

On Marking NPs by Exclusive *only* in EEO Corpus: Syntactic and Information Structural Considerations

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Abstract

The study deals with an exclusive adverb *only* functioning as a part of the NP in Early Modern English based on the Corpus of Early English Books Online. The research takes into account the peculiar features of the XV-XVI-century English word-order and the NPs structure that have been more rigidly defined in terms of syntax compared to the previous centuries. The patterns under analysis fall into such types: [only [NOUN]], [only [PREP] [NOUN]], [[NOUN] only]. The tokens retrieved from the Corpus are tagged following the theory of Discourse Representation Structure. Thus, two major layers have been distinguished, viz. discourse given-new information, as well as, Focus and Topic of the sentence. The investigation found that positional variations of adverb *only* are used as a mechanism of marking a peculiar type of Focus (informational, identificational, emphatic, contrastive, exhaustive and verum) and are governed by the position of adverb with regard to the word it modifies.

Keywords

Adverb, word-order, Discourse Representation Structure, given-new information, Focus, Topic.

1. Introduction

Adverb *only* is classified as a focusing exclusive, which main function in the discourse is to restrict the applicability of what has been mentioned about the focused sentence constituent [1]. The diachronic studies of the English language indicate that it might have originated from two sources. The first hypothesis is based on the findings from Old English (OE) records, where the form *ænlic* is registered and could be interpreted as Modern English *only* (1)-(2).

1. Ðú ðe ænlic eart Godes bearn (*only, single*) (ex. from Andrushenko 2017).

2. Ænlic (unicus) and ðearfa ic eom (*alone, solitary*) (ex. from Andrushenko 2017).

According to traditional grammars this OE adverb provided the basis for further formation of Middle English (ME) exclusive *only*. This approach later turned problematic considering that adverb *ænlic* eliminated in English records of XII and XIII (1st half) cen. From this perspective, its origin from a different source, i.e., OE numeral *one*, is widely discussed in literature [2; 3; 4]. Studies centered on ME *ane* [5; 6] propose the scheme for *only* emergence and grammaticalization in ME which is given in (3).

3. num. *one* > polysemous Adj/Adv *one* > exclusive focusing *onli* [5].

The instances from Rissanen [3] illustrate the assumption above (4).

4. Ane þurh þet þu luuest þe God ... þu makes wiþ uten oþer swink hire god tin ahne (Ancrene Riwele 151 ex. from Rissanen 1985).

Our previous research on ME exclusives shows that the positional variations of ME adverb *only*, taking into consideration the word it modifies, correlate with sentence information structure and Foci types [7; 8]. Hence, the data show that a post-modifying position of the adverb dominates, which is particularly evident with NPs. In contrast to this, the collocates search in British National Corpus [9]

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reveals that *only* in the position before the NP occurs more frequently (total 21,096) than when the adverb is placed in a post-modifying position (total 10,034). The same seems true for Corpus of Contemporary American English [10] (cf. [only [NOUN]] total token of 43,560 vs. [[NOUN] only] total instances of 10,307). These figures trigger the question in what period this transition in the adverb placement occurs and how it is connected with information structure of the sentence in further periods of English evolution, viz. Early Modern English (EModE).

The current study attempts to investigate the adverb when marking NPs in the corpus of Early English Books Online (EEBO) [11], which comprises EModE texts of late XV – mid. XVII centuries. Since the occurrence of *only* in NPs throughout the corpus reaches 50,143 instances in total, it is proposed to confine in this paper to the time frame of 1470s–1590s to analyze the regular patterns and their information structural characteristics. The patterns under investigation fall into such types: [only (oneli, onli) [NOUN]], [only (oneli, onli) [PREP] [NOUN]], [[NOUN] only (oneli, onli)]. The research also takes into account a sentence word order as one of the factors that strongly correlate with information-structure of the sentence, as well as, peculiarities of NPs in order to differentiate *only* functioning as an adverb and as an adjective particularly in [only [NOUN]] pattern. Cf. (5)-(6).

5. ... both shall please the only faith maketh the ryghtewes (An exhortation ... ex. from EEBO).

6. ... it vvas not only faith, but also his thankfulnes &; returnig to giue glorie to god (The Nevv Testament of Iesus Christ ex. from EEBO).

The study of the NP (*the only faith*) in sentence (5) shows that the placement of article before *only* evidentiates that it functions as an adjective, taking into account the fact that a focusing adverbs cannot be modified by other adverbs or be pronominalized, thus no article can be placed before them [12, p. 168]. It is clearly seen from sentence (6) that *only* functions as an adverb.

To avoid the ambiguity in reading presented in examples (5)-(6) a contextual analysis of EEBO Corpus should be done manually giving consideration to the major characteristics of sentence word order and peculiarities of the NP structure.

2. EModE Word Order: Theoretical Assumptions

This part focuses on the major word orders prevailing in EModE, which syntax seems more rigid compared to the previous centuries on account of the gradual loss of inflectional system typical of the earlier phases of English development [13]. Furthermore, it also highlights some aspects of the NP structure at that time which differentiate it from NPs in the Present-day English.

Modern English word order forms a clear pattern already in the fourteenth century, which gets fully established by mid XV cen. Thus, according to traditional grammars the position before the verb in EModE has become “the territory of the subject in declarative actor-action-goal sentences” [14, p. 11]. Certain very important syntactic features in this period, relevant to the current investigation, are outlined below.

1. Parts of speech classification is already syntax based rather than morphological, i.e., it is governed by the position and function of the word in the sentence [15, p. 98].
2. A moderately frequent substitution of the verb with the structure verb + NP (*to have a walk instead of to walk*) [15, p. 99].
3. The greater rigidity of word order in comparison with the previous centuries. Hence, SVO pattern emerges as the normal word order in affirmative sentences already in 1500 [14; 16, p. 113; 17, p. 149].
4. The gradual decline of V2 in sentences in the fifteenth-century English [18, p. 241].
5. By mid. XVI cen. the language exhibits SV order in all existential sentences [19].
6. Fronting of objects (OSV occasionally OVS), common in ME, is typical in mid. XVII cen., though it is frequently used to make the text coherent [15].
7. Alternative means of topicalization, such as passives transformations or cleft constructions are possible, however uncommon they may appear [15].
8. The inversion proportion, in comparison with the previous periods, has decreased albeit not dramatically [18; 20, p. 105].
9. In the XVI cen. inversion is often encountered after initial adverbial elements, viz. *now, here, then*, etc. [16, p. 113].

10. The VS order is quite productive even as late as Early Modern English [14, p. 19].

11. Marking the negative polarity by placing the negator in non-contact position to the auxiliary [16, p. 111]. Furthermore, multiple negation starts its gradual decline [21 p. 5].

