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The Clausal Complementation of *Good* in Extraposition Constructions

The Emergence of Partially Filled Constructions¹

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Abstract

This article develops a functional synchronic-diachronic description of the clausal complement patterns found with *good* in extraposition constructions (ECs), and compares these to the patterns found with other deontic-evaluative adjectives, such as *appropriate*, *important* and *fitting*. The adjectives studied can currently take either mandative complements expressing desired action, or propositional complements describing arguable claims. *Good* differs from adjectives such as *appropriate* and *important* in that it currently favours propositional *to*-clauses. More specifically, I will argue that it occurs in two types of partially filled constructions in the sense of Goldberg (1995) featuring such complements, viz. the locative pattern and the knowledge/acquisition of knowledge (KAK) pattern. The diachronic data will reveal that *good* started to prefer propositional *to*-clauses only recently, amongst others through the emergence of the KAK pattern in Late Modern English and its subsequent rise in frequency. In addition, the present-day occurrence of purely evaluative adjectives like *nice* and *great* in the locative and KAK constructions suggests that analogy with this class of adjectives may have played a role as well.

1. Introduction

In Present-Day English (PDE), the adjective *good* occurs in a number of extraposed complement patterns, as shown in (1) to (3). This article focuses on the most frequent complement types in PDE, viz. *that*- and *to*-clauses, as in (1) and (2). *If*-clauses, as in (3), are excluded from analysis.

- (1) If we see people waving the Union Jack we say, "Put your flag away, this isn't a Morrissey gig" says Jim Bob. I think it was **good** that Morrissey was questioned so much about racism in the press, but there's so many other people who get away with stuff, like countless rap bands. (CB, ukmags)²
- (2) The main body of your letter should state the problem, stick to the point and avoid repetition, again include any areas of information such as model numbers, dates etc. Undoubtedly it is **good** to be firm, but avoid rudeness or abuse as it will not help your complaint (CB, ukmags)
- (3) He commented: "The league is certainly more interesting than when I came here in January. Then, the gap between Rangers and the rest was from here to Dover. The young lads though are now playing with so much freedom. It would now be **good** if John Collins stayed too. He is a good player and you know what you've got with him as opposed to someone that might be brought in." (CB, today)

More particularly, this article aims at a functional description of the synchronic distribution of complements, and it also studies the diachronic developments by which the present system was fashioned. Therefore, in addition to the formal distinction between that- and to-clauses, it also proposes a semantic distinction between mandative and propositional complements, which cross-cuts the formal distinction. Mandative complements as in (2) refer to potential actions that are desired to be actualized, whereas propositional complements as in (1) refer to propositional contents that are taken to be true. I will show that the PDE distribution of clausal complement patterns with good differs from that with other deontic-evaluative adjectives, such as proper, fitting or appropriate in that it currently prefers propositional to-clauses. In fact, it will be argued that good occurs in two types of partially filled constructions in the sense of Goldberg (1995)featuring such complements, viz. the locative pattern and the

knowledge/acquisition of knowledge (KAK) pattern, illustrated in (4) and (5) respectively.

- (4) "How are you?" I ask her. "It's **good** to be here on this Earth," she replies in low, rich, fruity tones. (CB, today)
- (5) We've never been shy to bring in young players in the past and it's **good** to see England recognising their young talent now. (CB, ukmags)

The diachronic data will show that *good* started to favour propositional *to*-clauses only recently, as up to Early Modern English its distribution of complement patterns did not differ so much from the ones observed with the other deontic-evaluative adjectives studied. It will become clear that it is especially the emergence of the KAK pattern in Late Modern English and its subsequent increase in frequency that accounts for the synchronic high frequency of propositional *to*-clauses with *good*. In addition, Present-Day English complement constructions with purely evaluative adjectives, such as *great* and *nice*, suggest that *good* has come to analogize with this semantically distinct class of adjectives to a considerable extent.

The structure of this article is as follows. In section 2, I will briefly introduce the data and methods used in this study. In section 3, I will present the synchronic distribution of formal and semantic types of complements with *good* in extraposition constructions, and I will compare this to the distribution with a reference set of ten other deontic-evaluative adjectives. Special attention will go to the locative and the KAK pattern. In section 4, I will investigate the diachronic distribution of formal and semantic types of complements, and I will trace the origin and development of the two propositional patterns. In section 5, I will expand on the two patterns as they are also found with adjectives characterized by purely evaluative meaning, which may hint at analogy as an additional explanation for the current distribution of complement patterns with *good*. In section 6, finally, I will summarize the main findings and formulate some questions for further research.

2. Data and methods³

Presenting a synchronic-diachronic account of the complement patterns found with the adjective *good*, the following sections are based on detailed corpus study. Table 1 shows the synchronic and diachronic corpora used and the number of tokens retrieved for each period.⁴

@@ Insert Table 1 here

In addition, this article also compares the clausal complement patterns with *good* to those of other adjectives that can take mandative as well as propositional complements. To find such adjectives, expressing degrees of goodness or appropriateness, I used *Roget's Thesaurus* (1970) along with the online *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED). The adjectives in the Present-Day English dataset are given in the bottom row of Table 2. This set served as a starting point for the diachronic onomasiological search for lexical items. I looked for Old and Middle English counterparts of the Present-Day English adjectives in the online *Thesaurus of Old English* and the *Middle English Dictionary*. The adjectives thus identified were also searched for in the five corpora listed in Table 1, taking into account spelling variants. The numbers of tokens between brackets in Table 2 indicate the overall occurrence of the adjectives, but not necessarily in the complement constructions studied here.

@@ Insert Table 2 here

This study not only relies on qualitative and quantitative analyses of the diachronic and synchronic corpus data, but also uses a collostructional type of analysis, viz. a multiple distinctive collexeme analysis (Gries & Stefanowitsch 2004). Such an analysis starts with a particular construction, like the extraposition construction with adjectival matrices studied here, and "investigates which lexemes are strongly attracted or repelled by a particular slot in the construction (i.e. occur more frequently or less frequently than expected)", like the *to*-infinitive slot of the extraposition construction with the several adjectives (Stefanowitsch & Gries 2003: 214). To calculate the association strength between a particular *to*-infinitive (I) and an adjective (A), relative to the other *to*-infinitives and adjectives included in the analysis, we need four frequencies: (i) the frequency of I in extraposition constructions with A, (ii) the frequency of I in

extraposition constructions with adjectives other than A, (iii) the frequency of A with toinfinitives other than I, and (iv) the frequency of to-infinitives other than I with all
adjectives other than A (cf. Stefanowitsch & Gries 2003: 218). On the basis of these
frequencies, a collexeme analysis computes a vast amount of probability tests (viz.
Fisher's exact tests), which for each adjective results in specific p-values indicating the
collostruction strength with each to-infinitive. The present analysis is based on exhaustive
extractions of the extraposed to-clauses with good and ten similar deontic-evaluative
adjectives (as listed in Table 2) in the COBUILD corpus (see Table 3). These data will be
used to adduce evidence for the frequency and "entrenchment" of the two constructions
found with good in Present-Day English (cf. Goldberg 1999).

