term is in such cases possible, being marked for emphasis. Hence the sentence

(406) Ein Misserfolg war das Ergebnis

is ambiguous, meaning either (402) or (403).

Compare the possible rhematic foregrounding achieved in

(407) It was a failure the result

Thus, English does not normally allow front position of the rhematic general term. This applies to other predicative elements, as has been shown, e.g.

(408) ?John I like
(409) ?A room I have found
(410) ?Interesting the play was

compared with German

(411) Don Hans habe ich gern
(412) Ein Zimmer habe ich gefunden
(413) Interessant war das Stück

Other means of rhematic foregrounding are available in English, e.g.

(414) John is tho onc I like
(415) It is John I like
(416) It was interesting the play
On the other hand, as in the other examples, the predicative element may occur in pre-subject position in English, if it is thematic, e.g.,

(417) John I like
(418) A room I have found
(419) Interesting it was

The sequence may be marked, e.g. for contrast. In German, initial position of a predicative element, if thematic, is quite neutral, e.g.

(417a) Hans mag ich gern
(418a) Ein Zimmer habe ich gefunden
(419a) Interessant war das Stück schon

These sentences may give further support to the hypothesis of the existence of basic thematic types, in which the thematic structure is determined by the semantic structure, departures from these basic types being marked for contextual dependence.

Anderson (1971: 206) observes that certain restrictions are shared by locative and 'nominal' clauses, as instanced by

(420) Fred is a monster
(421) ?A monster is Fred
(422) The apple is in a box
(423) ?A box contains the apple

Anderson is suggesting that predicate nom. may be a subtype of loc.

This suggestion may be supported by interpreting (420) as a kind of locational sentence: X is located with respect to the class Y (cf. in German: Katzen sind Säugetiere, Katzen gehören zu den Säugetieren).

As has been noted, in locational sentences, as opposed to existential-locative sentences) the element expressing the location of a person or
thing carries a higher degree of CD than the element expressing the person or thing located. In English, initial position of the communicatively more dynamic element is less usual than in German, the sequence in German being marked, cf. In einem Nebenzimmer fand die Sitzung statt, ? In an adjoining room a meeting took place. In English, as has been observed special constructions are available for foregrounding the rheme, cf. It was in an adjoining room that the meeting took place. This also applies to sentences of the type illustrated by (420). If, on the other hand, the general term is thematic by contextual dependence, it may, though carrying a higher degree of CD than the particular term, expressing the hypertheme, occupy first position, e.g. A monster Fred is, but... As I have just indicated, this applies to other predicative elements in English. Note the possibility of

(424) The box contains the apple
i.e. 'the box (here) contains the apple (we were referring to)', the locative element the box being in the ad hoc, narrow context, the existing thing the apple being recalled from a remoter context. (424) is of course an existential-locative sentence rather than a locational sentence such as

(425) The box contains the apple
which, with a definite noun expressing the location of the thing to be located, is more acceptable than (423). Compare the German sentences

(426) In der Schachtel (T) ist der Apfel (R)
(existential-locative corresponding to (424))

(427) In der Schachtel (R) ist der Apfel (T)
(locational corresponding to (425))
(427) has an unmarked variant in *Der Apfel (T) ist in der Schachtel (R)*