Constituents of the NP structure in Early Modern English are more or less the same as in PDE. More specifically, a use of articles differentiates nouns and adjectives [17, p. 82]. A noun is used obligatory as a head, with adjectives or participles becoming prototypical modifiers of nominal elements [22, p. 47; 23]. Besides, adjectives regularly need a dummy head or a pronominal one. [24]. If the NP contains more than one adjective, the second adjective can frequently follow the noun: *a rare younge man and wise* [15, p. 102-103]. In this case dummy *one* can either be present or omitted in the sentence surface structure. The NP can also consist of two (or more) NPs that agree by means of the conjunction *and*; it is addressed as a single NP because it functions as one syntactic unit. A definite number of complex NPs may also contain embedded NPs. [16, p. 117].

3. Methods

The patterns with adverb *only* are retrieved from diachronic Corpus of EEBO [11] that consists of 755 million words in 25,368 text from the late XV cen. to late XVII cen. It has lemmatization and part of speech tagging, thus simplifying the search process. To search the required patterns, viz. [only (oneli, onli) [NOUN]], [only (oneli, onli) [PREP] [NOUN]], [[NOUN] only (oneli, onli)], we have used search for collocates presented in Figure 1.

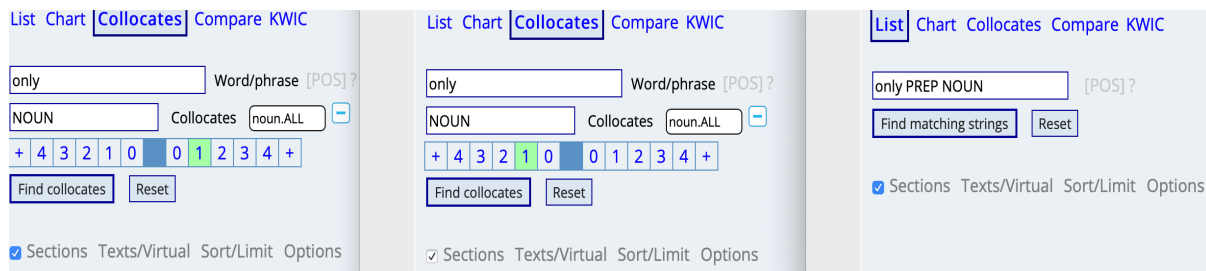


Figure 1: Collocates search for adverb only with NPs

The frequency chart for pattern [only [NOUN]] is given in Figure 2, Figure 3 demonstrates the frequency of using [[NOUN] only] pattern and Figure 4 illustrates [only [PREP] [NOUN]] pattern occurrences in EEBO.

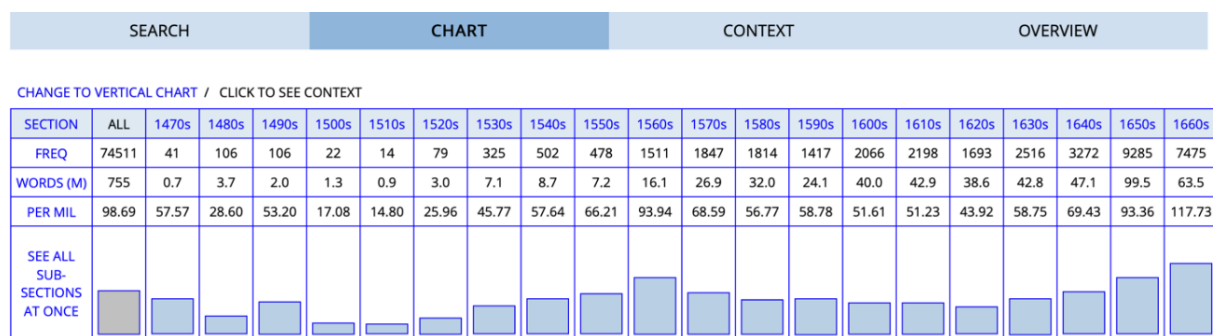


Figure 2: Frequency of [only [NOUN]] collocates in EEBO

SEARCH	CHART	CONTEXT	OVERVIEW
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CHANGE TO VERTICAL CHART / CLICK TO SEE CONTEXT

SECTION	ALL	1470s	1480s	1490s	1500s	1510s	1520s	1530s	1540s	1550s	1560s	1570s	1580s	1590s	1600s	1610s	1620s	1630s	1640s	1650s	1660s
FREQ	69193	51	143	185	44	21	181	366	490	353	1297	1380	1343	1035	1876	1957	1709	3043	3562	10321	6464
WORDS (M)	755	0.7	3.7	2.0	1.3	0.9	3.0	7.1	8.7	7.2	16.1	26.9	32.0	24.1	40.0	42.9	38.6	42.8	47.1	99.5	63.5
PER MIL	91.65	71.62	38.58	92.85	34.16	22.20	59.48	51.55	56.26	48.90	80.63	51.25	42.03	42.94	46.86	45.62	44.33	71.05	75.58	103.78	101.81
SEE ALL SUB-SECTIONS AT ONCE																					

Figure 3: Frequency of [[NOUN] only] collocates in EEBO

SEARCH	CHART	CONTEXT	OVERVIEW
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CHANGE TO VERTICAL CHART / CLICK TO SEE CONTEXT

SECTION	ALL	1470s	1480s	1490s	1500s	1510s	1520s	1530s	1540s	1550s	1560s	1570s	1580s	1590s	1600s	1610s	1620s	1630s	1640s	1650s	1660s
FREQ	36237	31	97	239	46	15	49	154	226	239	532	580	672	525	969	1003	778	1450	1707	5122	3595
WORDS (M)	755	0.7	3.7	2.0	1.3	0.9	3.0	7.1	8.7	7.2	16.1	26.9	32.0	24.1	40.0	42.9	38.6	42.8	47.1	99.5	63.5
PER MIL	48.00	43.53	26.17	119.95	35.71	15.85	16.10	21.69	25.95	33.11	33.07	21.54	21.03	21.78	24.21	23.38	20.18	33.86	36.22	51.50	56.62
SEE ALL SUB-SECTIONS AT ONCE																					

Figure 4: Frequency of [only [PREP] [NOUN]] collocates in EEBO

After automated search all the examples with NPs containing the adverb are analyzed manually based on the semantic criteria to see whether *only* functions as an adjective or an exclusive adverb. As has been highlighted in the Introduction the time frame for the current study is limited to years of 1470s-1590s.

Instances with *only* functioning as an adverb are further analyzed with relation to the sentence IS. It presupposes the investigation of those areas of the language that facilitate speaker's considerations concerning the reader's immediate information state and to foster the communication flow [25]. The examples are tested on the basis of two oppositions: given vs. new information with further analysis of sentence Topic and Focus [see among others 26; 27; 28].