@@ Insert Table 3 here

3. Towards a functional description of the PDE data

In this section, I will propose to distinguish between two semantic types of complement occurring with *good* (and other deontic-evaluative adjectives), viz. mandative and propositional ones, and I will show that this distinction cross-cuts the formal distinction between *that*- and *to*-clauses (section 3.1). In addition, I will present the quantitative instantiation of these types of complements in Present-Day English (section 3.2). Finally, I will concentrate on two recurrent patterns with propositional *to*-complements that are typical of *good* in Present-Day English, viz. the locative pattern and the knowledge/acquisition of knowledge (KAK) pattern (section 3.3).

3.1 Mandative versus propositional complements⁵

From a functional perspective, *that*- and *to*-clauses complementing matrices with *good* can be of two types. In a first type, they express desired action, as in (6) and (7) (cf. Wierzbicka 1988: 139 on verbal complementation; Biber et al. 1999: 673-674).

(6) I know a number of reputable journalists of various nationalities who have done as I did. In part, the motivation is professional: new sources, exchanges of information. In some cases, too, patriotism plays a part: it is obviously **good** for

- one's country <u>that its foreign policy should be based</u> on information known to be sound. (CB, ukbooks)
- (7) For example, you may fear that there are going to be some compulsory redundancies at your place of employment. You obviously hope that you are not going to be one of them, but it is **good** to take precautions just in case you are. (CB, ukbooks)

In a second type, they contain a proposition that is presented as true, as in (8) and (9). Following Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 996) and Halliday (1994: 70), I refer to these semantic types of complement as "mandative" and "propositional" ones respectively (cf. Van linden & Davidse 2009).

- (8) WHILE it is **good** that Will Carling has been reinstated as captain of the England rugby team, let us not blame RFU president Dennis Easby for the action he took. (CB, today)
- (9) Well I think we'll have a word with <ZZ1> company name's <ZZ0> about that or you know <ZF1> I <ZF0> I don't honestly think I've heard them s mention anybody else's name really <ZF1> in <ZF0> in great seriousness. But er it is **good** to be here and it is good to see As I say I'm sort of sitting very much and looking on the outside and I'm seeing some a lot of different sort of points of view coming out and a lot of different ideas (CB, ukspok)

Crucially, mandative and propositional complements differ in terms of the factuality status of the State of Affairs (SoA) referred to in the complement. Mandative complements invariably involve potential or virtual SoAs, which have not yet been actualized at the moment of assessment. In (6), for instance, the context does not give us any clues as to whether it is the case that the foreign policy of one's country is based on information known to be sound. Rather, it is assessed as desirable that in general this should be the case. Therefore, just like *that*-clauses with a subjunctive or deontic modal finite form (cf. *should* in example (6)) (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 996), *to*-infinitives as in (7) make excellent coding forms of mandative complements, since they are non-finite and non-tensed forms (cf. Bolinger 1967: 351-352). In the case of indicative *that*-clauses, the potentiality and desirability of the situation have to be inferred from the context.

Propositional complements, by contrast, involve situations that are presented as presupposed true, as 'fact'. What is essential to a propositional complement is that it is a circumscribed claim that can be agreed with or not. For this, it needs to have a reference point in the deictic centre shared by speaker and hearer (Halliday 1994: 75; Langacker 1991: 195). In that-clauses, it is finite tensed or epistemic modal VPs that give the proposition such a reference point, such as the present perfect form has been reinstated in (8). In the case of infinitival complements, the temporal anchoring of the proposition is brought about indirectly. In (9), the locative adverb here indirectly indicates that the actualization of the situation in the to-complement is simultaneous with the moment of speaking, as it deictically locates the proposition in the here-and-now of the speech event. In addition, propositional complements need to have a subject in terms of which the truth of the proposition is asserted or, in this case, presupposed (Halliday 1994: 76-77), such as Will Carling in (8). In (9), the context shows that the subject of the propositional toclause is coreferential with the speaker. Although to-infinitives clearly are less straightforward coding means of propositional complements, they have nevertheless become most frequent with *good* in Present-Day English (see section 3.2).

The difference in factuality status of the SoA in the complement implies a different interpretation of the adjectival matrix. In fact, only potential SoAs, as in (6) and (7), can be regarded as morally desirable in the true sense of the word, as these SoAs have not yet been actualized. Deontic constructions with a potential SoA in their complement thus have a volitional flavour: the assessor wants the SoA to be actualized (on the basis of moral arguments) (cf. Kiefer 1997: 242; McGregor 1997: 222; Verstraete 2005: 1405-1406). In (6), for example, it is the speaker's moral conviction that the information journalists deliver to their country's politicians should be correct; (s)he wants journalists to come up with sound information only. The inherent potentiality of mandative complements thus forces a deontic/volitional interpretation onto the adjectival matrix. By contrast, complement constructions with presupposed SoAs lack this volitional flavour. In fact, it makes little sense to desire the actualization of a SoA that has already been actualized (temporal relation of anteriority, as in (8)), is being actualized (temporal relation of simultaneity, as in (9)), or is bound to be actualized (temporal relation of posteriority, as in (10) below) (cf. McGregor 1997: 221). Therefore, speakers cannot assess such SoAs as desirable, but they can only evaluate them as being or having been

good. Again, the factuality status of the SoA under assessment forces a particular interpretation onto the adjectival matrix, viz. an evaluative meaning.

(10) It is going to be fascinating next season with the two big guns, Arsenal and United, head-to-head at the top of the Premiership and in the European Cup. It can only be **good** for English football that so much quality will be on view in the Champions League, which rival managers Arsene Wenger and Alex Ferguson will be desperate to win. (CB, sunnow)

Finally, the examples above also show that the semantic distinction between mandative and propositional complements does not systematically correlate with the formal distinction between *that*- and *to*-clauses on a one-to-one basis. The two semantic types can be coded by the two formal types of complement. In the following section, I will point out which combinations of meaning and form are most frequent in the PDE data.

3.2 The PDE distribution of types of complements

The Present-Day English data show that the synchronic distribution of clausal complements with *good* differs from that with the ten other deontic-evaluative adjectives in a number of ways. Table 4 details the overall frequencies of the semantic subtypes with *good*, cross-classified with their formal codings.