This kind of sentence is also discussed by Jespersen (1929: 150f) with reference to the distinction between subject and predicate. Jespersen proposes to use the terms subject and predicate exclusively in the sense of the grammatical subject and predicate "and to dis- countenance any proposals to attach to these words the adjuncts 'logical' and 'psychological'." He admits, however, that doubt as to which element is the subject may arise where the verb be is followed by a predicative. In such cases he resorts to defining subject and predicate in terms of relative specificity: "even here there is generally no difficulty in telling what is the subject if we keep in mind what has been said about the more specialized nature of the subject as contrasted with the predicate". Hence in the sentence John is a scoundrel the less specific term is predicated of the more specific term. Jespersen points out that "word-order is not always decisive, though in many languages there is a strong tendency, and in English a very strong tendency, to place the subject first. Exceptions are found when adjectives are placed first, though undoubtedly used as predicatives as in Great was his astonishment when he saw the result and with substantive predicates as in *A scoundrel is John*. As I have pointed out, the type illustrated by *A scoundrel is John* is less usual than in German, cf. *Ein Schurke ist Hans, Ein Narr bist du*. Perhaps more usual in English than foregrounding of the rhematic predicative is foregrounding of a thematic predicative as in *A scoundrel John is*. Jespersen points out that initial position of substantive predicatives is very frequent in German "where all will agree that in Heine's line 'König ist der Hirtenknabe' the latter is the subject." He does not point out, however, that the sentence, in
isolation from a particular context, is multifunctional from the point of view of its thematic structure. The sentence expresses the ascription to an individual of a property, and the unmarked sequence would be *Der Hirtenknabe ist König*, showing a rise in CD from theme to rhyme. Jespersen's statement suggests that he interprets König as being an instance of rhematic foregrounding, and the sequence to be marked for emphasis. The sentence could also be interpreted as meaning that the property of being king is represented by the individual the shepherd boy, where the property of being king refers to a notion recoverable from the preceding context and is thematic in being both contextually dependent and in being what is being talked about. In the unmarked case the individual, the more specific term, will express the theme and the property, the less specific term will express the rhyme.

A further aspect of this type of sentence is that in German the predicate nominal, if rhematic, moves to the end of the sentence forming with the finite part of the verb a predicative bracket which encloses thematic extra-nuclear elements (adverbials of place, time, etc.) e.g.,

(428) Die Frage das britischen Beitritts wird in London noch lange Zeit ein explosives Thema sein

whereas in English, which is characterized by 'Kontaktstellung' extra-nuclear elements follow the nucleus, e.g.

(428a) The question of British entry will be an explosive topic in London for a long time

End position of the nuclear predicate nominal, if rhematic, is neutral in German. In the sentence (from spoken German)
(429) Ich bin kein Fachmann in diesen agrarwirtschaftlichen Fragen
a thematic extra-nuclear element has been placed outside the bracket,
thereby shortening the bracket and, in a way, foregrounding the rhematic
predicate nominal. The neutral sequence in written German would be

(430) Ich bin in diesen agrarwirtschaftlichen Fragen kein Fachmann.

In the following sentence pattern a property is ascribed to an
individual. The grammatical sentence pattern is N₁ + V + Adj. The
adjective is a primary constituent and is immediately dependent on
the verb: the adjective may open up a further position (secondary
constituent) which may be a prepositional phrase, noun in the dative
or genitive. Both the adjective and dependent prepositional phrase
may be rhematic by contextual independence: the rhematic predicative
adjective forms a predicative bracket with the verb (sein, or a small
group of verbs including werden, bleiben), and the criteria of the
relative degree of CD and of syntactic cohesion are in cooperation
in determining the actual sequence of elements. On the other hand,
the predicative adjective may be thematic, in which case permutation
of this element to front position is possible. Otherwise, the criterion
of syntactic cohesion prevails over that of the relative degree of CD
and the adjective moves to the end of the sentence. In the case of
certain predicative adjectives, e.g. reich, Das Land ist reich an
Bodenschätzen, the adjective usually precedes the dependent prepositional
phrase in the sequence of elements, unless the adjective is reinforced
by a modifier increasing its communicative weight, e.g. Das Land ist an
Bodenschätzen ausserordentlich reich. In the examples to follow the
predicative adjective closes the group prepositional phrase + adjective.
In the case of nouns in the dative and genitive which are dependent on
adjectives the adjective always follows the noun.

(i) Combination adjective + prepositional phrase
(431) Gegenwärtig ist er zu keinen Zugeständnissen bereit
(432) Doch offensichtlich ist es dazu noch zu früh
(432a) But obviously it is too early for that
(423) Die Stärke der Strahlung war nur von der Menge Uran in der Verbindung abhängig

In English equivalents of these sentences the dependent prepositional phrase follows the predicative adjective. Not uncommonly in spoken German a rhematic predicative adjective is brought forward in the sentence, e.g.

(434) Herr Minister, ich bin sehr dankbar für diese Antwort
the neutral sequence in formal, written German being
(435) Ich bin für diese Antwort sehr dankbar

A following relative clause may motivate the sequence adjective + prepositional phrase, e.g.