Given is something that is specified or reencountered (7), while new information has not been highlighted in the current linguistic surrounding (8). Cf.:

7. with the most honorable and honestest persones ... men... should not be begotten of euery man, but of the most honestest men only (The lives..., ex. from EEBO).

the most honorable and honestest persones: for first of all, lycurgus did not like that children should be priuate to any men, but that they should be common to the common weale: by which reason he would also, that such as should become citizens citizens, should not be begotten of euery man, but of the most honestest men only: so lycurgus thought also there were many

The NP *the most honestest men only* in sentence (7) represents discourse given information, and simple search reveals that noun *men* was encountered in the previous sentences, NP *the most honestest men* also refers to NP *the most honorable and honestest persones* mentioned above.

8. that their priuate Parliament religion is the publike faith of christ... so in scotland not only reason persuadeth the like (A treatise..., ex. from EEBO).

The NP *only reason* in (8) renders discourse new information inferable from the previous discourse.

A theory of givenness distinguishes several conditions: a discourse referent being completely new is non-identifiable for the reader on account that it has not been activated in one's memory. However, it can also be interpreted as unrepresented in the memory since there is no allusion to discourse referent for an extended space of time [29].

The investigation of givenness presupposes building a file that contains entries of all the subjects, objects or events previously highlighted in the text termed discourse referents (DRs). To annotate discourse given elements it is critically important to keep track of all DRs [30]. So, the core idea is to check whether the NP initiates the presence of a new DR or not. Under the present study, information can be tagged as given if the antecedents lie within a 13-sentence window [31, p. 36].

To illustrate how givenness is annotated Haugh, Eckhoff & Welo [31] turn to Discourse Representation Theory (DRT), which shows how the reader constructs a certain mental model of the ongoing discourse. Thus, a certain mental representation (termed a discourse representation structure (DRS)) is built up by the reader as the discourse progresses. It involves two aspects: a universe of DRs and a range of DRS criteria that facilitate the information encoding [32]. In DRT the box visualization of the sentence ‘*A horse neighed*’ is assigned the manifestation as in (9).

9.

x
<i>horse</i> (x) <i>neigh</i> (x)

Figure 5: Box notation of DRS for sentence “A horse neighed”.

The upper area in the box known as the ‘universe’ is able to keep track of all DRs initiated in the discourse. The lower part is composed of the ‘conditions’ representing the true statements made in the discourse. If the sentence ‘*A horse neighed*’ is a starting point in the discourse, the DRS in (9) is constructed forming the background against which the next sentence finds its interpretation. Let’s assume that sentence (10) follows sentence (9).

10. It was scared.

We get a representation as in Figure 6 (11).

11.

x	y
<i>horse</i> (x) <i>neigh</i> (x)	$y=?$ <i>scared</i> (y)

discourse context

sentence

Figure 6: Discourse context for sentence “it was scared”.

Pronoun *it* outlined as a DR y correlates with a discourse referent, which is alluded to in the prior context. Thus, during the next stage the merging of DRS in (9) and the ones in (11) takes place. Hence, Figure 7 (12) illustrates the outcomes of such merging operation.

12.

$x y$
<i>horse</i> (x) <i>neigh</i> (x) $y=x$ <i>scared</i> (y)

Figure 7: Enriched context in DRS

The new DRS comprises a universe as the combination of the universes of two DRSs that have been merged.

The methodology above was applied to annotate givenness in PROIEL corpus, known as a corpus of old Indo-European New Testament translations [30; 34]. Similar annotation methodology was also used when tagging IS categories in Tatian Corpus of Deviating Examples (T-CODEX) [35]. Tags as a result of annotation are given in Table 1.

Table 1

Tags Assignment in the Extended Annotation Scheme for Information Structure

Layer	Tags	Short description
Information status	giv	given (underspecified)
	giv-active	active
	giv-inactive	inactive
	acc	accessible (underspecified)
	acc-sit	situationally accessible
	acc-inf	inferrable
	acc-gen	general
	new	non-specific

The informational status of various linguistic expressions can also be identified in the context of topicality and focality. In the current study Topic is defined in pragmatic terms, i.e., it is “the subject of predication, what the sentence is about” [36]. The remaining part of the sentence represents a comment, i.e., something that is predicated about the Topic. Topics in their turn are subdivided into aboutness (13) and contrastive (14) ones [37]. The latter represent a combination of a Topic and Focus consisting of an aboutness Topic that has an embedded Focus.

13. that we be iustified by faith only before it ... (The refutation ..., ex. from EEBO)

14. and this pure offering, the church only offereth to our maker (A replie..., ex. from EEBO)

Focus presents the most important or salient information in the sentence [38, p. 143]. It is further subdivided into informational, identificational, emphatic, exhaustive, contrastive and verum Foci.

Informational focus (15) is characterized as a part of the sentence with a great level of novelty; following Jackendoff’s definition, it is information that is not shared by a speaker and a reader [39].

15. ... to be kepte in a pryson ... hath ete nothing but brede & water oneli ... (Thystorye of the right noble and worthy knyght..., ex. from EEBO)

Contrastive focus in the present investigation is represented by the Focus employed for purely contrastive reasons [37], which means that the common ground comprises a proposition which the sentence can be contrasted against (16).

16. ... if then i bring... not only reason, but testimonie also for mine assertion ... (The praise of musicke ..., ex. from EEBO)

Identificational focus (17) expresses identity statement referring to the presence of alternatives highlighted in the previous discourse; thus, it should not necessarily have a contrastive reading [40].

17. ... this life ... whether men suffer these things in this life only, or whether such iudgements follow ... (Tvvo treatises written against the papistes..., ex. from EEBO).

The function of emphatic focus (18) is to establish a scale of values, as well as, target the extreme value on the scale, signaling that the predication is either exceptional or surprising [41, p. 554].

18. that only man among all other liuing things, knoweth them not ...? (A vvoorke concerning the trewnesse of the Ch. religion..., ex. from EEBO).

Exhaustive focus (19) indicates that denotation of this very focus leads to a true proposition [42, p. 73; 43, p. 161].

19. ... that t is only god that forgeueth synnes ... (The letters whyche Iohan Ashwell..., ex. from EEBO)

Verum focus (20) represents the sentence truth value and is characterized by placing an accent on the auxiliary [36].

20. ... wythout he be the mooste proudest: only god doth knowe, iudge and open the lowe degre or lowlynesse .. (ex. from EEBO).

Table 2 summarizes the tags applied to the analysis the second type of dichotomy, viz. topic/focus.

Table 2

Tags Assignment in the Extended Annotation Scheme for Topic/Focus

Layer	Tags	Short description
Topic	ab	aboutness topic
	ct	contrastive topic
Focus	inf	informational focus
	idf	identificational focus
	cf	contrastive focus
	emph	emphatic focus
	exhf	exhaustive focus
	cf-ver	verum focus

The methodology above allows tagging sentence components in the Corpus in terms of information givenness, as well as, identify a Topic and Focus of the sentence and their variations.

4. Results and Discussion

Each pattern retrieved from EEBO [11] was separately analyzed based on the methodology highlighted above. Since the research presupposes both automated and manual analysis the timeframe of the current study has been limited to years of 1470s-1590-s.