@@ Insert Table 4 here

Table 5 does so for the other deontic-evaluative adjectives. In Tables 4, 5, 6, 11 and 12, 'n' refers to absolute frequencies, 'N' to normalized frequencies per 100,000 words,⁶ and '%' to relative shares.

@@ Insert Table 5 here

The most striking difference between *good* and the other deontic-evaluative adjectives concerns the semantic type of complement they prefer. *Good* combines most frequently with propositional complements (61.7%) (cf. Table 4). A Fisher's exact test (cf. Pedersen

1996) shows that this preference is statistically significant, with Fisher's exact p=0.0005131. The other adjectives, by contrast, occur in an overwhelming majority of cases with mandative complements (92.7%) (cf. Table 5). This preference is even more statistically significant, with Fisher's exact p<2.2E-16. In addition, Fisher's exact tests run on the distribution of semantic types of complements across Tables 4 and 5 confirm this difference in preferences as highly statistically significant, with Fisher's exact p<2.2E-16 for both propositional and mandative types. Within the type of propositional complements, *good* prefers *to*-infinitives (73.7%) (again a significant preference, with Fisher's exact p=1.220E-08), while the other adjectives clearly prefer *that*-clauses (95.4%) (a highly significant preference, with Fisher's exact p<2.2E-16). The following section, therefore, focuses on the propositional *to*-clauses found with *good*.

3.3 Two patterns with propositional to-clauses⁸

Closer study of the extraposition constructions with *good* taking propositional *to*-clauses reveals that a distinction can be made between two major patterns, viz. the locative pattern and the knowledge/acquisition of knowledge (KAK) pattern. The frequencies of these patterns are shown Table 6.

@@ Insert Table 6 here

3.3.1 *The locative pattern*

The locative pattern, which accounts for 31.2% of the propositional *to*-clauses found with *good* (cf. Table 6), is a specific subtype of evaluative construction in which speakers assesses their or someone else's spatio-temporal location as good. Expressions of spatio-temporal location are taken to include not only true locative phrases (to be at a particular place), as in (11),

(11) Deirdre's luck changed thanks to The Sun's spectacular crusade, which captured the imagination of the nation. [...] Deirdre wrote a touching letter of gratitude to campaigning Sun readers while she was banged up in prison. And last night she gleefully clutched a special Weatherfield edition of The Sun reporting her

release. She said: "It's just so **good** to be home. I owe a big thankyou to The Sun's brilliant campaign." (CB, sunnow)

but also associative expressions (to be with someone), as in (12),

(12) But O'Brien survived it. Some 'friends' couldn't believe I had a by-pass. They said the way I wrote about their team suggested I couldn't have a heart. But I'll let you in on a secret. It's **good** to be back amongst my hurling friends again. I'm looking forward to the Championship. (CB, sunnow)

and perception expressions (to see someone), as in (13) (rather than to see a particular SoA, see section 3.3.2).

(13) "Excuse me, could you tell when the next 406 bus leaves for Santa Ana?" a voice said behind him. The phrase. His contact. "I'm afraid the 406 doesn't go to Marlette stopped abruptly when Hector Amaya stepped into view. "It's **good** to see you again, Marlette," Amaya said with an icy smile. Marlette's mind was racing. Was Amaya his contact? Or had he been set up? (CB, ukbooks)

What is characteristic of this pattern and common to the three examples above is that the evaluative assessment is simultaneous with the realization of the SoA referred to in the propositional *to*-clause. This temporal relation of simultaneity is implied by the locative meaning, which is fairly straightforward in expressions such as (11) and (12). For perception expressions as in (13), it has been argued that they have a locative component to their meaning as well: there must be some association in terms of spatio-temporal location between the perceiver and the perceived entity (cf. Wierzbicka 1980: 99-114), as in an act of perception, "a stimulus of some kind, e.g. visual, auditory, or tactile, comes in contact with a sense organ of the perceiver" (Foley & Van Valin 1984: 48). In addition to this relation of simultaneity, the locative meaning also implies that the understood subject of the *to*-infinitive has specific reference; typically it is coreferential with the speaker (cf. (11) to (13)).

The finding that this locative pattern is typical of *good* (i.e. not attested with other deontic-evaluative adjectives) is reflected by the results from the multiple distinctive

collexeme analysis. Table 7 shows the ten collexemes that are most strongly attracted to the *to*-infinitive slot of the extraposed *to*-infinitive construction with *good*. Table 8 gives the results of the same analysis, with the lexical items collapsed into process types (cf. Halliday 1994: ch. 5). Crucially, the smaller the p-value, the stronger the collostruction strength.

- @@ Insert Table 7 here
- @@ Insert Table 8 here

It can be seen in Table 7 that the verbs attracted most strongly to the construction studied here (viz. A in the tables) are see (p=1.57E-33) and be followed by a locative or associative expression (p=2.96E-13). The list also includes the verb meet, which is often found in the locative pattern as well (p=2.63E-03). The table thus shows that the frequencies of see, be-locative and meet are significantly higher than what would be expected on a chance level (with α =0.05 as the standard level of significance, cf. Stefanowitsch and Gries 2003: 239, note 6). Table 7 also demonstrates that these results remain statistically significant after the Bonferroni correction. Table 8 shows similar results for the process types. In fact, the frequencies of perception and location are the only ones that are significant, even at corrected level. Thus, compared to the other ten adjectives included in the multiple distinctive collexeme analysis, good stands out as preferring perception and locative processes in the extraposed to-infinitive construction. However, it should be noted that not all instances of the verb see (and the perception type) are examples of the locative use discussed here. It will become clear in the next section that see is also used in the knowledge/acquisition of knowledge pattern.

3.3.2 The knowledge/acquisition of knowledge pattern

The second pattern of propositional *to*-clauses found with *good* is concerned with the positive evaluation of knowing or getting to know a particular propositional content (knowledge or acquisition of knowledge, henceforth KAK, cf. Noonan 2007: 129-130). This pattern accounts for 50% of the propositional *to*-clauses observed with *good* (cf. Table 6) and can be thought of as a 'construction' in the Construction Grammar sense, specifically in the sense of Goldberg (1995, 1996):

A construction is [...] a pairing of form with meaning/use such that some aspect of the form or some aspect of the meaning/use is not strictly predictable from the component parts or from other constructions already established to exist in the language. (Goldberg 1996: 68)

The KAK pattern is very frequent with *good*, and it is also found with *important*, albeit only once. Consider the following examples:

- (14) He said: "[...] It is nice to get something like this after people have judged your performances. I was runner-up in Barnsley's Player of the Season to Ashley Ward. This is a nice consolation. It is **good** to know people have thought you played well." (CB, sunnow)
- (15) The young pastors, now elderly men, had discharged the responsibility vested in them beyond my father's hopes and prayers. Christian faith and worship had been resurrected and emerged stronger than ever. It is **good** to read that this is being sustained, and we could imagine ourselves sharing this wonderful Eastertide in Wenzhou. (CB, times)
- (16) He revealed: "It started slowly at first, but then worked up until I was flat out. I felt much leaner and sharper. It was **good** to hear people telling me I was looking much better particularly the manager." (CB, sunnow)
- (17) It is **important** to see UK base financial markets on a world basis following the recent spread of "global" or "round the clock" trading from foreign exchange to securities, financial futures and commodities. This has been made possible by improved satellite based communications and the deregulation of financial markets. (CB, ukephem)

The examples above all involve an extraposed *to*-infinitival subject consisting of a KAK predicate and a secondary propositional complement. Note that the non-deliberate perception verbs *see* and *hear* with participial complements are included in this KAK use as well (even if they are typically regarded as expressing immediate perception; cf. Noonan 2007: 142-144), as sensory perception essentially implies acquisition of knowledge. What is crucial to the KAK pattern is that it is not so much the SoA encoded by the *to*-infinitive that is evaluated as good or important. Rather, the construction as a

whole expresses the speaker's positive evaluation of the propositional content of the secondary complement.¹⁰ In this sense, the meaning of the KAK pattern cannot be compositionally derived from its constituent parts, and thus forms a construction in the Construction Grammar sense.

However, it should be noted that not all examples with *to*-clauses containing KAK predicates are propositional in nature. In fact, the following examples feature mandative *to*-clauses. What is characteristic of these examples is that the understood infinitival subjects have arbitrary reference, whereas those in the KAK pattern have specific reference, viz. they are coreferential with the speaker (cf. (14) to (17)), just like those in the locative pattern (see section 3.3.1 above).

- (18) "I've this urge to see something of the world." "Some of the other cities, you mean." "Right. Some other cities." "Well, why not?" asked Soniff, expansively. "The Purples have affiliates in a lot of the cities, and it's always **good** to see the way things get done other places." (CB, ukbooks)
- (19) What kind of input have the police or other departments had? <M02> Erm again it's it's looking at the effectiveness of the the solutions that we're <M01> Mhm. <M02> we're putting forward. Erm other people's experience may be that those things have been tried elsewhere and do or don't work and it's **important** to know that. (CB, ukspok)

Apart from specific reference of the infinitival subjects, the KAK pattern shares some further properties with the locative pattern. Importantly, the KAK construction also involves simultaneity of evaluative assessment and realization of the SoA referred to in the *to*-clause. This property might be related to the presence of a locative component in the KAK pattern as well. In functional accounts, for instance, it has been argued that the semantics of KAK predicates includes a locative element, albeit indirectly: in the first place they have a possessive component to their meaning, which in turn implies a locative aspect (Wierzbicka 1980: 105-114; Foley & Van Valin 1984: 49). However, in cases like (20), the realization of the KAK *to*-clause must be interpreted as being both anterior to and simultaneous with the evaluative assessment in the here-and-now of the speech event.

(20) Tracker funds are the cheapest and most straightforward of all equity investments. They simply invest in a basket of shares which replicate the performance of the chosen index. They gained prominence last year when Virgin rocked the market with the launch of its low-cost index-tracking Pep, which is sold over the phone in the same way as Direct Line already sells insurance. Virgin said: "It is **good** to see another company with a good reputation coming into the market and showing that simple, low-cost products are the way the industry must go. As well as low charges, tracker funds also have investment performance on their side." (CB, times)

In (20), the "seeing-event" evaluated as good arguably consists of a range of successive "seeing-events" in a time span that started before and continues into the moment of evaluation, or, in other words, the propositional content evaluated as good is not an event that can be seen at a single glance. The finding that the events referred to (viz. coming into the market with low-cost products, and gaining profits from this business) have taken place in a specific time span rather than at a specific moment suggests that in the KAK construction the meaning of the predicate *see* may differ from that in the locative pattern (see also De Smet & Cuyckens 2007 on other patterns of combined complementation with *see*). In any case, the participial form of the secondary complements (*another company with a good reputation coming and showing*) suggests that *see* is still used in its immediate perception sense rather than in its (strictly KAK) 'realize, understand' sense (cf. Noonan 2007: 72-73, 129-130, 142-143).

Finally, the observation that the KAK pattern is more typical of *good* than of *important* or the other deontic-evaluative adjectives of the reference set is confirmed by the results of a multiple distinctive collexeme analysis. Table 9 not only shows the ten collexemes most strongly attracted to the *to*-infinitive slot of the extraposed *to*-infinitive construction with *good* (cf. Table 7), but also the ten collexemes most strongly repelled by it. Table 10 does the same with the process types (cf. Table 8). However, a distinction is made here between perception predicates complemented by a secondary proposition (perception_comp) and those without clausal complement (perception (proper)), so as to give some idea about the ratio of locative versus KAK uses (see section 3.3.1 above).

It is clear from Table 9 that the KAK predicates rank high in the list of attracted collexemes (*see*, *know*, *hear*). It is also telling that the cognition/knowledge verb *know* is a strongly attracted item, whereas the cognition verbs *remember*, *understand*, *realize* and *recognize* are strongly repelled items (however, only the first two at corrected level as well). The findings for these four verbs explain why the category of cognition verbs – despite the result of *know* – ends up as a strongly repelled process type in Table 10. This table also shows that both the category of perception proper and that of perception with clausal complement are strongly attracted; the first one two orders of magnitude more so than the second one. However, the first category still includes examples of the KAK pattern, for instance those which express the perceived SoA as an action nominal rather than as a clausal complement, as in (21) below.

(21) Mm. And it was quite good when we went to get my sister and my mum 'cos my nephew's like growing up really quick and it They hadn't seen him for a while and it was really **good** to see you know their reaction to when they see the baby all grown up and doing all these different things. (CB, ukspok)

@@ Insert Table 10 here

In general, the collostructional analysis thus provides further evidence for considering the KAK pattern as a partially filled construction with a restricted number of lexical elements occurring in two of the six slots (in boxes), as presented in Figure 1 below.

@@ Insert Figure 1 here

4. Diachronic developments

This section concentrates on the diachronic development of the distribution of complements with *good*, and compares it to the complement patterns observed for the deontic-evaluative adjectives of the reference set. More specifically, it traces the

emergence of the two propositional patterns discussed above, viz. the locative and the KAK pattern.

The distribution of formal and semantic types of complements with *good* and the other deontic-evaluative adjectives has witnessed a number of changes across the various historical periods. We can note that some changes affected both *good* (see Table 11) and the deontic-evaluative adjectives (see Table 12), whereas other developments seem to be restricted to *good*.