(436) Er ist persönlich verantwortlich für das, was er sagt
where das has cataphoric reference.

(ii) combination adjective + noun in the dative
(437) Die Protokolle der Rundfunkratssitzungen sind der Bundesregierung nicht zugänglich
(438) Sie waren ihrer Zeit voraus
(438a) They were ahead of their time
(439) ...aber es wird Zeit, dass wir uns darauf besinnen, dass dem künftigen Lehrer eine deskriptive Syntax des gegenwärtigen Neuhochdeutschen als Grundlage des grammatischen und stilistischen Unterrichts in der Muttersprache wichtiger ist
(In (439) the thematic noun phrase dem künftigen Lehrer, which is dependent on the adjective wichtiger is moved to the front of the clause).

(iii) combination adjective + noun in the genitive

(440) ...hat die feste Überzeugung gewonnen, dass die Bundesrepublik in der Deutschland-Frage der vollen Unterstützung ihrer französischen Freunde gewiss sein kann

(441) Zudem wäre es eines Forschungsauftrags wert

(iv) instances where the predicative bracket formed by the thematic adjective in end position encloses adjuncts (of time, place, reason)

(442) Sie greifen allenfalls zum Großen Duden und fühlen sich in der Arbeit mit Grammatiken, Arbeitsanleitungen, usw, sicherer

(443) Deswegen sind diese Bestrebungen aus dreierlei Gründen notwendig

Related in function to predicative adjectives are constructions with prop + NP (cf. is interesting, is of interest), e.g.

(444) Die moderne Forschung und Entwicklung ist für die Zukunft der gesamten deutschen Wirtschaft von so grosser Bedeutung, dass auf die Forschung nicht verzichtet werden kann.

Hence we may refer to as a basic type a sentence such as

(445) Der Beitritt zur EWG ist in breiten Volkskreisen unpopulär in which the element expressing the individual to which a property is ascribed is theme and the element expressing the property is rheme. Adjuncts expressing a temporal or local setting have thematic status.

In the following text example
Zweitens war seinerzeit die unilateralen Ausrüstung in breiten Kreisen der Bevölkerung unpopular. Unpopular ist heute in breiten Volkskreisen der Beitritt zur EWG.

The first sentence represents the basic type, the second a contextual variant of this type. The element expressing the property is contextually dependent, in this case by direct reference to the preceding context, and has a lower degree of CD than the element expressing the individual, which is related to the theme and thereby brought into focus. It is this element that carries information focus. Compare English equivalents:

(445a) The entry into the Common Market is unpopular in broad sections of the community.

(446a) What is unpopular today in broad sections of the community is the entry into the Common Market.

The preceding sentences and discussion will have given some indication of the susceptibility of the sequence of elements in German in contextually relatively independent and in contextually dependent sentences to the requirements of functional sentence perspective. The criteria relevant to the relative degree of contextual dependence (including, for instance semantic implication) will need further investigation and formalization. Van Dijk has made some interesting proposals regarding the criteria relevant to the definitivization of nouns in discourse, but, as has been observed throughout, the theme-rheme structure of a sentence is the outcome of an interplay of means, the use of articles being only one of them.
The semantic structure of a sentence, determined by the semantic category of the verb, is an important means of ESP, especially in contextually relatively independent sentences. On the basis of the semantic structure, basic types of thematic structure may be postulated in which the degree of CD carried by an element is related to its semantic relation to the verb. The different degrees of cohesion of elements with the verb are also related to semantic relationships, and the criteria of semantic structure and of syntactic cohesion may operate in the same direction in determining the actual sequence of elements in German. Contextual variants may then be seen as modifications of basic types through the operation of context. One of the manifestations of the theme–rheme structure of sentences is the actual linear sequence of elements. As we have seen, however, in English and German, the actual sequence of elements is the outcome of an interplay of different criteria: grammatical, syntactic and thematic. The degree to which the different criteria operate on the actual sequence of elements was seen to differ in the two languages. In German, the sequence of elements can be more easily manipulated to conform to the requirements of ESP than in English. However, where it is free from constraints of a grammatical nature, word order is bound by the thematic structure. In English, the motivation for the development and use, to a greater extent than in German, of special constructions may be seen as deriving largely from the requirements of functional sentence perspective.
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