This paper aims to investigate how covertly speakers’ intentions appear in their speeches from the systemic functional grammar’s perspective, especially from the viewpoint of thematic structure.

1. Introduction

Thompson (1998) treats a phenomenon which implicates a speaker’s hidden intention, concerning his less conscious usage of grammatical components. The effect of the repetition of the language that he deals with is not so obvious and goes unnoticed. Yet, it meaningfully influences the tone of the entire text. The phenomenon may be called backgrounded. Our concern to try to reveal speakers’ intention is in his study. We are going to do that by quoting just a little bit of his theory.

2. Data

The data for our analysis were taken from Senator Barack Obama’s announcement for President at Springfield in Ill. Feb. 10, 2007, and Senator Hillary Clinton’s announcement about the formation of an exploratory committee to run for President, which was posted on her Web site on Jan. 20, 2007. (There is a big difference in length between the two texts analyzed here.)
3. **Hypothesis**

Senator Barack Obama, the first African-American candidate for the presidency, and Hillary Clinton, the first female candidate, are both members of the Democratic Party. They contested the nomination for the candidate for several long months.

In the U.S. people from many different places live together. Among them African-Americans make up a large minority. However, they are, after all, in a minority in proportion to the total population. So, in order to win the Democratic nomination, the candidate needs voters not only from his own minority but many other different races. He emphasizes the unity of American people as much as the slogan, “CHANGE” in a loud voice throughout the campaign.

On the other hand, Senator Hillary Clinton is a senator who also had a successful record under Mr. Clinton’s presidency. She properly and perfectly performed her duties as the First Lady in many different fields. So we can safely assume that in this battlefield, her brilliant past record can be used as a weapon. We also suppose that both Obama’s UNITY and Clinton’s PAST RECORD may come out, as it were, in the background of their consciousness.

4. **Subject and Theme in the Systemic Functional Grammar**

4.1. **Subject**

A subject in the Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) is one of the components in a clause, which functions to determine person and number agreement with a finite/predicator.

4.2. **Theme**

In SFG, theme comes at the beginning of a clause, the point of departure in the clause, and indicates what the clause is about. Themes are Topical, Interpersonal or Textual, and may be single or multiple.

(1) Mt. Fuji is the highest mountain in Japan.

Example (1) has a single *Topical Theme* “Mt. Fuji”, which is also the
subject in the clause. A Topical Theme in any clause is the first constituent that is part of the meaningful structure of the clause. When a subject is in theme position like this case, the theme is said to be unmarked.

(2) Well, you dropped your wallet.

There are two themes in example (2). “Well” is Textual and “you” is Topical. Speakers in a conversation sometimes use “Well” or “So” to give feedback on the previous speaker’s comment. In these cases they use a Textual Theme. This topical theme is unmarked, too.

(3) Oh, my sweet, the book I left in the bus.

In example (3), “Oh” is a Textual Theme and “my sweet” is an Interpersonal Theme. When speakers address listeners directly, they might want to soften their claims or express a deep intimacy with the listeners by using a name or a term of affection, in which case they are using an Interpersonal Theme. Some clauses have more than one theme, or what is known as a multiple theme structure. Example (3) has three Multiple Themes: Textual, Interpersonal and Topical respectively. Here the point of our careful attention is that “the book” takes over the topical theme position from the subject “I”. Like example (3), in a declarative clause a theme that is not a subject in the clause is called a Marked Topical Theme. The topical theme is already known information. Speakers often use given information at the beginning part of the clauses in order to make their utterance coherent. The ordering of the components is not typical but possible, allowing both the speakers and listeners to put the new information at the end of the clause. Thematic choice is always meaningful on speakers’ part because it leads listeners to speakers’ aim properly.

5. Analysis

Table (1) shows that more than 60% of the subjects in Clinton’s announcement is “I” as compared with 19.2% in Obama’s. As for “we”, the percentage in Clinton’s is 13.6%, and 24.6% in Obama’s.

Table (2) indicates that Clinton uses “we” as a theme only 15.2% of the whole themes, while Obama employs 35.9%. In Obama’s speech his usage of
demonstrative pronoun and nominal group, like “it” or “What stopped us”, is over 30%, which may deserve special mention. To be precise, “let us” doesn’t have a proper qualification for a theme according to SFG. However, it seems safe to include it under the “we” because of a close similarity in meaning between the two, slightly enlarging the SFG’s definition of Theme. In the same way, we include “let me” under the “Theme”.