- @@ Insert Table 11 here
- @@ Insert Table 12 here

The main change common to *good* and the other deontic-evaluative adjectives relates to mandative complementation. Tables 11 and 12 show that with all adjectives studied this type of complementation shifted from a predominance of *that*-clauses in Old English to one of *to*-infinitives in Middle English, a development parallel to that of complements of verbs with a volitional element described by Los (2005) (cf. Van linden 2009: 163-178, Forthc. a, b). The tables also indicate that – unlike with some volitional verbs (cf. Rohdenburg 1995) – this replacement of the *that*-clause by the *to*-infinitive has not run its full course; the mandative *that*-clause continues to be a (minor) coding option in Present-Day English.

The most important differences between the two datasets pertain to the relative frequencies of the two semantic types of complements and, within propositional complementation, to the relative frequencies of the two formal types of clauses. First, if we look at the relative shares of mandative and propositional complements, Tables 11 and 12 show that *good* and the other deontic-evaluative adjectives studied differ most markedly in Present-Day English (see also Tables 4 and 5 in section 3.2 above). Up to Early Modern English, by contrast, the relative shares of the two semantic types of complements are very similar; Fisher's exact tests demonstrate that the distribution of mandative and propositional complements with *good* and the other deontic-evaluative adjectives does not show significant differences (with Fisher's exact p-values ranging from p=0.1815 to p=1). In Late Modern English, *good* combines significantly more often with propositional complements than the other deontic-evaluative adjectives do (Fisher's exact p<2.2E-16), but overall it still patterns more frequently with mandative (69%) than

with propositional complements (39%). By Present-Day English, however, this distribution has almost been reversed, as *good* has come to favour propositional complements (62%) over mandative ones (38%), whereas the deontic-evaluative adjectives still prefer mandative clauses (94%) (again Fisher's exact p<2.2E-16, cf. Tables 4 and 5).

Secondly, if we consider the diachronic distribution of the formal types of propositional complements, we can observe another difference. More specifically, the development of the distribution of propositional *that*- and *to*-clauses with *good* seems to mirror the development found for the mandative complements: even though the data are few, we can note a shift from a prevalence of *that*-clauses to one of *to*-clauses, which has been accomplished by Late Modern English (see Table 11). With the other deontic-evaluative adjectives, by contrast, *that*-clauses remain the preferred type of propositional complement throughout the various periods (93% on average, see Table 12).

The finding that the predominance of propositional *to*-clauses with *good* is a recent development ties in with the origin and development of the locative and KAK pattern. In fact, the KAK pattern only emerged in the Late Modern English period and rapidly increased in frequency to become the predominant one in the PDE data (cf. Table 6). In the examples (22) and (23), dating from the early 20th century, the KAK predicates are perception verbs, which are complemented by participial clauses. No such examples have been found in the Old, Middle, or Early Modern English period.

- (22) What a wholesome thing to have Mr. Henley, for example, at that in the place of some of the several specialists who will lecture you so admirably on the Troubadours! How **good** to hear Mr. Frederic Harrison (with some one to follow) adjusting all our living efforts to the scale of the divine Comte, and Mr. Walkley and Mr. Herbert Paul making it perfectly clear that a dead dog is better than a living lion, by demonstrations on the lion. (CLMETEV 1902–03 Wells, *Mankind in the making*)
- (23) "It's nothing." She went in and tore it up, and then began to write a very short letter, whose gist was "Come and save me." It is not **good** to see your wife crying when she writes especially if you are conscious that, on the whole, your treatment of her has been reasonable and kind. (CLMETEV 1905 Forster, *Where angels fear to tread*)

The locative pattern, by contrast, is already attested in Old English, as illustrated in (24). A Middle English translation of the same Bible verse is given in (25). Both examples involve a clear locative phrase, viz. *her/here* (cf. (11)).

- (24) Pa cwæð Petrus to him, Drihten, **god** ys us her to beonne; Gyf Then said Petrus to him, Lord, good is to.us here to be If bu wylt uton wyrcean her preo eardungstowa you want.PRS.IND go.PRS.SBJV.PL make.INF here three dwelling.places 'Then Peter said to him: "Lord, it is good for us to be here; if you want it, let us make here three dwelling-places" (YCOE 1000–1050 Mt (WSCp) 17.4)
- (25)seyde seynt Peter: DOMINE BONUM And berfore and therefore said saint Peter: Lord.voc good.nom.n is NOS HIC ESSE. FACIAMUS HIC TRIA we.ACC here be.INF, make.PRS.SBJV.1PL here three.ACC bat is to seye:Lord it is gode for vs to TABERNACULA, dwelling.place.ACC.PL, that is to say: Lord it is good for us to ben here, make wee here .iij. dwellyng places. be.INF here, make.PRS.SBJV we here three dwelling.places 'And therefore Saint Peter said: "Lord, it is good for us to be here, let us make three tabernacles here", that is to say: "Lord, it is good for us to be here, let us make three dwelling-places here." (PPCME ?a1425 (c1400) Mandev.(1) (Tit C.16) 76)

In spite of its early emergence, the locative pattern never was very frequent up to Late Modern English, as can be inferred from the low absolute numbers of propositional *to*-clauses with *good* (cf. Table 11). Presumably, its rise to about one third of the propositional *to*-clauses found with *good* in Present-Day English (cf. Table 6) can be explained as being promoted by the emergence and rise of the KAK pattern. In addition, as suggested in the next section, analogy with purely evaluative adjectives may have played a role.

5. Locative and KAK patterns with purely evaluative adjectives 12

Even if among the deontic-evaluative adjectives studied here, the locative and KAK patterns are typical of *good*, it is certainly not the only adjective that occurs in these patterns in Present-Day English. Interestingly, the adjectives in the examples below are generally held to express only evaluative meaning (cf. Noonan 2007: 127-129), that is, unlike the adjectives studied here, they do not occur with both mandative and propositional complements.¹³

- (26) Those two putts must have flushed away some of the negative thoughts that have been bedevilling him; at last, the flashing Ballesteros smile was back. "It's **nice** to be here for the weekend," he said. One would think the sponsors were fairly happy about it as well. (CB, times)
- (27) Last June eight years down the line he completed an MA in International Politics and Relations at Aberdeen University. "it's it's **great** to see you here today at this ceremony. You've actually been nominated for a regional award so you're a regional finalist." (CB, ukspok)
- (28) I can't get used to the idea of Marcia, spending the war well "On the other side? And courted by German officers? Your little sister? Is that what you mean?" "I suppose that it is." But it was both **wonderful** and **poignant** to hear that Marcia was well. (CB, ukbooks)
- (29) And the big story is still the situation in Iraq and particularly the situation facing the Kurds as they flee into the mountains away from Saddam Hussein's armies. [...] And things are pretty bad really for the Kurds at the moment. And er it's **interesting** to see Mrs Thatcher's been weighing in on their behalf. (CB, ukspok)
- (30) "Everybody loves him round here and they don't want me to upstage him. Let's just say I'll creep up as close as I can." Tony was present to see the action and said: "It's **great** to see Michael carrying on where I left off. The race had a few problems but, at the same time, the racing was excellent and it's a unique track and occasion." (CB, sunnow)
- (31) Benn has always said that 1996 would be his last year, and he would like to go out with the final tear-up with Jones. It was not **surprising** to see Benn wanting

to retire after a hard campaign over nine years and after being comprehensively outpointed by an ageing opponent Malinga is 36 who is himself contemplating retirement. (CB, times)