4.1. [only [NOUN]] pattern

Model [only [NOUN]] is represented by 2,438 tokens, the most frequent collocates for years 1470s and 1590s are given in Figure 8.

SEC 1 (1470s): 712,130 WORDS							SEC 2 (1590s): 24,105,385 WORDS						
	WORD/PHRASE	TOKENS 1	TOKENS 2	PM 1	PM 2	RATIO		WORD/PHRASE	TOKENS 2	TOKENS 1	PM 2	PM 1	RATIO
1	ONLY LORD	2	8	2.8	0.3	8.5	1	ONLY SONNE	52	0	2.2	0.0	215.7
2	ONLY ALLIANCE	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	2	ONLY DAUGHTER	29	0	1.2	0.0	120.3
3	ONLY ASSHES	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	3	ONLY FAITH	29	0	1.2	0.0	120.3
4	ONLY AYENST	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	4	ONLY WAY	28	0	1.2	0.0	116.2
5	ONLY CONDUYTE	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	5	ONLY MAN	24	0	1.0	0.0	99.6
6	ONLY CONSIRD	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	6	ONLY CAUSE	23	0	1.0	0.0	95.4
7	ONLY CULPA	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	7	ONLY THING	19	0	0.8	0.0	78.8
8	ONLY DAME	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	8	ONLY GOD	16	0	0.7	0.0	66.4
9	ONLY DESIR	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	9	ONLY HOPE	15	0	0.6	0.0	62.2
10	ONLY DETH	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	10	ONLY PLACE	14	0	0.6	0.0	58.1
11	ONLY DISDAINEUSE	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	11	ONLY SON	12	0	0.5	0.0	49.8
12	ONLY DOUGHTER	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	12	ONLY COMFORT	11	0	0.5	0.0	45.6
13	ONLY EGEON	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	13	ONLY IOY	11	0	0.5	0.0	45.6
14	ONLY EMPIRE	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	14	ONLY MEANES	11	0	0.5	0.0	45.6
15	ONLY FIGHT	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	15	ONLY SAUIOUR	11	0	0.5	0.0	45.6
16	ONLY FORTO	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	16	ONLY KING	10	0	0.4	0.0	41.5
17	ONLY FRENDE	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	17	ONLY REASON	10	0	0.4	0.0	41.5
18	ONLY HELPIST	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	18	ONLY KIND	9	0	0.4	0.0	37.3
19	ONLY IHESUS	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	19	ONLY MEN	9	1	0.4	1.4	0.3
20	ONLY LOKE	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	20	ONLY REMEDY	8	0	0.3	0.0	33.2
21	ONLY MAYSTRESSE	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	21	ONLY LORD	8	2	0.3	2.8	0.1
22	ONLY ORDENANCE	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	22	ONLY BREAD	7	0	0.3	0.0	29.0
23	ONLY REGARDE	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	23	ONLY WORD	7	1	0.3	1.4	0.2
24	ONLY RESON	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	24	ONLY AUTHOR	6	0	0.2	0.0	24.9

Figure 8: Frequency of tokens for [only [NOUN]] model for years 1470s and 1590s in EEBO.

As Figure 8 indicates the ratio of tokens changes significantly for these time frames. Despite high frequency of this model, the analysis reveals that *only* when pre-modifying NPs predominantly functions as an adjective (21). It is normally preceded either by definite or indefinite articles or pronouns and its functioning as an exclusive adverb is limited to 17.6 per cent of instances (22).

21. whether of them both shall please the only faith maketh the ryghtewes [.](An exhortation..., ex. from EEBO).

22. vvhe it is only faith in goddis goddis promise thorow christis bloude (The letters..., ex. from EEBO).

Sporadically, lack of articles or other modifiers before [*only* [NOUN]] makes the reading ambivalent, especially with the noun *faith*, since it is not quite clear whether the speaker implies by NP '*only faith*' a single conceptual meaning or emphasizes on the role of *faith* (23). Such instances are also excluded from our investigation.

23. but if only faith doth iustifie vs ... (A sermon had at Paulis, ex. from EEBO).

The overall analysis of patterns indicates that when adverb *only* is in a pre-modifying position, the NP it marks represents more frequently emphatic (45.8%) or contrastive (34.7%) Focus. Less common Foci types registered for this model are exhaustive (9.2%), identificational (8.4%) and informational (1.9%) ones.

Investigation of word-orders where [*only* [NOUN]] is used shows that the most typical patterns are as follows: SV (neg) *only*->O₁ but (neg) O₁, S₁Vno(t) O but (and) *only*->S₂, it is *only*->S, *only*->SV (O), O *only*->S(v)V, SV *only*->O, (X) not *only* ->S₁ VO but also S₂, not *only*-> O₁SV, but also O₂, *only*-> OSV. All the models fall into two general word-order types: SVO amounting to 92.8 per cent and OSV with 7.2 per cent respectively.

4.1.1. SVO pattern with *only* pre-modifying an NP

This pattern is further subdivided into 3 groups: *only*->SVO, SV *only*->O and *it is only*->S. The analysis of *only*->SVO model represented by two patterns, i.e., *only*->SV (O), (X) *not only* ->S₁ VO but also S₂, reveals that when the adverb marks the NP that is the subject of the sentence, the subject in 78.7 per cent is tagged as emphatic Focus and given activated information (24). Topic is tagged as aboutness. The rest of the tokens contain negation *not* before *only*, thus the NP represents the subject of the sentence, which discourse function is to render contrastive Focus and discourse given or activated information (25).

24. Onely faithe iustifieth ... only faith iustifieth, and to make the matter playne they (A declaration of suche true articles..., ex. from EEBO).

Sentence annotated IS structure: [[only faith _[give-active, emph] [iustifieth _[given-active]]].

25. ... y not only persons lyuing, but euen the very persons already dead could not neglect it ... (A moral methode..., ex. from EEBO).

Sentence annotated IS structure: [[not only persons lyuing] _[giv-inactive, cf], [but [euen the very persons already dead _[acc-gen, emph]] [could not neglect] _[new] it _[giv-active, ab]].

Another structure registered is CP [[DP _[Pro]] [T' [vP [VP [NP [Adv [N]]]]]]] represented in surface structure as *it is (was) only he/she* (NOUN) *who (that)*. Sentence (26) illustrates the abovementioned structure.

26. but thanked be god ... it is only god that kepeth vs fautlesse ... (Here endith..., ex. from EEBO).

Sentence annotated IS structure: [[it _[giv-active] [is only god _[giv-active, exhf] [[that kepeth _[new] vs _[giv-active, ab] [fautlesse _[acc-inf]]].

The NP marked by adverb *only* represents in 100% percent given-active information and exhaustive Focus, whilst Topic is primarily annotated as aboutness.

The NP with adverb *only*, which functions as the object of the sentence, is mostly tagged as contrastive Focus representing given activated information (69%). Topic therewith is marked as aboutness (27).