### Table (1) Subjects in the traditional grammar way

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Clinton</th>
<th>Obama</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>61.4% (27)</td>
<td>19.2% (25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td>13.6% (6)</td>
<td>24.6% (32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you</td>
<td>2.3% (1)</td>
<td>3.1% (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nominal</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there</td>
<td>0 22.7% (10)</td>
<td>(1) 53.1% (69)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>(44)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table (2) Subjects and themes in the Systemic Functional Grammar way

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Clinton</th>
<th>Obama</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>58.8% (27)</td>
<td>incl. let me (2) 17.3% (27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marked</td>
<td>single</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>multiple</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unmarked</td>
<td>single</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>multiple</td>
<td>(0) 15.2% (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demonstrative pronoun</td>
<td>marked</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unmarked</td>
<td>(0) 6.5% (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nominal</td>
<td>marked</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unmarked</td>
<td>(7) 15.2% (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others(personal, pronoun, there, sign up)</td>
<td>(4.3% (2)</td>
<td>13.5% (21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>(46)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6. Description

Hillary Clinton’s strategy to win the election is obvious. She adopted a positive strategy of pushing ahead her career as an experienced, competent statesperson with actual results. Her remarkably frequent usage of subject “I” shows this to us.

As regards Obama, although the number of marked “we” is not so many as we expected, the total of “we” mounts up to 56, the largest of all themes, which tells us that his catchword is “the unity of the U.S.” In these 56 clauses there are 21 clauses that have introductory parts preceding “we”, like “And when all else fails, ... we’ve been told ... are somebody else’s fault”. From the instances we can infer that at the bottom of his heart there is some hesitation due to his subtle, complex position in beginning his speech with “we” right from the start.

And furthermore, demonstrative pronouns or nominals more often come to the theme position. Of 52 clauses with “pronominal” and “nominal” as a theme, 19 clauses consist of cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences. Regarded from the point of view of information and thematic structure, the two types of usage are other ways of ‘marked’ thematic choice. In cleft sentences the element which is being emphasized follows “it”. In pseudo-cleft ones the emphatic element usually comes after “wh- clause”. We might say that Obama replaces marked “we” themes with impersonal ‘marked’ themes representing “it”, “that” and nominals. Here we can see his delicate strategy through his thematic choices.

However, from 52 clauses with the demonstrative pronouns and nominal themes we get 25 identifying relational clauses. Identifying relational clauses express equivalence relations between two nominal groups, in which “X is Y” and “Y is X”. They consequently exclude any other interpretations, which can assist to make speeches look exhaustive and affirmative. Moreover, nominalized themes generally serve to repeat as well as recapitulate what has been previously discussed, then, turning it into a thing, to be simpler and logical.
7. Conclusion

The results of thematic selection in table (2) suggest that there is an obvious difference between the two senators’ inner attitudes toward the election. Although there is a gap in size and mode between the texts, language helps us become aware of our unconscious subconsciousness.

Clinton’s significantly higher use of “I” tells us that she appeals for support by using her own long career in politics.

In addition to Obama’s uses of “marked we”, which is less than our expectations, Obama adopts another rhetorical strategy in order to draw listeners’ attention to the end of the speech. That is to say, as we referred to cleft or pseudo-cleft sentences, and nominal themes, this kind of rhetorical strategies makes speech exhaustive, powerful and simpler. That contributes to evoke sympathy. More importantly, his rather frequent use of “we” with multiple themes, as well as marked “we”, indicates that his thematic choice is subtly influenced by the way he was brought up. His speech appeals emotionally and intellectually. The two senators’ election strategies really resonate with their thematic choices.

References
A Note on the ‘I not say’ Construction

Madoka Murakami

1. Introduction

In the history of the English language, the construction ‘I not say’ was peculiar in that the finite verb was not supported by the auxiliary do when preceded by not. It is said to be typical of Shakespeare, as in this example:

(1) ... she not denies it

(Shakespeare, *Much Ado about Nothing* 1836)

According to Nakao and Koma (1990: 159), this construction appeared characteristically in the period of Early Modern English (c.1500-1700), corresponding to (2d):

(2)  
   a. Ic ne secge  
   OE (c.700-1100)  
   b. I ne seye not  
   EME (c.1100-1300) – 15c  
   c. I say not  
   the end of 14c – EModE  
   d. I not say  
   15c – EModE  
   e. I do not say  
   16c – 17c, established at the end of 17c  
   f. I don’t say  
   17c –

This historical development of English negation has often been captured in Jespersen’s (1917) cycle of negation, summarized by Fischer et al. (2000: 305):

(3)  
   i. Negation is expressed by one negative marker.  
   ii. Negation is expressed by a negative marker in combination with a negative adverb or noun phrase.  
   iii. The second element in Stage (ii) takes on the function of
expressing negation by itself; the original negative marker becomes optional.

iv. The original negative marker becomes extinct.