Examples (26) and (27) with *nice* and *great* instantiate the locative pattern. These examples both have anticipatory *it* and a copular finite, but the locative pattern is also often found without these elements, e.g., *nice to meet you*, or *good to see you* (not included in the analyses here). Arguably, these locative expressions have become semiformulaic phrases typically used in face-to-face communication. The examples given here also suggest that the locative pattern is restricted to adjectives expressing degrees of likeability (cf. Nuyts 2006: 12: "the degree of the speaker's (or someone else's) liking or disliking of the state of affairs"). We might thus be led to conclude that in the locative pattern *good* has come to express likeability rather than moral evaluation, and hence, that the locative pattern may qualify as a partially filled construction, just like the KAK pattern, in which a specific constructional make-up is paired with a particular meaning that is not fully predictable from the component parts. The locative construction can be visualized as in Figure 2.

@@ Insert Figure 2 here

Examples (28) to (31) above illustrate the KAK pattern with the adjectives wonderful, poignant, interesting, great and surprising. The KAK predicates include hear, know and see, and the secondary propositional complements take the form of a that-clause in (28) and (29), and that of a participial clause in (30) and (31). It is clear from the examples that the types of evaluative meaning expressed by KAK constructions include not only likeability but also expectability and significance. This finding explains, for instance, why important is found in this pattern, but not in the locative pattern. It also suggests that in this construction good has kept its general moral undertone, more so than in the locative pattern. More generally, all examples above, featuring adjectives of a semantic class distinct from the one studied here, offer further evidence for establishing the locative and KAK use found with good (and important) as true patterns or constructions, which are (getting) entrenched in the language (cf. Hopper's Emergent Grammar; cf. Hopper 1987, 1998).

6. Conclusions

In this article, I have developed a functional account of the clausal complement patterns with *good*, and I have compared these to a reference set of ten other deontic-evaluative adjectives such as *appropriate*, *fitting* and *important*. In doing so, I assumed distinctions between semantic types of complements, viz. mandative versus propositional, and formal types, viz. *that*-clauses versus *to*-clauses, which I found do not correlate with each other on a one-to-one basis. The Present-Day English data showed that *good* differs from the other deontic-evaluative adjectives in that it currently favours propositional *to*-clauses, whereas those adjectives prefer mandative *to*-clauses. In fact, the synchronic data revealed that *good* is frequently used in two patterns with propositional *to*-clauses, viz. the locative and the knowledge/acquisition of knowledge (KAK) pattern. In the first one, the speaker assesses someone's spatio-temporal location as good, and in the second one, the speaker expresses his/her positive evaluation of a particular propositional content. On the basis of qualitative and quantitative (amongst others, collostructional) analyses of corpus data, these patterns were characterized as partially filled constructions in the sense of Goldberg (1995).

The diachronic data revealed that *good*'s current preference for propositional *to*-clauses is a rather recent phenomenon, which could be detected as incipient in the Late Modern English period, and which has established itself firmly only in Present-day English. In fact, up to Early Modern English *good* clearly patterned like the other deontic-evaluative adjectives, favouring mandative complements which themselves underwent a shift in predominant coding form, viz. from *that*-clauses to *to*-clauses (cf. Van linden Forthc. a). In Late Modern English, *good* still preferred mandative complements, but to a significantly lesser degree than the other deontic-evaluative adjectives. In the same period, the KAK pattern emerged, which probably also promoted the use of the locative pattern, already attested as of Old English. It is only in Present-Day English that *good* combines in an overwhelming majority of cases with propositional *to*-clauses, especially in the locative and KAK patterns. The occurrence of these two patterns with purely evaluative adjectives like *nice*, *great*, *wonderful*, *poignant* and *interesting* in Present-Day English suggests that this class of evaluative adjectives may

have set the example for *good*. That it, whereas *good* patterned much like the other deontic-evaluative adjectives studied here up to Early Modern English, it may have come to analogize with a different semantic class of adjective. The question remains of course why *good* changed its course of development in the first place, and, if analogy did play a part in this shift, it still needs to be investigated when and how exactly the analogies came about.

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Notes

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volume for their detailed and helpful comments. Of course, any errors of fact or interpretation remain my own responsibility.

¹⁰ A similar pattern has been noted by Mair (1990: 25) with matrix predicates assessing truth and probability, such as *true*, *obvious* and *probable*. These matrices are typically complemented by propositional *that*-clauses, but they also occur in constructions with extraposed *to*-clauses containing utterance or propositional attitude predicates (e.g. *say* or *believe*) and secondary *that*-complements, as in (i) below.

(i) "I often think", Treece said rather smugly, "that it's equally **true** to say that genius is an infinite capacity for faking pains." (W.16.2.107-1) (Mair 1990: 25 (23))

In this example, it is not the act of saying that is equally true, but rather the propositional content of the secondary *that*-clause (see also Herriman 2000: 591). This is why Mair calls this construction "slightly incongruous" (1990: 25). In both the KAK and in Mair's pattern, it is this incongruity that makes the meaning of the whole construction unpredictable from its constituent parts.

² The synchronic data were extracted from the COBUILD corpus via remote log-in and are reproduced (in each case marked with CB) with the kind permission of HarperCollins Publishers. They are taken from the following subcorpora: ukephem, ukbooks, ukmags, ukspok, bbc, times, today, and sunnow (for more information, see http://www.collins.co.uk/cobuild/).

³ This section is based on Van linden (2009: 62-72, Forthc. b).

⁴ The LModE data of *good* are limited to the adjective immediately followed by *that*, *to* and *for*, as the total number of tokens would otherwise have become unmanageable. For the PDE data, I also used a special design of query to avoid as much noise as possible, including anticipatory *it*.

⁵ This section is based on Van linden & Davidse (2009: 177-187) and Van linden (2009: 208-219, Forthc. b).

⁶ The normalized frequencies (per 100,000 words) in Tables 4, 5, 11 and 12 have been rounded up to two decimal places, or, in the case of figures with larger decimals, to at least two significant digits.