27. ... wherof ther were so few left ... which had brought vp and engendred not only men, but also goddess (Thabridgment of the histories of Trogus Pompeius, ex. from EEBO).

Sentence annotated IS structure: [[which _[ab]] [[had brought vp and engendred _[new]] [not only men _[giv-active, cf]] [but also goddess _[new]]].

An insignificant number of instances represent the NPs that render informational Focus and discourse new information. The rest of NPs with *only* in a pre-modifying position are split between sentence objects that are tagged as identificational Focus conveying given active information (18.2%) and the ones tagged as identification Focus rendering inferred information (4.8%). E.g.

28. ... a creature ... wherof if thos markst well, god, after he hadde created all things of the world, he caried into paradise only man (The fearfull fansies of the Florentine, ex. from EEBO).

Sentence annotated IS structure: [[he _[giv-active, ab] [[caried _[new] [into paradise] _[acc-sit] [only man] _[giv-active, idf]]

Figure 9 summarizes types of information structure marked by *only* in NPs, as well as, various Foci types taking syntax into account.

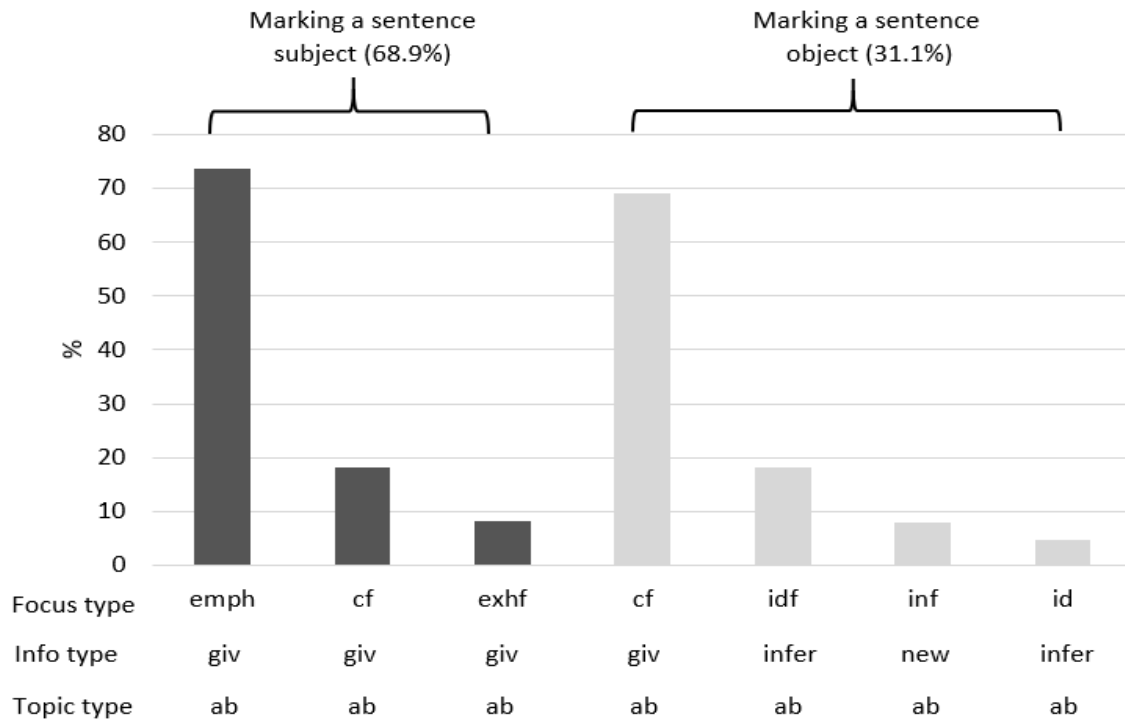


Figure 9: SVO pattern with *only* pre-modifying the NP

The notable characteristic of [only [NOUN] model is that the adverb preceding a noun is predominantly registered when the NP functions as the sentence subject (68.9%). The examples where it functions as the object of the sentence are more rarely observed due to the fact that *only* in these instances is frequently interpreted as an adjective in NPs.

4.1.2. OVS pattern with *only* pre-modifying NPs

The OVS word-order though being registered with 5.96 per cent of instances is rather controversial in terms of the analysis. Thus, the inverted word order implies that the NP with *only* is emphasized, therefore the noun can be tagged as emphatic Focus. However, the presence of NEG *not ... but* relates this structure to contrastive Focus (29).

29. ...men: and not only men haue they thus hallowed, but their qualities and vertues, Iustice, prudence, & the like ... (ex. from EBBO).

Sentence annotated IS structure: and [[not only men _[giv-active, emp/cf] [haue] _[aux] [they] _[giv-active, ab] thus hallowed _[giv-active], [but [their qualities and vertues, Iustice, prudence, & the like] _[new]].

Comparing the information structure of the sentences with contrastive Focus that have different word orders, viz. SVO and OVS, it was noticed that with SVO order V renders discourse new information, whilst in OVS pattern it presents discourse given and activated information, which can explain the inverted word order from the information-structural perspective.

4.2. [only [PREP] [NOUN]] pattern

Model [only [PREP] [NOUN]] is represented by 409 tokens, the most frequent collocates are given in Figure 10.

SEC 1 (1470s): 712,130 WORDS						SEC 2 (1590s): 24,105,385 WORDS							
	WORD/PHRASE	TOKENS 1	TOKENS 2	PM 1	PM 2	RATIO		WORD/PHRASE	TOKENS 2	TOKENS 1	PM 2	PM 1	RATIO
1	ONLY OF PHILOTES	2	0	2.8	0.0	280.8	1	ONLY BY FAITH	10	0	0.4	0.0	41.5
2	ONLY TO TROWE	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	2	ONLY IN RESPECT	8	0	0.3	0.0	33.2
3	ONLY TO THAUENTURE	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	3	ONLY TO SHEW	8	0	0.3	0.0	33.2
4	ONLY TO SUFFYLLE	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	4	ONLY BY REASON	7	0	0.3	0.0	29.0
5	ONLY TO LOKEN	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	5	ONLY IN REGARD	7	0	0.3	0.0	29.0
6	ONLY ON ME:	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	6	ONLY IN MATTERS	5	0	0.2	0.0	20.7
7	ONLY OF THESEUS	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	7	ONLY OF CEREMONIES	5	0	0.2	0.0	20.7
8	ONLY OF PYTE	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	8	ONLY TO LOOK	4	0	0.2	0.0	16.6
9	ONLY WITH TWINKYNG	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	9	ONLY TO MAN	4	0	0.2	0.0	16.6
10	ONLY WITH SUFFRING	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	10	ONLY TO STAND	4	0	0.2	0.0	16.6
11	ONLY VPON HERCULES	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	11	ONLY FOR MEN	3	0	0.1	0.0	12.4
12	ONLY OF HEM	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	12	ONLY IN HEAUEM	3	0	0.1	0.0	12.4
13	ONLY FOR HELE	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	13	ONLY IN HEAVEN	3	0	0.1	0.0	12.4
14	ONLY FOR FEER	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	14	ONLY IN LONGITUDE	3	0	0.1	0.0	12.4
15	ONLY FOR CAUSE	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	15	ONLY IN WORDS	3	0	0.1	0.0	12.4
16	ONLY FOR AMEROUSE	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	16	ONLY OF FAITH	3	0	0.1	0.0	12.4
17	ONLY BY MEKENES	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	17	ONLY TO BURNE	3	0	0.1	0.0	12.4
18	ONLY BY ENUYE	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	18	ONLY TO WALK	3	0	0.1	0.0	12.4
19	ONLY BY DESERTES	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	19	ONLY WITH BURGONETS	3	0	0.1	0.0	12.4
20	ONLY BY CHYNYNG	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	20	ONLY FOR MEDITATION	2	0	0.1	0.0	8.3
21	ONLY IN MISTRYNG	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	21	ONLY FOR FEARE	2	0	0.1	0.0	8.3
22	ONLY FOR VYTAILLE	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	22	ONLY FOR DEFENCE	2	0	0.1	0.0	8.3
23	ONLY FOR PARAMOUR	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	23	ONLY BY CONIECTURES	2	0	0.1	0.0	8.3
24	ONLY OF BODY	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	24	ONLY BY CONIECTURE	2	0	0.1	0.0	8.3