The oldest example (2a) represents Stage (i); when not began to appear in addition to ne as in (2b), Stage (ii) took place; and after (2b) and (2c) had coexisted in Stage (iii), the original negator ne disappeared in Stage (iv) where (2c) completely overwhelmed (2b). The auxiliary do started to support tense inflections as in (2e) when the verb itself could no longer do so (while (2c) could) due to the weakness of its verbal features (see Murakami (2003) for a discussion). Later, the contracted form of negation as in (2f) prevailed colloquially.

Strangely, the pattern in (2d), then, is left with no explanation, having no place in the cycle of negation. The purpose of this paper is to consider descriptions about this phenomenon, and attempt to provide a theoretical explanation for it. I will pursue the possibility of deriving this negative structure in terms of general verb movement.


In his survey of 91 instances of the ‘I not say’ construction over the 15th through 18th centuries, Ukaji (1992: 455) observes that it “was rather rare before 1500, ... reached its highest point in the times of Shakespeare and Jonson. But ... in the middle of the 18th century it became virtually obsolete.” Further, he admits “no successive transition from any previous construction or to any following construction,” saying that (4b) is just coexistent with the two constructions (4a) and (4c):

\[
(4) \quad \begin{align*}
    a. & \quad \text{I say not } (= (2c)) \\
    b. & \quad \text{I not say } (= (2d)) \\
    c. & \quad \text{I do not say } (= (2e))
\end{align*}
\]

Based on his collection of (4b) sentences, Ukaji (1992: 456) draws the
conclusion that (4b) is “a hybrid [of (4a) and (4c)] brought about to serve as a kind of bridge to make the transition [from (4a) to (4c)] easier.” In his terminology, ‘I not say’ is such a bridge phenomenon, ephemeral in syntactic change, becoming “useless once the transition was completed and a new form has evolved.”

Referring to Ukaji (1992), Iyeiri (2005) also discusses this construction, but she would rather not consider ‘I not say’ as a bridge. Instead, Iyeiri (2005: 60) argues “that ‘not + finite verb’ goes back to Old and Middle English,” contending “that it is in constant decline from Old and Middle English and that early Modern English simply displays its remnant stage.” On the basis of her book (2001), she investigates a wide range of negative sentences from Old English to early Modern English, thus empirically confirming the decline of this construction under discussion.

Firstly in Old English, Iyeiri finds in Ælfric’s Supplementary Homilies three instances of this construction ‘not ne + finite verb’ (ne always intervening in this period) against two instances of ‘ne + finite verb + not.’ One of the three examples is:

\[(5) \text{ and Gode } naht \text{ ne hearmað } ðeah } \text{ ðe } \text{ ðu hine forgite} \]

\[(Ælfric, \text{ Supplementary Homilies 30/47)} \]

Secondly in Middle English, Iyeiri observes that the percentage of this construction usage is the highest in the verse text The Owl and the Nightingale, with 14.3% of all negative sentences containing the sentential not, still high in Havelok, with 10.9%, and the lowest in the prose text Caxton’s Reynard the Fox, with 0.2%:

\[(6) \text{ Vp she stirte and } nouth \text{ ne sat} \]

\[(Havelok, 567) \]

\[(7) \text{ that ye } not \text{ mysdoo} \]

\[(Caxton, \text{ Reynard the Fox 108/19)} \]

Iyeiri’s (2005: 69-70) Tables 2 and 3 (Tables 1 and 2 here respectively) demonstrate the gradual declension of the construction chronologically:
Additionally in the ME period, this form of negation involves the loss of *ne* as seen from (6) to (7), leading Iyeiri (2005: 68) to infer that “*not ne* + finite verb’ as evidenced in Old English develops into ‘*not* + finite verb’ when the adverb *ne* disappears in the course of the Middle English period.”