⁷ The result for the ambiguous cases, however, is not statistically significant (Fisher's exact p=0.7906).

⁸ This section is based on Van linden (2009: 254-263, Forthc. b).

⁹ The Bonferroni correction is a 'post hoc comparison' or adjustment that is often performed in multiple testing applied to the same dataset (cf. Rietveld & Van Hout 2005: 65), such as, for example, the 11 collostructional analyses here. It is used because uncorrected results of multiple testing may falsely give the appearance of significance, as 1 out of 20 probability tests will appear to be significant at the α =0.05 level purely due to chance (Stefanowitsch pc). I thus multiplied the Fisher exact p-values by the number of tests run, viz. 11, to arrive at the corrected p-values.

¹¹ The *to*-infinitives referred to as appearing in the clausal complements of the adjectives studied here include inflected infinitives preceded by *to* in Old English, inflected infinitives by preceded *to*, *te* or *forto* in Middle English, and those in *for*-NP-*to*-infinitive constructions from Late Middle English onwards. In fact, the data do not include bare infinitives in any period.

¹² This section is based on Van linden (2009: 265-267, Forthc. b).

¹³ In terms of Noonan's (2007: 120-145) semantic classification of complement-taking predicates, the adjectival matrices central to this article, like *be good* or *be proper*, belong, when combined with a mandative complement, to the type of desiderative predicates like *want* (2007: 132-137), or modal predicates like *ought*, *should* or *must* (2007: 137-139). When combined with a propositional complement, however, these adjectival matrices belong to the type of commentative predicates (Noonan 2007: 127-128), which "provide a comment on the complement proposition which takes the form of an emotional reaction or evaluation (*regret*, *be sorry*, *be sad*) or a judgement (*be odd*, *be significant*, *be important*)" (cf. Van linden & Davidse 2009). The adjectival matrices in examples (26) to (31), by contrast, act inherently as commentative predicates, and cannot be used as desiderative or modal ones (cf. Noonan 2007: 127-129).

¹⁴ However, as rightly noted by a referee, in some KAK constructions *good* can be assigned a 'likeability-rather-than-moral-evaluation-reading', like, for instance, in (16).

Tables in: The clausal complementation of *good* in extraposition constructions: The emergence of partially filled constructions

Subperiod of English	Time span	Corpus	Number of words (million)	Attestations of good
Old English (OE)	750– 1150	York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (YCOE)	1.45	1,733
Middle English (ME)	1150– 1500	Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, Second Edition (PPCME)	1.16	2,525
Early Modern English (EModE)	1500– 1710	Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English (PPCEME)	1.79	2,438
Late Modern English (LModE)	1710– 1920	Corpus of Late Modern English texts (Extended version) (CLMETEV)	15.01	685
Present-day English (PDE)	roughly 1990– 1995	Collins COBUILD Corpus (CB) (only British subcorpora)	42.10	1,241

Table 1: The corpora used for each subperiod with their number of words and attestations of *good*

Period	Adjectives
OE (487)	andfenge (23), arlic (5), (ge)beorh (1), (ge)beorhlic (6), bryce (3), (ge)cop (1), (ge)coplic (2), (ge)cweme (61), (ge)cynde (28), (ge)cyndelic (37), cynn (7), (ge)dafen (2), (ge)dafenlic (33), (ge)defe (4), (ge)defenlic (1), fremgendlic (3), fremful (10), fremfullic (2), geornlic (5), (ge)limplic (17), (ge)mæte (4), medeme (15), (ge)met (4), (ge)metlic (9), nytlic (7), nytt (28), nyttol (1), nytweorðe (33), nytweorðlic (2), (ge)radlic (3), rædlic (1), rihtlic (53), (ge)risenlic (14), (ge)risne (14), (ge)screpe (4), (ge)tæse (1), til (4), þæslic (14), (ge)þungen (25)
ME (542)	able (33), aise (3), bicumelich (28), comely (3), commendable (2), competent (3), convenient (8), covenable (30), desiderable (5), desirable (1), expedient (5), fremful (6), goodly (29), helply (2), just (30), kendeli (37), lele (2), limplich (1), medeme (3), (i)mete (5), profitable (42), proper (4), (i)queme (62), rightful (133), semeli (18), servisable (2), skilful (11), vertuous (34)
EModE (1318)	advantageable (1), appropriate (8), commendable (13), commodious (15), competent (14), convenient (192), covenable (2), desirable (13), expedient (27), fit (288), fitting (11), important (9), just (186), meet (120), pertinent (3), profitable (61), proper (137), rightful (4), servisable (9), shapely (1), skilful (32), suitable (27), useful (38), virtuous (107)
LModE	appropriate (189), convenient (420), desirable (415), expedient (93), fit (951), fitting
(6908)	(81), important (1,784), meet (51), profitable (172), proper (2,361), suitable (391)
PDE	appropriate (323), convenient (162), desirable (84), expedient (13), fit (306), fitting
(3909)	(78), important (2,598), profitable (40), proper (150), suitable (155)

Table 2: The deontic-evaluative adjectives under investigation and their number of tokens

appropriate	88	expedient	8	good	278	proper	18	
convenient	32	fit	49	important	969	suitable	3	
desirable	23	fitting	6	profitable	7			

Table 3: The deontic-evaluative adjectives included in the collexeme analysis with their number of *to*-infinitives in CB

COBU	TILD	n	N	%	% of semantic type	% form per semantic type
prop	that to	55 154	0.13 0.37	16.2 45.4	61.7	26.3 73.7
prop/ mand	that to	2 3	0.0048 0.0071	0.6 0.9	1.5	40.0 60.0
mand	that to	4 121	0.010 0.29	1.2 35.7	36.9	3.2 96.8
total		339	0.81	100.0	100.0	-

Table 4: The overall distribution of propositional and mandative complements with *good* in PDE

COBU	ILD		Ten	deontic-eval	uative adjectiv	ves .
		n	N	%	% of semantic type	% form per semantic type
prop	that to	103 5	0.24 0.012	5.8 0.3	6.1	95.4 4.6
prop/	that	<u></u>	0.012	1.0		77.3
mand	to	5	0.012	0.3	1.2	22.7
mand	that to	452 1193	1.07 2.83	25.5 67.2	92.7	27.5 72.5
total		1775	4.22	100.0	100.0	-

Table 5: The overall distribution of propositional and mandative complements with the ten deontic-evaluative adjectives (cf. Table 2) in PDE

Type of propositional pattern	n	%
locative pattern	48	31.2
KAK pattern	77	50.0
(i) KAK with secondary complement	60	39.0
(ii) KAK without secondary complement	17	11.0
other	29	18.8
Total	154	100.0