Figure 10: Frequency of tokens for [only [PREP] [NOUN]] model for years of 1470s and 1590s in EEBO.

The contextual analysis of tokens after the automated search shows that in 90.6 per cent of instances [only [PREP]] is followed by the NP, while the rest of examples are eliminated due to the fact that the [NOUN] position is occupied by a verb (30).

30. ... but only to shew she how it doth appere (Here foloweth the interpretacoin..., ex. from EEBO).

The investigation of syntactic functions typical for [only [PREP] [NOUN]] model indicates that it represents either an indirect object (O) or an adverbial modifier (X). Thus, the patterns registered fall into such subtypes (*only* being a part of NP is singled out for convenience): SV *neg only*->O(X), SV *only*-> O, SVO₁ (X₁) *but only*-> O₂ (X₂), *only*-> O(X) SV.

Pattern SV *neg only*->O(X) is the most frequent in our data amounting to 46.6%. In all the instances *only* marks an NP is discourse given or situationally accessible and presents contrastive Focus (31).

31. ... if we woll be true christians not only in name but also in dede let vs put of oure carnall and olde man ... (ex. from EBBO).

Sentence annotated IS structure: [[we_[giv-active]] [woll be true christians_[giv-active] not only in name_[acc-sit, cf] [but also in dede_[new]]

Peculiar for the pattern SV *only*-> O is the prevalence of NPs highlighted by the adverb that render new information and informational Focus. Such instances make 32.2% among all the tokens analyzed. E.g.

32. ... that though some words spokyn by the mouthe of christ e to be vnderstonden only by way of a similitude or an allegorye ... (A boke made by Iohn Frith prisoner..., ex. from EEBO).

Sentence annotated IS structure: [[some words spokyn by the mouthe of christ_[giv-active, ab] [[e to be vnderstonden_[new] [only by way of a similitude or an allegorye_[new, inf]].

Less frequent Focus types registered with this pattern are identificational (given or inferred information with topic marked as aboutness) running to 3.9 per cent (33), identificational (given information with topic marked as contrastive) amounting to 0.6% (34), and verum (given information) found in 1.1 percent of examples analyzed (35).

33. also that we are thereof partakers ... and consequetlie they are deceaued, in teahing that we partake it only by faith... (The supper of our Lord..., ex. from EEBO).

Sentence annotated IS structure: [[we _[giv-active, ab] [[partake _[new] it _[giv-active] [only by faith _[giv-active, idf]

34. that we eate christ no other way, the by beleeuing: ... eate trully the flesh &; drink the blud of christ ... but this eating &; driking is only by faith (A treatise..., ex. from EEBO)

Sentence annotated IS structure: [[but [this eating &; driking _[ct] [is only by faith _[giv-active, idf]].

35. ... life by faith ... i graunt that we doe eate christ only by faith ... (A harmonie vpon the the three Euangelists..., ex. from EEBO).

Sentence annotated IS structure: [[we _[giv-active] [doe eate christ _[giv-active] only by faith _[giv-active, cf-ver]].

Word order SVO₁ (X₁) *but only*-> O₂ (X₂) is registered with NPs where the adverb marks NPs rendering new information and contrastive Focus (15.6%). The topic is tagged as aboutness in all the instances. E.g.

36. i write this to the intent to correct or amend any fault or faults in other men, but only by way of friendly exhortation.... (The trauayled pylgrime ..., ex. from EEBO).

Sentence annotated IS structure: [[I _[giv-active, ab] [[write _[giv-active] [this _[giv-active]] ... [but [only by way of friendly exhortation] _[new, ct]]].

Figure 11 shows the frequency of various Focus types and their informational status in the discourse.