Finally in Early Modern English, where this construction is supposed to be characteristic, reaching its culmination in Shakespeare (Ukaji 1992; cf. “pretty frequent in Shakespeare” Jespersen 1917:13), Iyeiri (2005: 64-65) discovers the scarcity of ‘*not* + finite verb’ even in Shakespeare and Jonson. The highest proportions of ‘*not* + finite verb’ to the total number of relevant examples are seen in Shakespeare’s *Much Ado about Nothing* and Jonson’s

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>‘not + V’ (‘not ne + V’)</th>
<th>Proportion to the total of not</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ælfric’s Supplementary Homilies</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>60.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peterborough Chronicle 1070-1154</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayenbite of Inwy (pp. 5-101)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Northern Prose Version of the Rule of St. Benet</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canterbury Tales (Prose)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caxton’s Reynard the Fox</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Iyeiri’s Table 2 (all))

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>‘not + V’ (‘not ne + V’)</th>
<th>Proportion to the total of not</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Owl and the Nightingale</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King Horn</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Havelok</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The South English Legendary (vol.1)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Metrical Homilies</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Poems of William of Shoreham</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canterbury Tales (Verse)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Iyeiri’s Table 3 (part))
Sejanus: with only 1.05% and the exceptionally high percentage of 6.01% respectively.

(8) We *not endure* these flatteries \(\text{(Jonson, Sejanus 1605)}\)

Regrettably the OE examples are very few, but Iyeiri’s (2005: 77) argument is still sufficiently convincing: “It arises from ‘not *ne* + finite verb’ with the obliteration of the adverb *ne*. The process is the same as the occurrence of ‘finite verb + *not*’ from ‘*ne* + finite verb + *not*’.”

3. Theoretical Explanations

Putting aside its historical origin, we have to derive ‘I *not say*’ sentences theoretically. Two questions immediately arise as to where *not* is located and how a lexical verb moves in this construction.

3.1. Previous Studies

Roberts (1993: 279) proposed the following clause structure with *not* in the Spec of NegP:

(9)

```
          AgrP
            /\    \  \
           Agr  NegP  \
               /   \  \
              Spec Neg’ \
                /   \  \
               not Neg TP  \
                              /  \  \
                             T   VP  \
                               \  \
                                V
```

Assuming that V raised to T, Neg, up to Agr in the 15th century, Roberts
(1993: 304) suggested ‘Stylistic-Fronting of not’ in the ‘I not say’ order. This is because in his observation, all occurrences of this order have either subject gaps or pronominal subjects, in which case, subject pronouns could cliticize to C in syntax, inducing Stylistic-Fronting of not (perhaps onto AgrP, which he never specified). Under his analysis, not was an XP at that time, since only XPs undergo Stylistic-Fronting.

Ishikawa (1995) followed exactly the same clause structure as in (9), and even his analysis of not was identical in that it was an XP occupying the Spec of NegP (which, later in the 16th century, became an X shifting into the head of NegP in his argumentation). The difference between derivations of (10a) and (10b) are explained in terms of strong/weak Agr (cf. Pollock (1989)):

(10)  
\begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \quad \text{I say not } ( = (4a)) \\
\text{b.} & \quad \text{I not say } ( = (4b))
\end{align*}

According to Ishikawa (1995: 209), (10a) is derived by overt V-to-Agr movement due to its strong Agr, while overt Agr-to-V lowering and LF raising of the complex \([V [TV [\text{T Agr}]]]\) are applied in (10b) since its weak Agr cannot attract a main V. This was possible because, in the period when (10a) and (10b) types of negation coexisted, either strong or weak Agr was available in its transience from strong to weak features.

Mizoguchi (2007: 63) also assumed the identical clause structure diagramed in (9), and argued for two positions of not in Old and early Middle English: Agr’ for the ‘not ne + finite verb’ order and T’ for the ‘ne + finite verb + not’ order. According to her discussion, this is the reason why not was above V in ‘not ne + finite verb’ and below V in ‘ne + finite verb + not’ after V raised invariably in those periods. Incidentally, ne is base-generated in Neg to be picked up by V on the path of its raising up to Agr. In the same way as Ishikawa (1995) and Fischer et al. (2000), Mizoguchi (2007: 65-67) argued that, due to the loss of ne around 1400, Neg became empty, so that, although originally placed in the Spec of NegP, not began to occupy Neg after ne. She further insisted that, when ‘I not say’ sentences were used, not was still located in the Spec of NegP, and Affix lowering and LF raising applied in that order.
To summarize, in the ‘I not say’ construction, all the three researchers mentioned above placed not in the same Spec of NegP of the identical clause structure. This placement resulted even though their methods of deriving that order by way of moving either a main V or affix, and/or not are different from each other.