Table 6: The types of propositional to-clauses with good in CB

Collexeme	Obs. Freq.			Fisher Yates p-value	Bonferroni correction
	in A	in B		1	
see	65	11	A	1.57E-33	1.73E-32
be_locative	21	1	A	2.96E-13	3.25E-12
talk	14	1	A	9.07E-09	9.98E-08
know	29	33	A	1.55E-05	1.70E-04
hear	6	1	A	7.49E-04	8.23E-03
go	7	3	A	1.85E-03	2.04E-02
have	6	2	A	2.42E-03	2.67E-02
meet	4	0	A	2.63E-03	2.89E-02
find	4	1	A	1.08E-02	1.18E-01
be_noun	6	6	A	3.47E-02	3.81E-01

Table 7: The collexemes most strongly attracted to the *to*-infinitive slot of the extraposed *to*-infinitive construction with *good*

Collexeme: process			Distinctive for:	Fisher Yates p-value	Bonferroni correction
types	in A			P	
perception	73	17	A	1.12E-40	1.23E-39
location	21	12	A	1.15E-08	1.26E-07
intensive	14	56	A	4.43E-01	4.88E+00
affection	4	15	A	4.91E-01	5.40E+00

Table 8: The process types attracted to the *to*-infinitive slot of the extraposed *to*-infinitive construction with *good*

	Di	stincti	ve for A			Di	stinct	tive for B	
Collexeme	Obs.	Obs.	Fisher	Bonferroni	Collexeme	Obs.	Obs.	Fisher	Bonferroni
	Freq	Freq	Yates	correction		Freq	Freq	Yates	correction
	in A	in B	p-value			in A	in B	p-value	
see	65	11	1.57E-33	1.73E-32	remember	1	46	6.47E-05	7.12E-04
be_locative	21	1	2.96E-13	3.25E-12	understand	0	22	3.25E-03	3.57E-02
talk	14	1	9.07E-09	9.98E-08	ensure	0	19	7.15E-03	7.86E-02
know	29	33	1.55E-05	1.70E-04	realize	0	18	9.29E-03	1.02E-01
hear	6	1	7.49E-04	8.23E-03	recognize	0	15	2.04E-02	2.24E-01
go	7	3	1.85E-03	2.04E-02	make_sure	0	15	2.04E-02	2.24E-01
have	6	2	2.42E-03	2.67E-02	note	1	21	2.47E-02	2.72E-01
meet	4	0	2.63E-03	2.89E-02	say	0	14	2.65E-02	2.91E-01
find	4	1	1.08E-02	1.18E-01	look	0	13	3.43E-02	3.78E-01
be_noun	6	6	3.47E-02	3.81E-01	keep_cont	1	18	4.79E-02	5.26E-01

Table 9: The collexemes most strongly attracted to and repelled by the *to*-infinitive slot of the extraposed *to*-infinitive construction with *good*

	Distin	ctive	for A			Distinct	ive for B	
Collexeme	Obs.	Obs.	Fisher	Bonferroni	Collexeme	Obs. Obs	Fisher	Bonferroni
	Freq	Freq	Yates	correction		Freq Fred	Yates	correction
	in A	.in B	p-value			in A in E	p-value	
perception	43	14	2.31E-21	2.54E-20	cognition	45 437	1.07E-11	1.18E-10
perception_comp	30	3	1.35E-19	1.48E-18	utterance	4 62	2.57E-03	2.82E-02
location	21	12	1.15E-08	1.26E-07	material	102 509	4.92E-02	5.41E-01
intensive	14	56	4.43E-01	4.88E+00	possession	15 94	1.00E-01	1.10E+00
affection	4	15	4.91E-01	5.40E+00	behavioural	0 1	8.12E-01	8.94E+00

Table 10: The process types attracted to and repelled by the *to*-infinitive slot of the extraposed *to*-infinitive construction with *good*

good		Fr	750-	950-	1150-	1350-	1500-	1710-	1990
Ü			950	1150	1350	1500	1710	1920	1995
		n	1	4	0	1	0	2	55
	that	N	0.29	0.36	0.00	0.12	0.00	0.013	0.1
		%	100.0	66.7	-	50.0	-	9.1	26.
prop to		n	0	2	1	1	0	20	154
	to	N	0.00	0.18	0.28	0.12	0.00	0.13	0.3°
		%	-	33.3	100.0	50.0	-	90.9	73.
		n	1	6	1	0	0	22	209
	total	N	0.29	0.54	0.28	0	0.00	0.15	0.5
		%	100.0	100.0	100.0	-	-	100.0	100
		n	6	15	7	14	16	15	6
	that	N	1.74	1.36	1.99	1.74	0.89	0.010	0.01
		%	66.7	93.8	41.2	37.8	21.3	30.6	4.6
		n	3	1	10	23	59	34	124
mand -	to	N	0.87	0.090	2.84	2.86	3.29	0.23	0.2
		%	33.3	6.3	58.8	62.2	78.7	69.4	95.
		n	9	16	17	37	75	49	130
	total	N	2.61	1.45	4.83	4.60	4.18	0.33	0.3
		%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100

Table 11: The diachronic distribution of propositional and mandative complements of *good*

referer	nce	Fr	750–	950–	1150-	1350-	1500-	1710-	199
set			950	1150	1350	1500	1710	1920	199
		n	1	5	0	1	6	8	10
	that	N	0.29	0.45	0.00	0.12	0.33	0.053	0.2
		%	100.0	83.3	-	100.0	100.0	80.0	95
prop		n	0	1	0	0	0	2	5
prop	to	N	0.00	0.090	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.013	0.0
		%	-	16.7	-	-	-	20.0	4.
		n	1	6	0	1	6	10	10
	total	N	0.29	0.54	0.00	0.12	0.33	0.067	0.2
		%	100.0	100.0	-	100.0	100.0	100.0	100
		n	11	32	2	10	57	193	46
	that	N	3.19	2.90	0.57	1.24	3.18	1.29	1.1
		%	78.6	100.0	100.00	47.6	39.0	21.8	28
		n	3	0	0	11	89	691	119
mand	to	N	0.87	0.00	0.00	1.37	4.96	4.60	2.8
_		%	21.4	-	-	52.4	61.0	78.2	71
		n	14	32	2	21	146	884	160
	total	N	4.05	2.90	0.57	2.61	8.14	5.89	3.9
		%	100.0	100.0	100.00	100.0	100.0	100.0	100

Table 12: The diachronic distribution of propositional and mandative complements of the adjectives of the reference set

Figures in: The clausal complementation of *good* in extraposition constructions: The emergence of partially filled constructions

Figure 1: The KAK pattern as a partially filled construction

Figure 2: The locative pattern as a partially filled construction