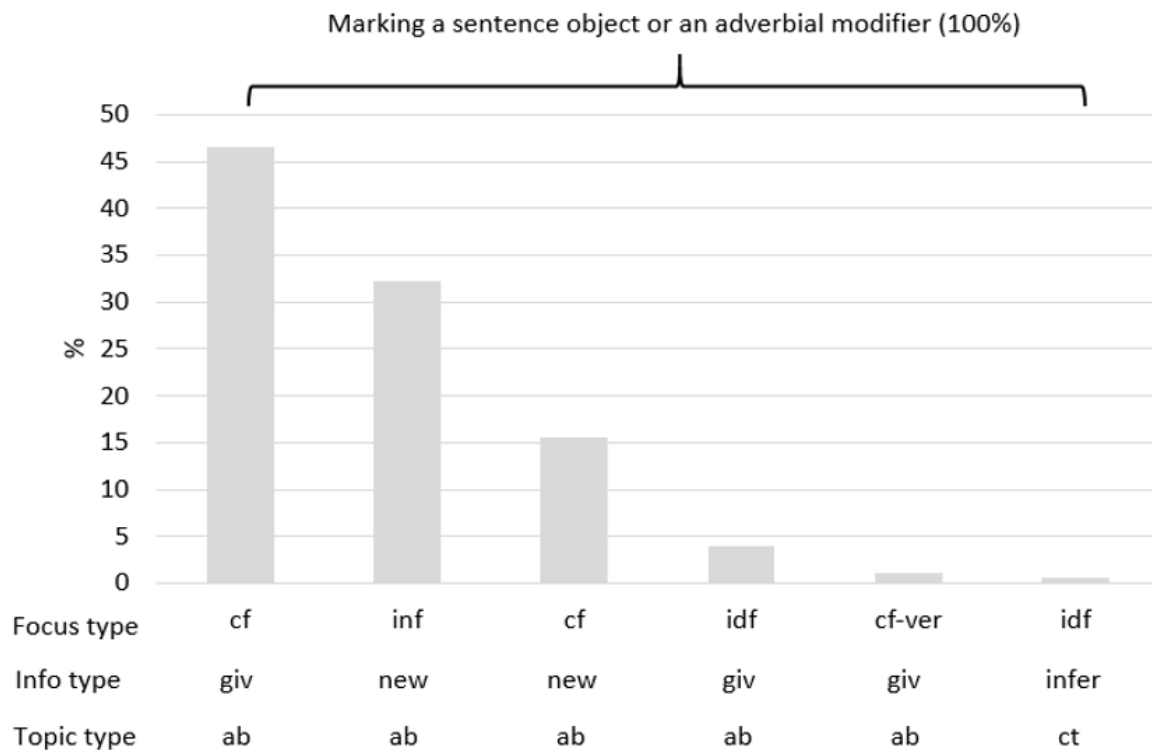


Figure 11: SVO pattern with [only [PREP] [NOUN]]

As Figure 11 indicates model [only [PREP][NOUN]] is often employed when NPs render new information and informational Focus which is its distinguishing feature compared with [only [NOUN]] pattern.

4.3. [[NOUN] only] pattern

Instances of [[NOUN] only] in EEBO Corpus amount to 1860 tokens. Figure 12 illustrates the most frequent collocates with the adverb for years 1470s and 1590s.

SEC 1 (1470s): 712,130 WORDS						SEC 2 (1590s): 24,105,385 WORDS							
	WORD/PHRASE	TOKENS 1	TOKENS 2	PM 1	PM 2	RATIO		WORD/PHRASE	TOKENS 2	TOKENS 1	PM 2	PM 1	RATIO
1	HEM ONLY	2	0	2.8	0.0	280.8	1	FAITH ONLY	25	0	1.0	0.0	103.7
2	MYN ONLY	2	0	2.8	0.0	280.8	2	MEN ONLY	23	1	1.0	1.4	0.7
3	SAUF ONLY	2	0	2.8	0.0	280.8	3	BODY ONLY	13	0	0.5	0.0	53.9
4	THING ONLY	2	8	2.8	0.3	8.5	4	FLESH ONLY	12	0	0.5	0.0	49.8
5	AUARYCE ONLY	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	5	SELFE ONLY	11	0	0.5	0.0	45.6
6	BANK ONLY	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	6	GOD ONLY	11	1	0.5	1.4	0.3
7	BESTES ONLY	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	7	MAN ONLY	11	1	0.5	1.4	0.3
8	ARTE ONLY	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	8	WATER ONLY	10	0	0.4	0.0	41.5
9	COPE ONLY	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	9	WORD ONLY	10	0	0.4	0.0	41.5
10	COUNCEYLLOURS ONLY	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	10	LOUE ONLY	9	0	0.4	0.0	37.3
11	DAYES ONLY	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	11	WORDS ONLY	9	0	0.4	0.0	37.3
12	DELTE ONLY	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	12	END ONLY	8	0	0.3	0.0	33.2
13	DETH ONLY	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	13	RESPECT ONLY	8	0	0.3	0.0	33.2
14	DOUGHTER ONLY	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	14	SAKE ONLY	8	0	0.3	0.0	33.2
15	DOUGHTRIS ONLY	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	15	THING ONLY	8	2	0.3	2.8	0.1
16	ENTENDID ONLY	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	16	DOCTRINE ONLY	7	0	0.3	0.0	29.0
17	FAL ONLY	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	17	THINGS ONLY	7	0	0.3	0.0	29.0
18	FEMELES ONLY	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	18	CASE ONLY	6	0	0.2	0.0	24.9
19	GODDESSE ONLY	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	19	DEATH ONLY	6	0	0.2	0.0	24.9
20	HR ONLY	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	20	NAME ONLY	6	0	0.2	0.0	24.9
21	KNYGHTE ONLY	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	21	PERSONS ONLY	6	0	0.2	0.0	24.9
22	LEES ONLY	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	22	PRIESTS ONLY	6	0	0.2	0.0	24.9
23	MOORES ONLY	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	23	PLACE ONLY	6	1	0.2	1.4	0.2
24	MORNYNG ONLY	1	0	1.4	0.0	140.4	24	CHURCH ONLY	5	0	0.2	0.0	20.7

Figure 12: Frequency of tokens for [[NOUN] only] model for years of 1470s and 1590s in EEBO.

The contextual analysis of the pattern reveals that *only* in 90.1 per cent functions as an exclusive adverb. Therefore, we may conclude that a post-modifying position for adverb *only* in an NP that represents Focus is one of most characteristic ones along with [only [PREP] [NOUN]].

Investigation of patterns where [[NOUN] only] model is used reveals that the most typical word-order is SVO(X) (92.4%). Other word order patterns registered are O(X)SV (5.7%), O(X)VS (1.1%) and SOV (0.8%).

4.3.1. SVO (X) pattern with *only* post-modifying an NP

Marking the subject of the sentence

When marking a sentence subject adverb *only* highlights NPs that render given-active information and emphatic Focus in 73.7 per cent of instances (37); examples of given-active information, contrastive Focus are represented by 18.1 per cent (38). The most uncommon instances are the ones where NPs highlight given-active information and verum Focus (39) accounting to 3.1 per cent.

37. the church ... it followeth that the church only is in life, as the worlde is in death... (Master Bezaes sermons, ex. from EEBO).

Sentence annotated IS structure: that [the church only _[giv-active, emph]] [is _[new] in life _[new]].

38. ... and challenge the spirit ... the church only, not euery priuate man, hath to proue and discern spirites... (The Nevv Testament of Iesus Christ..., ex. from EEBO).

Sentence annotated IS structure: [[the church only] _[giv-active, emph], [not euery priuate man] _[acc-gen], [hath to proue and discern spirites] _[new]]

39. after the priest had reprobued ... Nam sacerdotis est tatum arguere; for it is the priests part only to reprove... (The true difference betweene Christian subiection and unchristian rebellion..., ex. from EEBO).

Sentence annotated IS structure: for [it] _[giv-active, ab] [is the priests part only] _[giv-active, cf-ver] [to reprove] _[new]].

Marking the object or adverbial modifier of the sentence

The most common NPs with the adverb in a post-modifying position represent given-active information and either identificational Focus (41) or contrastive Focus (42), registered in 55.7% and 28.2% of instances respectively.

41. ... ad be by special vocatio ministers ... , which ministratio ad dispesatio is to be foud in the church only... (A reioindre to M. Iewels..., ex. from EEBO).

Sentence annotated IS structure: [which [ministratio ad dispesatio _[giv-active, ab]] [[is to be foud] _[new]] [in the church only] _[giv-active, idf]].