3.2. The Present Analysis

In Murakami (1992; 1995; 1998; 2002; 2007), I have never admitted any clause structure with multiple functional heads, so I have to yield a solution for ‘I not say’ without using them, even without a NegP. Let us assume the following clause structure:

I suggested the historical change of not as follows (Murakami (2007: 120)):

“ne is base-generated under V, on which it is proclitic from the beginning (Stage (i)). Therefore it always raises together with V. Next, the location in which na arises as negative reinforcement is the ... post-position of I (Stage (ii)). Both na (or any variant of na) and ne remained in the same positions respectively throughout OE and ME, until ne became optional (Stage (iii)), and eventually obsolete (Stage (iv)).”

However, this does not explain the archaic sentences below, in which na (or any variant, eventually not) precedes the (ne+) finite verb. These examples are borrowed from Iyeiri (2005):
OE: (12)  ... and he wurde gesælig gif he na ne syngode  
(Ælfric, Supplementary Homilies 11/94)

ME: (13)  a. Vp she stirte and nouth ne sat  (Havelok 567)  
           b. that ye not mysdoo  (Caxton, Reynard the Fox 108/19)  
           c. I may noght wel ne noght ne schal  
               Of veine gloire excuse me  
               (Gower, Confessio Amantis 110/2722-3)  
           d. And if that he noght may, par aventure  
               (Chaucer, “The Shipman’s Tale” in The Canterbury Tales, 15)  
           e. Whan Troyens dede this trespass, Menelaus at home not was  
               (ca. 1400, Laud Troy Book 3092)

EModE: (14)  ... she not denies it  
(Shakespeare, Much Ado about Nothing 1836)

Note also that this form was (infrequently) employed with modal auxiliary 
verbs as in (13c) and (13d), and be as in (13e).

I assume that finite verbs must have raised in these sentences due to the 
strong I, in the periods when the verbs invariably raised from V to I. 
Otherwise, the auxiliary do should have been base-generated in the weak I, so 
that the verbs could no longer have moved into the I position filled by do (see 
Murakami (1993) for details). The problem is, then, how not (or any 
precursor) can be situated in front of a finite verb.

In order to overcome this problem, let us turn to some infinitival 
sentences and the structure for them:

(15)  a. John told Mary not to take the medicine.  
      b. ?John told Mary to not take the medicine.

(16)  a. John told Mary not to be lenient.  
      b. ?John told Mary to not be lenient.
In the case of *to*-infinitive clauses, the position of *not* before *to* is considered standard, while the position of *not* after *to* cannot be excluded at all. Therefore, I concluded in Murakami (1995; 2007) that sentential *not* may either pre- or post-modify the I category in nonfinite clauses. Thus, the structure for (15), where there is no movement involved, should be as follows:

(17)

The suggestion here is that we apply this pre-I placement of *not* for the ‘I not say’ construction, so that the sentences in (12) through (14) had most likely been derived in the following way.
4. Concluding Remarks

The conclusion that I drew in Murakami (2007) has been reached here again. From a general point of view, adverbials may adjoin to all three levels of categorical projections — either XP, single-bar X, or X⁰. And indeed, they may do so from either left or right:
I have been arguing for (19c) here, but for (19a) and (19b), there are examples of the following sort, respectively:

(20)  a.  Hopefully I'll attend the party.
    b.  I'll attend the party hopefully.

(21)  a.  I always love you.
    b.  I love you always.

The difficult question that immediately arises should be answered briefly here. The question is two-fold:

(i) In the case of to-infinitive clauses, why are the orders not to and to not both allowed (though the former is unmarked and the latter marked)?
(ii) In the case of finite clauses, why is the order *not do absolutely ruled out (the strict order being do not)?

For (i), according to Nomura and Smith (2007), there is a slight difference in meaning between not to and to not. Put simply, not to V conveys ‘action,’ while to not V refers to ‘state.’ The positions of not might be selected semantically. As for (ii), following Murakami (1993), the auxiliary do is a tense supporter which should be base-generated under I when the I is too weak to attract V. Following Murakami (1995) further, the finite do/does/did very locally selects not within I, from left to right, just as a head selects a complement from left to right in English. Hence the word order is restricted to do not.

Recall that in the ‘I not say’ structure, its I is strong enough to raise V.
There is therefore no possibility for the auxiliary do to be employed. In this construction, not was situated in front of I for some reason — semantically or 'stylistically fronted' in Roberts’ (1993) terminology.

Acknowledgments

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References