42. ... by the church ... this haue not bene obserued in the west church only, but also ye Emperours Emperours of the east haue caused ... (A Catholicke apologie against the libels, ex. from EEBO)

Sentence annotated IS structure: [this _[giv-active, ab]] [haue not bene obserued] _[new] in the west church only _[giv-active, cf]].

To less frequent Foci types with NPs marked by the adverb belong situationally accessible information, identificational Focus (43) or inferable, informational Focus (44), acc-sit, emphatic Focus (45), as well as new information and contrastive Focus (46).

43. Bicause christ proprely came not to the destruction, but to the saluation of the worlde: therefore in the crede there is made mention of the blessed life only (The institution of Christian religion, ex. from EEBO).

Sentence annotated IS structure: [there _[ab]] [[is made] _[new]] [mention] _[ab] [of the blessed life only] _[acc-sit, idf]].

44. ... that stephen should be lavvful king, during his life only (A conference about the next succession, ex. from EEBO).

Sentence annotated IS structure: [[that [stephen] _[giv-active, ab]] [[should be] [lavvful king] _[new], [during his life only] _[acc-inf, inf]].

45. ... my seruaute iyeth syche ... and iesel sayd vnto hym ... that thou shuldest come vnder the rofe of my house but speake the word only and my seruaunt shall be healed (Here begynneth the pystles and gospels..., ex. from EEBO).

Sentence annotated IS structure: [[but speake] _[new]] [the word only] _[acc-sit, emph]].

46. i haue doon hyr to be kepte in a pryson derke and obscure: & hath ete nothing but brede & water oneli: (Thystorye of the right noble and worthy knyght, EEBO).

Sentence annotated IS structure: [her _[giv-active, ab]] ... [[hath ete] _[new]] nothing _[infer] [but brede & water oneli] _[new, cf]].

Figure 13 presents the overall distribution of patterns where the adverbial marks NPs functioning either as the sentence subject or object.

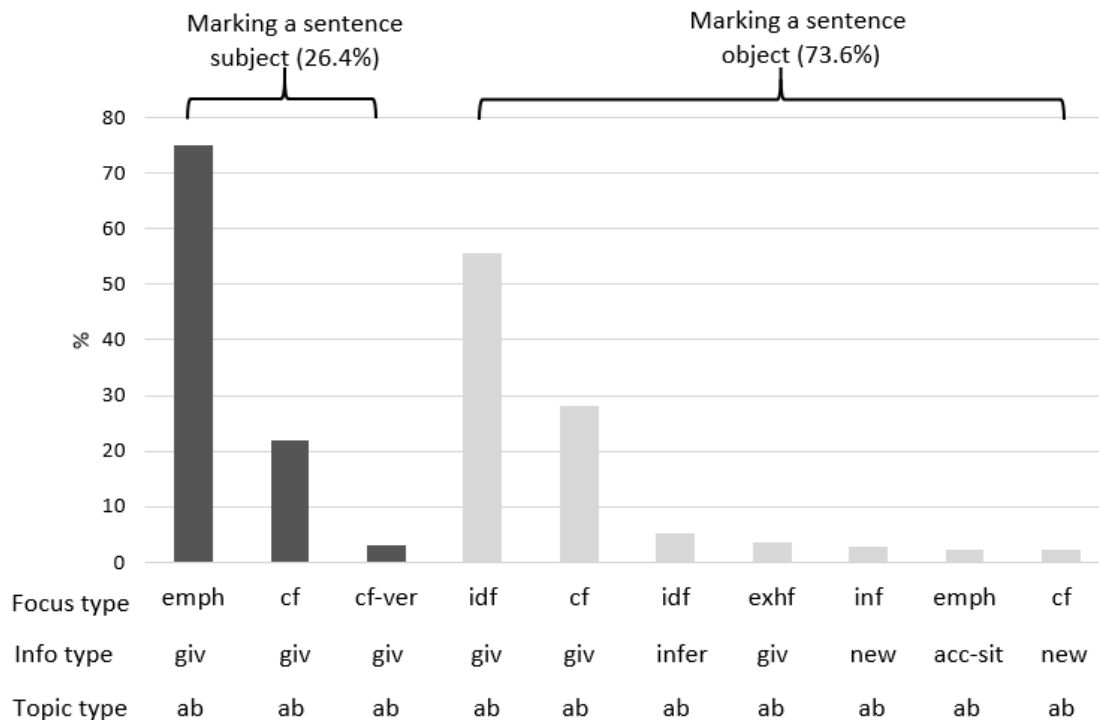


Figure 13: SVO pattern with *only* postmodifying the NP

4.3.2. Minor word-order patterns

The study of less frequent word order patterns where post-modifying *only* is registered as a part of NPs, i.e., OSV, SOV and O(X)VS, indicates that the NPs regularly represent given inactive information and mostly contrastive Focus (47) or emphatic one (48).

47. ... for as thay ordanit kyngdomes & empire to be, so haue thay comandit na wemen nor barnis, bot men only of prouyn virtew to haue the samyn in gouernance ... (Heir beginnis the hystory and croniklis of Scotland, EEBO)

Sentence annotated IS structure: [so [haue [aux] thay _[giv-active, ab] comandit _[new] [na wemen nor barnis _[giv-active], [bot men only of prouyn virtew] _[giv-inactive, cf]].

48. ... thy holy churche for in this church only they know that as all things were made, so the worke of redemption was taken in hand, that y blessed triniteye, mightest in this church be prayed, magnified, serued, & worshipped for euer (ex. from EEBO).

Sentence annotated IS structure: [for [in this church only] _[giv-active, emph] they _[giv-active, ab] know _[acc-sit] that _[giv-active]].

5. Concluding remarks

The investigation of tokens with exclusive *only* as a part of NPs shows that its placing after the noun is more preferable, particularly in the instances where the NP functions as the sentence object. We may assume that this deliberate positioning allows the addressee to avoid ambiguous reading of *only* as an adverb or an adjective. Still 31.1 per cent of instances with *only* preceding the noun-object indicate that it demonstrates the tendency to pre-modify the noun in EModE, which syntax is more rigid in terms of word-order. It is also notable that with the NP functioning as the subject of the sentence, *only* is more likely to be found when it pre-modifies the noun. We assume that this pattern might have triggered the dominant placement of the adverb before the noun functioning as the object of the sentence in further centuries.

Analyzing different word-orders registered with the adverb as a part of the NPs, it was observed that different Foci types correlate with various sentence components as far as the most widespread SVO pattern is concerned. Thus, it is more preferable to allocate NPs with *only* in the subject position while marking emphatic and contrastive Foci. NPs, representing a sentence object, are more characteristic when they highlight identificational Focus for models [[NOUN] only] and informational Focus for models [only [PREP] [NOUN]]. The investigation of the minor word-orders, viz. SOV, OSV, OVS, shows that the verb regularly represents given information, while NPs with *only*, though conveying given-activated information, mark either contrastive or emphatic Focus and facilitate an inverted word-order in the sentence for the purpose of emphasis.

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